SPRINGER BRIEFS IN ARCHAEOLOGY
ARCHAEOLOGICAL HERITAGE MANAGEMENT

Jorge Gamboa

Archaeological Heritage in a Modern Urban Landscape

The Ancient Moche in Trujillo, Peru

Springer

SpringerBriefs in Archaeology

Archaeological Heritage Management

More information about this series at http://www.springer.com/series/10187

Jorge Gamboa

Archaeological Heritage in a Modern Urban Landscape

The Ancient Moche in Trujillo, Peru

Springer

Jorge Gamboa
Universidad Nacional Santiago
Antunez de Mayolo
Huaraz
Peru

ISSN 1861-6623 ISSN 2192-4910 (electronic)
SpringerBriefs in Archaeology
ISSN 2192-5313 ISSN 2192-5321 (electronic)
Archaeological Heritage Management
ISBN 978-3-319-15469-5 ISBN 978-3-319-15470-1 (eBook)
DOI 10.1007/978-3-319-15470-1

Library of Congress Control Number: 2015932245

Springer Cham Heidelberg New York Dordrecht London

Printed on acid-free paper

Springer International Publishing AG Switzerland is part of Springer Science+Business Media (www.springer.com)

Foreword

It is a pleasure to write the foreword to this important monograph. The topic of the management of archaeological sites within urban zones is of the greatest significance in this era of worldwide urban development and agro-industrial expansion. I do not refer to historic urban districts in which "old" buildings are part of the city fabric, still in use although often with changed functions. Rather, the issue tackled by archaeologist Jorge Gamboa is what happens to "dead" archaeological sites that become surrounded by contemporary urban settlements. In Peru this phenomenon is particularly interesting because most of these sites are not in the middle of cities but rather at their margins, in what Mr. Gamboa labels the periurban zones occupied by migrants, typically highland migrants to the coast, specifically, in this volume, the north coast. Here it is possible to observe a social context in which residents are culturally unrelated to those who built these sites. Therefore, the archaeological landscape may not generate a "sense of place" among the new population which, consequently, may put these ancient remains at risk. Yet in other instances the past is embraced. Complicating site survival are local and national heritage politics and policies and pressures from the private economic development sector, which is composed of large companies as well as grass-roots organizations. Archaeologists and the popular media also play a key role in the fate of the "ruins." With a great wealth of sites—many of tremendous significance—the extraordinarily endowed Moche Valley is an ideal case study of pressures on the archaeological record and responses to them.

Mr. Gamboa provides a wonderfully cogent overview of the archaeological record of the Moche Valley. He then carefully examines the recent interplay of archaeological investigation and economic development in the region. He documents the large population growth in the coastal valleys and its impact on the fragile archaeological landscape. Writing with ethnographic sensitivity he considers socioeconomic inequality and ethnic backgrounds as these contribute to the challenge of archaeological heritage management in periurban zones. Climate also has played a role and his mention of El Niño is important to the growing field of heritage practitioners concerned with the management of risk.

Mr. Gamboa's mastery of urban policy issues and development models is a special strength in the case study and it demonstrates the need for inclusion of these topics in heritage education. Indeed, not only will this book be read by archaeologists and heritage scholars and practitioners, it should attract the attention of urban and regional planners, particularly in countries with this kind of archaeological landscape.

Also contributing to the study's great value is Mr. Gamboa's posing of the question, "Why preserve minor sites?" In a country such as Peru with a vast repertoire of major sites—stunningly large and complex architectural ensembles—do we need sites of a lesser order of significance? That question is exceptionally important for archaeological heritage management and the question makes the volume all the more useful as a comparison with the majority of countries around the world that do not have Peru's quantity of preeminent ancient remains. What is to be done with sites that are not tourist-worthy and that will not be economically exploitable? They are, as Mr. Gamboa argues, a valuable non-renewable resource. Lack of visual appeal does not equate with lack of scientific value. The challenge he correctly sees is how to engage the local population with the past, even if it is not culturally or genealogically their past. His proposal of community participation and community management of the local archaeological landscape is admirable. His policy suggestions are reasonable and can lead to a new microeconomics of heritage. Certainly his suggestion to create local museums in these periurban zones resonates with work done by archaeologists elsewhere in Peru, Latin America and beyond.

I congratulate Jorge Gamboa on producing this timely and well argued case study of a widespread phenomenon and am pleased it has been included in this Springer series on *Multidisciplinary Perspectives in Archaeological Heritage Management*.

Helaine Silverman
Professor, Department of Anthropology
Director, CHAMP/Collaborative for Cultural
Heritage Management and Policy
University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign

Acknowledgments

This book is the result of several productive meetings and conversations with a group of people dedicated to archaeological research and management of heritage sites in the Peruvian Northern Coast and Andean Region. I wish to express my most sincere thanks to Dr. Santiago Uceda and Dr. Ricardo Morales, directors of the Huacas de Moche Project, as well as to Dr. Claude Chapdelaine and Ms. Victor Pimentel, directors of the Santa Valley Project of the Université de Montréal, for their permanent support and advice. Archaeologists César Gálvez and Víctor Piminchumo from the Ministry of Culture of Perú at Trujillo were a constant source of information and provided a rich environment for discussion and exchange of ideas. Santiago Uceda, Ricardo Morales, and Susana Honores Barrera kindly provided revealing data on the impact of the Huacas del Sol y de la Luna Project on the Trujillo population. In Lambayeque, Walter Alva, Carlos Elera and Carlos Wester, remarkable archaeologists and colleagues, always offered a warm reception, sharing at all times their knowledge and experiences regarding the management of heritage sites and museums in the region.

The contents of this publication were improved by the opinions and suggestions of several colleagues. Much gratitude is owed to Dr. Hélène Bernier, Dr. Sarahh Scher, Dr. Jason Nesbitt, Dr. John Topic, Dr. Lisa Trever, Dr. Melissa Vogel, and to Ph.D. (c) María Firmino-Castillo and Ph.D. (c) Jennifer Rozo for their attentive reading of the arguments presented here and for their assistance with the review of the English translation. Fabián Espinosa, Steven Wegner, and Matthew Crawford also provided help with the translation. Dr. David Pacifico never ceased to collaborate in making possible this project, by engaging in rich discussion of the many points raised in this work and by reviewing the English translation of several chapters. Dr. Oswaldo Chinchilla provided a valuable orientation regarding the research history of the Kaminaljuyú site. Archaeologists Dr. Ashton Sinamai and Ms. Verónica Ortega shared their experiences in the search of new forms of relationships between archaeological heritage work and contemporary communities. Dr. José Ochatoma, director of the School of Archaeology at Universidad San Cristobal de Huamanga, provided data on the contemporary impact of the Conchopata site. Dr. Ramiro Matos, Senior Curator for Latin America at the National Museum of

the American Indian, provided information about the research by John Gillin of the town of Moche. Dr. Theresa Topic, Dr. Thomas Pozorski, Dr. Sanford Low, Lic. Genaro Barr, Miss Beysi Huapaya, and the renowned Peruvian photographer Mr. Douglas Juarez kindly gave permission to include their photographs. Mrs. Shalimar Fojas White from Dumbarton Oaks and Mr. Don McClelland provided their assistance with the drawing by Donna McClelland used in this work.

My special thanks to the archaeologists Ignacio Alva, Genaro Barr, Edgard Bracamonte, Tomas Campos, Juan Castañeda, María Chiroque, Régulo Franco, Belisa Gomez, Martin Gómez, Alexander Herrera, Juan López Marchena, Carol Mackey, Betty Meza, Niel Pajuelo, Gabriel Prieto, Lorenzo Risco, Blanca Sánchez, Ricardo Toribio, Percy Vilcherrez, Aldo Watanave, Enrique Zavaleta, and Inés Zegarra, who were an excellent company in the survey of the Lower Moche Valley and brought helpful comments in the discussion about the linkage among archaeology, urban growth, and development. Enrique Vergara, Flor Vega, Liliana Chavez, and Gustavo Perez offered valuable support in the search of bibliographical data at the library of the Universidad Nacional de Trujillo Archaeological Museum. Prof. Alcibiades Vigo provided valuable bibliographic information. Belisa Gomez, Jhon Cruz, and José Luis Montes Ocrospoma made several drawings and maps for this book. The writing process benefited from the contributions of the architects José Pineda at the Université Paris III-Sorbonne Nouvelle and Nelly Amemiya in the Architecture Department at Universidad Particular Antenor Orrego of Trujillo, who were generous with information regarding Trujillo's urban growth. My recognition goes also to Lourdes Cabel Salinas, former worker of SKIP-Supporting Kids in Peru, who shared her experience with the contemporary population at the study area.

This work would not have come to life without the support of the editors at Springer. I express my acknowledgement to Drs. Helaine Silverman, Douglas Comer, and William Wilhelm for their assistance in the publication of *Archaeological Sites in a Modern Urban Landscape* in the SpringerBriefs Series. Professor Helaine Silverman was a continuous and reliable source of help and motivation to finish this work, and I express my deep gratitude to her. I also extend my recognition to Hana Nagdimov, Theresa Kraus, and Ayswarya N., who kindly offered their publishing and editing experiences to bring to fruition this publication.

My appreciation also goes to the professors, administrative staff, and students of the Archeology School and the Social Sciences, Education, and Communication Department at Universidad Santiago Antúnez de Mayolo (UNASAM) in the city of Huaraz. My acknowledgement goes especially to the faculty of the Archeology School and to the University authorities, who provided a wonderful work environment and constant motivation for completing this work.

I also extend my gratitude to my parents and my family, who provided invaluable support at home. Without their unending affection and collaboration, this work would not have been completed.

Of course, any shortcomings in this work are the sole responsibility of the author.

Contents

About the Author

Jorge Gamboa obtained his B.A. and Licenciatura at the Universidad Nacional de Trujillo. During the course of his undergraduate degree he conducted excavations at Huacas de Moche, one of the most important sites of the Moche culture. Upon graduation he continued his research on Pre-Columbian Andean societies, conducting fieldwork in the Santa Valley, Puruchuco, the early monumental highland site of Chavín de Huántar, and at Pañamarca, a settlement famous for its Moche polychrome murals. In 2009 he received a Summer Fellowship at Dumbarton Oaks, Washington DC, which permitted him to finish a peer-reviewed article on Moche termination rituals. This paper was recently published in Latin American Antiquity, the famous journal of Pre-Columbian studies published by the Society of American Archaeology. He has presented papers at national and international meetings, most recently the 2012 meeting of the ICOMOS International Committee on Archaeological Heritage Management and the SAA Conference in 2014. Currently, Jorge Gamboa is Assistant Professor at the Archaeology School of the Universidad Nacional Santiago Antúnez de Mayolo in Huaraz, Peru.

Chapter 1
From Ruins to Heritage Places

Introduction

Since remote ancient times, a major concern of people on the North Coast of Peru has been to find a place to live in a landscape of arid mountains and valleys requiring constant irrigation to be productive (with consequent series of over water and land rights). Current strong demographic density in the region is a reflection of earlier patterns of occupation for river valleys and desert margins, a tendency emphasized by modern models of export agriculture and industrialization. Modern development of the North Coast has converted it into the second most important region of Peru in macroeconomic terms. The region is also a hub for international trade. Nevertheless those facts, a significant proportion of the rural and urban inhabitants of the area are still affected by low living standards, which include the lack of basic services, underemployment, and deficiencies in public education.

The modern population shares a territory with the material remains of past communities, remains that are a constant source of interest, memories, and disputes. When a resident of the North Coast walks around his/her locality, it is not uncommon to find fragments of ceramics, bones, and architecture built centuries ago. Every area inhabited today shows the imprint of past and modern human populations, with the meanings and values of each occupation being interlocked in time and space. Archaeological sites are constantly observed, evaluated, and experienced by people who reside nearby or who visit, temporarily attracted by their antiquity, content, and symbolism. In this way, the perceptions held by different groups of people about the ancient places become a critical factor for the survival of the archaeological sites within landscapes in constant transformation.

With the development of archaeology as an academic discipline in the nineteenth century, the temporal span of human occupations became a topic of general

J. Gamboa, *Archaeological Heritage in a Modern Urban Landscape*,
SpringerBriefs in Archaeological Heritage Management,
DOI 10.1007/978-3-319-15470-1_1

interest, raising awareness of the role that the remains of the past have for understanding the organization and values of today's society. The twentieth century saw an increasing number of investigations into the origin and development of the human societies. That century also would see explosive, worldwide population growth, whose consequences resulted in the emergence or renewal of numerous urban settlements attracting large numbers of rural and proletarian settlers. At the start of the third millennium, the destruction of numerous archaeological sites by urban growth is a situation seen in every country, becoming common due to the current trend of formation of megacities, even in developing countries. In recent decades, destruction of archaeological sites has taken place at scales never seen before, through looting, aggressive cultivation, and urban expansion, with development activities causing the loss of all kinds of archaeological sites, since hunter-gatherer camps and archaic villages of agriculturalists to early urban settlements. In this context, the frequent superposition of ancient sites and areas destined for development has generated a major challenge for specialists in archaeology and heritage conservation.

Present-day Peru is well known for the global fame of its archaeological heritage, which includes the UNESCO World Heritage Sites of Machu Picchu, the Nazca Lines, and Chan Chan, places that have inspired Peruvians for generations and that have become representative examples of the achievements of the ancient Andean peoples. However, the majority of the archaeological places in Peru do not present such visual and symbolic attraction. Indeed, the majority of these sites are comprised of residential areas, kitchen middens, roads, and agricultural fields. At the same time, these material remains cover extensive areas that are increasingly subject to the impact of modern occupations. The current status of Peruvian archaeological sites under threat by development has not yet been the subject of extensive studies, although there is a general, implicit consensus on and condemnation of the rapid rate of destruction and loss. This situation has been partially addressed by the execution of archaeological rescue projects. Due to the current national economic growth, the number of rescue projects in Peru has notably increased in past decades, allowing the salvage of countless mummy bundles, "utilitarian" and fancy ceramics, textiles, and other materials that otherwise would have disappeared together with the sites that originally contained them. However, the majority of reports on rescue archaeological work carried out in Peru are never published or are only the object of brief newspaper comments, while the contributions to the understanding of the past fall largely on the less numerous academic research projects.[1]

There is another point to take into account. Several of the largest modern cities of the Andes are located in areas where in the past major pre-hispanic settlements

[1] As exceptions, it can be cited the publication of salvage excavations in northern Peru by Piminchumo (2001), Valle et al. (2014), and Wester et al. (2000).

flourished. Cities such as Cuzco, Lima, and Trujillo were erected over or adjacent to main Pre-Columbian urban settlements and rural supporting sites. On the other hand, the proximity of modern cities and monumental archaeological centers determined that some archaeological sites became symbols of regional and national identity. In northern Peru, the relationship between archaeological research, identity discourses, and socioeconomic development is a relatively recent example of this. As a result of the 1987 discovery of the spectacular royal Moche tombs of Sipán in the Lambayeque Valley, the North Coast became the scene of a growing number of archaeological projects, many of them focused on the ancient Moche. Among the dozens of archaeological settlements that began to be investigated since the 1990s, a group of major Moche sites would be converted into centers of permanent research and conservation, becoming popular destinations of the tourism industry and loci of economic development.

At the other end of the spectrum, a wide variety of smaller heritage sites are in the process of deterioration and eventual destruction due to the expansion of urban spaces. This is the case of the metropolitan area of the Peruvian city of Trujillo, where urban and suburban growth has placed ever increasing pressure on local archaeological sites whose record demonstrates the occupation of the area from the Early Preceramic period (10000–6000 BC) through Colonial times (1532–1821).

Until the first decades of the twentieth century, Trujillo consisted of a relatively small urbanized area (founded by the Spaniards in 1534) surrounded by extensive rural estates of wealthy families. Although extensively cultivated by the Moche (AD 200–800) and Chimú (AD 900–1438) native societies, the plains located beyond those areas remained mostly unoccupied, a situation stemming from the sociopolitical changes brought by the imposition of the Spanish rule over Andean peoples and the introduction in the Colonial period of infectious diseases previously unknown in America—factors that resulted in a massive demographical collapse of the indigenous population. This situation changed dramatically in the middle of the last century. Since 1940 onwards the North Coast of Peru has been the scene of an intense migratory movement of people from the rural highland areas toward Trujillo and other main cities. First by the hundreds, and then by the thousands, peasant families arrived in Trujillo and the Hacienda Laredo, later settling in the desert lands of El Porvenir, Florencia de Mora, and La Esperanza. These areas gave origin in the 1970s to a set of extensive new districts, which transformed the social and cultural landscape of Trujillo forever.

As in the majority of modern Peruvian urban centers, in Trujillo the population growth caused by the migratory flows from rural areas was intensified during the period of economic crisis and political violence from the 1980s to 1990s. At present, Trujillo, the capital of the La Libertad Region, is a metropolis of almost one million inhabitants that covers much of the lower Moche Valley. Densely settled by families with low-middle levels and lower middle levels of economic income, Trujillo's periurban sectors were initiated with limited participation of the state in their planning and evolution. It is in those areas, which at present are home to half a million people, that the cases of impact, use, and transformation of archaeological heritage sites examined in the present book are situated.

What Is Heritage? Public Perceptions on Heritage and Archaeology

What is Heritage? Each human society has its own views on the meaning of this term, with public perceptions of heritage including forms of knowledge which, at times, are different from or opposed to official interpretations of the past (Londoño 2013: 152–153). A key issue in this question is the way in which the sites where people encounter the materialization of the past (referred to as *ruins* by some) become *heritage places*. In many cases, this has occurred through a complex process of meaning-making. In the case of archaeological heritage, acknowledging the existence of multiple perspectives on ancient sites and their role in today's society is particularly relevant. Let's see what happens in Trujillo, the main city of northern Peru, in relation to the attitudes of modern populations on ancient sites next to which they inhabit.

When questioned on their understanding of the concept of heritage, most adult residents of the urban outskirts and rural sectors of Trujillo claim that this is the inheritance received from their fathers and ancestors used for the survival and well-being of the new generations. Younger members of the population, who have better access to public education and more familiarity with mass media, add a concept learned in school: the evidence of the past are linked with the building of a national identity and the collective and individual sense of belonging to a country. For specialists in cultural resource management and the study of archaeological sites, the definition of the term goes further. Their definition sees heritage as the externalization of the collective memory materialized in tangible symbols, acknowledging the links between the (re)presentation of the past and the appropriation, negotiation, and legitimization of ideological references and cultural practices (Cornell 2000–2001; Florescano 1993; Lowenthal 1985, 1998: 230; Mortesen 2001; Silverman and Ruggles 2007; Sinamai 2003). As will become evident in the following pages, the different ways of defining "heritage" not only lead to diverging positions on the material remnants of the past, but also contribute to contrasting perceptions of identity, community, and development.

Conceptualizing cultural heritage involves recognizing the existence of historical sites and landscapes, traditions, knowledge, technologies, and idiomatic expressions that characterize and distinguish one territory from another. Frequently, the development of discourses on these elements provides meaning for the creation of local, regional, and national identities, a process that overlaps (but does not negate) the diversity inherent in communities and interest groups involved. The cultural expressions from the past and present are now classified as material and immaterial heritage, thus overcoming the conceptions from the beginning of the twentieth century of heritage as a category focused principally on the the tangible aspects of human experience. Both categories of heritage came to be closely related, with the material culture revealing part of its significance by means of the immaterial cultural manifestations (Salomon and Peters 2009: 120–124). In turn, these notions lead to new perspectives for the examination of the meaning of cultural

monuments for local populations, with the discussion being directed toward the analysis of themes such as the claim of ancestral links by modern populations or the proximity of housing areas to heritage sites (Waterton 2005).

Because the focus of the present work is on the materiality of the past and its role for present populations, the following sections will concentrate on archaeological heritage. As expressed in the Charter for the Protection and Management of the Archaeological Heritage of ICOMOS (1990), the archaeological heritage is a non-renewable resource that witnesses the origin and development of human existence. The immovable or architectural archaeological heritage includes sites, buildings, and monuments, spaces whose volume, physical nature, and symbolism have a direct association and a creative interrelation with a specific territory and environment. In the same way, the architectural heritage becomes an important testimony of collective efforts, which reflect technological innovations and corporate and institutional forms of organization as well as social and economic inequalities (Handelman 1990; Moore 1996; Smith 2003). Movable archaeological heritage includes portable artistic and technological creations from the past generations. It is worth mentioning that the treatment given to movable and immovable heritage changes through time, as evidence from the past can be carefully preserved, transformed through appropriation or reconstruction, or destroyed through revisionist and iconoclastic movements or the reutilization of construction materials (Fig. 1.1).

Fig. 1.1 Superimposed Inca and colonial structures at Vilcashuaman, Ayacucho (Photograph by J. Gamboa 2006)

Archaeological sites and monuments include a great variety of places of human activity. Archaeological places that are considered as first class for their monumentality, size, artistic quality, or great antiquity often attract the attention of central governments and become spaces where collective memory and official identities are strengthened. Frequently, these sites become international tourist destinations. UNESCO annually recognizes some of these places as World Heritage Sites, indicating with this designation their historical and scientific values, uniqueness, and association with important historical events. When including an archaeological site in this category, UNESCO considers its value as an expression of human creativity, assessing, additionally, the vulnerability of the monument to destructive agents or its association with contemporary traditions of exceptional importance (see http://whc.unesco.org/en/criteria/). Due to their attractiveness and symbolism, World Heritage Sites often draw large numbers of tourists, sometimes resulting in spaces originally occupied by restricted numbers to be accessed by a massive public; a situation that can provoke damage to the site or that alters negatively the qualities that initially made it attractive. The inadequate implementation of tourism management at some World Heritage Sites, due to the excess of visitors and/or the resultant physical damage of the monuments and their surroundings, has become a central issue in heritage management in the past years, with the debate focusing on examining the causes of deterioration and exploring solutions (Comer 2012; Lowenthal 1998).

Much more numerous than "monumental" ancient places, archaeological sites with less impressive components constitute the majority of material remains from the past. These archaeological sites include the surface and underlying strata of extensive areas, including residential zones, roads, sanctuaries, agricultural and industrial infrastructure, or waste deposits. Often labeled as "minor sites," these places should not be considered as lacking evidence of the ceremonial life and creative spirit of ancient populations. On the contrary, many preserve tangible evidence of ideological practices and ritual behaviors that took place around households and working areas. As it has been demonstrated by numerous archaeological projects, the study of these places can contribute to a better understanding of the values and daily life of ancient societies, revealing attitudes of acquiescence, co-optation, or resistance on the part of local populations toward behaviors and policies of the ruling elites (Abercrombie et al. 1980; Brumfield 1992; Lohse 2007; McGuire 1983).

The concept of cultural landscape used in this publication includes the definitions by Erickson (1998, 2006), for whom the study of the integration between the natural and cultural components of a territory becomes central to the understanding of the ancient societies and the development of local heritage preservation policies. Certainly, the assessment of a landscape can include different, and sometimes contradictory, perspectives on the part of researchers and local communities. The premise, stated by Waterton (2005: 314), that "landscapes cannot be objects simply understood, but instead exist as living, social processes with the ability to generate values through a community's knowledge of the past" is particularly useful in this work and provides a basis for the evaluation of the relationships that take place between ancient sites and modern populations.

Whose Heritage? Heritage, Belonging, and Identity in Periurban Communities

The coexistence between modern human communities and remains from the past is usually uneasy, with the ancient vestiges often used and transformed by the new occupants of the territory, if not destroyed outright due to demographic pressure, the search of economic profit, or the multiplication of political agents. Modern populations are transforming the landscape in which they live at an unprecedented rate, causing in the process the destruction of a much of the material heritage from the human past. Whereas the archaeological landscapes hold an invaluable and irreplaceable meaning for archaeologists and historians, who typically do not live on them, the farmers or urban dwellers who do reside on and amidst the archaeological record have a different set of immediate goals, such as the pursuit of better living standards (i.e. basic public services, roads, education, and health services) and their integration into productive economic networks. This divergent reality has had a major impact in debates concerning policies toward both protection of cultural heritage and the role of cultural heritage in the sustainable development of communities. In recent decades many archaeologists and other heritage scholars have become especially concerned with the social role of cultural heritage and the democratization of access to knowledge. This ethical and political stance has driven the inclusion of some spaces and practices of the working classes and unprivileged socioeconomic groups in the categories of *heritage*, *monument*, and *cultural resource* (García Canclini 2004) (Fig. 1.2).

Fig. 1.2 Inhabitants of the highlands, La Libertad Region (Photograph courtesy of Theresa Topic 2006)

The interpretation of heritage as the expression of a collective past is largely an historical construction, which can lead to the selective promotion of some ideological references, values, and memories of a distant or recent past to the detriment of other events and manifestations (Florescano 1993; Trigger 1984; Tunbridge and Ashworth 1996: 21). This point is fundamental to understanding the complexities in the "official" management of archaeological sites, and stands as crucial to evaluate the use of and perspectives on ancient monuments by modern populations.

Archaeology, Belonging, and Heritage Policies in Peru

Since the second half of the twentieth century, a great part of the urban expansion in Peru has been carried on through private and low-budget popular initiatives originally disconnected from state planning. In the case of the Peruvian coast, this process took place mainly in uncultivated valley margins, where numerous Pre-Columbian sites are located. Originating in a compulsive urban expansion lacking strategies to include heritage places as elements of local socioeconomic development (Agurto 1984; Matos Mar 1968), the approach of the populations occupying these urban margins (hereafter referred to as *periurban* areas) to the material remains from the past became a major agent in the deterioration of the national archaeological heritage.

Peru has advanced notably in the recognition and management of this problem, especially in comparison with many other Latin-American countries where norms, laws, or government entities in charge of policies of protection and management of the archaeological heritage are still incipient or where inadequacy of resources threatens compliance with existing archaeological heritage laws. However, the advances in Peru on this matter are not without their own problems. According to the current Peruvian legislation, the condition of intangibility of archaeological sites—even though it is indicated in the national constitution and the *Ley General del Patrimonio Cultural de la Nación* (General Law of National Heritage)—attains official recognition through the specific declaration and inscription in public registers of each area comprising archaeological remains (INC 2004: Articles II–IV, VII, 1.2, 14, 15). Despite its apparent feasibility, the declaration of an archaeological site involves economic funding and the participation of government staff, which are not always available (especially in the case of regional branches of the Ministry of Culture). Moreover, the lack of an official declaration may allow private or public agents to escape their responsibilities to prevent the destruction of archaeological sites. In other cases, development projects may be authorized in zones containing movable or immovable archaeological evidence but that have not specifically declared as heritage sites. The result of all this is often the impossibility to attain timely results in the preservation of heritage places in a context where agricultural, industrial and urban infrastructure but as well the commoditization of landscapes and resources are quickly developing.

Sense of Place Applied to Trujillo

It is important to review here some concepts that will be useful throughout the book to understand the variety of approaches and agendas involved in the preservation of archaeological places facing the advance of urban areas. Being a useful theorethical tool to explore the liasons between community and landscape, the concept of "sense of place" (which reached prominence in anthropological, geography, and urban planning studies during the last decades; see Buttimer and Seamon 1980; Feld and Basso 1996; Low and Lawrence-Zuñiga 2003) is particularly relevant to any discussion of heritage management policies. Cross (2001: 1–2) mentions that a unique concept of sense of place does not exist in essence, but rather is defined according to the field to which it is applied, such as landscape studies, architecture, or sociology. Working with the notion of place attachment, Low (1992) pointed out the symbolic connection between each population and a particular place, with this relationship providing human groups with the basis for cognitive, emotional, and cultural understanding of their environment. Other scholars stressed the adaptive capacity inherent in the creation of sense of place for human communities attached through time to a living place, this one becoming the subject of different levels of interpretative and subjective perceptions for its occupants (Jackson 1994; Hummon 1992).

As stated by Cross (2001: Table 1), the human relationship to a place includes different kinds of individual and group connections created and felt by inhabitants of a territory. Having origins in historical and family bonds with a geographic space, the *biographical relationship* develops through life and is made up of personal histories that take place in a given location, with the consequent elaboration of memory focused on it. The *narrative option* is based on the understanding of the characteristics of a place through narratives learned during formal and informal teaching in the family and the community. In opposition to the first two concepts, the *dependent relationship* is constrained by dependence on others for housing, which is directly related to the age or work of an individual or to his/her position in the family's structural organization.

Let us examine briefly the links proposed by Cross (2001) that are relevant to the cases of urban transformation of archaeological places in the periphery of Trujillo. Trujillo's periurban settlers have developed several of the mentioned types of relationships with the archaeological sites in their vicinity, with their liaison to the ancient places varying according to their knowledge of local history (which is influenced by educational national programs and informal community socialization) or their membership within a generation and association of migrants (with periurban areas being settled by massive groups differentiated in age, gender, and political and economical power). The relationships between modern communities and endangered archaeological sites can also be analyzed through the definition of community attachment of individual settlers. According to Cross (2001), the community attachment of a person to a living place should be understood as the level of involvement with the history and current conditions of a

community and its locality, a link that can be expressed through attitudes of "cohesive rootedness, divided rootedness, place alienation, relativity, and placelessness" (Cross 2001; 8 citing Hummon 1992). This issue is explored in depth in Chaps. 3 and 4, in which the perception of sense(s) of place(s) and community attachment are contextualized in the past and recent dynamics of the occupation of archaeological places by the new urban communities of Trujillo.

Archaeological Ethics, Heritage Management, and Sustainable Development Related to Trujillo

In recent decades, as part of the reexamination of ethics surrounding its practice, the discipline of archaeology has sought (not without some difficulty) to free itself from any remnants of colonialism and endocolonialism, promoting a sense of equality between researchers and the public -recognizing the latter as an inherently diverse set of groups ranging from indigenous, farming, and urban communities to authorities, developers, and NGOs (Herrera 2013a; Herrera and Hollowell 2007; Lane 2013; Mamani Condori 1996). This paradigm shift in the profession began in the second half of the past century with the development of Public Archaeology and, later, of Community Archaeology as distinct categories of praxis in archaeology (Pacifico and Vogel 2012: 1507; Sanday 1976). Constituting a major approach to the study of the past, Public Archaeology has been designed to facilitate territorial transformations originating from official development policies and private enterprises (King 1983). The Public Archaeology has become also associated with political and social practices that vary from the extraction of raw materials to the installation of dwellings and basic services for urban and rural populations in developing countries (Herrera 2013b: 77–84; Londoño 2013).

