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Reconfiguring Archaeological Practice: Lessons from Currusté, Honduras

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Reconfiguring Archaeological Practice:
Lessons from Currusté, Honduras

by

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Committee in charge:

Professor Rosemary A. Joyce
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Professor Benjamin Porter

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Abstract

Reconfiguring Archaeological Practice:

Lessons from Currusté, Honduras

By

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Doctor of Philosophy in Anthropology

University of California, Berkeley

Professor Rosemary A. Joyce, Chair

This dissertation traces the design and implementation of a pilot program in Participatory Archaeology at the archaeological site of Currusté, Honduras, through recursive reflexivity in action. The impact and outcome of this approach to archaeological practice was transformative, giving way to more meaningful relationships with local participants, as contemporary understandings of identity, nationalism and cultural heritage, shared in daily conversations and in ethnographic interviews, emerged through the different ways that people connect and understand the places we call archaeological sites. Contemporary understandings, rooted in the epistemic positionalities of different voices and the legitimate inclusion of our diverse knowledge, became the basis for praxis in the field of archaeological practice.

By turning the archaeological site into an *open-air* classroom that included programs and activities related to the community of practice being created through our shared archaeological activity, examples of contemporary daily experiences and lives recognizable to all participants, became an approach that made archaeological knowledge more accessible to all involved. This was achieved by a reconfiguration of the *language* and *trato* that characterized the relationships that were being created and reconfigured as we discussed relationships in the past.

The ethnographic part of the Pilot Program, meant to evaluate its effectiveness as *situated learning* through apprenticeship and legitimate participation, generated a move from just observation to active participant observation in this example of ethnography in archaeology, where the active engagement, through the sharing of experiences, enriched our joint community of practice by building and fostering relationships shaped by the *confianza* of legitimate participation. The evaluation generated positive feedback and encouragement for continued programs in future archaeological work.

What also emerged during this process (a continuous recursive process) of the reconfiguration of approaches to archaeological practice were not just stories, but legitimate ways that people understand, within their own communities of practice and epistemic positionalities, their connections to and ties to a place in the present, the modern archaeological site of Currusté. These stories and experiences differ and many perspectives emerge, whether in formal interviews or during the daily moments and sharing of experiences in which the archaeological voice is superseded and knowledge about our relationships, both past and present, are eclipsed by stories of a place: how it is understood by different people, how it is felt, lived, protected, contested, pronounced and evoked in ways that are meaningful and intelligible to those living there today, different to each of the different actors that have a stake in the place, archaeologists included. Ideas of what cultural heritage means to different people are augmented, questioned and turned on their heads. These have more implications than those that exist for Currusté and certainly important elsewhere in the world.

Dedication

Para mis Papas y todita mi familia

Mis primeros y continuos maestros

Los he escuchado siempre…

Espero se encuentren reflejados en este esfuerzo

Llevo siempre su presencia, sus voces y nuestras experiencias juntos conmigo –

Aquí y en todo lo que soy y hago

GRACIAS – SIEMPRE – GRACIAS

Contents

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Chapter 1

Introduction

Much of this dissertation is based on retrospective reflections about archaeological practice, about voices struggling to be heard and those that through my mediation in the process of writing, appear here. These voices may appear in ways that those who have contributed to my research and whose voices and words I redact here, may not have imagined. They may not have understood entirely what my purpose was in our conversations. I don't think that I fully understood either. My best hope is that I can be a representative conduit of these voices, views, ideas, memories and the words and unstated gestures that could be perceived as inconsequential detritus in the overall archaeological project and its practice and structure.

I formed part of an effort that sought (and seeks) to include the participation of the diverse Honduran people and the inclusion of their voices and local narratives in the cultural heritage of the country (compare Benavides 2009). Although I did so at a grassroots level and based out of the archaeological site of Currusté, my work took place at the same time that the Instituto Hondureño de Antropologia e Historia (IHAH) sought to overhaul its goals and the meaning of Honduran cultural heritage. Theirs too was a grassroots effort, a campaign meant to change and de-*Mayanize* the institute itself, changing from the institutional history linking it to the archaeological site of Copan. It was an unprecedented struggle, with an unprecedented vision, and while the institutional body in charge today does not share this more inclusive conceptualization of Honduran cultural heritage, the implementation of the projects that were put in place before the coup d'etat of June 28th 2009, have had a resounding effect on practitioners and the public alike. These efforts not only changed the perception and vision of cultural heritage among diverse Honduran publics, but have also changed how people view their own roles in the protection, preservation, conservation and dissemination of Honduran cultural heritage. Such inclusion has also been an empowering experience for participants in these programs, an *awakening* if you will. As Ernestina Caceres explains in the documentary film *La Participación Ciudadana en la Conservación y Protección del Patrimonio Cultural,*

> "Si, la experiencia, verdad, que nosotros las mujeres hemos tenido, pues es muy bonita por que por primera vez, pues nunca se había visto esto, verdad. Y hoy que nosotros estamos tal vez participando en este grupo de mujeres, pues nos sentimos muy alegres, verdad, por que a lo menos estamos como despertando, verdad. En un ambiente muy muy precioso, donde hay participación de mujeres que se les mira el dinamismo, verdad. Que ya no somos como éramos antes. Si, ya tiene un cambio mas, ya la gente esta perdiendo hasta el miedo, todo eso verdad. Y muy muy bonito, atrae mucho, verdad, por que viene gente

de otros lados a ver como estamos trabajando."