Situated on the other side of the relationship between research on the human past and modern populations, Community Archaeology (also referred to as Public Interest Archaeology, see Kellett 2006; Pacifico and Vogel 2012: 1599) aims to strengthen the links between archaeologists and communities by going beyond (and criticizing) the production of discourse for a specialized audience or the association between archaeologists and corporate groups looking to carry out their transformative strategies. With the goal of reaching its objectives, the Community Archaeology approach has proclaimed the necessity of reinforcing the active role of local populations in the implementation of archaeological projects, establishing ways to transfer responsibilities (previously reserved for archaeologists and other specialists) in the management of heritage sites to communities (Agbe-Davies 2010; Marshall 2002: 212; Pacifico and Vogel 2012: 1597). Apparently adequate to promote inclusive policies, the Community Archaeology approach has been under evaluation in recent years, with the need noted to consider the local perspectives on archaeological sites in order to avoid assuming an idealized vision of the relation between stakeholders, historic places, and traditional technologies (Pacifico 2008; see also Erickson 2006: 321–329).

Thus, by broadening their views on the links between archaeology and society, archaeologists have recognized the past and present political dimensions of their professional activities and the implications of their presence (or absence) in the debate on identities and development (Meskell 2002). There is no doubt that one of the main challenges of this new approach is how to put into practice the premises of intercultural dialogue, equal access to knowledge, and responsible participation in the preservation of archaeological heritage (Little and Shackel 2007; Meskell 2007, 2010; Pacifico and Vogel 2012: 1598). In this complex panorama of theoretical possibilities and practical applications, the strengthening of identity and the self-esteem of populations through social consensus on the promotion of local heritage acquires a growing practical and epistemological role. The promotion of local heritage as a tool for the sustainable development of communities is now recommended by international organizations and public and private institutions dedicated to the preservation of cultural heritage (Jofré 2003: 331–332; Pacifico and Vogel 2012; Uceda and Morales 2010), becoming (or tending to become) a major priority in national and local strategies of socioeconomic development and cultural policy. Paralleling those debates on heritage management, the number of existing archaeological sites is dramatically decreasing around expanding urban and, industrial areas and zones of agricultural expansion.[2] Peru is not alone in this situation, and in Chap. 4 I provide some comparative examples from elsewhere in Latin America.

The effect of popular urbanism in northern Peru, carried out under conditions in which the state exercised little control, led to a frequent impairing between expansion of cities and the progressive appropriation and destruction of nearby archaeological sites (Fig. 1.3). On the other hand, the development of research and the integration of some Trujilllo's great Pre-Columbian sites into the tourist industry have contributed to the protection of several monumental nuclei and to the implementation of measures of control in the most affected sectors. In other places, the advance of modern communities has given rise to new kinds of archaeological research oriented toward the rescue of archaeological evidence in sectors occupied by popular periurban associations, residential development companies, and industries. The relation between those distinct destructive, protective, and, sometimes, ambiguous agents of the heritage management at Trujillo is examined in Chaps. 3 and 4.

As a generalization transcending the North Coast of Peru, it is paradoxical that both great and small archaeological sites that played an important role in the formation of regional and national identities were not spared from destruction through the expansion of modern settlements. More and more and sometimes inconspicuous to the media and authorities, the alteration and destruction of archaeological sites located near or within modern settlements appears as a global

[2] The process of urban growth at areas with archaeological evidence may involve the looting of funerary contexts or caches found during the construction of modern facilities. It is not unusual that extracted objects end up fueling the illegal trade of cultural goods (for an analysis of the practices of illegal excavation of archaeological sites in northern Peru see Smith 2005).

Fig. 1.3 Archaeological site of San Idelfonso, El Porvenir, in 2009 (Photograph by J. Gamboa)

phenomenon, one whose main consequence will be the loss of a large part of the cultural heritage of humanity. The archaeological record in and around Trujillo is an excellent departure point for studying these processes and promoting solutions.

References

Abercrombie, N., Hill, S., & Turner, B. (1980). *The dominant ideology thesis*. London: George Allen and Unwin.

Agbe-Davies, A. (2010). Concepts of community in the pursuit of an inclusive archaeology. *International Journal of Heritage Studies, 16*(6), 373–389.

Agurto, S. (1984). Lima Prehispánica. Lima: Municipalidad de Lima. Perugraph Editores S.A.

Brumfield, E. (1992). Breaking and entering the ecosystem: Gender, class, and faction steal the show. *American Anthropologist, 94*, 551–567.

Buttimer, A., & Seamon, D. (Eds.). (1980). *The human experience of space and place*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Comer, D. (Ed.). (2012). *Tourism and archaeological heritage management at Petra*. New York: Springer Briefs in Archaeological Heritage Management.

Cornell, P. (2000–2001). La externalización de la memoria. La arqueología y el subalterno. In *Anales. Nueva Época*. Gothenburg: Instituto Iberoamericano, 3–4: "Historia y Memoria". University of Gothenburg. http://gupea.ub.gu.se/bitstream/2077/3222/1/anales_3-4_cornell.pdf. Accessed 28 Mar 2014.

Cross, J. (2001). *What is Sense of Place?* Paper presented in the 12th Headwaters Conference, Western State College, November 2–4, 2001. http://lamar.colostate.edu/~jecross/pdf/presentations/Sense_of_Place_Cross_2001.pdf. Accessed 15 Feb 2014.

Erickson, C. (1998). Applied archaeology and rural development: Archaeology's potential contribution to the future. In M. Whiteford & S. Whiteford (Eds.), *Crossing currents: Continuity and change in Latin America* (pp. 34–45). New Jersey: Prentice Hall.

Erickson, C. (2006). El valor actual de los Camellones de cultivo precolombinos: Experiencias del Perú y Bolivia. In F. Valdez (ed.), *Agricultura ancestral. Camellones y albarradas: Contexto social, usos y retos del pasado y del presente* (pp. 315–339). Quito: Ediciones Abya-Yala.

Feld, S., & Basso, K. (Eds.). (1996). *Senses of Place*. Santa Fe: School of American Research Press.

Florescano, E. (1993). *El patrimonio cultural de México*. México D.F: Fondo de Cultura Económica.
Garcia Canclini, N. (2004). *Diferentes, desiguales y desconectados*. Mapas de la interculturalidad. Barcelona: Gedisa.
Handelman, D. (1990). *Models and mirrors: Towards an anthropology of public events*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Herrera, A. (2013a). Introducción. De la práctica a la teoría en la arqueología latinoamericana. In A. Herrera (ed.), *Arqueología y desarrollo en América del Sur. De la práctica a la teoría* (pp. 1–10). Lima: Universidad de los Andes and Instituto de Estudios Peruanos.
Herrera, A. (2013b). Arqueología y desarrollo en el Perú. In A. Herrera (ed.), Arqueología y desarrollo en América del Sur. De la práctica a la teoría (pp. 73–95). Lima: Universidad de los Andes and Instituto de Estudios Peruanos.
Herrera, A. & Hallowell, J. (2007). The process is the outcome. *Archaeologies Journal of the World Archaeological Congress*, *3*(3): 384–389.
Hummon, D. (1992). Community attachment: Local sentiment and sense of place. In I. Altman & S. Lowe (Eds.), *Place attachment* (pp. 253–278). New York: Plenum Press.
ICOMOS (International Council of Monuments and Sites). (1990). *Charter for the Protection and Management of the Archaeological Heritage*. http://www.international.icomos.org/charters/arch_e.pdf. Accessed 25 March 2014.
INC (Instituto Nacional de Cultura, current Ministerio de Cultura del Perú). (2004). *Ley General del Patrimonio Cultural de la Nación.* http://www.tiwanakuarcheo.net/16_legal/ley_28296.htm. Accessed 30 May 2014.
Jackson, J. (1994). *A sense of place, a sense of time*. New Haven: Yale University Place.
Jofré, D. (2003). Una propuesta de acercamiento al patrimonio arqueológico de la comunidad de Belén (región de Tarapacá, Chile). *Chungara, 35*(2), 327–335.
Kellett, L. (2006). Public archaeology in an Andean community. *The SAA Archaeological Record, 6*(2), 8–11.
King, T. (1983). Professional responsibility in public archaeology. *Annual Review of Anthropology, 12*, 143–164.
Lane, K. (2013). Entre el agua y la pared: patrimonio, desarrollo, campesinos y arqueólogos en la Cordillera Negra, Perú. In A. Herrera (ed.), *Arqueología y desarrollo en América del Sur. De la practica a la teoría* (pp. 97–117). Lima: Universidad de los Andes and Instituto de Estudios Peruanos.
Little, B., & Shackel, P. (Eds.). (2007). *Archaeology as a tool of civic engagement*. New York: AltaMira Press.
Lohse, J. (2007). Commoner ritual, commoner ideology: (Sub-)alternate views of social complexity in Prehispanic Mesoamerica. In N. Gonlin & J. Lohse (Eds.), *Commoner ritual and ideology in ancient Mesoamerica* (pp. 1–32). Boulder: University of Colorado Press.
Londoño, W. (2013). Arqueología para el desarrollo y arqueología del desarrollo. Una visión desde Colombia. In A. Herrera (Ed.), *Arqueología y desarrollo en América del Sur. De la práctica a la teoría* (pp. 147–167). Lima: Universidad de los Andes and Instituto de Estudios Peruanos.
Low, S. (1992). Symbolic ties that bind. Place attachment in the plaza. In I. Altman & S. Lowe (Eds.), *Place attachment* (pp. 165–186). New York: Plenum Press.
Low, S., & Lawrence-Zúñiga, D. (Eds.). (2003). *The anthropology of space and place: Locating culture*. Malden: Blackwell Publishing.
Lowenthal, D. (1985). *The past is a foreign country*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Lowenthal, D. (1998). *The heritage crusade and the spoils of history*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Mamani Condori, C. (1996). History and prehistory in Bolivia: What about the Indians? In R. Preucel & I. Hodder (Eds.), *Contemporary archaeology in theory: A reader* (pp. 632–645). Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.
McGuire, R. (1983) Breaking down cultural complexity: Inequality and heterogeneity. *Advances in Archaeological Method and Theory*, *6*: 91–142.

Marshall, Y. (2002). What is community archaeology? *World Archaeology, 34*(2), 211–219.
Matos Mar, J. (1968). *Urbanización y barriadas en América del Sur*. Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos.
Meskel, L. (2002). The intersection of identity and politics in archaeology. *Annual Review of Anthropology, 31*, 279–301.
Meskel, L. (2007). Falling walls and mending fences: Archaeological ethnography in the Limpopo. *Journal of Southern African Studies, 33*(2), 383–400.
Meskel, L. (2010). Human rights and heritage ethics. *Anthropological Quarterly, 83*(4), 839–860.
Moore, J. (1996). *Architecture and power in the ancient Andes: The archaeology of public buildings*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Mortesen, L. (2001). Las dinámicas locales de un patrimonio global. Arqueoturismo en Copán, Honduras. *Mesoamérica*, *22*(42), 104–134.
Pacifico, D. (2008). *Archaeology and the Public's Interests at El Purgatorio, Casma, Peru*. Master Thesis, Department of Anthropology, University of Chicago, Chicago.
Pacifico, D., & Vogel, M. (2012). Archaeological sites, modern communities, and responsible tourism. *Annals of Tourist Research, 20*(20), 1588–1611.
Piminchumo, V. (2001). Evidencias Salinar en el sector sur de la Iglesia de Huanchaco. *Sian, 10*, 20–24.
Salomon, F., & Peters, R. (2009). Governance and conservation of the Rapaz *khipu* patrimony. In D. F. Ruggles & H. Silverman (Eds.), *Intangible heritage embodied* (pp. 101–125). New York: Springer.
Sanday, P. (Ed.). (1976). *Anthropology and the public interest*. New York: Academic Press.
Silverman, H., & Ruggles, D. F. (2007). Cultural heritage and human rights. In H. Silverman & D. F. Ruggles (Eds.), *Cultural heritage and human rights* (pp. 3–22). New York: Springer.
Sinamai, A. (2003). Cultural shifting-sands: Changing meaning of Zimbabwe sites in Zimbabwe, South Africa and Botswana. In *14th ICOMOS General Assembly and International Symposium: "Place, Memory, Meaning: Preserving Intangible Values in Monuments and Sites"*. October 27–31, 2003, Victoria Falls. http://openarchive.icomos.org/523/. Accessed 22 February 2014.
Smith, A. (2003). *The political landscape: Constellations of authority in early complex polities*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
Smith, K. (2005). Looting and the politics of archaeological knowledge in Northern Peru. *Ethnos, 70*(2), 149–170.
Trigger, B. (1984). Alternative archaeologies: Nationalist, colonialist, imperialist. *Man, 19*, 355–370.
Tunbridge, J., & Ashworth, G. (1996). *Dissonant heritage: The management of the past as a resource in conflict*. Chichester: Wiley.
Uceda, S. & Morales, R. (Eds.) (2010). *Moche. Pasado y Presente.* Trujillo: Patronato Huacas de Moche, Fondo Contravalor Perú-Francia, and Universidad Nacional de Trujillo.
Valle, L., Horna, N., & Lozano, J. (2014). *Rescate Arqueológico en "La Virgen"*. Trujillo: Sitio de agricultores y pescadores. Qetzal SAC and Grupo OHL.
Waterton, E. (2005). Whose sense of place? Reconciling archaeological perspectives with community values: Cultural landscapes in England. *International Journal of Heritage Studies, 11*(4), 309–325.
Wester, C., Martinez, J., & Tandaypan, A. (2000). *La Granja. Investigaciones arqueológicas*. Chiclayo: Sociedad Minera La Granja and Museo Brüning de Lambayeque.

Chapter 2
The Ancient Moche of Trujillo

In order to understand the situation of the archaeological heritage of Trujillo, we must go back to the first millennium of our era for a snapshot of the ancient Moche. It is also important to describe environmental context in which the Moche and their modern descendants have lived. The following is a brief overview.

The Environmental Setting

Located on the western slope of the Andes, the Moche Valley is an elongated alluvial plain bordered by mountains and ravines. The northern margin of the Lower Moche Valley, where Trujillo and the sites mentioned here are located, is an area 25 km long extending between the Galindo, Caballo Muerto, and Laredo sectors and the Pacific Ocean (Figs. 2.1 and 2.2). The width of the irrigable area varies between 2 km at the junction with the middle valley and 15 km along the littoral. The study area is divided into two sections separated by the hills between the districts of El Porvenir and Florencia de Mora. The eastern section includes the plains of Laredo and El Porvenir, featuring small strings of low hills and relics of native forests. More broad and flat, the western sector comprises the plains extending between the El Porvenir-Florencia de Mora district borderline and the Huanchaco sector. A transverse division of this territory shows a first sector adjacent to the river and characterized by its abundant wildlife, an intermediate zone artificially irrigated, and a third sector of desert plains and foothills.

The mountain limit of the northern margin of the Lower Moche Valley contains three alluvial courses: Río Seco of Laredo, San Idelfonso, and Río Seco of El Milagro, small basins temporally active during the ENSO (El Niño-Southern Oscillation) events (Nials et al. 1979; see also Huckleberry and Billman 2003). The Peruvian North Coast acquired its modern ecological traits from 8000 to 6000 BC onward, with the establishment of the current regional climate pattern of low

J. Gamboa, *Archaeological Heritage in a Modern Urban Landscape*,
SpringerBriefs in Archaeological Heritage Management,
DOI 10.1007/978-3-319-15470-1_2

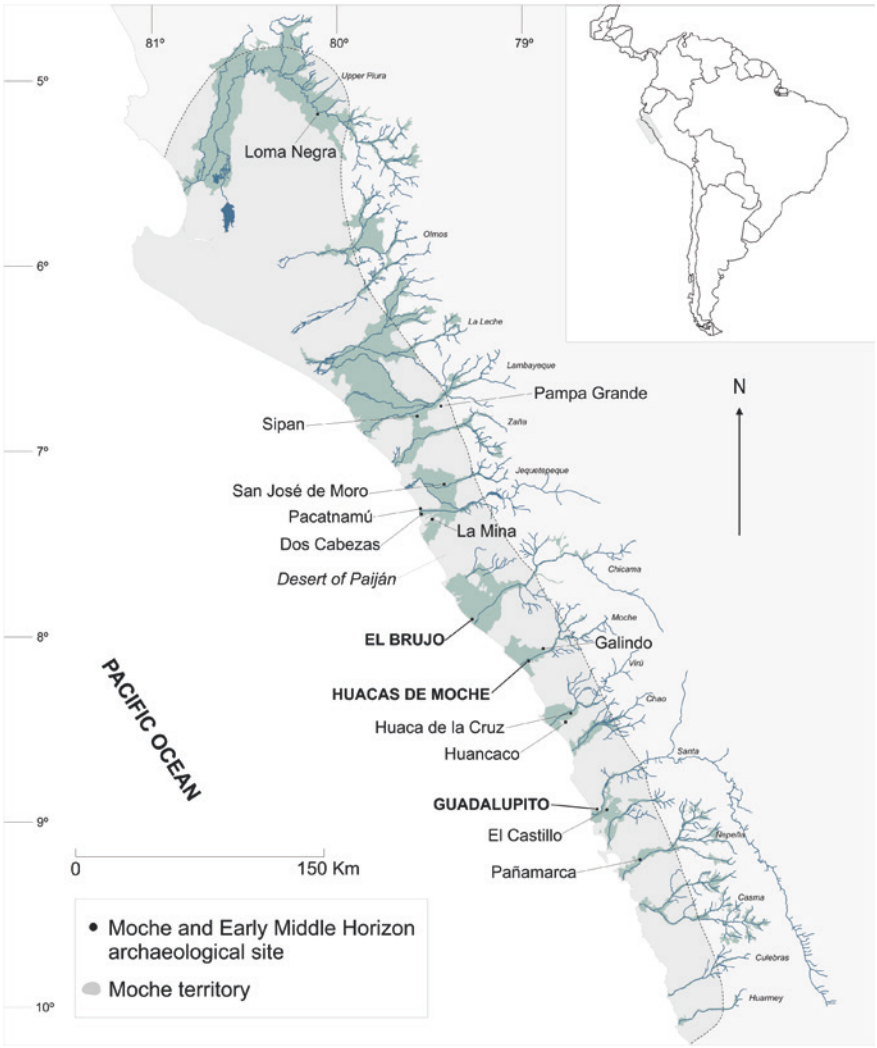

Fig. 2.1 Map of North Coast of Peru with main Moche sites. Drawing by J. Gamboa with support of Aldo Watanave

annual rainfall. These conditions are temporarily broken by the ENSO phenomenon, a global natural event that reverts the environmental conditions of the Pacific coast of South America to the more humid conditions encountered by the hunter-gatherers who arrived in the area ca. 10000 BC (Maggard and Dillehay 2011; Sandweiss and Quilter 2008). The alluvial events caused by the El Niño rains throughout the northern bank of the Lower Moche Valley is a relevant factor for the settlement of the area, causing damage during its occurrence in nearby residential and agricultural areas but permitting, in parallel, the temporal occupation of

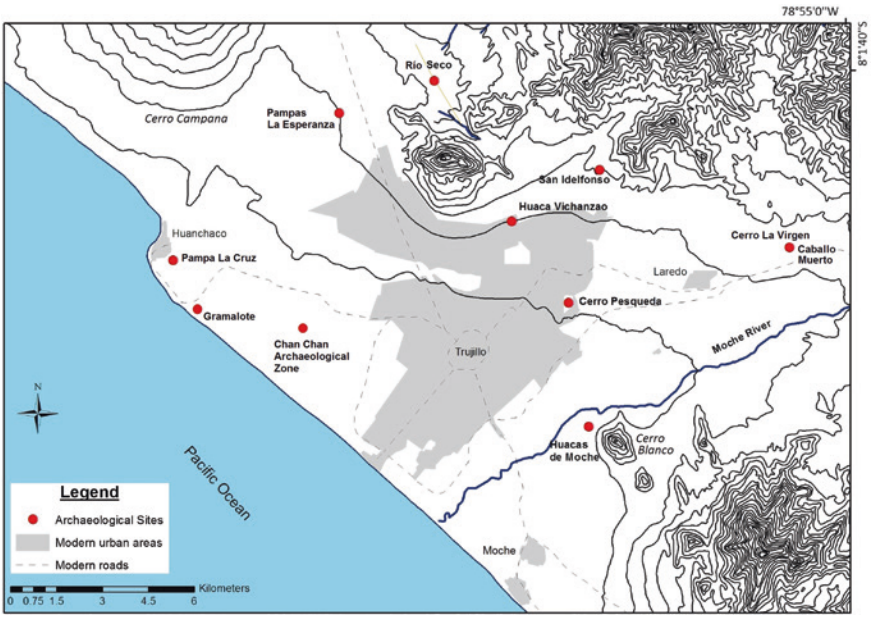

Fig. 2.2 Map of the Moche Valley with locations of modern cities and archaeological sites. Drawing by Jorge Gamboa and Jhon Cruz

the desert plains and an intensified exploitation of the *lomas* (piedmont areas with seasonal vegetation).

Although the first occupations of the area date from the Early Preceramic[1] to the Late Archaic periods (ca. 10000–1800 BC), the northern margin of the Lower Moche Valley experienced its first general process of cultural transformation of the landscape between the second millennium BC and AD 700, a time during which the local systems of artificial waterways, settlements, and roads were gradually expanded until reaching the plains of the Huanchaco and El Milagro sectors. The creation of new agricultural lands in this part of the Moche Valley was made possible first through the expansion of the Moro and La Mochica canals by the ancient Cupisnique society (ca. 1500–500 BC), with the maximum extension of the cultivated area being subsequently reached through the construction of the Vichanzao canal by the Moche people (ca. AD 200–800) (Billman 2002; Farrington 1985; Gamboa and Nesbitt 2013; Pozorski and Pozorski 2003: 77). The Moche colonization of the Lower Moche Valley's north margin was a major enterprise of the local

[1] The data reported so far for occupation of the northern Lower Moche Valley during the Paijanense period (10000–6000 BC) come from La Cumbre, a lithic station located to the northwest of Cerro Cabras (Ossa and Moseley 1971). In 1998, the author and his colleague Niel Pajuelo observed at Quebrada San Idelfonso, El Porvenir district, the presence at surface of bifacial stone artifacts and shell middens, elements indicative of another site of the Paijanense tradition.

communities and the Huacas de Moche site, which from AD 300 to 800 controlled the area and several sectors of the surrounding valleys.

Even while many aspects of the Pre-Columbian occupation of the Lower Moche Valley have yet to be identified (such as the productive orientation and temporality of use of the irrigated areas or the degree of autonomy of local communities), the Moche occupation of the area provides an invaluable opportunity to study the relationship between rural populations and major settlements during a stage that became a milestone in the ancient history of the Peruvian North Coast.

The Moche Society

After a century of research on local Pre-Columbian societies, it has been established that the emergence of the earliest agricultural communities in the Moche Valley dates back to the third millennium BC, with available data pointing to the fishermen and farmers of the lower valley as the creators of the first local ceremonial centers around 2000 BC (Briceño and Billman 2008; Pozorski and Pozorski 1979; Prieto 2011). Between 1500 and 500 BC, the region experienced the consolidation of the Cupisnique culture. The Cupisnique established a series of ceremonial centers that show the evolution of the principles of authority and social hierarchy during the Andean Formative period. The primary settlements of that period in the Moche Valley include the Caballo Muerto, Sacachique, Puente Serrano, Huaca de los Chinos, and Huaca Rajay sites (Gálvez and Runcio 2007; Nesbitt 2012; Nesbitt et al. 2010; Pineda 2004; Pozorski 1982, 1983 inter alia), each featuring massive buildings decorated with polychrome reliefs of jaguar-like beings (Fig. 2.3). Ceremonial Cupisnique ceramics in the Moche Valley included

Fig. 2.3 Cupisnique god effigy from Huaca de los Reyes, Caballo Muerto (Photograph by Thomas Pozorski)

finely made grayware and redware vessels, usually with modeled and incised decoration based on stylized motifs related to mural art.

After the heyday of the Cupisnique tradition, the North Coast witnessed between 500 BC and AD 100 the development of various societies identified together as the Salinar culture (Larco 1944). New studies on the settlements of this period have revealed a wide local diversity in ideological practices and spatial organization of residential and public spaces (Chicoine and Ikehara 2011; Ghezzi and Ruggles 2007; Swenson 2011). Research at the Moche Valley and neighboring valleys of the settlement patterns and material culture of Salinar populations suggests that this period was marked by an increase in the number of conflicts, with warrior and priestly classes forming ruling groups involved in ritualized warfare and a concomitant decentralization of political power.

The beginning of the first millennium AD marked the consolidation of urban life in the region, which was to become one of the poles of development of state-level societies in the Andes (Millaire 2010a; Stanish 2001). During the first centuries of our era, the Virú cultural manifestation appeared throughout the region. Continuing in part the regional traditions of the Salinar times, the period of consolidation of the Virú polities was marked by the coexistence of various socio-political entities in competition but with shared cultural values, among them an economy based on intensive agriculture and craft specialization. During Virú times the militarism of the regional polities became firmly associated with religious ceremonies and the celebration of agricultural fertility.

From ca. AD 300 onward, the majority of ruling lineages and peoples on the Peruvian North Coast sponsored the adoption of the monumental and portable art style now known as Moche. The Moche societies did not develop "written records" based on phonetic signs, but created and mastered a complex system of graphical communication appreciated the world over for its narrative structure and diversity of human and supernatural characters (Fig. 2.4). The Moche cultural tradition came to extend from the Upper Piura Valley in the north to the Culebras and Huarmey valleys in the south, covering 700 km of coastal territory limited to the east by the stepped western chain of the Andes.

The Moche elite settlements became centers of innovation in arts and technologies as well as places of consumption of raw materials and food on a grand scale. However, as in many other Pre-Columbian peoples, the basis of Moche society was formed by farmers, fishermen, and craftsmen, whose villages continued to dominate the rural landscape. The Moche are renowned in the annals of archaeology for their exquisite pottery style characterized by an exceptionally elaborate complex visual vocabulary, also expressed in metals, textiles, and wall decoration (Benson 2012; Bourget and Jones 2008; Donnan and McClelland 1999; Hocquenghem 1987; Larco 2001; Pillsbury 2001; Quilter 2002, 2011; Uceda and Mujica 1994, 2003) (Figs. 2.5 and 2.6). This remarkable set of symbolic and artistic expressions was closely linked to religion and political power. Moche art contributed both to the fulfillment of religious ideology and the maintenance of social memory and to the spread of forms of dynastic government that sought to concentrate resources and access to long-distance exchange networks (Quilter and Castillo 2010).

Fig. 2.4 Moche mural depicting a god recorded at Cao Viejo (Courtesy of Régulo Franco, Fundación Wiese ©El Brujo Archaeological Project)

The most famous ancient Moche site is Huacas de Moche, a primary settlement located just outside Trujillo in the south margin of the Lower Moche Valley (Fig. 2.7). Huacas de Moche was a large urban center composed of residential complexes, walled plazas, and craft production workshops, all dominated by the two monumental architectural compounds of Huaca del Sol and Huaca de la Luna—immense, solid adobe pyramid mounds with room complexes in their summits. In the fourth century AD, the rulers of Huacas de Moche became inserted into the regional political scene, beginning a long-term partnership with the site of El Brujo in the Chicama Valley and establishing strong links with the lords of El Castillo de Santa in the Santa Valley (Chapdelaine 2010, 2011; Franco 2009; Mujica 2007). This was also the time of the flourishing of the royal courts of Loma Negra, Sipán, Ucupe, and Dos Cabezas in the northern Moche valleys (Alva and Donnan 1993; Bourget 2010; Donnan 2008; Jones 2001).

Fig. 2.5 Moche polychrome frieze at Cao Viejo, El Brujo. Dr. Sarahh Scher examines the painted reliefs (Photograph by J. Gamboa 2008)

Fig. 2.6 Moche vessel depicting *curandera* and woman with a baby, excavated at Cao Viejo (Courtesy of Regulo Franco, Fundación Wiese ©El Brujo Archaeological Project)

Fig. 2.7 Huacas de Moche (Photograph by J. Gamboa 2013)

Huacas de Moche is one of the most intensively studied urban landscapes of the Moche society. The eastern sector of the settlement (dominated by the towering Cerro Blanco mountain) was occupied by the Huaca de la Luna complex, a precinct dedicated to religious propitiation and the funerary rites of priests and nobles. Its main component was Platform I, a building profusely decorated with polychrome reliefs and mural paintings of deities, supernatural beings, and human warriors. Through its 500-year construction sequence, this building was associated with a main walled plaza and several courtyards, open spaces where the community brought together during public events such as celebrations of warfare, ritual dances, and meetings of high-ranking individuals (Bourget 2001; Gamboa 2008, 2014; Uceda 2001).

To the west of Huaca de la Luna was the site's residential core: a plain occupied by houses, streets, temples and mausoleums. The largest residential complexes belonged to extended families or corporate groups dedicated to administrative work and craft production (Chapdelaine 2000, 2001, 2003; Topic 1977). These urban settlers developed forms of graphical communication through pictorial records and semasiographic signs, controlling the local production of pottery, textiles, and objects of gold and copper (Bernier 2010; Jackson 2008; Uceda 2010a; Uceda and Armas 1998). The main households belonged to local nobility, whose leaders were interred in burial chambers containing numerous fine vessels and even human companions (Chapdelaine 2001; Tello and Delabarde 2008). The residential quarters at Huacas de Moche also show the growing importance given by the inhabitants of the settlement to the conspicuous consumption of food and maize beer within the framework of diacritical and patron–client feasting, activities which toward AD 600 acquired a relevant role in the political economy of the site.

At the beginning of the seventh century AD, a new phase started in the history of Huacas de Moche. As in the late history of Cuzco under the Inca rule (Duviols 1979; Ogburn 2012; Zuidema 2014; see Rowe 1945, 1946: 202–203 for a traditional view on the Inca dynastic succession), this period of renovation in the urban

and political landscape of Huacas de Moche could originate from the competition between local elites (Uceda 2010b). After the enclosure of the Huaca de la Luna compound ca. AD 630, a new ceremonial building was built at the slope of Cerro Blanco: the so-called New Temple. Arranged on a platform that combined traditional architectural forms with innovative design features, the summit of this religious complex presented an iconographic program that included representations of women weaving with backstrap looms, warriors, and mythological characters (Uceda et al. 2011a, b). Huaca del Sol also flourished during this time, acquiring dimensions (340 m in length and 35 m in height) that dwarf both Platform I and the Cerro Blanco's New Temple. Huaca del Sol became a royal residence and a regional center of political interaction, featuring patios devoted to public meetings and festive ceremonies (Hasting and Moseley 1975; Herrera and Chauchat 2003; Tufinio et al. 2012).

Research carried out in the last two decades has shown that the North Coast between AD 300–700 was not a homogenous block dominated by Huacas de Moche, as supposed previously (Castillo and Donnan 1994a; Castillo and Uceda 2008; Millaire 2010b). The metropolis of the Lower Moche Valley acquired a leading role in several sectors of the southern Moche valleys, extending its power and influence to the Chicama Valley to the coast of Ancash during AD 450–750. For the Moche Valley itself, controlled excavations and surveys indicate a political centralization around Huacas de Moche from the fourth century AD onwards, a process that was linked to the acceptance throughout the area of the cultural values and artistic conventions of that settlement (Bawden 1994: 400; Chapdelaine 2003: 271–279; Gumerman and Briceño 2003). Although the production of domestic ceramics and the patterns of agricultural production—usual strongholds of local traditionalism—were largely maintained intact, the ceremonial paraphernalia and iconographic vocabularies of populations distributed throughout the valley were unified, reflecting a consensus by rulers and communal leaders in ideological practices and artistic patronage. Was this achieved by peaceful means or through violent imposition? The Moche visual culture and contextual data provide part of the answer.

Moche combat scenes seem to make reference to both a series of real battles as a prolonged state of competition among culturally related communities or neighboring ethnic groups, with the warfare engagements becoming an arena for expressions of hierarchy, rivalry, and complementarity (Lau 2004; Verano 2001). In the arts those forms of anatagonism expressed mainly the association and opposition of regional elites. Burials and visual arts also demonstrate that Moche male and female paramount leaders adopted in life and after death mimetic identities with the Moche gods (Alva and Donnan 1993; Benson 2012: 77–78).

Archaeological research has revealed that Moche ceremonial buildings, in addition to containing spaces used for the establishment of public and private meetings, also presented areas dedicated to the celebration of socially-sanctioned violence (Bourget 2001; Swenson 2003). At Huaca de la Luna, El Brujo, and El Castillo de Santa have been identified bodily remains of adult males (some with evidence of intense physical stress and trauma characteristic of the life of a warrior) and, to a lesser extent, adult and young women violently killed and with evidence

Fig. 2.8 Fineline drawing of a Moche vessel depicting a ceremonial architectural setting. Drawing by Donna McClelland. The Christopher B. Donnan and Donna McClelland Moche Archive, Image Collections and Fieldwork Archives, Dumbarton Oaks, Trustees for Harvard University, Washington, DC

of postmortem dismemberment (Chapdelaine et al. 2009; Verano 2001, 2008). Dismembered human remains also appear in tombs of high officials, with sacrificed individuals (or curated bodies) being found as companions of main buried individuals (Alva and Donnan 1993: 164; Strong and Evans 1952: 150–156). These practices are represented in Moche iconography, which shows that human sacrifice was performed by warriors, religious officials, and priestesses as the ultimate offering to gods and ancestors. The manipulation of the human body allowed its transformation into a material symbolizing the symbolic and political power of rituals that established metaphorical linkages between the prisoners, the feminine, and the fertilizing power of blood (De Bock 2005; Scher 2012). In local context, the political hegemony and strategies of dominion implemented from Huacas de Moche could have been conducted through warfare against other polities. Confrontations and dominion were however clearly immersed in the politics of social interaction, ceremonial drama, and ritual management of social reproduction and fertility (Fig. 2.8).

The sixth to eighth centuries AD were times of change for the Moche. As mentioned before, at Huacas de Moche, the closure of the Huaca de la Luna's older compound ca. AD 630 was followed by new architectural projects that culminated around AD 750 with the final dedication of the Huaca del Sol. During the end of the sixth century and along the seventh century AD, the elite settlements at Sipán, Dos Cabezas, El Brujo, and El Castillo de Santa were abandoned or experienced relocation. Meanwhile, places such as Pampa Grande, San José de Moro, Huaca Colorada, Galindo, Guadalupito, and Pañamarca became in flourishing, primary administrative and pilgrimage centers (Bawden 1982; Castillo and Donnan 1994b; Chapdelaine 2011; Lockard 2009; Shimada 1994; Swenson 2006; Trever et al. 2013).

Though the causes of the sociopolitical changes perpeptible in the Moche territory between AD 570 to 800 are still under scrutiny, it is possible to consider a multivariate set of cultural and economic modifications initiated after the period of regional climatic alterations detected for the end of the sixth century AD (Dillehay and Kolata 2004: 4326–4327, 4329; Shimada et al. 1991). The final Moche period was marked by innovations in the composition and role of the ruling groups, which gradually adopted new traditions, including some ideological expressions and production technologies of the Wari society (a culture whose heartland was the south-central highlands; see Bergh 2012). Although in some cases this change was associated with the interaction with the Wari and their allies in the northern highlands, the final transformation of Moche society seems to have occurred mostly through a long-term process of evolution of the regional and local structures of power and authority (Castillo 2000, 2001, 2012; Giersz 2011; Rosas 2007).

For the Moche Valley, we are still far from understanding what factors led to the abandonment of most of the Moche settlements reviewed here. Around AD 750–800, the public and residential compounds of Huacas de Moche started to be used as burial places by settlers with a material culture evidencing contacts with Wari. The area was used through next centuries as a sanctuary and funerary ground by the Chimú people (Donnan and Mackey 1978: 241–287; Uhle 2014: 174–185). The last prehispanic occupation at Huacas de Moche spanned from AD 1470 to 1532 during the period of Inca control of the North Coast of Peru.

From AD 900 onward, a new agricultural and urban expansion on the upper plains of the northern Lower Moche Valley was initiated by the Chimú society, which built at Huaca Tacaynamo (at Pampas La Esperanza near the Vichanzao canal) a sanctuary decorated with reliefs replicating the face of the main god of Huaca de la Luna (Piminchumo 2004: Fig. 3). This second colonization reached its apogee toward AD 1300, when a catastrophic El Niño episode influenced the subsequent reduction of the cultivated areas to the north of Chan Chan, the Chimú capital (Pozorski and Pozorski 2003). But as we shall see in the next chapter, the cycle of population growth in the area had only started, continuing in our day with the growth of Trujillo and its peripheral districts.

Chan Chan: The Later Chimú of Trujillo

Although this book focuses on the ancient Moche landscape of Trujillo, I would be remiss were I not to indicate the presence of the spectacular post-Moche site of Chan Chan. Indeed, Chan Chan is a UNESCO World Heritage Site (inscribed on the World Heritage List in 1986) with its own set of challenges because of that designation.

Chan Chan was the administrative and religious capital of the Chimú kingdom, the expansionist sociopolitical entity that dominated the North Coast of Peru between the twelfth and fifteenth centuries AD. Located between the modern cities of Trujillo and Huanchaco, the archaeological complex of Chan Chan is considered the largest adobe site of the Andean coast. The central sector of the

Fig. 2.9 Chan Chan. Xllangchic-An Compound, formerly known as Uhle Citadel (Photograph by J. Gamboa 2011)

settlement included walled compounds that housed the Chimú nobility and extensive lower-class residential areas occupied by weavers, metallurgists, and ceramists (Day 1982; Kolata 1990; Topic 1982, 1990). Chan Chan progressively grew in size from 900 AD, with dynastic successions and a pattern of split inheritance resulting in the construction of ten royal precincts, the largest one covering an area of 210,900 m^2 (Moore 1996: 68–86). Each walled compound was composed of inner plazas, elite tombs, and extensive storage areas (Fig. 2.9). The walls of the principal buildings were covered with clay friezes illustrating maritime scenes and geometric compositions inspired by textile designs (Pillsbury 2009). Many of the walled compounds and temples of Chan Chan were apparently oriented toward prominent mountain peaks considered as sacred places (Sakai 1998). The ideology and economy of Chan Chan's residents was characterized by the intensive exploitation of marine resources and the management of agricultural production supported by extensive systems of artificial irrigation. Craft production and long-distance trade of goods such as *Spondylus* shells also played a major role in the socioeconomic organization of the Chimú capital.

About 1470 AD, the Chimú became the most powerful rivals of the Incas in the Andean area (Rowe 1948). The confrontation between these two states ended with the conquest of the Chimú territory by Inca armies, which led to the gradual abandonment of Chan Chan. With the formation of the Spanish Viceroyalty of Peru, the temples and mausoleums of Chan Chan became a target for the so-called *compañias de huacas*—companies aimed to exploit indigenous temples and palaces—and grave looters (Zevallos 1994), a situation that continued well into the twentieth century.

During the formation of the Peruvian Republic in the nineteenth century, Chan Chan attracted the attention of local antiquarians and travelers from Europe and the USA (Rivero and Tschudi 1851; Squier 1877; Wiener 1880), which did not impede the continued destruction of the site. At the same time, the extent, monumentality, and architectural quality of its adobe buildings turned Chan Chan into a symbol of *norteño* identity and stimulated the interest and pride of Trujillo's

intellectual and political elites. Although the site had been considered as an exceptional example of Andean antiquity since 1781 (Pillsbury and Trever 2008), the first modern systematic studies of Chan Chan began during the first decades of the twentieth century (Bennett 1939: 82–83; Kroeber 1930). The chronology and function of Chan Chan started to be more intensively studied in 1969 with the Chan Chan-Moche Valley Project of Harvard University (Moseley and Mackey 1974), which determined that this Pre-Columbian metropolis covered, at its apogee, no less than 20 km^2 of residential areas, agricultural fields, and roads.[2]

References

Alva, W., & Donnan, C. (1993). *Royal tombs of sipán*. Fowler Museum of Cultural History. Los Angeles: University of California, Los Angeles.

Bawden, G. (1982). Galindo: A study in cultural transition during the Middle Horizon. In M. Moseley & K. Day (Eds.), *Chan Chan. Andean Desert City* (pp. 285–320). Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.

Bawden, G. (1994). La paradoja estructural: La cultura Moche como ideología política. In S. Uceda & E. Mujica (eds.), *Moche: Propuestas y Perspectivas* (pp. 389–412). Lima: Travaux de l'Institut Français d'Etudes Andines 79, FOMCIENCIAS, and Universidad Nacional de Trujillo.

Bennett, W. (1939). *Archaeology of the North Coast of Peru: An account of exploration and excavation in Viru and Lambayeque Valleys*. New York: Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History. (Vol 37).

Benson, E. (2012). *The worlds of the Moche on the North Coast of Peru*. Austin: University of Texas Press.

Bergh, S. (Ed.). (2012). *Wari. Lords of the Ancient Andes*. Cleveland: The Cleveland Art Museum.

Bernier, H. (2010). Craft specialists at Moche: Organization, affiliations and identities. *Latin American Antiquity, 21*, 22–43.

Billman, B. (2002). Irrigation and the origins of the Southern Moche state on the North Coast of Peru. *Latin American Antiquity, 13*(4), 371–400.

Bourget, S. (2001). Rituals of sacrifice: Its practice at Huaca de la Luna and its representation in Moche iconography. In J. Pillsbury (Ed.), *Moche Art and Archaeology in Ancient Peru* (pp. 89–109). Washington, D.C.: Center for Advanced Studies in the Visual Arts. National Gallery of Art.

Bourget, S. (2010). *Dress to kill: The regalia of the Lord of Ucupe and its symbolism*. Conference presented at Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection. Washington, D.C.

Bourget, S., & Jones, K. (Eds.). (2008). *The Art and Archaeology of the Moche*. Austin: University of Texas Press.

Briceño, J., & Billman, B. (2008). Gramalote y el Periodo Inicial en el valle de Moche. Nuevos datos de un viejo sitio de pescadores. *Revista del Museo de Arqueología, Antropología e Historia de Trujillo, 10*, 175–208.

[2] After the Chan Chan-Moche Valley Project, most excavations conducted at Chan Chan were organized by the Peruvian state. These archaeological interventions involved research and rescue excavations as well as conservation works in the monumental sector and zones affected by modern infrastructure. Although only partially published, those initiatives produced new data on the origins and functions of the site (Narváez 1989; Uceda et al. 1980).

Castillo, L. J. (2000). La presencia Wari en San José de Moro. *Boletín de Arqueología PUCP, 4*, 143–179.

Castillo, L. J. (2001). The last of the Mochicas: A view from the Jequetepeque Valley. In J. Pillsbury (Ed.), *Moche art and archaeology in Ancient Peru* (pp. 307–332). Washington, D.C.: Center for Advanced Studies in the Visual Arts. National Gallery of Art.

Castillo, L. J. (2012). Looking at the Wari empire from the outside. In S. Bergh (ed.), *Wari. Lords of the Ancient Andes* (pp. 47–61). Cleveland: The Cleveland Art Museum.

Castillo, L. J., & Donnan, C. (1994a). Los Mochicas del Norte y los Mochicas del Sur. In K. Makowski, et al. (Eds.), *Vicús* (pp. 143–181). Lima: Banco de Crédito del Perú.

Castillo, L. J., & Donnan, C. (1994b). La ocupación Moche en San José de Moro. In S. Uceda and E. Mujica (Eds.), *Moche: Propuestas y Perspectivas* pp. 93–146. Lima: Travaux de l'Institut Français d'Etudes Andines 79, FOMCIENCIAS, and Universidad Nacional de Trujillo.

Castillo, L. J., & Uceda, S. (2008). The Mochicas. In H. Silverman & W. Isbell (Eds.), *Handbook of South American Archaeology* (pp. 707–729). New York: Springer.

Chapdelaine, C. (2000). Struggling for survival: The urban class of the Moche site, North Coast of Peru. In G. Bawden & R. Reycraft (Eds.), *Environmental disaster and the archaeology of human response* (pp. 121–142). Albuquerque: Maxwell Museum of Anthropology, University of New Mexico.

Chapdelaine, C. (2001). The growing power of a Moche urban class. In J. Pillsbury (Ed.), *Moche art and archaeology in ancient Peru* (pp. 69–87). Washington, D.C.: Center for Advanced Studies in the Visual Arts. National Gallery of Art.

Chapdelaine, C. (2003). La ciudad de Moche: Urbanismo y Estado. In S. Uceda & E. Mujica (Eds.), *Moche. Hacia el final del milenio. Tomo II* (pp. 243–285). Lima: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú and Universidad Nacional de Trujillo.

Chapdelaine, C. (2010). Moche political organization in the Santa Valley. A case of direct rule through gradual control of the local population. In J. Quilter & L. J. Castillo (Eds.), *New Perspectives on Moche Sociopolitical Organization* (pp. 252–279). Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection,

Chapdelaine, C. (2011). Los Moche del Santa. Una larga historia. In M. Giersz & I. Ghezzi (eds.), *Andes 8. Arqueología de la Costa de Ancash* (pp. 185–230). Lima: Warsaw University and Institut Français d'Études Andines.

Chapdelaine, C., Pimentel, V., & Gamboa, J. (2009). Gallinazo cultural identity in the Lower Santa Valley: Ceramics, architecture, burial patterns, and sociopolitical organization. In J. F. Millaire & M. Morlion (eds.), *Gallinazo. An early cultural tradition on the Peruvian North Coast* (pp. 181–206). Los Angeles: Cotsen Institute of Archaeology Press. University of California, Los Angeles.

Chicoine, D. & Ikehara, H. (2011). Hacia una reevaluación de Salinar desde la perspectiva del valle de Nepeña. In M. Giersz & I. Ghezzi (Eds.), *Andes 8. Arqueología de la Costa de Ancash* (pp. 153–184). Lima: Warsaw University and Institut Français d´Études Andines.

Day, K. (1982). Ciudadelas: Their form and function. In M. Moseley & K. Day (Eds.), *Chan Chan: Andean Desert City* (pp. 55–66). Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.

De Bock, E. (2005). *Human Sacrifices for Cosmic Order and Regeneration: Structure and Meaning in Moche Iconography. Peru AD 100–800*. Oxford: British Archaeological Report International Series 1429.

Dillehay, T., & Kolata, A. (2004). Long-term human response to uncertain environmental conditions in the Andes. *PNAS, 101*(12), 4325–4330.

Donnan, C. (2008). *Moche Tombs at Dos Cabezas.* Los Angeles: Cotsen Institute of Archaeology Monograph 59. University of California, Los Angeles.

Donnan, C., & Mackey, C. (1978). *Ancient Burial Patterns of the Moche Valley, Peru*. Texas: University of Texas Press.

Donnan, C., & McClelland, D. (1999). *Moche fineline paintings: its evolution and its artists*. Los Angeles: Fowler Museum of Cultural History.

Duviols, P. (1979). La dinastía de los Incas, monarquía o diarquía? Argumentos heurísticos a favor de una tesis estructuralista. *Journal de la Société des Américanistes, 66*, 67–83.

Farrington, I. (1985). Operational strategies, expansion, and intensification within the Prehistoric irrigation system of the Moche Valley, Peru. In I. Farrington (Ed.), *Prehistoric intensive agriculture in the tropics* (pp. 621–652). Oxford: British Archaeological Report International Series.

Franco, R. (2009). *Mochica. Señores de los valles del norte*. Lima: Fundación Wiesse and Petrolera Transoceánica S.A.

Gálvez, C., & Runcio, M. A. (2007). Huaca Sacachique (Valle de Moche): Análisis de una fotografía de 1895. *Arkinka, 138*, 80–84.

Gamboa, J. (2008). Plazas y cercaduras: una aproximación a la arquitectura pública Moche IV y V en los Valles de Moche y Santa. In L. J. Castillo, H. Bernier, G. Lockard & J. Rucabado (Eds.), *Arqueología Mochica. Nuevos Enfoques* (pp. 203–217). Lima: Institut Français d'Études Andines and Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú.

Gamboa, J. (2014). *The enclosed public space: Moche Plazas* (*AD 400–750*) *as places of social encounter*. Paper presented at the 79th Annual Meeting of the Society for American Archaeology, Austin.

Gamboa, J., & Nesbitt, J. (2013). La ocupación Moche en la margen septentrional del valle bajo de Moche, Costa Norte del Perú. *Arqueología y Sociedad, 25*, 115–142.

Ghezzi, I., & Ruggles, C. (2007). Chankillo: A 2300-year-old solar observatory in coastal Peru. *Science, 315*, 1239–1243.

Giersz, M. (2011). Los guardianes de la frontera sur. La presencia Moche en Culebras y Huarmey. In M. Giersz & I. Ghezzi (Eds.), *Andes 8. Arqueología de la Costa de Ancash* (pp. 271–310). Lima: Warsaw University and Institut Français d´Études Andines.

Gumerman, G. & Briceño, J. (2003). Santa Rosa-Quirihuac y Ciudad de Dios: Asentamientos rurales en la parte media del valle de Moche. In S. Uceda & E. Mujica (Eds.), *Moche. Hacia el final del milenio. Tomo I* (pp. 217–243). Lima: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú and Universidad Nacional de Trujillo.

Hasting, C., & Moseley, M. (1975). The adobes of Huaca del Sol and Huaca de la Luna. *American Antiquity, 40*, 196–203.

Herrera, B. & Chauchat, C. (2003). La presencia Moche Temprano en la Sección I de la Huaca del Sol. In S. Uceda & E. Mujica (Eds.), *Moche. Hacia el final del milenio. Tomo I* (pp. 189–216). Lima: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú and Universidad Nacional de Trujillo.

Hocquenghem, A. M. (1987). *Iconografía Mochica*. Lima: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú.

Huckleberry, G., & Billman, B. (2003). Geoarchaeological insights gained from surficial geologic mapping, Middle Moche, Peru. *Geoarchaeology: An International Journal, 18*(5), 505–521.

Jackson, M. (2008). *Moche art and visual culture in ancient Peru*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.

Jones, J. (2001). Innovation and resplendence: Metalwork for Moche lords. In J. Pillsbury (Ed.), *Moche art and archaeology in ancient Peru* (pp. 206–221). Washington, D.C.: Center for Advanced Studies in the Visual Arts. National Gallery of Art.

Kolata, A. (1990). The urban concept of Chan Chan. In M. Moseley & A. Cordy-Collins (Eds.), *The Northern Dynasties: Kingship and Statecraft in Chimor* (pp. 107–144). Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection.

Kroeber, A. (1930). *Archaeological Explorations in Peru. Part II: The Northern Coast*. Chicago: Field Museum of Natural History. Anthropology Memoirs 2(2).

Larco, R. (1944). *Cultura Salinar. Síntesis monográfica*. Chiclín: Museo Rafael Larco Herrera.

Larco, R. (2001). *Los Mochicas. Tomos I y II*. Lima: Museo Rafael Larco Herrera.

Lau, G. (2004). Objects of contention: An examination of Recuay-Moche combat imagery. *Cambridge Archaeological Journal, 14*(2), 163–184.

Lockard, G. (2009). The occupational history of Galindo, Moche Valley, Peru. *Latin American Antiquity, 20*(2), 279–302.

Maggard, G., & Dillehay, T. (2011). El Palto Phase (13800–9800 BP). In T. Dillehay (ed.), *From foraging to farming in the Andes. New perspectives on Food Production and Social Organization* (pp. 77–94). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Millaire, J. F. (2010a). Primary state formation in the Viru Valley. *North Coast of Peru. PNAS, 107*(14), 6186–6191.

Millaire, J. F. (2010b). Moche political expansionism as viewed from Virú: Recent archaeological work in the close periphery of a hegemonic city-state system. In J. Quilter & L. J. Castillo (Eds.), *New Perspectives on Moche Political Organization* (pp. 223–251). Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection.

Moore, J. (1996). *Architecture and power in the ancient Andes. The archaeology of public buildings*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Moseley, M., & Mackey, C. (1974). *Twenty-Four architectural plans of Chan Chan, Peru: Structure and form at the capital of Chimor*. Cambridge: Peabody Museum Press.

Mujica, E. (2007). *El Brujo. Centro ceremonial Moche en el valle de Chicama.* Lima: Fundación Wiesse, ING Fondos, and AFP Integra.

Narváez, A. (1989). Chan Chan: Chronology and stratigraphic contents. *Andean Past, 2*, 131–174.

Nesbitt, J. (2012). *Excavations at Caballo Muerto. An investigation into the origins of the Cupisnique Culture*. Ph.D. Dissertation Thesis, Department of Anthropology, Yale University. New Heaven.

Nesbitt, J., Gutiérrez, B., & Vásquez, S. (2010). Excavaciones en Huaca Cortada, Complejo Caballo Muerto, Valle de Moche. *Boletín de Arqueología PUCP, 12*, 261–286.

Nials, F., Deeds, E., Moseley, M., Pozorski, S., Pozorski, T., & Feldman, R. (1979). El Niño: The catastrophic flooding of coastal Peru, Parts I-II. *Bulletin of the Field Museum of Natural History,* 50(7): 4–14. Chicago.

Ogburn, D. (2012). Reconceiving the chronology of Inca imperial expansion. *Radiocarbon, 54*(2), 219–237.

Ossa, P., & Moseley, M. (1971). La Cumbre: A preliminary report on research into the early lithic occupation of the Moche Valley, Peru. *Ñawpa Pacha, 9*, 1–16.

Pillsbury, J. (ed.) (2001). *Moche art and archaeology in ancient Peru*. Washington, D.C.: Center for Advanced Studies in the Visual Arts. Studies in the History of Art 63. National Gallery of Art.

Pillsbury, J. (2009). Reading art without writing: Interpreting Chimú architectural sculpture. In E. Cropper (ed.), *Dialogues in art history. From Mesopotamian to Modern: Readings for a New Century* (pp. 73–89). National Gallery of Art. New Haven and London: Yale University Press.

Pillsbury, J., & Trever, L. (2008). The king, the bishop, and the creation of an American antiquity. *Ñawpa Pacha, 29*, 191–219.

Piminchumo, V. (2004). La cultura Chimú: Prologo a nuevos datos. In L. Valle (Ed.), *Desarrollo Arqueológico de la Costa Norte del Perú* (pp. 7–16). Trujillo: Ediciones Sian.

Pineda, J. (2004). *L'aménagement du territoire dans la vallée du Moche au Pérou. De la sédentarisation au XVI^{ème} siecle: Les enseignements d´une lectura spatiale sur la vie des sociétes préhispaniques.* Ph.D. Dissertation Thesis, Institut des Hautes Etudes d´Amérique Latine. Université Paris III-Sorbonne Nouvelle.

Pozorski, T. (1982). Early social stratification and subsistence systems: The Caballo Muerto Complex. In M. Moseley & K. Day (Eds.), *Chan Chan: Andean Desert City* (pp. 225–253). Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.

Pozorski, T. (1983). The Caballo Muerto Complex and its place in the Andean chronological sequence. *Annals of the Carnegie Museum of Natural History, 52*, 1–40.

Pozorski, S., & Pozorski, T. (1979). Alto Salaverry: A Peruvian Coastal Preceramic site. *Annals of Carnegie Museum of Natural History, 48*, 337–375.

Pozorski, T. & Pozorski, S. (2003). The impact of the El Niño Phenomenon on prehistoric Chimú irrigation systems of the Peruvian coast. In J. Haas & M. Dillon (Eds.), *El Niño in Peru: Biology and Culture over 10,000 Years* (pp. 71–89). Chicago: Fieldiana, Botany New Series 43. Field Museum of Natural History.

Prieto, G. (2011). *Proyecto Arqueológico Pampas Gramalote. Temporada 2010. Informe de Excavaciones.* Lima: Report presented to the Ministry of Culture.

Quilter, J. (2002). Moche politics, religion, and warfare. *Journal of World Prehistory, 16*(2), 145–195.

Quilter, J. (2011). *The Moche of Ancient Peru*. Cambridge: Peabody Museum Collection Series. Harvard University Press.

Quilter, J., & Castillo, L. J. (Eds.). (2010). *New Perspectives on Moche Political Organization*. Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection.

Rivero, M., & von Tschudi, J. (1851). *Antiguedades Peruanas*. Vienna: Imperial Print of the Court and the State.

Rosas, M. (2007). Nuevas perspectivas acerca del colapso Moche en el Bajo Jequetepeque. Resultados preliminares de la segunda campaña de investigación del Proyecto Arqueológico Cerro Chepén. *Bulletin del I'Institut Français d'Études Andines*, *36*(2): 221–240.

Rowe, J. H. (1945). Absolute chronology in the Andean Area. *American Antiquity, 10*(3), 265–284.

Rowe, J. H. (1946). Inca culture at the time of the Spanish Conquest. In J. H. Steward (Ed.), *Handbook of South American Indians* (Vol. 2, pp. 183–330). Washington D.C.: Smithsonian Institution.

Rowe, J. H. (1948). The Kingdom of Chimor. *Acta Americana, 6*(1–2), 26–59.

Sakai, M. (1998). *Reyes, estrellas y cerros en Chimor. El proceso de cambio de la organización espacial y temporal de Chan Chan*. Lima: Editorial Horizonte.

Sandweiss, D., & Quilter, J. (Eds.). (2008). *El Niño, Catastrophism, and Culture Change in Ancient America*. Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection.

Scher, S. (2012). Markers of masculinity: Phallic representation in Moche art. *Bulletin del I'Institut Français d'Études Andines, 41*(2), 169–196.

Shimada, I. (1994). *Pampa Grande and the Mochica Culture*. Austin: University of Texas Press.

Shimada, I., Schaaf, C., Thompson, L., & Mosley-Thompson, E. (1991). Cultural impacts of severe droughts in the Prehispanic Andes: Applications of a 1,500-year ice core precipitation record. *World Archaeology, 22*(3), 247–270.

Squier, E. G. (1877). *Peru. Incidents of travel and exploration in the land of the Incas*. New York: Harper and Brothers Publishers.

Stanish, C. (2001). The origin of state societies in South America. *Annual Review of Anthropology, 30*, 41–64.

Strong, D., & Evans, C. (1952). *Cultural stratigraphy in the Viru Valley. Northern Peru. The formative and florescent Epoch*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Swenson, E. (2003). Cities of violence: Sacrifice, power, and urbanization in the Andes. *Journal of Social Archaeology, 3*(2), 256–296.

Swenson, E. (2006). Competitive feasting, religious pluralism, and decentralized power in the Late Moche Period. In W. Isbell & H. Silverman (Eds.), *Andean archaeology III: North and south* (pp. 112–142). New York: Springer.

Swenson, E. (2011). Stagecraft and the politics of spectacle in ancient Peru. *Cambridge Archaeological Journal, 21*(2), 283–313.

Tello, R., & Delabarde, T. (2008). Las tumbas del Conjunto Arquitectónico 35 de las Huacas del Sol y de la Luna. In S. Uceda, E. Mujica, & R. Morales (Eds.), *Investigaciones en la Huaca de la Luna 2001* (pp. 129–173). Trujillo: Proyecto Arqueológico Huacas del Sol y de la Luna. Universidad Nacional de Trujillo.

Topic, T. (1977) *Excavations at Moche*. Ph.D. Dissertation Thesis, Department of Anthropology. Harvard University.

Topic, J. (1982). Lower-class social and economic organization at Chan Chan. In M. Moseley & K. Day (Eds.), *Chan Chan. Andean Desert City* (pp. 145–176). Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.

Topic, J. (1990). Craft production in the Kingdom of Chimor. In M. Moseley & A. Cordy-Collins (Eds.), *The Northern Dynasties: Kingship and statecraft in Chimor* (pp. 145–176). Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection.

Trever, L., Gamboa, J., Toribio, R., & Surette, F. (2013). A Moche feathered shield from the Painted Temples of Pañamarca. *Ñawpa Pacha, 33*(1), 103–118.

Tufinio, M., Vega, R., Rojas, C., & Rivera, M. (2012). Excavaciones en la Sección 2 de Huaca del Sol. In S. Uceda & R. Morales (Eds.), *Informe Técnico 2011* (pp. 241–303). Trujillo: Proyecto Arqueológico Huacas del Sol y la Luna.

Uceda, S. (2001). Investigations at Huaca de la Luna, Moche Valley: An example of Moche religious architecture. In J. Pillsbury (Ed.), *Moche art and archaeology in ancient Peru* (pp. 46–67). Washington D.C.: Center for Advanced Studies in the Visual Arts. National Gallery of Art.

Uceda, S. (2010a). Los contextos urbanos de producción artesanal en el complejo arqueológico de las Huacas del Sol y de la Luna. *Bulletin del I'Institut Français d'Études Andines, 39*(2), 243–297.

Uceda, S. (2010b). Teocracy and secularism. Relationships between the temple and urban nucleus and political change at the Huacas de Moche. In J. Quilter and L. J. Castillo (Eds.), *New Perspectives on Moche Political Organization* (pp. 132–158). Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection.

Uceda, S., & Armas, J. (1998). An urban pottery workshop at the site of Moche, North Coast of Peru. In I. Shimada (Ed.), *Andean ceramics: technology, organization, and approaches* (pp. 91–110). Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology.

Uceda, S., Cornejo, M., & Hoyle, A. M. (1980). *Informe de trabajo de excavación del Centro de Investigación y Restauración de Bienes Muebles, La Libertad en la Zona Unidad Sur 1, Chayhuac*. Instituto Regional de Cultura: Chan Chan. Trazo de la carretera de evitamiento. Trujillo.

Uceda, S. & Mujica, E. (Eds.) (1994). *Moche. Propuestas y Perspectivas.* Actas del Primer Coloquio sobre la Cultura Moche. Lima: Travaux de l'Institute Français d'Etudes Andines 79. IFEA, FOMCIENCIAS and Universidad Nacional de Trujillo.

Uceda, S., & Mujica, E. (Eds.). (2003). *Moche. Hacia el final del milenio. Tomos I y II*. Lima: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú and Universidad Nacional de Trujillo.

Uceda, S., Tufinio, M., & Mujica, E. (2011a). El Templo Nuevo de Huaca de la Luna. Primera parte. *Arkinka, 184*, 86–99.

Uceda, S., Tufinio, M., & Mujica, E. (2011b). El Templo Nuevo de Huaca de la Luna. Segunda parte. *Arkinka, 185*, 94–103.

Uhle, M. (2014). *Las Ruinas de Moche* (Peter Kaulicke, Trans.). Lima: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú.

Verano, J. (2001). War and death in the Moche world: Osteological evidence and visual discourse. In J. Pillsbury (Ed.), *Moche art and archaeology in ancient Peru* (pp. 111–125). Washington, D.C.: Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts. National Gallery of Art.

Verano, J. (2008). Communality and diversity in Moche human sacrifice. In S. Bourget & K. Jones (Eds.), *The art and archaeology of the Moche* (pp. 195–213). Austin: University of Texas Press.

Wiener, C. (1880). *Pérou et Bolivie. Récit de voyage, suivi d'études archéologiques et ethnographiques et de notes sur l'écriture et les langues des populations indiennes.* Paris: Librairie Hachettet.

Zevallos, J. (1994). *Huacas y huaqueros en Trujillo durante el Virreinato, 1535–1835*. Trujillo: Editorial Normas Legales.

Zuidema, T. (2014). Les moitiés de Cuzco et la mémoire Inca. In J. C. Garavaglia, J. Poloni-Simard & G. Rivière (directors), *Au Miroir de l'Anthropologie Historique. Mélanges offerts à Nathan Wachtel* (pp. 119–133). Presses Universitaires de Rennes.

Chapter 3
Urban Development and Archaeology at Trujillo

Since the mid-twentieth century, the city of Trujillo has experienced a remarkable and continuous demographic growth, reaching a current population fifteen times the estimate for 1940. The overall drivers of population growth in Trujillo have been migrated from the rural areas—especially at the end of the last century when Peru an economic recession combined with political violence—and, in the last decades, an increasing demand for workers in export agriculture and construction. Trujillo's expansion along the twentieth century also led to the emergence of periurban areas integrated by a self-managed and compulsive town-planning process. This chapter recounts the formation of the peripheral districts of Trujillo and examines the origin, action, and motivations of the population that led the modern colonization of those areas. This section also explores the diversity of interests and agendas involved in creating the policies for preserving the city's archaeological heritage.

Archaeology and Development in Northern Peru

From 1987 onwards, the management of archaeological heritage places such as Huacas de Moche (Moche Valley), El Brujo (Chicama Valley), San José de Moro (Jequetepeque Valley), and Sipán (Lambayeque Valley) has actively contributed to the cultural and economic development of the North Coast of Peru (Fig. 3.1). Indeed, these sites have attained leading positions both in the academic interest in the Pre-Columbian Andean past and in the international tourist industry (Alva 1988; Silverman 2005). The discoveries at those and other Moche settlements of royal tombs and magnificent buildings decorated with polychrome murals solidified the development of long-term research and conservation projects funded through state and private economic investment programs. Significantly, much of the resources directed to research and tourism infrastructure at those sites came

J. Gamboa, *Archaeological Heritage in a Modern Urban Landscape*,
SpringerBriefs in Archaeological Heritage Management,
DOI 10.1007/978-3-319-15470-1_3

Fig. 3.1 Regalia of Moche nobility, Sipán (courtesy of Walter Alva ©Museo Tumbas Reales de Sipán)

from Peruvian private entities (such as a bank and a beer company) that decided to invest in the protection and sustainable management of cultural resources—covering the gap left by the lack of state resources—at the beginning of the 1990s, when the North Coast had not yet demonstrated its current potential for economic growth.

Recent years also have witnessed an accelerated pace of deterioration and destruction of a number of less monumental Pre-Columbian sites, especially those located nearby and within modern urban landscapes. The archaeological heritage in metropolitan Trujillo is nowadays characterized by the coexistence of primary Pre-Columbian sites whose research and management have achieved international recognition and smaller sites affected by urban and agricultural expansion. As it will reviewed below, the Moche settlements located in the urban space of Trujillo provide evidence to the existence during the first millennium AD of a large population with public buildings, using a sacred landscapes, and possessing a socioeconomic organization based in labor specialization and status differences. What has

happened to these places in the last decades? The recent history of the peripheral sectors of Trujillo shows us both the process of explosive growth of an Andean metropolis and the threats posed to the heritage places engulfed by modern urbanism.

Populating the Desert: Modern Population Growth in the Lower Moche Valley

The Spanish city of Trujillo was founded in 1534 under the name of *Trujillo de los Reinos de Nueva Castilla*. The choice of Trujillo's location was no accident, since it allowed the European city to maximize its access to local agricultural resources and prestigious Pre-Columbian places such as Chan Chan and Huacas de Moche. Surrounded by fields irrigated by the Pre-Columbian La Mochica canal, Trujillo was established during the Viceroyalty as one of the main cities of northern Peru (Castañeda 2012). Since its beginnings, the city was home to families of Hispanic, native, and African ancestry, maintaining a dominant position during the Republican Period (established in 1821) as the capital of La Libertad region (Castañeda 2008; Ramirez 1986) (Figs. 3.2 and 3.3). During the eighteenth to twentieth centuries, Trujillo's dominance was strengthened by an export economy based on the productivity of the large sugar and cotton estates located in its rural hinterland and in the nearby Jequetepeque, Chicama, and Virú Valleys.

As in other parts of Latin America, the Peruvian rural world has experienced, since the Colonial period, the effects of a socioeconomic inequality originating in the exclusion of indigenous and *campesino* populations from central political decisions and national economic programs (Basadre 1980; Thorp 1998; Thorp and Paredes 2011). This exclusion and its consequences would become closely linked to the perceptions of ethnicity, especially in the dynamics of social positioning and political power. As an indicator of this situation in modern times, it was only in 1955 and 1979, respectively, that women and illiterate individuals were guaranteed the right to vote. Until the middle of the twentieth century, the illiteracy rate was 50 % for the Peruvian adult population, with even higher incidence in indigenous and *mestizo* rural groups and among women (Plaza 1979: Tables 2 and 5).

The most important changes in the demographics and socioeconomic organization of Trujillo would occur after 1950 with the peasant migrations to the city and the formation of new fields of economic activity. Until the 1960s, the rise of the *hacienda* economic system in Trujillo and surrounding rural estates in the area produced groups of peasants and workers laboring under short- and long-term contracts in sugar cane fields. Called *peones* or *jornaleros*, these temporary workers frequently settled in living spaces managed by landowners or belonging to a small middle class. Those settlements also housed families of artisans, small shopkeepers, and industrial workers. From these, groups emerged the peripheral neighborhoods of Trujillo, which would quickly expand with the arrival *en masse* of migrants from rural areas of northern Peru. Although in northern Peru there was

Fig. 3.2 Map of Peru with location of major cities and La Libertad region

always a population flow between the coastal and mountain regions (well back into Pre-Columbian times), the migratory movement toward Trujillo would acquire the characteristics of an overwhelming social phenomenon only after the second half of the twentieth century (Tables 3.1 and 3.2). Similar to the migrations to Lima (see Dietz 1969, 1976: 10–25, 42; Golte and Adams 1987; Matos Mar 1968, 1984, 2004), the demographic shift to Trujillo involved tens of thousands of families who moved into the lower Moche Valley attracted by the opportunities of

Fig. 3.3 Modern sector of Trujillo (Photograph by J. Gamboa 2014)

Table 3.1 Demographic change of rural and urban populations of Peru, 1940–2014

Year	National population	%	Rural population	%	Urban population	%
1940	7,023,111	100	5,126,871	73	1,896,240	27
1961	10,420,357	100	6,252,214	60	4,168,143	40
1972	14,121,564	100	5,648,626	40	8,472,938	60
1981	17,762,231	100	6,749,648	38	11,012,583	62
1993	22,048,356	100	6,589,757	29.89	15,458,599	70.11
2007	28,481,901	100	7,887,301	27.69	20,594,600	72.31
2014	30,814,175	100	7,340,106	23.82	23,474,069	76.18

Sources Archives of Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas (INEI), Lima (http://www.inei.gob.pe/) and Plaza (1979: Table 2)

employment, housing, and education that they perceived to exist in the northern capital and its nearby towns.

The multiple-growth population nuclei that after 1950 arose in the La Esperanza, Florencia de Mora, and El Porvenir sectors became *barriadas* or *pueblos jovenes* (peripheral neighborhoods) settled by families with low and middle income levels (Figs. 3.4 and 3.5). Although the *pueblos jovenes* were created as informal settlements, they simultaneously adopted forms of planning and management of urban spaces. These self-directed plans were manifested in the creation of orthogonal blocks of adjacent houses, arranged expeditiously and, in many cases, lacking of public areas (Chanfreau 1988: 48–51). A high demographic growth rate

Table 3.2 Demographic change of the La Libertad Region and metropolitan Trujillo, 1940–2014

Year	Population of La Libertad						
	Total	%	Rural population	%	Urban population	%	Population of metropolitan Trujillo
1940	383,252	100	264,181	68.93	119,071	31.07	50,000
1961	582,243	100	339,187	58.25	243,056	41.75	100,130
1972	783,728	100	313,437	39.99	470,291	60.01	279,481
1981	962,949	100	334,989	34.78	627,960	65.22	403,337
1993	1,270,261	100	399,871	31.47	870,390	68.53	589,314
2007	1,617,050	100	398,128	24.62	1,218,922	75.38	804,296
2014	1,836,960	100	397,259	21.62	1,439,701	78.38	935,147

Sources Archives of Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas (INEI), Lima (http://www.inei.gob.pe/)

Fig. 3.4 First settlers of El Porvenir (Photograph courtesy of Sanford Low)

and the constant arrival of new families meant that this self-directed urban development took place in a context marked by substandard living conditions and an initial low legal support for property. Gradually, those nascent population sectors occupied the areas near the main roads leading to Trujillo and would later spread onto agricultural fields and desert plains through the so-called *invasiones*. *Invasiones* constituted a form of informal, group land seizure that quickly would become part of the popular lexicon and the sociological studies focused on the urban transformation of Latin America during the twentieth century.

In the 1960s, having already acquired a large number of residents, the local committees of Trujillo's urban margins achieved recognition as districts with the ability to choose their municipal authorities, collect taxes, and receive state funds

Fig. 3.5 El Porvenir in the 1970s (Photograph courtesy of Sanford Low)

from the Peruvian central government. Nevertheless, the process of urbanization on the outskirts of Trujillo, as in Lima, continued to be driven predominantly by the settlers themselves who, in the words of Fernández-Maldonado (2006: 8), were "building the 'informal city' by their own means" [a condition also observed by Chanfreau (1988: 57) and Mangin (1967)]. The early phase of urban explosion in Peruvian coastal cities, especially in Lima and Trujillo, was analyzed since the 1960s by anthropologists and specialists in urban planning (Golte and Adams 1987; Low 1974; Moreno del Carpio 1975; Turner 1967). These scholars observed that, in spite of the lack of direct state support, the urban periphery was a constant stage for group solidarity and economic entrepreneurship, motivated by a constant search to establish better life conditions for future generations (Matos Mar 1984).[1] The level of involvement of the state in the initial development of Trujillo's periurban belt was not only low, but it was also mediated by the internal organization of the popular neighborhoods, in which the political action fell back to autonomous committees responsible for controlling the distribution of plot land and transferring the local claims of integration with the rest of the city.

The effects of socioeconomic and ethnic inequality were not absent during this period. As in other Latin American countries where the indigenous population

[1] See Lewis (1965) for an opposite point of view opposite on the role of the slums in the so-called "culture of poverty". See Brodrecht (2010) for an updated analysis of the different scholarship perspectives on the emergence of popular periurban communities in Latin America.

maintained demographic significance, ethnicity in Peru has been a key element in the dynamics of migrant integration into urban spaces. In the large urban concentrations of the Peruvian coast, some of the practices of discrimination that gave rise to the processes of inequality in modern Andean society were reproduced, especially through manifestations of prejudice toward the residents of rural or native ancestry (Thorp and Paredes 2011: 33–63). In Trujillo, where migrants were mostly Spanish speakers, this attitude toward people of rural origin was not so marked. Nevertheless, it operated under comparable parameters, which are observed in recent years in the assignment of values to the latest generations of migrants.

Rural poverty transferred to the city and political violence also had an impact on the new local demographic patterns. In the 1980s and early 1990s, the terrorist activities of Shining Path and Tupac Amaru Revolutionary Movement reached Trujillo. However, the city was less affected than Lima and other urban areas. Periurban sectors became the principal place of arrival for persons displaced by violence and economic depression during those years. This extensive periurban landscape, several times bigger than Trujillo's downtown, was composed of continuous rows of adobe housing blocks connected by streets as straight as possible (foreseeing and encouraging vehicular connection with the rest of the city). During the 1980s and the mid-1990s, the first settled areas upgraded to sectors of brick houses. The installation of water and electricity in those areas was provided by the district governments with state funding. The development of urban sanitation in the first colonized sectors was completed in the 1980s.

The end of the millennium was preceded by a disastrous ENSO event (El Niño Southern Oscillation; Suplee 1999), whose consequences marked a turning point in the migratory trends and urban growth patterns around Trujillo. After the 1997–1998 ENSO, the Alto Trujillo sector was formed at the uppermost desert plains of La Esperanza, Florencia de Mora, and El Porvenir. Those zones were occupied by descendants of the families already settled in the urban periphery as well as newcomers from the highlands (Figs. 3.6 and 3.7). Benefitting from the previous

Fig. 3.6 Recently populated areas at Alto Trujillo (Photograph by Beysi Huapaya 2012)

Fig. 3.7 Inhabitant of Alto Trujillo (Photograph by Beysi Huapaya 2012)

experiences of marginal urban population growth, the Alto Trujillo's community was provided by the state (at a relatively fast pace) with possession titles and financing programs for house construction. However, the emergence of new periurban nuclei at the Alto Trujillo sector (and at Alto Moche, its counterpart in the southern margin of the Lower Moche Valley) has meant that the installation of water systems, sewage, and energy for recent periurban populations continues as an unfinished project (Fig. 3.8).

Toward the end of the 1990s, Trujillo had begun to consolidate itself as the main city in northern Peru with high demographic growth and a rise in public and private investments. This was achieved mainly through the implementation of export agriculture in fields irrigated by the *Proyecto Especial* CHAVIMOCHIC (a state project aimed at bringing water to the Chicama-Moche-Virú-Chao interbasin desert areas) and investments in mining by private companies operating in Peru's northern sierra. However, the accelerating pace of population growth coupled with decades without implementation of comprehensive plans for urban development continued producing at Trujillo's peripheries a high frequency of unpaved streets, a shortage of public parks and libraries, and a number of health care facilities insufficient to meet local needs (Fig. 3.9). Founded around 1950 by some hundreds of migrants, the districts of La Esperanza, Florencia de Mora, El Porvenir, and El Milagro and the periurban neighborhoods of Huanchaco and Laredo hosted by the beginning of 2014, a population estimated at 542,000 people, comprising the 50 % of the metropolitan population of Trujillo (Table 3.3).

Fig. 3.8 Inhabitants of the peripheral sector of Trujillo (Photograph by Douglas Juarez 2013)

Fig. 3.9 Upgraded sectors of periurban districts of Trujillo. Central area of El Porvenir (Photograph by J. Gamboa 2014)

Table 3.3 Demographic change in Trujillo and its peripheral districts, 1940–2014

Districts	Population recorded in national censuses					
	1940	1961	1972	1993	2007	2014
Trujillo	~40,000	80,583	132,847	247,028	294,899	317,893
La Esperanza	~100	5,333	42,113	105,361	151,845	179,407
El Porvenir	~100	11,358	58,331	80,698	140,507	180,716
Florencia de Mora	~40	–	–	35,806	40,014	41,950
Huanchaco	~800	1,087	4,497	19,935	44,806	64,957
Laredo	~4,000	10,734	13,269	28,019	32,825	35,200
Moche	3,773[a]	5,903	9,000	22,020	29,727	39,617
Total	48,813	114,998	260,057	538,867	734,623	859,740[b]

Sources ODEI (2011), INEI (2009: 255), and Archives of Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas (INEI), Lima

[a] Data in Gillin (1945: 5)

[b] This quantity includes the population of the Alto Moche sector

Periurban Communities, the State, and Management of Archaeological Heritage

Archaeological sites in Trujillo's peripheral districts were affected from the first stages of the urban expansion (Fig. 3.10). At the border between the Florencia de Mora and El Porvenir districts, periurban growth during the 1980s reached Huaca Vichanzao and the Pre-Columbian Vichanzao canal, while in the then eastern limit of the city, the Huaca Pesqueda site also began to be affected. In the sector of La Esperanza, the period from 1960 to 1980 saw the complete occupation of the areas around the Chimú platforms of Huaca Arco Iris (or El Dragón) and Huaca Tacaynamo. The Huaca La Merced, a Pre-Columbian adobe mound located to the southwest of Trujillo's downtown (Pinillos 1977: 130–132), was destroyed even earlier by the house blocks of an upper- and middle-class urbanization developed during the 1950s and 1960s. But these were just some of the ancient places that went on to be surrounded or covered by modern neighborhoods. Next, I present data on Moche sites that have been incorporated into the urban landscape of Trujillo.

Placed in the central sector of the area irrigated by the Vichanzao canal, the Huaca Vichanzao site became one of the major settlements of the lower Moche Valley from ca. AD 500–700, exhibiting monumental architecture and domestic areas over a 0.14-km^2 surface area (Pérez 1994: Fig. 7.2; Rischar et al. 1998). In 1973, the Chan Chan-Moche Valley Project recorded the presence at the site of Moche IV and Moche V ceramics, adobe structures, and a Pre-Columbian road (Pérez 1994: 228). By the early 1980s, the site was already surrounded by the houses of migrant families, who extracted adobe bricks from the monument to use in their homes. This prompted the intervention of the Universidad Nacional de Trujillo and the Instituto Nacional de Cultura (currently Ministry of Culture of

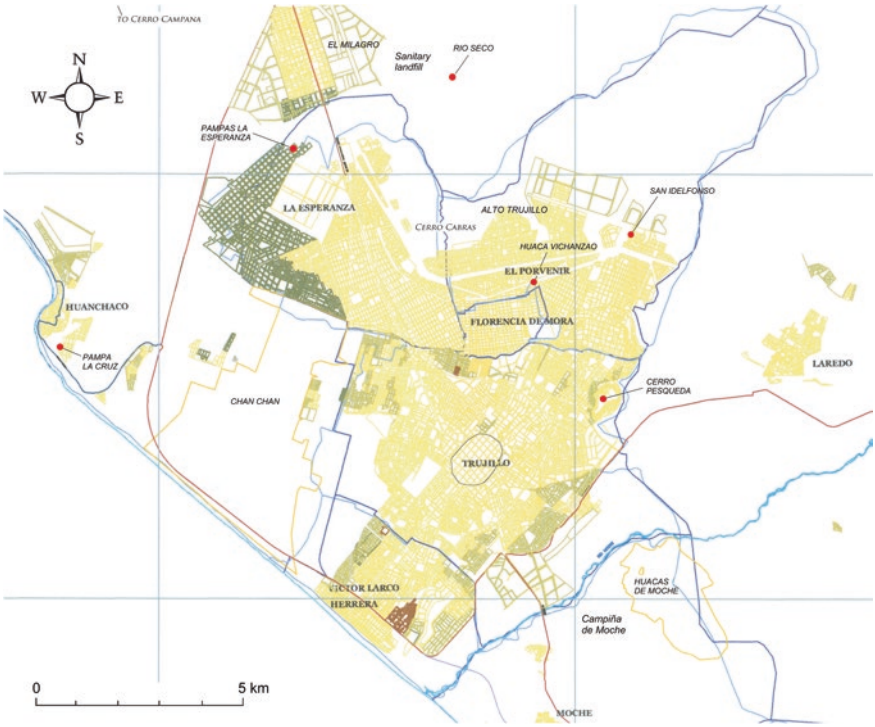

Fig. 3.10 Urban area of Trujillo and Moche sites located in peripheral districts (drawing by Jorge Gamboa after maps by Municipalidad Provincial de Trujillo)

Peru),[2] which undertook excavations funded by the national government through temporary work programs for the local population. The excavations conducted in 1984 and 1986–87 (Pérez 1994: 231–236; Ramirez and Wong 1984) led to the documentation of an adobe platform with façades painted in red, white, and yellow, in addition to the recovery of ritual and domestic Moche pottery (Fig. 3.11).

At Huanchaco, the Pampa La Cruz site (also referred to in the literature as Quivisiche, La Poza, or Las Lomas de Huanchaco, see Barr 2000: 12) is one of the settlements with the most prolonged occupation in northern Peru, preserving evidence dating from the Late Formative (400–100 BC) through the Chimú period (AD 1000–1470). The place originally included several mounds, residential adobe and stone architecture, perimeter walls, and irrigation canals, covering an area of 0.25 km^2 (Donnan and Mackey 1978: 17; Escobedo and Rubio 1982; Iriarte 1965; Prieto 2012) (Fig. 3.12). At the end of the 1980s, archaeologists of the National

[2] The Ministry of Culture of Peru was inaugurated in 2010 on the organizational and functional foundations of the National Institute of Culture (INC), a public organization created in 1971 as dependent of the Ministry of Education.

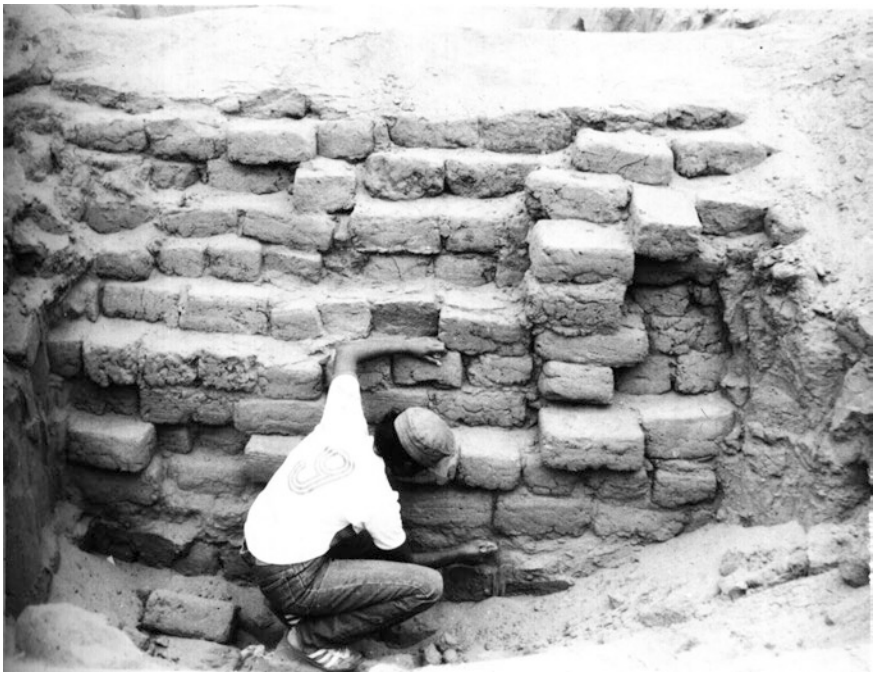

Fig. 3.11 Archaeological excavation at Huaca Vichanzao during the 1980s (adapted from Ramirez and Wong 1984)

Institute of Culture and Universidad Nacional de Trujillo began a series of excavations at Pampa La Cruz (Barr et al. 1986; Barr 1991, 2000: 14; Mendoza et al. 1989; Sánchez and Tinta 1990), reporting a complex sequence of Pre-Columbian occupations (Fig. 3.13). Less explored in comparison with the surrounding areas, Mound 1 and Mound 2 of Pampa La Cruz were built through superimposed adobe and stone terraces, reaching a height of 3–6 m above the modern surface. Other sectors of the site presented important Moche burial areas (Donnan and Mackey 1978: 188–207).

Located on a hill surrounded until the end of the twentieth century by cultivated fields, the Cerro Pesqueda site was surveyed in the 1970s by the Chan Chan-Moche Valley Project, which reported a cluster of small- and medium-sized Moche and Chimú settlements and earlier evidence of Formative occupation. The last field reports available for Cerro Pesqueda correspond to Tam (1981), who described the presence of Virú, Moche IV, Moche V, and Chimú materials, and Billman (1999: 152: Fig. 10.8), who examined the sociopolitical role played by the site during the Virú and Moche phases.

The San Idelfonso site was initially recognized by the anthropologist Rodríguez Suy Suy (1997b), being subsequently included in the National Inventory of Archaeological Sites (Ravines and Matos 1983; see also INC 2001: 71). The main structure of the site is a 980-m-long adobe and stone wall, located between the Vichanzao canal and the base of Cerro San Idelfonso (Fig. 3.14). The presence of

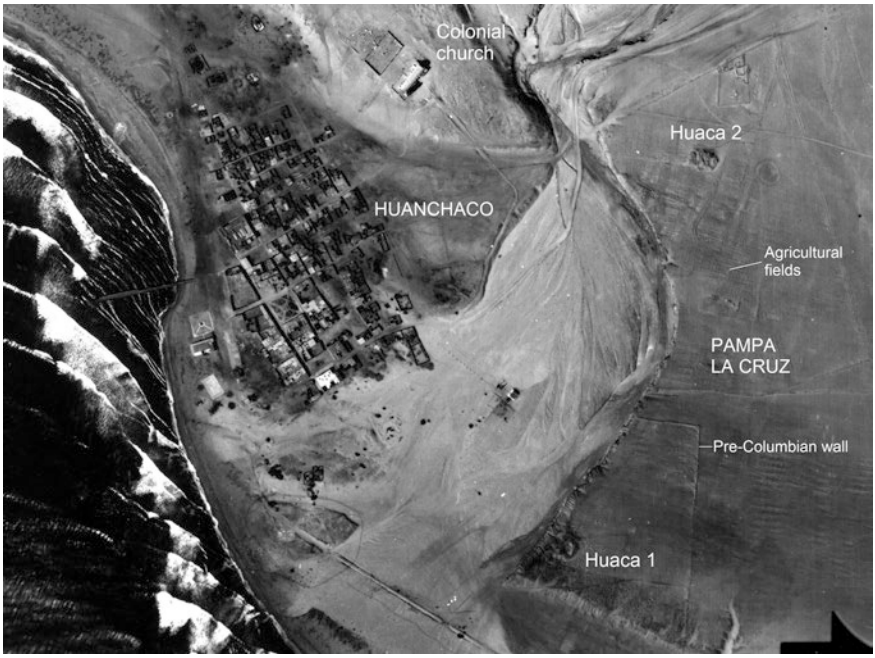

Fig. 3.12 Pampa La Cruz (Servicio Aerofotográfico Nacional 1942, Flight 104-6)

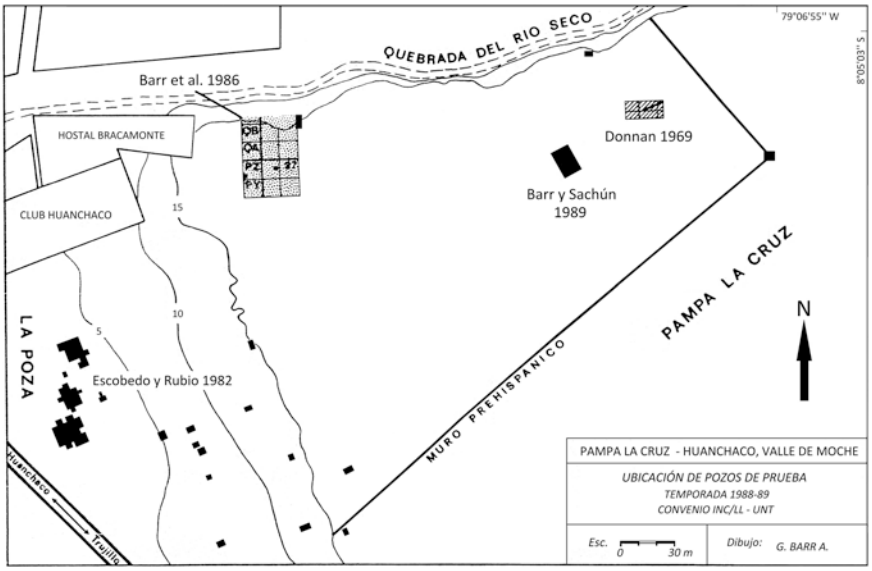

Fig. 3.13 Pampa La Cruz. Excavations conducted in the 1980s (adapted from Barr 2000)

Fig. 3.14 San Idelfonso in 2009 (Photograph by J. Gamboa)

Moche pottery and malacological remains on the slopes of a nearby hill increases the site area to 0.12 km^2. San Idelfonso was also reported by Billman (1999: Fig. 10.10), who mentioned the existence in the area of looted burials. In the last years, Gamboa and Nesbitt (2013: 121–124) published more data on the architecture and surface cultural materials present in the site.

The Moche settlement of Río Seco and several nearby Pre-Columbian roads constitute another example of heritage sites affected by urban encroachment. The plain between the Campana and Cabras hills was a zone of transit between the Lower Chicama Valley and the Lower Moche Valley during the first millennium AD, with the so-called Roads 2 and 5 forming the main route through the area. Road 2 crossed the natural passage to the east of Cerro Cabras, extending south toward the Huaca Vichanzao and San Idelfonso sites. The Río Seco, identified by Beck (1979: 84–85: Figs. 14–15) as Site B or H1929, consists of two groups of structures located along the Road 5 (Fig. 3.15). Including both concentrations of structures, associated roads, and various other isolated buildings, the archaeological area comprises 0.12 km^2. Bankes (1971) excavated part of the site and recovered ceramics from the Formative, Moche, and Chimú periods. A more recent research corresponds to Deza and Rodríguez (2003: 270–273), existing also unpublished reports of the *Proyecto Especial* CHAVIMOCHIC regarding the impact of a modern intervalley canal on the Pre-Columbian sites of the zone.

In La Esperanza district, the Pampas La Esperanza sector preserved until the 1990s several archaeological sites initially reported by the Chan Chan-Moche Valley Project and the Proyecto Riego Antiguo (Pozorski 1987; Pozorski and Pozorski 2003). In 1997, the Universidad Nacional de Trujillo conducted excavations in the area, work leading to the registration of Moche rural dwellings (Cossio et al. 1997) associated with a high proportion of storage and cooking jars.

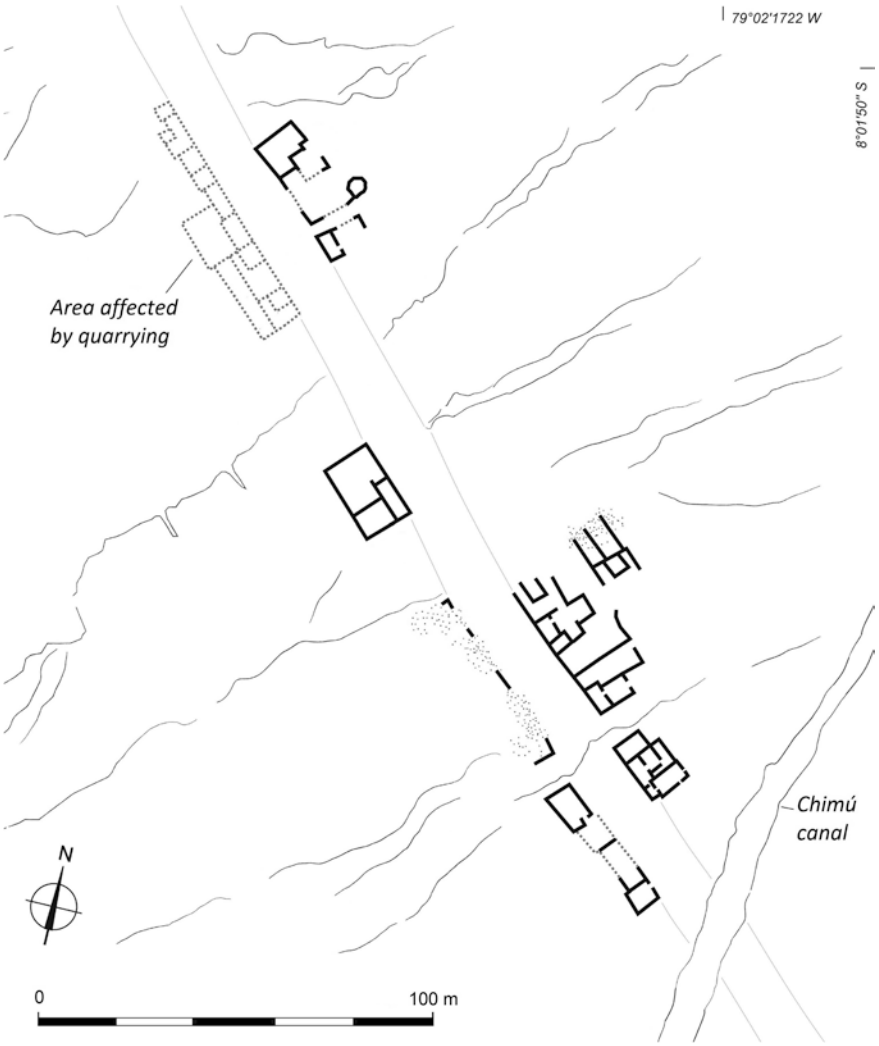

Fig. 3.15 Map of south sector of Río Seco. Drawing by Belisa Gomez after Beck (1979: Fig. 15) and Deza and Rodriguez (2003: 266)

As the city of Trujillo increased its population, the majority of archaeological sites near residential areas were subject to alteration. Several of the Pre-Columbian sites originally surveyed on the outskirts of Trujillo by the Chan Chan-Moche Valley Project in the early 1970s (Billman 1999: Fig. 10.10) disappeared before 1990, engulfed by the urban expansion (Fig. 3.16). Both in peripheral districts as in residential areas of higher economic incomes, the expansion of modern populated zones caused the loss of archaeological evidence through the modification of the surface of the Pre-Columbian sites and the extraction of construction materials from ancient buildings.

Fig. 3.16 Emergence of periurban populations in Florencia de Mora, sector adjacent to the Vichanzao canal (servicio Aerofotográfico Nacional 1981, Flight 326-80)

What Asensio (2010: 10) called the "social use" of the Pre-Columbian patrimony has occurred in the marginal areas of Trujillo through the progressive destruction of archaeological evidence caused by the reoccupation of the heritage places and their rapid transformation into residential areas. Responses to such a widespread situation have changed over time. In the 1980s, projects of research, salvage, and delimitation projects sponsored by the central government, the National Institute of Culture, and the Universidad Nacional de Trujillo were advanced in Huaca Vichanzao and Pampa La Cruz. Lack of continuity and follow-up by those projects reversed what originally looked like a positive picture. Years after its official delimitation, the Huaca Vichanzao site started again to be affected by the surrounding population. Although the area was registered by the metropolitan government of Trujillo as a "zone of special treatment" (MPT 1999), the northern half of the intangible space was occupied by new houses (Fig. 3.17). The south and southeast sides of Huaca Vichanzao's platform (whose current appearance is that of a mound covered by sand and debris) have been partially occupied by the backyards of nearby houses. The urban renewal of Trujillo also resulted

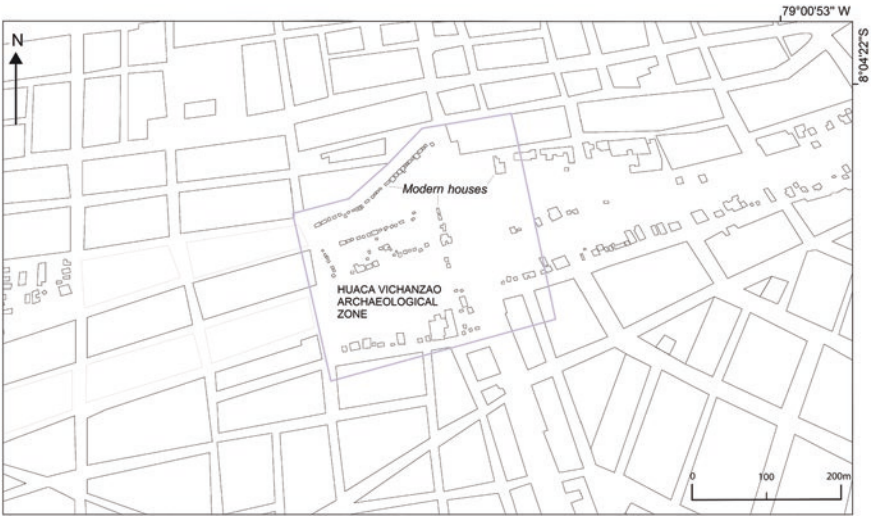

Fig. 3.17 Huaca Vichanzao. Map of the modern occupation in 2009. Drawing by José L. Montes

in the accumulation on the margins of the site of debris discarded by the nearby settlers or transported from other parts of the city. Crossing the archaeological area, a power transmission line (built when the area was less densely populated) is another risk factor for the preservation of the Pre-Columbian building and the local population.

At San Idelfonso, the extraction of adobe bricks from the Moche wall began in 1998. Modern activities at the site continued intermittently, until giving way in the past few years to the emergence of a new populated area (Fig. 3.18). The southern and central parts of the Moche wall are the sectors most affected by the removal of bricks and stones for the construction of the new settlement. Although the northern end of the wall and the southern slope of Cerro San Idelfonso have not yet been occupied, the constant passage of villagers causes damage to the cultural materials present on the surface. The zone is marked as belonging to the CHAVIMOCHIC Special Project. Despite the lack of an official delimitation for the archaeological site, local authorities have considered the area as propitious for the construction of the industrial park of El Porvenir district.

At the Río Seco site, the Pre-Columbian roads and the Moche settlement are at risk due to their proximity to areas of extraction of construction materials, an activity that has reached high levels of demand because of the real estate boom produced by economic growth in Trujillo. Other threats to the Río Seco site are the accumulation and processing of waste in the nearby El Milagro landfill and the use of the archaeological roads by motorized vehicles. Due to the growing economic valuation of the land nearby the areas already urbanized, the space around the Rio Seco site has started to be reclaimed and disputed by various agents (including the periurban population of the El Milagro sector).

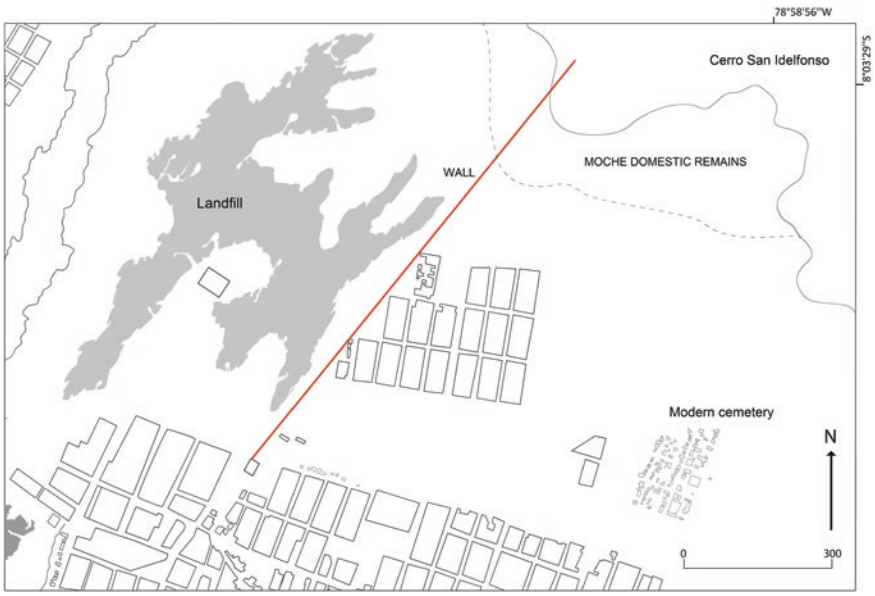

Fig. 3.18 San Idelfonso. Map of the archaeological site and modern occupation. Drawing by José L. Montes and Jorge Gamboa

The population growth of Huanchaco resulted in the appearance of an extensive modern settlement that covered most of the Pampa La Cruz archaeological site (Barr 1991, 2000). At the time of this writing, Pampa La Cruz is the only Pre-Columbian settlement being researched in the metropolitan area of Trujillo within the northern margin of the Lower Moche Valley. In 2012 and 2013, the site was part of an evaluation and rescue project directed by Prieto (2012). This work focused mainly on the streets and open zones, areas not yet altered by the modern settlement, and produced a new set of evidence for archaeological occupations. Surrounded by houses, but still dominating the landscape, the Pre-Columbian *huaca* mounds of Pampa La Cruz remain as the main visible testimonies of the heritage site, demonstrating the symbolic value acquired by those spaces in the local religious ideology. Continuing a tradition that originated in the first half of the twentieth century, Mound 1 is used by Huanchaco's population as a station for communal religious processions (Enrique Zavaleta, personal communication, 2013; see also Prieto 2011), having thus become an important place in the mechanisms for the distribution of roles and responsibilities among the local population (Fig. 3.19). Another mound is surrounded by flat areas where athletic activities are performed by nearby neighborhoods. The preservation of these Pre-Columbian platforms in the midst of residential areas is better understood if we recognize that those spaces have acquired a social function. These archaeological mounds not only have attained a special status through the protection of the Ministry of Culture, but they also serve symbolic and practical purposes for the community (although these local criteria diverge from those of historical preservation).

Fig. 3.19 Pampa La Cruz. Huaca 1 (Photograph by J. Gamboa 2014)

This last observation leads us to deal with the complex relationship between local stakeholders, state, and archaeological heritage. On a global level, the policies of heritage preservation have in recent years highlighted the importance of strengthening the participative rights of the different groups involved, recognizing that each one of them is able to assign different meanings to and adopt different reactions before the ancient sites. But, who has participatory rights in the decision-making concerning archaeological heritage? How can the involved groups articulate their agendas? Simple at first glance, the answers involve assessing the level of community attachment, goals, and strategies of a broad set of participants, among whom archaeologists are a small minority (Lane 2013). The current state of the Moche sites located in peripheral districts and marginal sectors of Trujillo has shown us the continuity of local pressures on the occupation and transformation of spaces that, until the mid-twentieth century, were uninhabited. Driven by the need for low-cost spaces for housing and by a growing market of land transfers, the inhabitants of the urban periphery of Trujillo have affected most of Pre-Columbian sites near the new residential centers (including those declared officially recognized and protected by the Peruvian state). Viewed from another angle, the condition of the archaeological monuments and sites located in the peripheral sectors of Trujillo also reveals inequality in access to information that enable citizens to more fully analyze and appreciate the meaning of such cultural property.

From the observations made by various scholars (Allen 2002; Venturoli 2006; Walter 2006), it is evident that the approach to the materiality and symbolism of the past by Peruvian highland population is different than that of the groups that migrated to the coastal urban centers over the last decades. Though this issue requires deeper analysis, on the Peruvian north coast, the links between archaeological heritage and periurban populations have produced particular conditions originating in the process of new community creation. Including identities in formation and the pressure generated by the search for reduced cost housing, the relationship between the peripheral urban communities of Peru and the national policies for the protection of archaeological patrimony stands as a phenomenon inherently complex and that include both forms of resistance and reinterpretation

of heritage policies. The Ministry of Culture of Peru has actively impulsed since the 1990s the delimitation of archaeological sites menaced by the urban encroachment. In cities such as Lima, Trujillo, or Cusco, the relationship between the state, archaeologists, and the periurban settlers has been developed, in some cases, through rescue interventions at sites at risk by the urban overflow.[3] Examination of the nature and historical context of these policies will illustrate to us how to limit this form of public archaeology to the delimitation and rescue of heritage spaces, even though contributes to establish protected areas or to recover cultural materials in peril, and does not lead automatically to foster an egalitarian and inclusive approach to the knowledge of the past.

Delimitations, Declarations, and Archaeological Salvage

From the second half of the 1980s onwards, state efforts to preserve the Pre-Columbian patrimony in Trujillo and the La Libertad Region were dedicated not only to the defense of the major regional sites but also to the enforcement of laws for the protection of the national archaeological heritage from large-scale mining and development projects. Peruvian legislation emphasizes the central role of the state in heritage management policies by establishing that archaeological sites must be included in lists of officially recognized national heritages places (Congress of the Republic, Law 28296: Arts. II–IV, VI–VII, 2; INC 2000: Arts. 2–3).[4] The official recognition of protected archaeological sites includes a number

[3] See Narvaéz Luna (1998) for an analysis of the forms of affectation of the archaeological heritage in metropolitan Lima by state agencies and the urbanism led by popular associations and groups with high income. It is worth mentioning the presence of state institutions which regulate property of agricultural lands and housing in periurban areas. The Agency of Formalization of Informal Property (COFOPRI) was created in 1996 (http://www.cofopri.gob.pe/, accessed: January 05, 2014). The previously existing Special Program for Land Titling (PETT), created in 1992 and originally dedicated to facilitate the certification of rural lands, was merged with COFOPRI in 2007.

[4] The recognition and official guidelines for management of the Peruvian archaeological heritage appear, in addition to the National Constitution (Art. 21), in the General Law of Cultural Heritage (Law 28296, approved in July 21, 2004), the Regulation of Archaeological Investigations (*Reglamento de Investigaciones Arqueológicas*, approved by the Supreme Decree N° 004-2000-ED in January 24, 2000 and currently derogated), the Penal Code (Legislative Decree N° 635, Arts. 226–231), the Organic Law of Municipalities (Arts. 73, 82, 91, 96, 157, 161), and the Organic Law of Regional Governments (Art. 47). Recent amendments to the General Law of Cultural Heritage and the previously existent Regulation of Archaeological Investigations appear in the Supreme Decree N° 054-2013 (Presidency of the Council of Ministers, May 16, 2013), the Law 30230 (approved in July 11, 2014) in its Article 60, and the new *Reglamento de Investigaciones Arqueológicas* (approved by the Supreme Decree N° 003-2014-Ministerio de Cultura del Perú, in October 3, 2014). These last dispositions have reduced the paperwork and time required for carrying out projects of archaeological evaluation (with or without excavations), having generated responses—both of support and criticism—in the community of Peruvian archaeologists.

of concatenated technical and administrative procedures, ranging from the development of descriptive paper documents and geo-referenced maps, the submitting of dossiers produced by regional branches of the Ministry of Culture to the institutional headquarters at Lima to, finally, the registration of each archaeological site in public records (Congress of the Republic, Law 28296: Art. 15). The official *intangibilización* (condition of legal protection given to a specific space) of an archaeological site often gets materialized in the installation of the ubiquitous brick panels that present a site's name, number, and legal declaration as a heritage place. In complement, site boundaries are marked with *hitos*, cement pylons placed at the corners of each protected area. As important as they are for the protection of the archaeological places, these steps are not usually followed by research projects, the publication of survey and excavation data, or the social "valuation" of space. Instead, site registration and demarcation are a preamble to the withdrawal of state supervision, a situation that does not escape the attention of the groups settled in immediate proximity to the places recognized as archaeological heritage sites.

Due to the significant increase of energy, agricultural, and residential development projects, most of the archaeological sites incorporated in recent years to the official database of declared archaeological sites became recognized through contract archaeology projects supervised by the Ministry of Culture but directly related to the planning and setting up of private and state investment projects.[5] In Lima, the capital of Peru, the proliferation of rescue work in heritage sites affected by urban expansion has energized the field archaeological research. In fact, periurban settlers have become one of the main groups demanding archaeological consultation and cultural patrimony services (Figs. 3.20 and 3.21). Nevertheless, despite the exponential increase in evaluation and rescue works associated with the legalization of popular urbanism, such interventions have not been linked (with a few exceptions) to practices of analysis and reinforcement of identity and civic values. In Lima, the periurban communities—which are the stage for the majority of urban archaeology contract works—infrequently receive copies of the academic publications generated the excavations they finance, even if they are recipients of the field research reports and of the legal benefits of completed archaeological survey and rescue works.[6]

Trujillo is a metropolis that, in recent decades, has seen both the growth of extensive residential areas in its urban margins and numerous works of public and private infrastructure. Even considering the differences in demographics and public

[5] In Peru, the state agencies that most frequently require contract archeology services for purposes of field research or project planning are the Ministries of Transport and Communications, Energy and Mines, Housing, Agriculture, and Tourism and Foreign Trade.

[6] According to the current regulations in Peru, the cultural materials recovered in archaeological rescue works must be transferred to the storerooms of the Ministry of Culture. In the absence of district museums, this provision is fully justified. Several cases have shown in past years that the archaeological materials stored in places lacking in adequacy (for example in municipalities or schools) tend to be affected by constant relocation, negligent handling, and abandonment (Monteverde 2009).

Fig. 3.20 Puruchuco, Lima. Archaeological research and periurban populations (Photograph courtesy of G. Cock 2004)

budgets between Lima and Trujillo, the number of evaluation and rescue archaeological projects (especially those involving excavations) in support of urban growth and private enterprise is surprisingly low in the second city. This contrast can be understood as evidence of a lesser commitment (and even resistance) by local governments in the northern capital to national regulations requiring them to undertake archaeological evaluations before the beginning of development projects that alter the landscape.[7] Such a situation also exposes a diminished capacity of the Ministry of Culture to enforce these legal dispositions beyond Lima.

[7] The La Libertad Region and the province of Trujillo cover a territory of 25,500 km^2 and 1,768 km^2, respectively. The number of archaeologists working at the Ministry of Culture-Trujillo during the last years (9 in 2013) is certainly insufficient for a constant monitoring of the archaeological sites distributed throughout the region. The work of the Ministry of Culture-Trujillo also has been hampered by economic or logistical constraints to carry out inspections and take forward legal processes of resettlement of inhabitants occupying archaeological areas.

Fig. 3.21 Puruchuco, Lima. Archaeological research at peripheral districts (Photograph courtesy of G. Cock 2004)

Metropolitan Planning, Public Safety, and Economic Valuation of the Land

An overview of information about Trujillo's metropolitan development plans shows that the integration between urban planning and heritage preservation policies is still not a relevant factor in local political decisions. For example, the *Planes de Desarrollo Metropolitano* (Metropolitan Deveopment Plans) of 1995 and 1999 made few references to archaeological places situated on the periphery of the city, even though the 1995 document mentions the value of the "monumental archaeological remains" (specifically Chan Chan, Huacas de Moche, Galindo, and Caballo Muerto sites) and the relationship between their research, tourism development (the *puesta en valor* or putting a site into productive use through its sustainable development), and the goals of urban development (MPT 1995: 26, 32–33, 46–47, 106, 113, 120, 140, 150–151). The criteria for the definition of "non-monumentality" were not clarified in that official paper. Furthermore, the 1999 document referred only to the Chan Chan and Huacas de Moche sites (MPT 1999: 12, 23, 29, 35, 39–40, 54, 57), although it also noted the precarious situation and possibilities of urban revaluation of the Vichanzao Pre-Columbian canal.

As a breakthrough in the identification of the problem, the *Plan de Desarrollo Integral y Sostenible* (Integral and Sustainable Development Plan) of 1999 stated the existence in metropolitan Trujillo of a large number of archaeological sites invaded or subject to use devoid of municipal control (MPT 1999: 36). The 1999 document again made reference to research and tourism development at heritage places, describing them as dynamic elements for regional economic growth (MPT 1999: 40–42). Another sign of change in the official attitude on Trujillo's history and archaeological heritage was the publication of the *Atlas Ambiental de la Ciudad de Trujillo* (Environmental Atlas of the City of Trujillo) (MPT 2002). The production of this document involved the participation of specialists in geography, architecture, and archaeology, becoming a landmark work in the renewal of cartographic information of that metropolis. The atlas presented a robust corpus of maps of the geography and population distribution of Trujillo, illustrating graphically both the evolution of the urban growth between 1942 and 2001 and the location of the major archaeological sites in the area (MPT 2002: 17, 49, 60, 62–63, 65, 70–71).

Despite these advances, the developmental plans and situational analysis of the peripheral districts of Trujillo continue demonstrate the even smaller impact of archaeological heritage policies in local governments.[8] Dating from the last years, the official plan of regional development for 2010–2021 returned to highlight the importance of the primary coastal Pre-Columbian sites (and others located in the La Libertad highland provinces) for the regional economy through their commoditization and inclusion in the national and international tourist circuits. On the other hand, reference to the minor Pre-Columbian sites at risk in the metropolitan area of Trujillo was absent (CERPLAN 2009: 56, 61, 90, 96). Despite the positive change seen in the government's attitude toward archaeological heritage, the scarcity of information on Trujillo's periurban archaeological sites in the regional governing documents also reveals the pre-2012 lack of an updated heritage resource database available to local and regional administrative authorities.[9]

How much urban insecurity has affected the implementation of policies for the preservation of the archaeological heritage in Trujillo? This factor is certainly relevant in assessing the current situation of Trujillo's periurban archaeological sites, some located in areas affected by an increase in the rate of crime and a low

[8] As examples see http://www.munilaredo.gob.pe/Documentos/Plan_de_Desarrollo_Concertado_Laredo_2012_2021.pdf (accessed: May 12, 2014) and http://www.plandet.gob.pe/images/PLANES DE ORDENAMIENTO TERRITORIAL/DESCARGAS/PLANES ASENTAMIENTOS HUMANOS/PROPUESTA LINEAMIENTOS Y PROYECTOS EL PORVENIR.pdf (accessed: July 15, 2013).

[9] The Geographic Information System of Archeology (SIDGA) of the Ministry of Culture includes information on areas that until 2012 had obtained the Certificate of Non-Existence of Archaeological Remain (CIRA, after its initial in Spanish). This Web site also presents information on the intangible perimeters of declared sites as well as orthophotos of representative Pre-Columbian sites. Available in: http://sigda.cultura.gob.pe (accessed: Feb 13, 2015).

number of police facilities.[10] Frequently, the local representatives of the Ministry of Culture have met explicit resistance to their demands of cessation of destructive activities at heritage sites and relocation of houses superimposed on archaeological areas, receiving responses ranging from silence to threats (see also Herrera and Lane 2006).

Although periurban residents tend to recognize the validity of official declarations of intangibility of archaeological sites (and their legal implications), these same communities are also immersed in a growing process of capitalization that includes among its components the building of houses and the purchase and sale of plots of land. At the start of the twenty-first century, Peru implemented a series of state and private financing programs for the construction of houses in popular and middle-class areas. The economic valuation given to the archaeological sites subject to popular urbanism has acquired, in several cases, the characteristics of land traffic, wherein certain groups promote the *de facto* occupation and subsequent commercialization of private or state lands or areas already occupied by other popular associations.

Educational Strategies

The diffusion of national cultural policies is a crucial factor in the search for agreeable forms of archaeological heritage preservation. But it requires several levels of understanding and action. First, the diffusion of knowledge about archaeological heritage and heritage management must overcome language barriers originating in the undeniable existence of terms and concepts whose use is restricted to academic groups and state officials ("archaeological" and now "heritage" jargon). Additionally, the paucity—or lacking—of mechanisms to facilitate massive and updated access to archaeological heritage information can be interpreted (as part of a political criticism) as a tacit denial of collective capability to understand state heritage and patrimony policies. As in other parts of Peru, in Trujillo, the absence of continuous public discussion and educational efforts regarding the value of heritage reflects both the difficulties of crossing the barriers of the official discourse and the limited availability of financial resources to meet those goals through traditional forms of diffusion. Can the Internet become a tool that helps solve this problem? If used properly, perhaps yes. No doubt, the need for government and university Web sites that provide access to information about metropolitan archaeological sites, and the conditions they face, is extremely urgent.

[10] In spite of the rates of occurrence, the origin and characteristics of crime and urban insecurity in Trujillo have not yet been subject of major sociological studies.

The Huacas de Moche Research and Conservation Project

In the early 1940s, Gillin (1945) developed the first anthropological study of indigenous peoples of the lower Moche Valley. Focusing his analysis on the town and *campiña* (the countryside) of Moche, Gillin registered a vibrant culture of native and *mestizo* origin expressed in traditional forms of female clothing, the survival of words of Pre-Columbian origin, and religious practices. In the following decades, the renowned Andeanists Richard Schaedel and Victor Rodriguez Suy Suy, an anthropologist born in the town of Moche, would continue the documentation of the Moche district ethnicity. Despite the effort of those scholars, cultural patterns at the Moche town experienced important structural changes from the 1950s onwards, a process related to the urban modernity and migration from Peru's northern highlands. In the last two decades, the trajectory of change at the *Campiña de Moche* has been also interlaced with the long-term development of a national archaeological project, whose characteristics and impact are analyzed next.

Started 25 years ago, the Huacas de Moche Project has been dedicated both to the study and conservation of the Huacas de Moche site and to its opening to tourism (Uceda and Morales 2010). As an exception to the current situation of the most of Moche archaeological sites seen before, the Huacas de Moche Project has positioned itself as a leading initiative in research and public valuation of the Pre-Columbian heritage. The sucess of the project also illustrates the multiple facets of the impact driven by the research and tourist development of a heritage place on the identity discourses and economy of the surrounding population (Fig. 3.22).

The Huacas de Moche site was subject to intensive looting from the Colonial period (Zevallos 1994) up to modern times. Recognized by authorities and travelers of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries as a significant Pre-Columbian settlement (Martinez de Compañón y Bujanda 1978–1994 [1781–1789]; Pillsbury and Trever 2008: 193, 199; Squier 1877), Huacas de Moche began to be scientifically excavated only in 1899 (Uhle 1913, 2014). In the early twentieth century, the site was surveyed by several researchers who documented adobe architecture and notable wall paintings (Garrido 1956; Kroeber 1930). From 1969 to 1974, the Chan Chan-Moche Valley Project conducted excavations in various parts of the complex, reporting a occupational sequence prolonged between ca. 100 BC and AD 1500 (Donnan and Mackey 1978; Topic 1977).

The current research program in Huacas de Moche was initiated in 1990 by a team of Peruvian archaeologists and conservators who directed their activities to the study and preservation of the archaeological remains. In parallel with archaeological research, this group also began to promote the public's interests in the monument (Uceda 2013). Working initially with sponsorship from the Ford Foundation, the Pilsen Trujillo brewery (later Backus S.A.) and the Universidad Nacional de Trujillo, the Huacas de Moche Project would also implement the collaboration of the Université de Montréal and the Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú. All project interventions were planned to include continuous conservation activities of Pre-Columbian architecture and murals (Fig. 3.23). Since its inception,

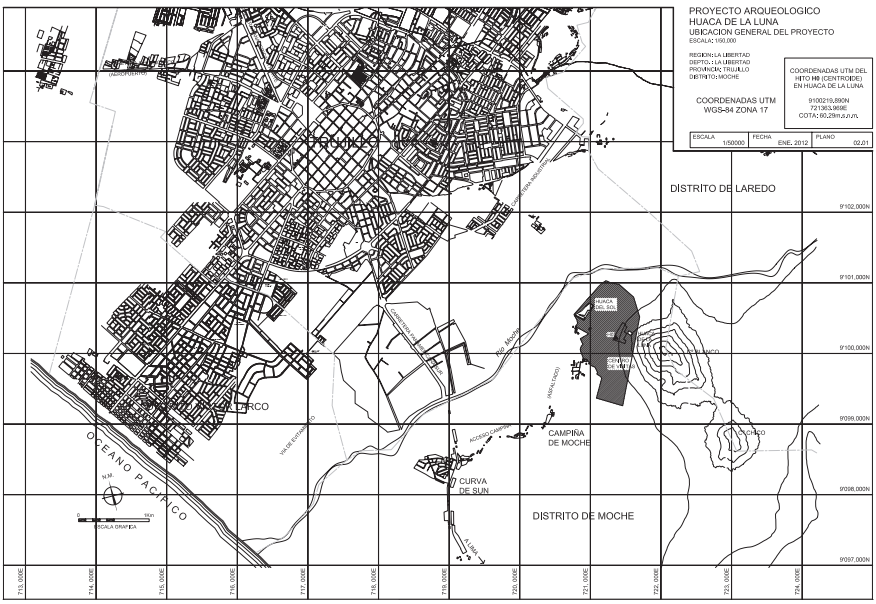

Fig. 3.22 Map of Huacas de Moche and the modern urban area of Trujillo (courtesy of Santiago Uceda ©Huacas de Moche Project)

this work has been accomplished by a Peruvian team specialized in the preservation of adobe constructions and that constantly interacts with foreign researchers and archaeometry laboratories (Morales et al. 1998; Wright 2005, 2008).

Working in coordination with the Ministry of Culture, the Huacas de Moche Project was one of the first in the northern region of Peru to explore the vicissitudes of archaeological monument management. By the end of the 1990s, the project included the participation of numerous experts in archaeology and heritage conservation, as well as the support of a broad set of Peruvian and international private entities. The formation of the *Patronato Huacas de Moche* in 2002 helped optimize the collection of private economic contributions and so facilitated the management of the resources necessary for continuous work at the site. A milestone in the history of the project occurred when it won, in 2005, the prestigious international Reina Sofia Prize for the conservation and restoration of cultural heritage. Subsequent bilateral agreements with international donors permitted the financing of new, larger excavation and conservation works at the complex (Uceda and Morales 2010: 92–107, 178–199). Seeking to prevent the damage caused by massive tourist traffic that has occurred in other prime heritage places (Comer 2012), the opening of tourism at Huacas de Moche has tried to avoid an uncontrolled flow of visitors to the site. To do so, the project has gradually extended the visitation circuit, adding to the presentation of the archaeological monument the appreciation of local socioeconomic developments (especially handicraft production and gastronomy). Another result of the project has been the creation of a site museum built

Fig. 3.23 Moche frieze found at Huaca de la Luna (Photograph by J. Gamboa 2008)

with state funds in 2010–2011. Exposing a selected collection of grave goods and other artifacts excavated by archaeologists, this installation has become one of the main cultural spaces of the lower Moche Valley's southern margin.

Having seen the genesis of the Huacas de Moche Project, we must now explore three aspects linked to its impact on nearby populations and the metropolitan area of Trujillo: the role of the project in the socioeconomic transformation of the surrounding communities, the (re)elaboration of identities through the daily experiencing of the monument, and the interaction between the knowledge generated by the investigation of the site and the local education policies.

Socioeconomic and Cultural Transformations Around a Heritage Site

No doubt, one of the main contributions of the Huacas de Moche Project to the socioeconomic development of Trujillo lies in its contribution to both the regional tourism industry and the establishment of new local economic activitiest. Reaching 126,000 visitors in 2013, the Huacas de Moche site is already considered a prime tourism destination of Peru. This strategic positioning is explained by a constellation of factors including the physical monumentality and artistic values

inherent to the place, easy accessibility from Trujillo's downtown, and the positive interaction that the project has established with public and private institutions. Another positive factor is the preservation of the Moche architecture and mural art exposed through controlled excavations, avoiding as much as possible the introduction of modern elements that alter the original contexts. It is worth noting that this position in conservation practices is currently shared with the El Brujo Project in the Chicama Valley immediately north of Trujillo and other programs of archaeological research in the Peruvian north coast (Morales et al. 2012; Narváez and Delgado 2011).

The boom in tourism at the Huacas de Moche is also related to the expansion of local economic activities and development strategies in the nearby rural area. The sustained increase in the number of visitors to the archaeological site has led to a consequent boost of business conducted by local families and entrepreneurs from Trujillo. Those investments directed mostly toward the creation of restaurants specializing in northern Peruvian cuisine (a strategy supported by a strong marketing campaign by the Ministry of Tourism). The economic value of some vegetable products grown in the area (e.g., the hot pepper *Capsicum chinense* or *ají mochero*) has also seen an increase thanks to the plants' quality and associations with local gastronomy.

Changes in the quantity and diversification of local artisanal production are another indicator of the socioeconomic impact of the archaeological project. In 2013, the number of persons engaged in the production of handicrafts ascended to 110 people, a statistic that contrasts sharply with the half-dozen artisans (mostly males) who practiced individually in the 1980s. The making of handicrafts in the *Campiña de Moche* has, up to now, occurred mostly in workshops accommodated within the rural family houses (Fig. 3.24). Those workshops are usually dedicated to replication of Moche iconography in various media (Marshall et al. 2010). Most artisanal crafts are subsequently sold by the artisans themselves in the Huacas de Moche Project's visitor center and in a section of the site museum. But the effects in the *Campiña de Moche* inhabitants of the artistic recreation of the past have gone beyond the manufacturing of objects intended for trade. The production of replicas of Moche iconography but as well the meanings assigned by archaeologists, art historians, and the artisans themselves, to the Moche material culture have had a deep impact on the expressions of identity of the local population. Indeed, in many local homes and business facilities it is usual to find examples of this renewed interest in the Pre-Columbian past. After more than two decades of interaction between artisans and archaeologists in Huacas de Moche, it is clear that the creative output by the former has become a central component of the cultural and economic valuation of the heritage site. In addition, the local artisans have become active and conscious participants in the approach to the Huacas de Moche's past offered to the local community and visiting public (Kersel and Luke 2004).

The increase of economic initiatives in the *Campiña de Moche* has a less positive counterpart in the physical alteration of some parts of the rural landscape. With a population approaching a hundred families before 1970, the rural area close to the heritage site reached an estimated population of 3,000 settlers in 2013. This growth

Fig. 3.24 Artisan workshop in the Campiña de Moche (courtesy of Huacas de Moche Project)

Fig. 3.25 Residential areas along access road to Huacas de Moche (Photograph by J. Gamboa 2014)

may be explained, in part, by the flow of investment into the area. The urban transformation of the zone is especially evident in the formation of residential areas to the west and south of Huaca del Sol and along the site's access roads, sectors where the majority of local restaurant and craft businesses are located (Fig. 3.25). The continuity of the population growth in those areas is predictable, which will lead in turn to a greater demand for building materials. Aimed by now at satisfying the housing boom in Trujillo, the clay quarrying and production of bricks in the countryside have negatively impacted the local environment, reduced the extent of crop fields and even affected some minor archaeological mounds (Ricardo Morales, personal

communication, 2012), this in spite of the ongoing recommendations and occasional sanctions by the Moche District Municipality and the Ministry of Agriculture on those who realize such activities.

Local Identity and Ethnicity Representations

The museographic section of the Huacas de Moche Project incorporated in 2011 the multimedia version of a story about the origin of the site.[11] This narrative, promoted by archaeology and cultural management specialists, makes reference to the formation of a modern identity discourse based on both the iconographic information recovered at the Pre-Columbian site and the ancient and recent local oral traditions.

Having survived the Colonial period and the formation of the Peruvian state, the manifestations of indigenous ethnicity in the Moche countryside and town suffered an intense transformation in the second part of the last century (Gillin 1945). The first attempts to revalorize the local rural identity through ethnographic studies emerged at the end of the 1970s. Those efforts converged in the work of Rodriguez Suy Suy (1997) and Schaedel (1987, 1988), scholars who recorded the customs and traditional knowledge of the inhabitants of the town of Moche and helped to form an early regional *indigenista* political activism (Asensio 2012: 45–50). Despite these initiatives, the *Campiña de Moche* continued experiencing strong changes in practices and cultural values. Yet, at present, the area presents clear evidence of a strong local identity, which is summarized in the term *Mochero*, a word used by the majority of the local inhabitants to define themselves.

During the last three decades, the process of identity creation and ascription in the Peruvian North Coast has had as one of its central axis the encounter between modern communities and a past rebuilt by archaeological research (Trivelli and Asensio 2009: 206–207). On the southern margin of the Lower Moche Valley, some results of the research at the Huacas de Moche site (mainly those associated with the Pre-Columbian visual culture) have been incorporated into the set of contemporary local identity references. As illustrated by the introduction of Moche iconography at home and business spaces, it is evident that new elements—ranging from art to memories and expectations—have merged in modern dialogues on the history of the area. The (re)elaboration of the local identity practices is visible in everyday discourses, public political meetings, and craft and artistic production. Driven by the local traditions and the impact of the research and opening to the public of the Huacas de Moche site, the current *Mochero* identity is distinct from that seen in the northern margin of the Lower Moche Valley, which is inhabited mainly by migrants whose ancestry is traced to ethnic groups of the Peruvian north highlands.

The demographic decline of the indigenous population of the north coast during the Colonial period (Cook 2010) and more recent processes of *mestizaje* have

[11] An abstract of this narrative is available in: http://www.huacasdemoche.pe/index.php?menuid=1&submenuid=2 (accessed: January 4, 2014).

generated in that region a public valuation of archaeological heritage with different aspects to that observed, for example, in the Peruvian southern highlands. But within the north coast differences emerge. Let us analyze this last point. Unlike what is observed in other heritage sites and museums of the northern region, Huacas de Moche has not become a space of arrival for members of indigenous (or of native ancestry) communities from other areas. This practice is more common in Lambayeque, where the regional museums have decided to encourage the participation of communities of Muchik (e.g., indigenous north coast villages such as Morrope or Chotuna) and Quechua (from Incahuasi and Cañaris districts, Ferreñafe Province) ancestry in their activities of cultural diffusion and merchandising. So far, the presentation of heritage in Huacas de Moche has been focused on the materiality of the past societies, exploring its symbolic charge through the exhibition of ancient architecture, murals, and artifacts and the presentation of a craft repertoire inspired in the local Pre-Columbian history. On the other hand, the current low visibility of expressions of indigenous identity in the area surrounding Huacas de Moche has not led the local rural population to engage in self-exoticization for tourism exploitation. The theatrical recreations of Moche ceremonies performed at Huacas de Moche have been carried out mainly by professional artistic companies from the city, with a lesser participation of the local population, which, while warmly recognizing its Pre-Columbian roots, is aware of its modern *mestizo* identity.

Education

In Peru, the current official model of articulation between public schools and heritage places prioritizes visits to archaeological sites only in the final years of primary and high school education. This scheme produces the perception of archaeological patrimony as separate from daily learning experiences and also as distant from the formation of a critical conception of the present world (Vogel and Pacifico 2004: 49). With the exception of a small site museum at Huaca Arco Iris, La Esperanza district, the peripheral sectors of Trujillo lack cultural spaces associated with local archaeological heritage. This paucity existed since the beginning of periurban expansion, even though several outlying sectors were place of important research and archaeological rescue campaigns during the 1980s and early 1990s.

Despite these adverse structural conditions, in recent years, the public and private school system of Trujillo has started to view heritage sites such as Huacas de Moche, El Brujo, or Chan Chan as valuable allies for the improvement of regional educational standards. In this context, the creation of the Huacas de Moche site museum has sought to bring knowledge of the ancient Moche to young audiences through a suggestive visual language (Fig. 3.26). Another strategy has been the implementation of workshops on regional history and heritage for teachers, an activity organized annually by the Archaeology Museum of the National University of Trujillo, the Huacas de Moche Project, and the Regional Office of Education.

Fig. 3.26 Huacas de Moche site museum (courtesy of Huacas de Moche Project)

Chan Chan

In addition to the Moche culture sites in the Trujillo area, I noted late prehispanic Chan Chan in Chap. 2. Chan Chan has been a UNESCO World Heritage Site since 1986 thanks to preservation efforts and investigations conducted by national and foreign entities. Nevertheless, *campesino* associations, companies investing in agriculture and industries, and periurban populations have put pressure on the margins of the archaeological complex. The sectors of the archaeological complex most affected by urban expansion are located along the Trujillo–Huanchaco highway and in the El Cortijo and Villa del Mar areas. In those sectors modern popular and middle-class suburbs and agro-industrial installations were built since the 1970s just outside or partially overlapping the officially protected area. The adobe structures of Chan Chan also underwent damage from natural causes, which include the accumulation of wind-borne salt and subsoil humidity, the latter being worsened by intensive irrigation in the lower and central parts of the Moche Valley during the last decades. The site is also affected by sporadic torrential rains caused by the ENSO phenomenon, a natural event that, along with vandalism, has caused damage to the clay friezes for which the site is world famous. Chan Chan is placed since the 1980s on the UNESCO list of endangered World Heritage Sites by the negative aspects mentioned above. Nevertheless this fact, the flow of visitors to the Nik-An Compound (formerly Tschudi citadel and the only sector of Chan Chan open to the public) has increased during the last decade, reaching its peak in 2013 with 130,000 admissions.

Elaborated by Peruvian specialists in 1998–99, the *Plan Maestro de Manejo de Chan Chan* has been since then the document guiding all interventions in the area.[12] After 2006, efforts for the protection of the site began to be shared between the Ministry of Culture of Peru and the *Unidad Ejecutora Chan Chan*, a special state entity provided with public funds. Recent research and preservation efforts have focused on the reconstruction of monumental walls in royal compounds and adjacent sectors. Despite the progress made in the preservation of the Chan Chan's main buildings, problems caused by urban expansion and agriculture still persist, to which are also added the illegal dumping of waste and rubble from the residential zones of Trujillo in the archaeological sectors that lie outside the tourist circuits or are not subject to permanent control.

Summary

On the Peruvian north coast, the formation of regional identities from the research at and public presentation of archaeological monuments is a multifaceted phenomenon, which presents to local associations of archaeologists, craftsmen, tourist operators, and other groups with economic and political power occupying leading but not homogeneous roles (Asensio 2012: 44, 46).

By establishing an alternative model for the protection of monumental sites, the *puesta en valor* (social revalue) of Huacas de Moche and El Brujo sites has shown the validity of interdisciplinary proposals for integrating conservation, research, and tourism industries with the management of archaeological heritage (Franco 2009; Uceda and Morales 2010). While those cases exemplify the active inclusion of the archaeological patrimony in cultural and economic policies in the region, the situation of other heritage sites of Trujillo reveals the opposite side of reality.

On the urban margins of Trujilllo the occupation of archaeological sites and the destruction of Pre-Columbian buildings are unavoidable aspects of the everyday situation of Trujillo's periurban heritage. The continuity of problems regarding the preservation of "non-monumental" sites throws into relief the lack of a model for responding to the appropriation of archaeological spaces by populations in peripheral districts. This problem, considered by Morales (2003: 82) as the origin of the need for sustainable heritage conservation policies applicable to the local context, will lead to us in the next chapter to a critical reflection on the meaning of the rapid destruction of the Pre-Columbian sites in the urban area of Trujillo. Subsequently, we will evaluate possible new lines of action for the protection of the archaeological heritage of that city.

[12] See http://www.mincetur.gob.pe/newweb/portals/0/RUTA_MOHCE_Chan-Chan_Resumen_Plan_Maestro.pdf (accessed: August 18, 2014).

References

Allen, C. (2002). *The hold life has: Coca and cultural identity in an Andean community* (Second ed.). Washington, D.C., London: Smithsonian Institution Press.

Alva, W. (1988). Discovering the New World's richest unlooted tomb. *National Geographic, 174*(4), 510–549.

Asensio, R. H. (2010). *Arqueología, museos y desarrollo territorial rural en la costa norte de Perú*. Instituto de Estudios Peruanos and Centro Latinoamericano para el Desarrollo Rural. http://www.rimisp.org/wp-content/files_mf/1378404630ArqueologiamuseosDTRHernandezAsensioRauloct11.pdf. Accessed January 31, 2014.

Asensio, R. H. (2012). Nosotros los muchik. Turismo, Arqueología, antropología y discursos de identidad colectiva en la costa norte del Perú (1987–2009). In R. H. Asensio & B. Pérez (Eds.), *¿El turismo es cosa de pobres? Patrimonio cultural pueblos indígenas y nuevas formas de turismo en América Latina* (pp. 35–60). Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos.

Bankes, G. (1971). *Some aspects of the Moche culture.* Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, Institute of Archaeology, London University.

Barr, G. (1991). La Poza Alta. Un proyecto de rescate arqueológico en Huanchaco. *Revista del Museo de Arqueología, Antropología e Historia de Trujillo, 2*, 39–48.

Barr, G. (2000). Liberación arqueológica en "La Poza", Huanchaco. *Sian*, *9*, 11–19.

Barr, G., Cornelio, C., Silva, E., & Vásquez, J. (1986). *Investigación arqueológica en el Montículo I de Pampa La Cruz, Huanchaco*. Trujillo: Informe de Prácticas Pre-profesionales de Arqueología. Universidad Nacional de Trujillo.

Basadre, J. (1980). *Elecciones y centralismo en Perú: Apuntes para un esquema histórico*. Lima: Centro de Investigación de la Universidad del Pacifico.

Beck, C. (1979). *Ancient roads on the north coast of Peru*. Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, Department of Anthropology, University of California. Berkeley.

Billman, B. (1999). Reconstructing prehistoric political economies and cycles of political power in the Moche Valley, Peru. In B. Billman & G. Feinman (Eds.), *Settlement pattern studies in the Americas: Fifty years since Virú* (pp. 131–159). Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press.

Brodrecht, A. (2010). *Slums of despair, slums of hope. Ethnographic insight in the reassessment of a dated debate.* Paper presented in the 2010 Conference of the Society for Amazonian and Andean Studies (SAAS). https://www.academia.edu/1711639/Slums_of_Despair_Slums_of_Hope_Ethnographic_Insight_in_the_Reassessment_of_a_Dated_Debate. Accessed March 25, 2014.

Castañeda, J. (2008). *El amanecer de la Republica en La Libertad*. Lima: Asociación Marsa S.A.

Castañeda, J. (2012). Indígenas entre españoles. Trujillo del Perú 1534–1616. *Nueva Corónica*, *1*, 1–15.

CERPLAN (Centro Regional de Planeamiento Estratégico). (2009). *Plan de Desarrollo Regional Concertado de la Región La Libertad 2010–2021*. Trujillo: CERPLAN and Gobierno Regional La Libertad.

Chanfreau, M. F. (1988). La vivienda en los pueblos jóvenes de Arequipa y Trujillo: Creación de una nueva tipología regional. *Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Études Andines, 17*(1), 37–64.

Comer, D. (Ed.). (2012). *Tourism and archaeological heritage management at Petra*. New York: Springer Briefs in Archaeological Heritage Management.

Cook, N. D. (2010). *La catástrofe demográfica andina. Perú 1520–1620*. Lima: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú.

Cossio, M., Salazar, M., & Tafur, R. (1997). *Estudio de la arquitectura Moche en la margen izquierda del Río Seco en La Esperanza, Valle de Moche*. Trujillo: Informe de Practicas Pre-profesionales de Arqueología. Universidad Nacional de Trujillo.

Deza, C., & Rodríguez, M. (2003). Estudio de una aldea moche en Río Seco, La Esperanza. *Revista de la Facultad de Ciencias Sociales de la Universidad Nacional de Trujillo, 6*, 265–278.

Dietz, H. (1969) Urban squatter settlement in Peru: A case history and analysis. *Journal of Inter-American Studies, 11*(3), 353–370.

Dietz, H. (1976). *Who, how, and why: Rural migration to Lima*. Cambridge: Center for International Studies. Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

Donnan, C., & Mackey, C. (1978). *Ancient Burial Patterns of the Moche Valley, Peru*. Texas: University of Texas Press.

Escobedo, M., & Rubio, E. (1982). *Liberación arqueológica en La Poza, Huanchaco. Informe Final*. Trujillo: Report Presented to the Instituto Nacional de Cultura.

Fernández-Maldonado, A. (2006). *Barriadas and elite in Lima, Peru: Recent trends of urban integration and disintegration*. Paper presented in 42nd IsoCaRP Congress. http://www.isocarp.net/Data/case_studies/848.pdf. Accessed February 14, 2014.

Franco, R. (2009). *Mochica. Señores de los valles del norte*. Lima: Fundación Wiesse and Petrolera Transoceánica S.A.

Gamboa, J., & Nesbitt, J. (2013). La ocupación Moche en la margen septentrional del valle bajo de Moche, Costa Norte del Perú. *Arqueología y Sociedad, 25*, 115–142.

Garrido, E. (1956). Descubrimiento de un muro decorado en la Huaca de la Luna. *Chimor. Revista del Museo de Arqueología de la Universidad Nacional de Trujillo, 3*(1), 25–31.

Gillin, J. (1945). *Moche: A Peruvian coastal community.* Washington, D.C.: Institute for Social Anthropology Publications, Number 3. Smithsonian Institution.

Golte, J., & Adams, N. (1987). *Los caballos de Troya de los invasores. Estrategias campesinas de la conquista de la Gran Lima*. Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos.

Herrera, A., & Lane, K. (2006). ¿Qué hacen aquí esos pishtaku? Sueños, ofrendas y la construcción del pasado. *Antípoda, 2*, 157–177.

INC (Instituto Nacional de Cultura, current Ministerio de Cultura del Perú). (2000). *Reglamento de investigaciones arqueológicas*. Resolución Suprema N° 004-2000-ED. Lima. http://www.coarpe.org/pdf/REGLAMENTO%20DE%20INVESTIGACIONES%20ARQUEOLOGICAS.pdf. Accessed March 30, 2014.

INC (Instituto Nacional de Cultura, current Ministerio de Cultura del Perú). (2001). *Contribución para un Primer Inventario General de Sitios Arqueológicos del Perú*. Lima: Centro Nacional de Información Cultural http://www.mcultura.gob.pe/sites/default/files/docs/contribucion_para_un_primer_inventario_general_de_sitios_arqueologicos_del_peru.pdf. Accessed February 2, 2014.

INC (Instituto Nacional de Cultura, current Ministerio de Cultura del Perú). (2004). *Ley General del Patrimonio Cultural de la Nación.* http://www.tiwanakuarcheo.net/16_legal/ley_28296.htm. Accessed May 30, 2014.

Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas e Informática (INEI). (2009). *Perú: Estimaciones y Proyecciones de Población por Sexo, según Departamento, Provincia y Distrito, 2000–2015*. Lima: Boletín Especial N° 18. INEI, UNFPA, CEPAL, and CELADE.

Iriarte, F. (1965). *Los trabajos de rescate arqueológico en el sitio La Poza de Huanchaco*. Trujillo: Patronato de Cultura de Trujillo.

Kersel, M., & Luke, C. (2004). Selling a replicated past: Power and identity in marketing archaeological replicas. *Anthropology in Action, 11*(2–3), 32–43.

Kroeber, A. (1930). *Archaeological explorations in Peru. Part II: The Northern coast*. Chicago: Field Museum of Natural History. Anthropology Memoirs 2(2).

Lane, K. (2013). Entre el agua y la pared: patrimonio, desarrollo, campesinos y arqueólogos en la Cordillera Negra, Perú. In A. Herrera (Ed.), *Arqueología y desarrollo en América del Sur. De la practica a la teoría* (pp. 97–117). Lima: Universidad de los Andes and Instituto de Estudios Peruanos.

Lewis, O. (1965). *La Vida: A Puerto Rican family in the culture of poverty. San Juan and New York*. Toronto: Random House.

Low, S. (1974). *The social and spatial order of a Peruvian Barriada*. Ph.D. Dissertation Thesis, Department of Anthropology. Harvard University.

Mangin, W. (1967). Latin American squatter settlement: A problem and a solution. *Latin American Research Review, 2*(3), 65–98.

Marshall, J., Espejo, R., Cachay, Z., Barrio, E., & Mujica, E. (2010). Desarrollo del componente artesanal del producto turístico "Huacas de Moche". In S. Uceda & R. Morales (Eds.), *Moche. Pasado y Presente* (pp. 221–273). Trujillo: Patronato Huacas de Moche, Fondo Contravalor Perú-Francia, and Universidad Nacional de Trujillo.

Martínez de Compañón, B. J. (1978–1994 [1781–1789]). *Trujillo del Perú*. (Vols. 12). Madrid: Ediciones Cultura Hispánica.

Matos Mar, J. (1968). *Urbanización y barriadas en América del Sur*. Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos.

Matos Mar, J. (1984). *Desborde popular y crisis del estado. El nuevo rostro del Perú en la década de 1980.* Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos.

Matos Mar, J. (2004). *Desborde popular y crisis del estado. Veinte años después.* Lima: Biblioteca Imprescindibles Peruanos. El Comercio.

Mendoza, L., Portocarrero, E., & Zerpa, L. (1989). *Análisis de la cerámica Gallinazo de Pampa La Cruz, Huanchaco. Valle de Moche*. Trujillo: Informe de Prácticas Pre-profesionales de Arqueología. Universidad Nacional de Trujillo.

Monteverde, R. (2009). *La destrucción del material arqueológico excavado por Craig Morris en Huánuco Pampa*. http://www.arqueologiadelperu.com.ar/hpampa.htm. Accessed March 10, 2014.

Morales, R. (2003). Conservación arqueológica. Tratamiento de superficies arquitectónicas en tierra: Huaca de la Luna de Moche. *Arkinka, 90*, 82–93.

Morales, R., Solórzano, J., & Asmat, M. (1998). Superficies arquitectónicas: tipología, tecnología y materiales. In S. Uceda, E. Mujica, & R. Morales (Eds.), *Investigaciones en la Huaca de la Luna 1996* (pp. 211–219). Trujillo: Proyecto Huacas de Moche and Universidad Nacional de Trujillo.

Morales, R., Velásquez, C., Gamarra, C., Ponce, R., Reyes, J., Sánchez, L., Córdova, D., Córdova, C., & Solórzano, J. (2012). Informe de conservación. In R. Toribio, L. Trever, & J. Gamboa (Eds.), *Proyecto Arqueológico Pañamarca. Área Monumental. Temporada 2010* (pp. 151–192). Lima: Report presented to the Ministry of Culture.

Moreno del Carpio, C. (1975). *La organización vecinal: su análisis en la provincia de Trujillo*. Tesis de Licenciatura, Universidad Nacional de Trujillo, Trujillo.

MPT (Municipalidad Provincial de Trujillo). (1995). *Plan de Desarrollo Metropolitano de Trujillo (PLANDEMETRU) 1995–2010.* http://www.plandet.gob.pe/images/PLANES_DE_ORDENAMIENTO_TERRITORIAL/DESCARGAS/PLAN_ACONDICIONAMIENTO_TERRITORIAL/PLAN_DE_DESARROLLO_METROPOLITANO_AL_2010.pdf. Accessed October 15, 2012.

MPT (Municipalidad Provincial de Trujillo). (1999). *Plan Estratégico de Desarrollo Integral y Sostenible de Trujillo (P.E.PLANDEMETRU) 1999–2015*. http://www.plandet.gob.pe/images/DESCARGAS/plan_estrategico_de_desarrollo_integral_y_sostenible_de_trujillo.pdf. Accessed October 15, 2012.

MPT (Municipalidad Provincial de Trujillo). (2002). *Atlas Ambiental de la Ciudad de Trujillo*. Lima: Quebecor World Perú S.A.

Narváez, A., & Delgado, B. (2011). *Huaca Las Balsas de Túcume. Arte mural Lambayeque*. Lima: Unidad Ejecutora Naylamp and Museo de Sitio Túcume.

Narváez Luna, J. (1998). *La destrucción del patrimonio arqueológico del Valle de Rimac, Perú*. http://www.naya.org.ar/congreso/ponencia3-3.htm. Accessed March 10, 2014.

Oficina Departamental de Estadísticas e Informática-La Libertad (ODEI). (2011). *Sistema Estadístico Departamental. La Libertad. Compendio Estadístico 2010–2011*. http://www.inei.gob.pe/biblioineipub/bancopub/Est/Lib0969/libro.pdf. Accessed November 30, 2012.

Pérez, I. (1994). Notas sobre la denominación y estructura de una huaca Mochica en Florencia de Mora, Valle de Moche. In S. Uceda & E. Mujica (Eds.), *Moche: Propuestas y perspectivas* (pp. 223–250). Lima: Travaux de l'Institut Français d'Etudes Andines 79, FOMCIENCIAS, and Universidad Nacional de Trujillo.

Pillsbury, J., & Trever, L. (2008). The king, the bishop, and the creation of an American antiquity. *Ñawpa Pacha, 29*, 191–219.

Pinillos, A. (1977). *Huacas de Trujillo* (Primera edición ed.). Trujillo: Ediciones Oro Chimú.

Plaza, O. (1979). Campesinado, alfabetismo y el problema del voto en el Perú. *Nueva Sociedad, 41*, 71–82.

Pozorski, T. (1987). Changing priorities within the Chimú state: The role of irrigation agriculture. In J. Haas, S. Pozorski, & T. Pozorski (Eds.), *The origins and development of the Andean State* (pp. 111–120). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Pozorski, T., & Pozorski, S. (2003). The impact of the El Niño Phenomenon on prehistoric Chimú irrigation systems of the Peruvian coast. In J. Haas & M. Dillon (Eds.), *El Niño in Peru: Biology and Culture over 10,000 Years* (pp. 71–89). Chicago: Fieldiana, Botany New Series 43. Field Museum of Natural History.

Prieto, G. (2011). Las fiestas anuales y quinquenales de la Virgen Candelaria del Socorro de Huanchaco: Expresión religiosa de los pescadores de la Costa Norte del Perú. *Arqueología y Sociedad, 23*, 193–221.

Prieto, G. (2012). *Proyecto de Evaluación Arqueológico Las Lomas de Huanchaco*. Lima: Report presented to the Ministry of Culture.

Ramirez, S. (1986). *Provincial patriarchs: Land tenure and economics of power in colonial Peru*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.

Ramírez, E., & Wong, M. (1984). *Investigaciones arqueológicas en la falda del Cerro Cabras*. Trujillo: Informe de Prácticas Pre-profesionales de Arqueología. Universidad Nacional de Trujillo.

Ravines, R., & Matos, A. (1983). *Inventario de monumentos arqueológicos del Perú, Zona Norte (Primera aproximación)*. Lima: Instituto Nacional de Cultura.

Rischar, S., Vega Cárdenas, C., & Vega Cárdenas, M. (1998). Las Huacas Bitim y Vichanzao con una mención temprana de "El Mampuesto", Valle de Moche. *Sian, 5*, 22–26.

Rodríguez Suy Suy, V. (1997a). *Visión endógena de la cultura andina: Una manifestación de su continuidad y vigorosidad. Los pueblos muchik en el mundo andino de ayer y siempre*. Lima: Proyecto Andino de Tecnologías Campesinas.

Rodríguez Suy Suy, V. (1997b). *Irrigación prehispánica en el valle de Moche*. *Chiquitayap*, 1(1). Trujillo: Boletín del Museo de Sitio Chavimochic.

Sánchez, P., & Tinta, M. (1990). *Patrón de enterramiento de la cultura Gallinazo en Pampa La Cruz*. Trujillo: Informe de Prácticas Pre-profesionales de Arqueología. Universidad Nacional de Trujillo.

Schaedel, R. (1987). Dos mil años de continuidad cultural de los Muchik en la costa del Perú. *Iberoamerikanisches Archiv, NF Jg 13*, 117–123.

Schaedel, R. (1988). *La etnografía muchik en las fotografías de H. Brüning, 1886–1925*. Lima: COFIDE.

Silverman, H. (2005). Embodied heritage, identity politics, and tourism. *Anthropology and Humanism, 30*(2), 141–155.

Squier, E. G. (1877). *Peru. Incidents of Travel and Exploration in the Land of the Incas*. New York: Harper and Brothers Publishers.

Suplee, C. (1999). El Niño/La Niña. Nature's Vicious Cycle. *National Geographic*, March 1999.

Tam, M. (1981). *Cerro Pesqueda, Valle de Moche*. Trujillo: Proyecto de Licenciatura. Escuela de Arqueología. Universidad Nacional de Trujillo.

Thorp, R. (1998). *Progress, poverty and exclusion: An economic history of Latin America in the 20th century*. Washington, D.C.: John Hopkins University Press.

Thorp, R., & Paredes, M. (2011). *La etnicidad y la persistencia de la desigualdad*. Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos.

Topic, T. (1977). *Excavations at Moche*. Ph.D. Dissertation Thesis, Department of Anthropology. Harvard University.

Trivelli, C., & Asensio, R. H. (2009). Apostando por el desarrollo territorial rural con identidad cultural: La puesta en valor del patrimonio prehispánico de la costa norte de Perú. In C. Ranaboldo & A. Schejtmann (Eds.), *El valor del patrimonio cultural. Territorios rurales, experiencias y proyecciones latinoamericanas* (pp. 201–236). Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos.

Turner, J. C. (1967). Barriers and channels for housing in modernizing countries. *Journal of the American Institute of Planners, 33*, 167–181.

Uceda, S. (2013). *Huacas del Sol y de la Luna Project. Inclusion with local and regional social development*. Paper presented at the 78th Annual Meeting of the Society for American Archaeology, Honolulu.

Uceda, S., & Morales, R. (Eds.) (2010). *Moche. Pasado y Presente.* Trujillo: Patronato Huacas de Moche, Fondo Contravalor Perú-Francia, and Universidad Nacional de Trujillo.

Uhle, M. (1913). Die ruinen von Moche. *Journal de la Societé des Américanistes, 10*(1), 95–117.

Uhle, M. (2014). *Las Ruinas de Moche* (P. Kaulicke, Trans.). Lima: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú.

Venturoli, S. (2006). Construcción y organización espacial de la ciudad de Huari: entre mito e historia. In A. Herrera, C. Orsini, & K. Lane (Eds.), *La complejidad social en la Sierra de Ancash: Ensayos sobre paisaje, economía y continuidades culturales* (pp. 165–175). Milano and Lima: Civiche Raccolte d'Arte Applicata del Castello Sforzesco and PUNKU.

Vogel, M., & Pacifico, D. (2004). From theory to practice: Public interest archaeology in Peru. *Anthropology in Action, 11*(2–3), 44–53.

Walter, D. (2006). Los sitios arqueológicos en el imaginario de los campesinos de la Cordillera Blanca (Sierra de Ancash). In A. Herrera, C. Orsini, & K. Lane (Eds.), *La complejidad social en la Sierra de Ancash: Ensayos sobre paisaje, economía y continuidades culturales* (pp. 177–190). Milano and Lima: Civiche Raccolte d'Arte Applicata del Castello Sforzesco and PUNKU.

Wright, V. (2005). Analyses préliminaires de caractérisation de supports et des pigments de reliefs polychromes, Huaca de la Luna, Trujillo, Pérou. In E. Taladoire (Ed.), *De l'Altiplano mexicain à la Patagonie* (pp. 255–261). Oxford: British Archaeological Reports, Archaeopress.

Wright, V. (2008). *Étude de la polychromie des reliefs sur terre crue de la Huaca de la Luna Trujillo, Pérou*. Oxford: British Archaeological Reports, Archaeopress.

Zevallos, J. (1994). *Huacas y huaqueros en Trujillo durante el Virreinato, 1535–1835*. Trujillo: Editorial Normas Legales.

Chapter 4
Why Preserve the Minor Sites? Identity, Heritage, and Urban Life Quality

When the Protection of Heritage Sites Is Not Linked to Tourism

The commoditization of major Andean archaeological sites as tourist destinations is an increasingly common phenomenon even beyond Peru's traditionally promoted areas of Cuzco, Nazca, and the Lake Titicaca Basin. Areas like the north coast, Chachapoyas in the northeastern highlands, and metropolitan Lima have been presented as new poles for the development of Peruvian and international tourism. Although the methods of achieving this goal have varied according to particular regions and sites, in each case the practice of archaeology has intersected with the tourism industry, both by opening to the public sites excavated and preserved by specialists and by the creation of site museums dedicated to exhibiting local Pre-Columbian history. Executed through long-term projects with financing from state, private, or international institutions, the works carried out in the most of those heritage sites has been focused on the conservation of monumental and residential architecture and the display of ancient artifacts and royal regalia.

The vast majority of archaeological sites, however, do not present adobe pyramid mounds, polychrome murals, or elite tombs that can attract the interest of heritage tourism or that can justify the economic expenditures (and the political imperatives for investment return) necessary for archaeological research and adaptation for tourism. Specifically for the theme of this book, many of the Pre-Columbian sites on the north margin of lower Moche Valley are not "monumental" enough to support their inclusion in the main tourist circuits. Specific sites—such as Pampa La Cruz at Huanchaco or the Caballo Muerto complex—are potentially viable candidates for development as tourist attractions. But even in cases like these, it must be recognized that the promotion and positioning of sites as tourist attractions do not automatically yield tangible benefits for the local population (Asensio 2010: 37–38; Robles and Corbett 2009: 293–294; Salomon and Peters 2009: 120). Activities such

J. Gamboa, *Archaeological Heritage in a Modern Urban Landscape*,
SpringerBriefs in Archaeological Heritage Management,
DOI 10.1007/978-3-319-15470-1_4

as transportation for eventual tourists, the sale of souvenirs, and the management of hotels and stores can be economically viable for local stakeholders as long as the incomes generated by tourism are not limited by time restrictions for visitors or by the competitive concentration of service providers in city downtowns and central business areas. Under unfavorable conditions, the promotion of tourism in periurban heritage sites can lead to a predictable set of misunderstandings between site managers and the local populace and to failures in local investment.

The need to protect those places essentially stems from the fact that they are non-renewable cultural resources rather than the rationale (with some exceptions) that they have a possible role within the implementation of a national tourism industry plan. It is valid to ask: What would the results be from the loss of metropolitan Trujillo's non-monumental archaeological heritage? The answer is doubly adverse. For archaeologists and historians, it would lead to the impossibility of studying the sociopolitical development of the early societies that settled in that part of the Moche Valley. In the case of the Moche period in particular, the disappearance of sites included in the urbanized area of Trujillo would diminish the possibilities of examining the archaeological record of the area immediately around the Huacas de Moche site.

The process of destruction of archaeological heritage also involves the risk of the tacit acceptance of an urban landscape devoid of traces of the past and, therefore, of the possibilities of implementing community development plans based on the management of local historic heritage. From this perspective, the destruction of ancient sites becomes an aggravating factor for the persistence of poverty in periurban sectors, specifically through the disappearance of resources that otherwise could be deployed in urban planning and local educational policies. Finally, restricting patrimonial space and attention solely to the monumental sites is not a viable possibility given the ethical and academic implications of such an option.

At Trujillo's periphery, the ties between proactive management of heritage sites and the public have tended to be weak, except around great sites such as Huacas de Moche and Chan Chan. Robles and Corbett (2009: 294–295), writing about the cultural landscape of the Yagul-Mitla corridor at Mexico, note with regard to the relationship among the government and private stakeholders involved in the management of archaeological sites: "The regulatory sticks currently available are difficult to use because in the end they depend very much on the willingness of local governments to act as enforcers for federal agencies, something which holds little appeal for locals." A similar situation can be seen in metropolitan Trujillo, where the preservation of periurban heritage sites has depended in many cases on the use (as enforcers of state regulations) of local and regional authorities, for whom the support to the legal regulation of heritage becomes a political risk given the number of inhabitants (and voters) settled in archaeological areas.

Strengthening the sustainability of archaeological heritage preservation policies in the marginal sectors of a growing city implies uniting numerous efforts that so far have been separated. The complexity of the enterprise can be examined using the analysis by Imparato and Ruster (2003: 39–42, Fig. 1.2) of the different fields of action interlaced in socioeconomic development projects. These authors remind

us that a positive relationship among *civil society*, *social initiative* (capacity to control risks affecting poor and vulnerable sectors of the population but also to channel resources for socioeconomic development), and *social capital* (capacity of individual or group agents of contributing to development) is accomplished through the conjunction and redirection of collective efforts toward the goals of improving the quality of life for members of a society. In Peru, the current legal and conceptual framework concerning the protection of archaeological sites threatened by periurban growth leaves little space for debate, first, about the meaning of the ancient sites for the communities involved and, second, the negotiations between representatives of the state, settlers, and archaeologists. The last points recall the warning of Farajat (2012: 149–150) and Waterton (2005: 309) about the difficulties of managing heritage sites that are born of a separation between the site and the experiences and perspectives of groups that reside in close proximity or within it.

Toward an Inclusive Social Use of Periurban Archaeological Heritage

> Local and national governments should have a more decisive role in urban matters than what it now has in Peru, giving all people right to housing and to the city. The radical laissez-faire and lack of regulation (…) is evidently the easiest way-out for a troubled State with low resources but it evidently increases urban chaos and disorder.
>
> (Fernández-Maldonado 2006: 10)

It is worth highlighting that both within cultural resource management politics and in public opinion an ancient site can be appreciated simultaneously from different, but complementary, perspectives. Promoting the symbolic value of archaeological sites justifies their preservation based on their role as testimonies of mankind's cultural heritage and of local and national narratives (Dunnell 1984: 65). On the other hand, the valuation of an archaeological site can focus on its scientific value as a repository of data needed by researchers and society in general, with every ancient site being, in the words of Dunnell (1984: 66): "a source of empirical information about the nature of humanity, in particular about how people change."

Despite their differences of approach, both appreciations of archaeological heritage can (and should) be used together to optimize the management of sites as repositories of evidence of the past—especially when their preservation comes into conflict with the physical transformation of the landscape promoted by the state or private interests (see Chaps. 1 and 3). Lessons learned in Peruvian urban spaces have shown us that a heritage site covered by debris runs the risk of being marginalized—in practice but also symbolically—in the perspectives and goals of urban and rural local settlers. This is, no doubt, related to the kinds of relationship and rootedness developed by the members of the new urban communities with their geographic and social settings. In the marginal urban areas of Trujillo and other sectors in northern Peru, the links between modern occupants and archaeological sites vary between what Cross (2001: 3) defined as biographical, narrative, and dependent relationships,

with a minor emphasis on the establishment of close ties between ancient sites and the discursive and practical construction of identities.

In the case of Trujillo, interviews conducted among young people and adults in the urban outskirts frequently show that they have little interest in (or, alternatively, they recognize that they have a poor knowledge of) the history of the local archaeological sites. That attitude evidences either unfamiliarity or unawareness of the significance and value of cultural heritage but as well an inadequate—or nonexistent—approach to local history in public schools. This situation shows that the majority of heritage places in the peripheral urban area of Trujillo have not become spaces for learning and identity representation linked to the sustainable development of communities. As a professional self-criticism, it is also evident that archaeologists have difficulty transcending the barriers of language and the academic circle, especially with respect to conveying the knowledge of the past to the public living away from city centers (Montenegro and Rivolta 2013: 25–26).

What About Participation?

The points mentioned above lead us to consider participation as a necessary mechanism to guarantee the preservation of ancient places surrounded by modern communities. Participation has been defined as "a process in which people, and especially disadvantaged people, influence resource allocation and policy and program formulation and implementation, and are involved at different levels and degrees of intensity in the identification, timing, planning design, implementation, evaluation, and post-implementation stages at development projects" (Imparato and Ruster 2003: 20). Participation can be understood as a development strategy that goes beyond the mere inclusion of members of a community in a corporate project. In fact, a participatory strategy implies the community members' *active* involvement in the planning and execution of the program. This model expands the benefits but also the responsibilities of the invited groups and individuals (something that in turn may cause issues with who does the inviting and who is or not included). Among the motivations often put forward to encourage social participatory strategies are the improvement of the relationship between the state and communities as well as better indices of efficiency with regard to expenses (with the access to sources of funding aimed at emerging or depressed populations being a further relevant factor, see Imparato and Ruster 2003: 34). Another aspect that is usually mentioned with respect to the implementation of participatory strategies is the potential for strengthening local capacities to generate their own development initiatives, a goal whose fulfillment can be achieved through forum of public debate and the distribution of responsibilities between the members of a benefited community.

The many facets of archaeological heritage's role in modern society makes the participation of groups involved a key factor for the protection of archaeological sites affected by the urban growth. How examples examined in Chap. 3 demonstrated, the preservation of archaeological sites affected by urban encroachment

driven by low-income groups (not infrequently dissociated with national plans of territorial management and cultural administration) is a challenge that cannot be resolved by the state pressure alone. Participatory strategies must be adapted to the social, economic, and cultural conditions of each zone, since otherwise those practices could become counterproductive or short-lived phenomena lacking of collective sense (Ortega 2003: 60–61; Robles and Corbett 2009).

It worth to remind that any participation of the population in urban development plans will secure the solution to local problems if it does not include technical plans, adequate financing, medium- and long-term schedules, and strategies for self-evaluation of goals, purposes, and achievements (Imparato and Ruster 2003: 15–16). Imparato and Ruster (2003: 19, citing Schmidt 1996) suggest that in a participatory process the "stakeholders influence and share control over development initiatives, decisions, and resources that affect them," reminding us that the cost of participation lies usually in the increase of time, personnel, and resources necessary to implement preliminary and permanent consultation mechanisms. Neither we must lose sight of the risks spawned by the deficient planning of projects that end up generating local expectations that they then fail to meet (Meskell 2010: 853–855). However, the cost of recognizing, evaluating, and integrating the perspectives of the local population may be positively complemented by increasing citizen participation in decision-making, something especially necessary in areas affected by socioeconomic and ethnic inequality. In this scenario, the articulation between state agencies and local grass-root associations (e.g., civic and religious sodalities, mothers' clubs, or schools) located near archeological sites at risk takes on a prominent role in the strategies for implementation of cultural policies.[1]

Improving Periurban Living Standards Through Management of Local Heritage

This section starts by remembering Herrera's criticism of works that seek to deal with the destruction of patrimonial sites after the problems have occurred: "The pragmatists suggest something good and lasting come from the destruction: new knowledge, educational programs, museums, or at least, a greater awareness of the local population about the importance of the heritage" (Herrera 2013: 2). Certainly, the proposals to evaluate and modify situations of deterioration and imminent loss of archaeological heritage caused by urban growth generally grow

[1] Peruvian archaeological projects developed during the last decades in Túcume, Huaca Chotuna-Chornancap, El Brujo, Huacas de Moche, and Chan Chan have driven—to greater or lesser degree accordingly to their specific modalities of interaction with neighboring communities—the participation of young students from nearby urban and rural areas in conservation and research works. In the case of Túcume, this approach to local communities dates back to the early 1990s and is characterized by a close relationship between the archaeological project and the local popular associations.

Fig. 4.1 Archaeological site incorporated by urban landscape. Mateo Salado, Lima (Photograph by J. Gamboa, 2014)

from the need to alter the course of destruction experienced at archaeological sites, and not from preventive planning. But, given the destruction of archaeological sites by urban encroachment is a recurrent reality, these proposals should be considered as starting points for facing the adverse conditions already existing in some places or that, predictably, will occur in other urban heritage sites.

The disassociation between the politics of archaeological heritage preservation and the public perception of the role played by the heritage sites is, in fact, a problem already existing in many parts of the globe. A central goal of changing these attitudes is the formation of a sense of place that integrates the expectations of the population with the needs of safeguarding the archaeological patrimony. But to do this, it is crucial to shift the role of heritage sites in the lives of nearby residents, reorienting the existent ways of interaction between communities and archaeological sites and returning to the "monuments" part of their original sense as socially significant spaces (Fig. 4.1). The survival of archaeological sites affected by the nearby presence or superimposition of emerging social contexts depends on the recognition of the first ones as a viable component of urban renewal policies. This perspective views archaeological sites threatened by periurban growth as places that can contribute to improving the living conditions of populations affected by problems of neighborhood coexistence and marginalization. Looking forward, this type of approach forward also touches directly on the issue of education as a vehicle for strengthening values of identity and citizenship in areas facing a lack of basic services, urban insecurity, and high rates of unemployment and underemployment (Fig. 4.2).

An Alternative Model

The progresive deterioration of archaeological sites and the socioeconomic conditions observed in cases such as the Trujillo's urban margins stress the necessity to recognize that the protection of heritage areas at risk by periurban expansion

Fig. 4.2 Periurban settlement at the foot of Cerro Cabras, Alto Trujillo (Photograph courtesy of Douglas Juarez, 2014)

requires a reexamination and strengthening of the role of city's peripheral communties in the preservation of local heritage. Recalling that any solution to site damage will never replace effective preventive action, I present here the bases for a model of ways in which the harsh situation of archaeological heritage at risk from periurban growth in developing countries can be steered toward a better solution. This model establishes a theoretical and practical dynamic that recovers the testimonial value of ancient sites and inserts them into practices of self-recognition and development of local communities. In a perspective that is shared and experienced by other researchers of Andean and global archaeological heritage (Castillo 2004; Ortega 2003, 2005; Pacifico and Vogel 2012), it is here proposed that the archaeological spaces surrounded by expanding periurban communities should be recognized (in addition to their academic and symbolic value as testimonies of the human past) as components of sustainable development of those populations.

The inclusion of state and community management of periurban archaeological heritage in the metropolitan/urban planning policies does not mean a simple transfer of responsibilities between officials and local representatives (something that without conditions of advance preparation and multilateral consultations would be counterproductive). To the contrary, a rethinking of governmental strategies on the subject should strengthen, and innovate, the professionals' capacity for action and planning with regard to archaeology and heritage management. In parallel, this approach must seek to encourage the population to participate directly in the obligations and benefits generated by the preservation, custody, and management of ancient sites, which under this form of social use, could be the subject of

integrated excavation, conservation, and public exposition projects. The expansion and diversification of the social meaning attached to ancient sites must become the basis for their positioning as places that promote a cohesive sense of belonging among the members of the surrounding neighborhoods. The articulation between the management of archaeological heritage in periurban areas and the development plans for metropolitan sectors born from popular urbanism could be initiated through two interlocking actions among others. I suggest:

1. The inclusion of the archaeological places in urban planning policies designed to articulate the preservation of the local archaeological sites to participatory community strategies. As the cornerstone of the protection of ancient places at risk by popular urban expansion, this piece of the proposal seeks to orient local claims on periurban heritage sites toward a new appreciation of those spaces as protected zones with the status of historic parks and ecological reserves. Provided with effective and socially sanctioned protection, archaeological evidence present in those zones could be investigated, preserved, and displayed to (and by) the surrounding community. This strategy should also consider the establishment of proactive liaisons with the periurban stakeholders about the creation of areas for the conservation of non-renewable natural resources (for instance, native tree species) in the perimeter of the archaeological sites.[2]
2. The constitution of the archaeological sites in places intended for the preservation of memory, through the creation and management of spaces to document and present local histories. In that context, the installation of community museums in some of the Pre-Columbian sites examined here would acquire full meaning, given the potential role of those institutions in the public education system but as well in the debate within communities of topics such as cultural heritage, geography and local history, and heritage resources management (Jameson and Baugher-Perlin 2007; Montenegro and Rivolta 2013: 29).

In accordance with the views expressed from different fronts (Chirikure et al. 2010; Herrera and Hollowell 2007; Ortega 2005: 721; Pacifico and Vogel 2012: 1599), it is clear that periurban settlers not *only* need be engaged in the decision-making processes, but they should become decision-makers regarding the protection of the heritage sites that they inhabit. While it is certainly a difficult challenge in the short term, the open discussion of preservation measures for the archaeological sites in risk must be considered a primary, central component of local and national cultural policies. These discussions should be undertaken within a

[2] The PLANDEMETRU 1995–2010 noted the possibility of developing a "vía integradora paisajística" (integrative landscape route) at some sections of the Vichanzao canal (MPT 1995: 63), indicating that this space could reconcile the preservation of archaeological heritage with the operation of a recreational area. The need of Trujillo to include ecological reserves justifies the proposal that the San Idelfonso's ravine and the nearby Cerro Piedra Parada (Standing Stone Hill) be protected through joint actions of research, legal sanitation, and social use, thereby preserving the mixed character of wildlife refuges and archeological reserve that those areas still present. The protection of that sector would also contribute to preventing the urbanization of areas at risk for alluvial disaster.

participatory framework that promotes a shared sense of rights and responsibilities among those who are engaged in the complex scenario of the conservation and management of archaeological heritage (Ayala et al. 2003: 5–7; Carrasco et al. 2003: 324–325; Woynar 2003: 9).

Reaching these goals, means, however, building local capacities and involving different public and state stakeholders. The conduct of interviews, surveys, and workshops among the peripheral urban population should be part of the strategies for the recognition of local appreciations for and expectations about heritage sites. That information will be vital for the construction of diagnostics to guide specific actions. Carrying out those activities should include the collection of local microhistories that reflect the varying levels of identification the members of each district have with nearby archaeological sites (linking the results of this research with point 2 above). On the other hand, the social use of the periurban archaeological sites must meet two conditions whose articulation is not always simple: The maintenance of authenticity of the heritage sites and the demand of modifying such places for public use (Lowenthal 1985: 363–412). The balance of these concerns should be resolved through the analysis and application of current parameters for preservation of the historical, social, and aesthetic values of patrimony sites within what ICOMOS (1990, 2008) named "integrated conservation" policies.

It is important to emphasize that the valorization of heritage sites at risk from urban encroachment cannot be understood as a loss of the protected status of the archaeological sites. Societal representatives (local authorities, archaeologists, and government officials) must not surrender their responsibility to protect heritage sites from destructive agents. At the same time, the interventions aimed at the spectacular or that seek to introduce elements of nature and meaning incompatible with the historical evidence should be prevented. The strategy discussed here should be limited to the archaeological sites in danger of destruction by periurban growth, avoiding extension of this condition to those ancient monuments or sites whose integrity is threatened by individual or corporate profit interests. On the other hand, the formalization of the social use of archaeological sites at risk by the pressure generated by low-income population groups must involve the recognition of this situation in legal and administrative terms, as well as the definition of its parameters of financing, action, and control strategies.

Potential Conflicts, Possible Solutions

Keeping in mind that each community presents and develops its own agenda (Anawak 1996; Asensio 2012a, b; Erickson 2006: 324; Lane 2013), any response to the current situation of the analyzed heritage sites that seeks go beyond speech must meet two practical conditions: The establishment of social and political support *and* the dispensation of economic funds that revert directly to the affected populations. Meeting both objectives involves recognition of the multivocality inherent in the relationship between settlers, archaeologists, and authorities. This

condition may be difficult to achieve, but it is vital to provide a consensus for the preservation of periurban archaeological heritage and to prevent heritage sites with community use from becoming new fronts of territorial or factional dispute.

The implementation of these policies in so-called developing countries is not an unattainable goal. In this regard, it is worth remembering that the temporary work programs put into place at Huaca Vichanzao (see Chap. 3) were undertaken during the worst years of economic depression experienced by Peru in the twentieth century. The organization and approach of these interventions were precursors to the current *Unidades Ejecutoras* (executing units), organizations with state funding created over the last decade to facilitate the management of monumental archaeological sites and to contribute to the socioeconomic development of nearby rural and urban populations. Despite the political difficulties inherent to this type of investment of public resources, state projects such as those executed in the archaeological complexes of Caral, Lambayeque, Chan Chan, and Marcahuamachuco have become signs of (a) the growing recognition by the Peruvian state of the benefits brought by the integration of heritage sites into national plans for promotion of employment and the tourist industry, and (b) a renewed look at the role of those places in the processes of regional identity construction (Asensio 2012a; Trivelli and Asensio 2009) (Fig. 4.3).

Fig. 4.3 Conservation work in the Chol-An compound, formerly known as Rivero Citadel, Chan Chan (Photograph by J. Gamboa, 2011)

Landscape Adjustment

Reaching an agreement on the parameters for control of modifications of heritage sites' landscape threatened by urban encroachment is relevant to the sustainable social use of these spaces. The adaptation for public use of peripheral sectors of the archaeological sites at risk should not deface the characteristics of the patrimonial space, a predictable negative result of the imposition of massive infrastructure outside the cultural and natural context of the site. A recent example of this type of intervention in Trujillo happened around the Chimú ceremonial platform of Huaca Arco Iris (or Huaca El Dragón, dated ca. AD 1000–1400) (Fig. 4.4) in La Esperanza district, where the allocation of new functions to the public areas near the archeological monument profoundly changed the design and meaning of those open spaces. In 2011, the modest sport installations and the public park adjacent to the Pre-Columbian temple were transformed by the local municipality into a full equipped sports complex, despite the existence of other public athletic facilities in nearby urbanized areas. In this case, the installation of new buildings near the Pre-Columbian platform certainly does not contribute to the visualization and valuation of the archaeological site and does not seem to have led to an expanded potential of the zone for tourism.[3] Another example, this one driven by private stakeholders, took place in 2003 in the Huambacho La Huaca town, Nepeña Valley, where local villagers built a small football field in immediate proximity to a Moche adobe platform, which was partially cut down and is now covered by debris in its sides.

Fig. 4.4 Chimú ceremonial buildings at Huaca Arco Iris, La Esperanza (Photograph by J. Gamboa, 2014)

Although urban communities need sports spaces, the creation of such facilities (or those dedicated only to entertainment) is not the best option for the margins of the archaeological sites and immediately adjacent areas. Based on archaeological evaluation to determine the presence of cultural materials under the surface, the margins of the periurban archaeological sites in the process of social revaluation could be protected by establishing not physical barriers, but rather tangible forms of linkage between heritage places and citizenship. Currently performed as a destructive practice that leads to the suppression of the archaeological sites from local memory, the social use of those areas should be redirected to their margins, which (as a result of previous zoning) could become spaces for pedestrian use that—rather than separating the historic place from the housing sectors—form a transition zone between both spaces.[4]

Heritage, Museums, and Identity Construction in Periurban Settings

Asensio (2012a: 42–43, 46) pointed out that in recent years the public use of discourses on the Pre-Columbian Moche society has served to consolidate modern narratives of *norteño* (i.e. of the Peruvian North Coast) economic success and political power. However, observation of the ways in which identity is manifested in the northern margin of the Lower Moche Valley show that the impact of such speech on the everyday lives (and the local development goals) of populations from the urban periphery of Trujillo has thus far been limited. Although Asensio (2012a: 43) is correct when he states that the Moche past has become a common reference point for North Coast regional identity, it should be noted that the reality of the peripheral districts of Trujillo indicates a much more complex picture, in which the legacy of the Moche and other Pre-Columbian societies is not a dominant narrative.

The creation of museum spaces in peripheral urban areas is an option that should be evaluated in light of, first, local requirements for spaces for social integration and dialogue of interests and, second, the need within those populations for institutions that represent them before other communities, the state, and the media. Asensio (2010: 34) already noted the importance acquired by museums in local political demands for budget increases aimed at urban sanitation works or renovation of public areas. On the Peruvian North Coast, the creation of museums and museographic modules in emerging social contexts is a practice brought forward in a still small number of sites, including San José de Moro, Jequetepeque Valley (Castillo 2004) and Sipán and Huaca Chotuna, Lambayeque Valley (Wester 2010: 217–231) (Fig. 4.5). The Kuntur Wasi site museum, located in Peru's northern highlands, is another relevant example of a cultural space dedicated to

[4] During 2009 and 2010, the *Unidad Ejecutora Chan Chan* began the creation of a line of trees at the limit between the archaeological complex and the Huanchaquito urban sector. This initiative has not been continued.

Fig. 4.5 Site museum at Huaca Chotuna (Photograph by J. Gamboa, 2011)

preserving the local Pre-Columbian heritage and to promoting community participation in the management of an archaeological site (Inokuchi 2011; Onuki 2006; Seki 2013). In metropolitan Trujillo the museum spaces are currently concentrated in the historical downtown, at Huacas de Moche, and at Chan Chan (with a small spin-off at Huaca Arco Iris in La Esperanza district). This distribution not only show the peculiar characteristics of the public educational system's approach to the regional past but also reveals the minor role of museums in the extensive suburban areas of Trujillo, which lack facilities to familiarize the local audience with the memory of the places where they reside.

With a population of more than 500,000 inhabitants and accommodating half of the metropolitan population, the peripheral sectors of Trujillo is an important potential public for local heritage sites and museums. Given the migrant origin of many of families living in the periurban sectors, the presentation of information about the archaeological sites and the recent past of the local communities (exploring the ethnicities of the Peruvian North Highlands and the history of migration through, for example, transcripts of oral histories) deserve to be included in this type of community centers for preservation of memory. Under this form of joint presentation of the tangible and intangible aspects of local heritage, such museum spaces could contribute actively to the process of revaluation of the archaeological sites, turning them into spaces for identity expression, debate, and learning.

Comparisons from Elsewhere in Latin America

Since this book focuses on how the growth of modern communities impacts the archaeological heritage of a Latin American city, it is worth examining the experiences in heritage management of other Pre-Columbian sites facing a similar situation.

The modern social environment of many Pre-Columbian sites changed markedly after the 1940s when the periphery of Latin American cities started being

influenced by demographic pressure and a rural exodus that reached unprecedented levels in the following decades. In the process many archaeological sites were affected, a problem that, with time, became increasingly frequent. For decades, wealthy entrepreneurs and periurban populations have been threatening the margins of the archaeological complex of Chan Chan, considered a UNESCO World Heritage Site since 1986. Armatambo,[5] in the southern periphery of Lima, and Conchopata,[6] in Ayacucho are other cases of superposition of archaeological heritage sites and urbanized areas in Peru. Located in the modern suburbs of Guatemala City, the archaeological complex of Kaminaljuyú underwent an accelerated process of urban development through the twentieth century, a situation that prompted a number of research and rescue campaigns in various sectors of the site (Crasborn et al. 2004; Miles 1963; Schavelzon and Rivera 1987). The modern urban sprawl is also visible in Teotihuacan, the largest Pre-Columbian site of Mesoamerica.

The partial destruction of Kaminaljuyú motivated the government of Guatemala to take various preventive and emergency actions, a process that, in time, generated practical feedback (Crasborn et al. 2004: 191). In the 1970s the Instituto de Antropología e Historia de Guatemala created the Kaminaljuyú Archaeological Park, which included the central sector and several monumental buildings of the site. The functioning of the archaeological park has been interlaced during last years with the elaboration of new technical and administrative plans based on previous experiences at other national heritage sites (Cardona and Magnoni 2007; Escobedo et al. 2009).

Recognized as a UNESCO World Heritage Site in 1987, Teotihuacan presents a monumental sector of 280 ha under the direct protection of the Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia de México (INAH). A major problem faced by the INAH is the expansion of towns (some being occupied since the Colonial period) located around the monumental core of Teotihuacan. The growth of these modern

[5] Armatambo is a site from the Inca period (AD 1450–1532) that started to be affected by the periurban growth of Lima in the 1960s (Agurto 1984). The growth of dwellings in Armatambo led to the modern occupation of more than 80 % of the site, with several Pre-Columbian platforms still being visible between streets and residential blocks. As other sites of metropolitan Lima, the transformation of this heritage site into a residential zone motivated a number of archaeological rescue projects sponsored by local populations (Bragayrac 1982; Díaz and Vallejo 2005; Ruales et al. 1983).

[6] The Wari period (AD 600–900) site of Conchopata was impacted in 1962 by the highway leading to the Ayacucho city airport and later by its partial occupation by dwellings (Cook 1984; Pozzi-Escot 1985; J. Ochatoma, personal communication, 2014). Modern occupants opposed the attempts of authorities to relocate them outside of the archaeological zone; in the 1990s, their strategies also included the bulldozing of several excavated structures in an attempt to eliminate the evidence of the heritage condition of the site (Ochatoma and Cabrera 2001: 486). In spite of the repeated legal proceedings conducted by the Ministry of Culture, these settlers have remained inside the archaeological sector. The development of Ayacucho as a tourist destination has also implied the renewal of its road network, which includes the highway that cuts through Conchopata.

communities has led to the execution of exploratory and rescue excavations by the INAH, a necessary step in the face of the rapid urban transformation of an area with population estimated at 85,000 inhabitants and that includes an important transient component of national and foreign visitors (Ortega 2005: 706, 2013; Rodríguez García 1991).

The Latin American cases presented above show both common points and differences in the management of the archaeological heritage in countries with a rich pre-Colonial history and current conditions of economic growth and persistent socioeconomic inequality. The negative impact of periurban growth is evident on every site mentioned. Inadequate implementation of planning and control policies led, in past decades, to the segmentation and partial destruction of once extensive monumental archaeological landscapes (and their surrounding hinterland settlements) through the expansion of urbanized areas and agro-industrial zones.

The encroachment of modern communities has also given origin to new kinds of archaeological investigations. In Peru more than in countries as Mexico or Guatemala emerged a model of heritage resource management designed for the rescue of material evidence of the past and facilitate the legal recognition and sanitation of archaeological sites occupied by popular periurban associations, residential development companies, and industries. However, as stated in Chap. 3, the comparison between the high number of rescue excavations and the limited quantity of site or community museums reveals that this type of intervention has not necessarily guaranteed the diffusion of knowledge to local communities.

In other more fortunate cases, the existence of museums contributed both to the presentation of the past to local populations and to the integration of the sites into tourist circuits. As examples, we can cite the above-mentioned Kuntur Wasi site museum and the Museo Miraflores inaugurated at Kaminaljuyú in 2002. Preserving a valuable collection of archaeological materials excavated on the site, the Museo Miraflores was also planned to become a point of convergence for visitors and the local community (Valdés 2003). Other recent interventions at Kaminaljuyú have been aimed to document the rich heritage of Pre-Columbian sculptures present on the site (Doering and Collins 2008).

Another set of experiences in heritage managements comes from Teotihuacan, where orientation centers provide legal advice to residents and land owners as a way to reach social consensus on the protection of the site (Ortega 2005: 709, 2012). Since the end of the 1980s, the management plan of the Zone of Archaeological Monuments of Teotihuacan covers a territory of 3,381 ha. Part of the preventive work conducted by the INAH has been oriented to the strengthening of protection strategies for the monumental sector, which was recognized as exclusively dedicated to research and tourism. Other sectors of Teotihuacan have been considered archaeological reserves with a controlled modern use, encompassing areas of modern habitation and agriculture usage where archaeological monitoring is formally required (Ortega 2003, 2005: 704–706). Additional legal steps were taken to control the design of modern buildings and minimize their impact on the archaeological landscape.

Although each territory presents unique ecological and geopolitical characteristics and each case has developed under distinct conditions, the examples presented here reveal similar situations of appropriation, conflict, and destruction—but as well of preservation—of archaeological sites impacted by urban encroachment. Lessons learned in Kaminaljuyú, Teotihuacan, and Peru reveal the difficulties found inherent in the management of extensive archaeological sites with a multifaceted relation with modern populations. Those cases also show some ways, linked with urban and territorial planning or investment on tourist infrastructure, of managing the pressure generated by urban sprawl. More importantly, they provide avenues of discussion on how the origin and consequences of the problem have been handled in some countries.

Concluding Remarks

The North Coast of Peru offers a striking example of the fast pace of destruction of archaeological sites located in urban peripheries, spaces where the combination of strong demographic pressure with increasing capitalization concerning the possession and sale of plots of land give rise to adverse conditions for the preservation of the material remains of the human past.[7] In the Andean region and Latin America, this acquires a peculiar set of sociological characteristics, with an undeniable component of socioeconomic inequality inherent in the formation of the periurban communities as marginal and marginalized spaces. At the same time, these communities are the scenes of the emergence of new identities that amalgamate the practices and values of the rural and urban worlds.

As the situational analysis of the Moche sites presented in the book has shown, the current plight of the periurban archaeological sites of Trujillo does not appear likely to be solved by the implementation of the models applied in larger, tourism-oriented regional heritage sites. The complex relationship between the archaeological patrimony and Trujillo's emerging social contexts reveals the need for a convergence between fields of action still poorly integrated. Among the aspects of most-needed integration is possible to cite the official legal protection and the research of heritage areas at risk, the strengthening of a participatory approach among periurban communities in the preservation of local archaeological sites, and the inclusion of heritage sites in the policies of urban and metropolitan planning. This kind of objective is likely to be achieved only through a permanent and dynamic articulation between administrative authorities, researchers, municipal

[7] It is realistic to assume that not all the Pre-Columbian sites in the metropolitan area of Trujillo will survive the urban pressure in the coming years. Part of the response to this situation should be directed to the execution of archaeological rescues articulated with a solid practice of diffusion for the results of the excavations.

governments, and local people. The articulation of social and political actors until now mostly disconnected is, no doubt, a difficult task. Nevertheless, this approach is a necessary condition for the policies of archaeological heritage preservation to achieve both an adequate functional framework and a consensual character.

Though the points above might seem utopian, they are part of an experience already being implemented in several archaeological sites in metropolitan Lima. There, Pre-Columbian sites such as Mateo Salado and Huaca Huantile are in process of research, conservation, and opening to the local public and for cultural tourism. These objectives have been achieved through the investment and commitment of the Ministry of Culture of Peru and several Lima municipalities. Other Pre-Columbian sites in Lima, such as the architectural complexes of Collique and Campoy, have begun to be protected through citizen initiatives supported by local authorities.[8] The public presentation of the *Guía para la Gestión Pública de Monumentos Arqueológicos de la Región Lima* (Guide for the Public Management of Archaeological Monuments of Lima Region) and the diffusion in the media of the plan *Lima Milenaria* are—taking into account the debate generated by their appearance—other manifestations of this new official and public vision of cultural heritage.[9]

In the Moche Valley, two initiatives for the preservation of the archaeological heritage have begun to be conducted in recent years by private agencies with collective and international funding.[10] The first corresponds to MOCHE Inc., a nonprofit organization that has established several working fronts in rural communities located near Pre-Columbian archaeological sites in the Middle Moche Valley. This group has entered into mutual commitment with those populations, developing campaigns for public health and improvement of educational and communal facilities in exchange for the active participation of benefited groups in the protection of archaeological places threatened by looters and the expansion of housing lots and agricultural areas. For its part, the Sustainable Preservation Initiative (SPI, based out of New York City) has focused its participation in the area of Huanchaquito, a peripheral urban sector of the Huanchaco district, supporting local artisans in the manufacture of artifacts for the tourist market. Through artisanal and touristic development, this project seeks to preserve the archaeological sectors of the town, which bear witness to the long-term evolution of the communities on the coast of Trujillo.

---

[8] Information regarding these experiences in the protection of heritage sites can be found at https://sites.google.com/site/colectivocolli/ (accessed: February 11, 2014) and http://fortalezadecampoy.blogspot.com/ (accessed: February 13, 2014).

[9] The "Guía para la Gestión Pública de Monumentos Arqueológicos de la Región Lima" can be downloaded in http://www.regionlima.gob.pe/guiagestionarqueologia.pdf (accessed: October 25, 2013). The "Lima Milenaria" Web site presents updated information on Peruvian archaeological heritage with a special focus on the city of Lima. See http://www.limamilenaria.blogspot.com/2014/02/somos-capaces-de-tomarnos-en-serio.html (accessed: February 19, 2014).

[10] See http://www.savethemoche.org/ (accessed: March 14, 2014) and http://sustainablepreservation.org/projects/pampas-gramalote-peru/ (accessed: March 16, 2014).

In South America, discussion of the interaction between archaeologists and community members as well as of the community involvement in the preservation of the Pre-Columbian heritage has started in several Andean countries (Ayala et al. 2003; Bravo 2003; Carrasco et al. 2003; Crespo 2005; Jofré 2003; Lima 2003; Noreña and Palacio 2007; Quispe et al. 1998; Zabala and Roura 2008). Another field of debate around the linkages between the local populations and the role of the archaeological heritage as a tool of identity expression and political power has been initiated in Brazil, in this case on the basis of the experiences of rural and periurban settlers and archaeologists in the management of historical sites claimed by both sides (Allen 1998; Funari 2003; Funari et al. 2013; Sanches 2013).

The Andean and Latin American experiences demonstrate both the universality of the problem and the possibility of new horizons for the management of archaeological heritage places incorporated in modern urban landscapes. Under an agenda designed to actively involve local communities in the protection and use of the archaeological sites, the places currently threatened by the growth of those groups could become spaces that contribute to improving the quality of life in areas affected by a lack of public areas, unemployment or underemployment, and demographic pressure. Having highlighted this point and provided case studies, it is possible to state that the (re)emergence of archaeological research at sites located in social and geopolitical urban peripheries shall contribute to the inception of a public archaeology that exceeds the limitations of knowledge dissemination exhibited thus far by the evaluation and salvage projects required by authorities, companies, and the periurban inhabitants themselves.

Around the globe, large numbers of monumental and non-monumental archaeological sites located near growing cities could be destroyed completely in the next few decades through the transformation of the landscape by new urban communities. In many cases, the origin of these groups lies in immigration from rural zones prompted by political violence, natural disasters, and poverty. Developing rapidly and with few structural links to state institutions dedicated to heritage preservation, these new populations—as well as other stakeholders with greater economic and political means—have become one of the major risk factors for the material testimonies of the past located on the margins of or within urbanized areas.

The challenge of the coming years is to reverse this situation, integrating people, schools, state officials, and researchers in the politics of heritage management. In the context of developing countries, it is more necessary than ever to involve urban and rural communities in the processes of appreciation and preservation of the materiality of the past. Usually, the inhabitants of urban peripheries have been low-ranking but consistent characters in the debate on the conservation of archaeological monuments and landscapes, finally prevailing through their permanency around or within the ancient places. In the long run and through their everyday actions, they will tip the balance in favor of *or* against the preservation of the archaeological sites in which they live (Fig. 4.6). Returning to the desert plains

Fig. 4.6 Emergence of a new periurban community, San Idelfonso (Photograph by J. Gamboa, 2012)

where this reflection about the links between archaeology, heritage, and community started, we can ask ourselves whether the experiences of heritage management developed in other growing urban landscapes can be the replicated in the Moche sites discussed here. The solutions are not simple, but they can be achieved if participating stakeholders wish so.

References

Agurto, S. (1984). *Lima Prehispánica*. Lima: Municipalidad de Lima. S.A: Perugraph Editores.

Allen, J. S. (1998). A 'cultural mosaic' at Palmares? Grappling with the historical archaeology of a seventeenth-century Brazilian quilombo. In P. Funari (Ed.), *Cultura Material e Arqueología Histórica* (pp. 141–178). Campinas: Instituto de Filosofia e Ciências Humanas, Universidade Estadual de Campinas.

Anawak, J. (1996). Inuit perceptions of the past. In R. Preucel & I. Hodder (Eds.), *Contemporary archaeology in theory: A reader* (pp. 646–651). Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.

Asensio, R. H. (2010). *Arqueología, museos y desarrollo territorial rural en la costa norte de Perú*. Instituto de Estudios Peruanos and Centro Latinoamericano para el Desarrollo Rural. http://www.rimisp.org/wp-content/files_mf/1378404630ArqueologiamuseosDTRHernandezAsensioRauloct11.pdf. Accessed 31 Jan 2014.

Asensio, R. H. (2012a). Nosotros los muchik. Turismo, arqueología, antropología y discursos de identidad colectiva en la costa norte del Perú (1987–2009). In R. H. Asensio & B. Pérez (Eds.), *¿El turismo es cosa de pobres? Patrimonio cultural pueblos indígenas y nuevas formas de turismo en América Latina* (pp. 35–60). Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos.

Asensio, R. H. (2012b). Las piedras suplican auxilio. Arqueólogos, huaqueros y autoridades locales en Chavín de Huantár (1870–1945). *Histórica*, XXXVL, 113–138.

Ayala, P., Avendaño, S., & Cárdenas, U. (2003). Vinculaciones entre una Arqueología Social y la comunidad indígena de Ollagüe (Antofagasta, Chile). *Chungara, 35*(2), 275–285.

Bragayrac, E. (1982). *Investigaciones arqueológicas en Armatambo (Chorrillos): Huaca Marcavilca*. Lima: Centro de Investigación y Restauración de Bienes Monumentales del Instituto Nacional de Cultura.

Bravo, A. (2003). Arqueología aplicada al desarrollo de las comunidades atacameñas. *Chungara, 35*(2), 287–293.

Cardona, K., & Magnoni, A. (2007). Manejo de sitios arqueológicos en el área Maya: El caso del Parque Arqueológico Kaminaljuyu, Guatemala, y el de Chunchucmil, Yucatán. In J. Laporte, B. Arroyo & H. Mejía (Eds.), *XX Simposio de Investigaciones Arqueológicas en Guatemala, 2006*. Guatemala: Museo Nacional de Antropología y Etnología.

Carrasco, C., Agüero, C., Ayala, P., Uribe, M., & Cases, B. (2003). Investigaciones en Quillagua: Difusión del conocimiento arqueológico y protección del patrimonio cultural. *Chungara, 35*(2), 321–326.

Castillo, L. J. (2004). Arqueología y desarrollo comunitario sostenible en San José de Moro. In L. J. Castillo (Ed.), *Programa Arqueológico San José de Moro. Temporada 2004* (pp. 168–193). http://sanjosedemoro.pucp.edu.pe/descargas/reportes/INFORME2004.pdf. Accessed 17 Oct 2013.

Chirikure, S., Manyanga, M., Ndoro, W., & Pwiti, G. (2010). Unfilled promises? Heritage management and community participation at some of Africa's cultural heritage sites. *Journal of Heritage Studies, 16*(1–2), 30–44.

Cook, A. (1984). The middle horizon ceramic offerings from Conchopata. *Ñawpa Pacha, 22–23*, 49–90.

Crasborn, J., Marroquín, E., Urízar, A., Hernández, E., & Luin, C. (2004). La agonía del Cerro de los Muertos: Kaminaljuyú hacia el siglo XXI. In J. P. Laporte, B. Arroyo, H. Escobedo, & H. Mejía (Eds.), *XVII Simposio de Investigaciones Arqueológicas en Guatemala, 2003* (pp. 188–202). Guatemala: Museo Nacional de Arqueología y Etnología.

Crespo, C. (2005). ¿Qué pertenece a quién?: Procesos de patrimonialización y pueblos originarios en Patagonia. In *Cuadernos de Antropología Social* (Vol. 21, pp. 133–149). Universidad de Buenos Aires. http://www.redalyc.org/pdf/1809/180913910008.pdf. Accessed 15 Feb 2014.

Cross, J. (2001). *What is sense of place?* Paper presented in the 12th Headwaters Conference, Western State College, 2–4 Nov 2001. http://lamar.colostate.edu/~jecross/pdf/presentations/Sense_of_Place_Cross_2001.pdf. Accessed 15 Feb 2014.

Díaz, L., & Vallejo, F. (2005). Clasificación del patrón funerario Yschma en Armatambo y Rinconada Alta. In C. Olaya & M. Romero (Eds.), *Corriente Arqueológica* (pp. 223–322). Lima: Universidad Nacional Federico Villarreal.

Doering, T., & Collins, L. (2008). *The Kaminaljuyú sculpture project: An expandable three-dimensional database*. FAMSI. http://www.famsi.org/reports/07007/07007Doering01.pdf. Accessed 13 Jan 2014.

Dunell, R. C. (1984). The ethics of archaeological significance decisions. In E. L. Green (Ed.), *Ethics and values in archaeology* (pp. 62–74). New York: The Free Press.

Erickson, C. (2006). El valor actual de los Camellones de cultivo precolombinos: Experiencias del Perú y Bolivia. In F. Valdez (Ed.), *Agricultura ancestral. Camellones y albarradas: Contexto social, usos y retos del pasado y del presente* (pp. 315–339). Quito: Ediciones Abya-Yala.

Escobedo, H., Ponciano, E., & del Águila, P. (2009). Síntesis de los talleres del Plan de Gestión de la Zona Arqueológica de Kaminaljuyú 2009–2013. In *Kaminaljuyu. Edición Especial. Serie de Estudios Arqueológicos* (Vol. 5, pp. 109–115). Guatemala: Dirección General del Patrimonio Cultural y Natural. Ministerio de Cultura y Deportes.

Farajat, S. (2012). The participation of local communities in the tourism industry at Petra. In D. Comer (Ed.), *Tourism and archaeological heritage management at Petra* (pp. 145–165). New York: SpringerBriefs in Archaeological Heritage Management.

Fernández-Maldonado, A. (2006). *Barriadas and elite in Lima, Peru: Recent trends of urban integration and disintegration*. Paper presented in 42nd IsoCaRP Congress. http://www.isocarp.net/Data/case_studies/848.pdf. Accessed 14 Feb 2014.

Funari, P. (2003). Conflict and interpretation of Palmares, a Brazilian runaway polity. *Historical Archaeology, 37*(3), 81–92.

Funari, P., Manzato, F., & Prado Alfonso, L. (2013). El turismo y la arqueología en el Brasil: una mirada posmoderna. In A. Herrera (Ed.), *Arqueología y desarrollo en América del Sur. De la práctica a la teoría* (pp. 35–54). Lima: Universidad de los Andes and Instituto de Estudios Peruanos.

Herrera, A. (2013). Introducción. De la práctica a la teoría en la arqueología latinoamericana. In A. Herrera (Ed.), *Arqueología y desarrollo en América del Sur. De la práctica a la teoría* (pp. 1–10). Lima: Universidad de los Andes and Instituto de Estudios Peruanos.

Herrera, A., & Hallowell, J. (2007). The process is the outcome. *Archaeologies. Journal of the World Archaeological Congress*, 3(3), 384–389.

ICOMOS (International Council of Monuments and Sites). (1990). *Charter for the Protection and Management of the Archaeological Heritage*. http://www.international.icomos.org/charters/arch_e.pdf. Accessed 25 March 2014.

ICOMOS (International Council of Monuments and Sites). (2008). *Ename Charter for the Interpretation and Presentation of Cultural Heritage Sites*. http://www.enamecharter.org/. Accessed 25 March 2014.

Inokuchi, K. (2011). Catálogo. In Y. Onuki & K. Inokuchi (Eds.), *Gemelos prístinos: el tesoro del templo de Kuntur Wasi* (pp. 139–144). Lima: Fondo Editorial del Congreso del Perú.

Imparato, I., & Ruster, J. (2003). *Slum upgrading and participation. Lessons from Latin America*. Washington, D.C.: The World Bank.

Jameson, J., & Baugher-Perlin, S. (2007). *Past meets present. Archaeologists partnering with museum curators, teachers, and community groups*. New York: Springer.

Jofré, D. (2003). Una propuesta de acercamiento al patrimonio arqueológico de la comunidad de Belén (Tarapacá, Chile). *Chungara, 35*(2), 327–335.

Lane, K. (2013). Entre el agua y la pared: patrimonio, desarrollo, campesinos y arqueólogos en la Cordillera Negra, Perú. In A. Herrera (Ed.), *Arqueología y desarrollo en América del Sur. De la practica a la teoría* (pp. 97–117). Lima: Universidad de los Andes and Instituto de Estudios Peruanos.

Lima, M. (2003). Participación comunitaria, desarrollo sostenible y arqueología: El caso de Quila-Quila (Chuquisaca, Bolivia). *Chungara, 35*(2), 361–365.

Lowenthal, D. (1985). *The past is a foreign country*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Meskel, L. (2010). Human rights and heritage ethics. *Anthropological Quarterly, 83*(4), 839–860.

Miles, S. (1963). Informe sobre Kaminaljuyú rendido al Instituto de Antropología e Historia. *Antropología e Historia de Guatemala*, 15(2). Guatemala.

Montenegro, M., & Rivolta, M. C. (2013). Patrimonio arqueológico y desarrollo: Pasados que se hacen presente. Experiencias desde el noroeste argentino. In A. Herrera (Ed.), *Arqueología y desarrollo en América del Sur. De la practica a la teoría* (pp. 17–34). Lima: Universidad de los Andes and Instituto de Estudios Peruanos.

MPT (Municipalidad Provincial de Trujillo). (1995). *Plan de Desarrollo Metropolitano de Trujillo (PLANDEMETRU) 1995–2010.* Trujillo. http://www.plandet.gob.pe/images/PLANES_DE_ORDENAMIENTO_TERRITORIAL/DESCARGAS/PLAN_ACONDICIONAMIENTO_TERRITORIAL/PLAN_DE_DESARROLLO_METROPOLITANO_AL_2010.pdf. Accessed 15 Oct 2012.

Noreña, S., & Palacio, L. (2007). Arqueología: ¿Patrimonio de la comunidad? *Boletín de Antropología*, 21 (38): 292–311. Universidad de Antioquía. Medellín. http://www.redalyc.org/pdf/557/55703814.pdf. Accessed 15 Feb 2014.

Ochatoma, J., & Cabrera, M. (2001). Arquitectura y áreas de actividad en Conchopata. *Boletín de Arqueología PUCP, 4*, 449–488.

Onuki, Y. (2006). The Kuntur Wasi Museum in Northern Peru. In H. Silverman (Ed.), *Archaeological site museums in Latin America* (pp. 64–71). Gainesville: University Press of Florida.

Ortega, V. (2003). El patrimonio arqueológico de Teotihuacán. *Responsabilidad Social. Arqueología Mexicana, 9*(64), 58–61.

Ortega, V. (2005). La reconfiguración del espacio urbano: Sociedad actual e investigación arqueológica en la periferia de la Zona Arqueológica de Teotihuacán. In M. E. Ruiz & J. Torres (Eds.), *Arquitectura y urbanismo: pasado y presente de los espacios en Teotihuacán* (pp. 703–723). México D.F.: Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia.

Ortega, V. (2012). *Teotihuacán, México. Del contexto local al entorno global en materia de manejo*. Paper presented in the ICAHM 2012 Annual Meeting. 27–30 Nov 2012. Cusco.

Ortega, V. (2013). *Teotihuacán. Nueva mirada al pasado. Arqueología de salvamento*. Zona de Monumentos Arqueológicos de Teotihuacán. Saarbrücken: Editorial Académica Española.

Pacifico, D., & Vogel, M. (2012). Archaeological sites, modern communities, and responsible tourism. *Annals of Tourist Research, 20*(20), 1588–1611.

Pozzi-Escot, D. (1985). Conchopata, un poblado de especialistas durante el Horizonte Medio. *Bulletin del l'Institut Français d'Études Andines, 14*(3–4), 115–129.

Quispe, W., Espinoza, G., Santoro, C., Gonzáles, H., & Córdova, J. (1998). Participación de la comunidad aymara en la conservación y manejo del patrimonio arqueológico de las provincias de Arica y Parinacota. In X. Navarro (Ed.), *Patrimonio Arqueológico Indígena en Chile. Reflexiones y Propuestas de Gestión* (pp. 113–124). Temuco: Universidad de la Frontera and UNESCO.

Robles, N., & Corbett, J. (2009). Carrots and sticks: Reconciling stakeholders interests in cultural landscapes. *Proceedings of the 2009 George Wright Society Conference*. http://www.georgewright.org/0951robles.pdf. Accessed 30 March 2014.

Rodríguez García, I. (1991). Teotihuacán: la cultura, la sociedad, el INAH y los investigadores. *Cuadernos de Arquitectura Mesoamericana* (Vol. 13, pp. 55–60). Facultad de Arquitectura. UNAM. México D.F.

Ruales, M., Tosso, W., & Vallejo, F. (1983). *Informe de excavaciones de rescate en el Sector D1 de Armatambo*. Report presented to the Instituto Nacional de Cultura, Lima.

Salomon, F., & Peters, R. (2009). Governance and conservation of the Rapaz *khipu* patrimony. In D. F. Ruggles & H. Silverman (Eds.), *Intangible heritage embodied* (pp. 101–125). New York: Springer.

Sanches, B. (2013). Eligiendo identidades: arqueología pública y colonialismo en Brasil. In A. Herrera (Ed.), *Arqueología y desarrollo en América del Sur. De la práctica a la teoría* (pp. 55–71). Lima: Universidad de los Andes and Instituto de Estudios Peruanos.

Schavelzon, D., & Rivera, V. (1987). La destrucción de Kaminaljuyú. *Mesoamérica, 14*, 535–551.

Schmidt, M. (1996). Popular participation and the World Bank: Lessons from forty-eight case studies. In J. Reitbergen-McCracken (Ed.), *Participation in practice: The experience of the World Bank and other stakeholders* (pp. 21–25). Discussion Paper No. 333. Washington, D.C.: World Bank.

Seki, Y. (2013). Rethinking the participation of local communities in the cultural heritage management. In *The reports of the management research symposium for cultural sites "archaeological sites and cultural heritage in public"* (pp. 4–9). Nara National Research Institute of Cultural Properties.

Trivelli, C., & Asensio, R. H. (2009). Apostando por el desarrollo territorial rural con identidad cultural: La puesta en valor del patrimonio prehispánico de la costa norte de Perú. In C. Ranaboldo & A. Schejtmann (Eds.), *El valor del patrimonio cultural. Territorios rurales, experiencias y proyecciones latinoamericanas* (pp. 201–236). Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos.

Valdés, J. (2003). El Museo Miraflores: un punto de encuentro en Kaminaljuyú. In J. P. Laporte, B. Arroyo, H. Escobedo, & H. Mejía (Eds.), *XVI Simposio de Investigaciones Arqueológicas en Guatemala, 2002* (pp. 863–870). Guatemala: Museo Nacional de Arqueología y Etnología.

Waterton, E. (2005). Whose sense of place? Reconciling archaeological perspectives with community values: Cultural landscapes in England. *International Journal of Heritage Studies, 11*(4), 309–325.

Wester, C. (2010). *Chotuna-Chornancap: Templos, rituales y ancestros Lambayeque*. Lima: Unidad Ejecutora Naylamp and Museo Brüning de Lambayeque.

Woynar, M. (2003). Arqueología y problemática social: Hacia un manejo de los recursos arqueológicos con mayor colaboración de las comunidades. In J. P. Laporte, B. Arroyo, H. Escobedo, & H. Mejía (Eds.), *XVI Simposio de Investigaciones Arqueológicas en Guatemala, 2002* (pp. 36–47). Guatemala: Museo Nacional de Arqueología y Etnología.

Zabala, M., & Roura, I. (2008). La investigación arqueológica en relación con la comunidad. Reflexiones acerca de una experiencia en educación patrimonial en el Departamento Minas. *Arqueoweb*, 10. http://www.ucm.es/info/arqueoweb/pdf/10/zabalaroura.pdf. Accessed 20 Oct 2013.

Index

J. Gamboa, *Archaeological Heritage in a Modern Urban Landscape*,
SpringerBriefs in Archaeological Heritage Management,
DOI 10.1007/978-3-319-15470-1