> [Yes, the experience that we women have had, right, well it's very beautiful because for the first time, this had never happened before, right. And now that we are participating in this women's group, well we feel very happy, right, because at the very least we are like awakening. In a very very beautiful environment where there is participation by women and you can see their dynamism, right. That we are no longer like we were before. Yes, there is now another change, now people are even losing their fear, all of that, right. Very very beautiful, it attracts a lot, right, because people are coming from other places to see how we are working. (my translation)]

This documentary was commissioned by then-director of the Honduran Institute of Anthropology and History (IHAH), Dario Euraque, and serves as a testament to the impact of the cultural policies he implemented during his tenure at the IHAH. While its initial filming began prior to the coup, its completion happened after and is no longer an imperative of the current administration, which has opted not to disseminate the film. I saw it almost clandestinely, with members of a session for the 2010 Society for American Archaeology meetings in St. Louis, Missouri on April 15th, the only copy Euraque, who shared it with us, had.

In the pages of this dissertation I will draw from this film, as I feel it exemplifies some of the most salient points of my own research at Currusté and the goals that I also shared with the IHAH under Dario Euraque. This dissertation also incorporates an ethnographic evaluation of a Pilot Program for apprenticeship in archaeology that I designed at Currusté after the initial 2007-field season. The interviews which I conducted in 2008 and 2009 are indicative of the diversity of perspectives and meanings that people have about the past, but more importantly, about their own daily lives and circumstances and the relationships they see as significant and meaningful. While I include excerpts from the film I have just introduced, it merely echoes an already developed series of voices in these interviews, which form a large part of the data for this dissertation.

It is important to clarify two things before continuing. This project was not conceived because of the IHAH's own restructuring. Instead, these were two parallel developments. The Proyecto Arqueológico Currusté *was* proposed as part of the IHAH's newly articulated view of cultural heritage. This project created the opportunity for my research, but a public participatory initiative was not part of the IHAH's goals for Currusté. My project was inspired, as I will more fully discuss below, by a series of retrospective reflections after the initial 2007 field season at Currusté. At the same time, the reception of my research and its support by the IHAH can be attributed to the broader and more encompassing view of cultural heritage encouraged within the IHAH under Dario Euraque.

Secondly, my research engages significantly with issues of nationalism and identity. These questions about the influence of archaeology in the creation of nationalistic narratives of the past in the present were a fundamental part of my proposed dissertation research before I began to work in Honduras. I developed these interests originally with the intention of working in Western Mexico, a project that I had to set aside for the future.

Questions of the relationships of nationalism and archaeology are rooted in recent archaeological literature (Castro-Klaren and Chasteen 2003; Habu, Fawcett and Matsunaga 2008; Kohl and Fawcett 1996; Meskell 1998; Tomásková 2003). For the Honduran case specifically, I draw on the work of a number of scholars who have traced the historical impact of archaeology in defining national identity as Maya; the IHAH's own history of *Mayanization;* and the need for a more inclusive, multivocal and representative view of Honduras' cultural diversity in the past and present (Barahona 2002, 2009; Euraque 1996a, 1996b, 1998, 2004; Joyce 2003, 2005, 2006, 2008; Lara Pinto 2006; Rápalo Flores 2007). As this is a specifically Latin American case of nationalism, I draw on the work and research of Walter Mignolo (1994, 2000, 2005, 2010), Rodolfo Kusch (2010), and Claudio Lomnitz Adler (2001) for comparative framing.

My intention in this dissertation has been to contribute to the Honduran literature on nationalism and cultural identity and to offer new ways to think about and approach archaeological practice. These have been the two most salient goals of this research. Approaching archaeological practice by legitimately integrating a holistic engagement with the ways these important aspects of contemporary and present understandings of the modern construction of state based nationalism has had profound reverberations for Honduran cultural Heritage and Identity, is one part of my response. In addition, recognizing their impacts on local expressions of culture and identity and the exclusion from the national sphere of local cultural expression is another. In this dissertation research, archaeological practice is transformed through the active inclusion of local knowledge and the stories and experiences that are more representative of local people's connection to a place (in our terms, an archaeological site) and their own lived experiences and realities (Herzfeld 1991; Pred 1984, 1990). Doing so has allowed for the opportunity to build more meaningful relationships in one shared community of practice (archaeological research at the site), but also in the various other communities in which we participate.

Archaeological practice must also engage with an understanding of the networked (Latour 2005) and sociogenetic (Kusch 2010, citing Mignolo quoting Fritz Fanon) shaping and reshaping of human subjectivities today in order to understand the perception, interest, and even "lack of interest" in the "past", and how people see themselves *vis a vis* that "past" today. While this may seem to be outside of the purview of archaeology, understanding the historical processes that have contributed to how people view and carry on with their daily lives today, is equally important to theory and methodology in archaeological practice.

I discuss the need for this kind of broader analysis and understanding in

terms of historiographic and social contexts that I elaborate upon in other portions of this dissertation, as integral to archaeological practice and social and cultural studies more broadly. In archaeology specifically, some scholarship has both employed and advocated such socio-historic contextual approaches, due to their potential in bringing us closer to understanding, acknowledging, respecting and including how people think of the past today. Some of these conversations began forming part of archaeological dialogues and literature through the work of people like Randy McGuire (1992, 2004, 2008; see also Larkin and McGuire 2009; McGuire and Paynter 1991; McGuire and Walker 1999) but they also formed part of earlier concerns in the discipline that have had a ripple effect throughout the field in recent years.

Discussions related to what I refer to as *context* can be found in work that focuses on nationalism and archaeology (Habu, Fawcett and Matsunaga 2008; Kohl and Fawcett 1996). Similarly, such concerns and questions prevail in ethnographic studies of archaeological practice, such as those in Matt Edgeworth's edited volume, *Ethnographies of Archaeological Practice: Cultural Encounters, Material Transformations* (Edgeworth 2006) and Lena Mortensen and Julie Hollowell's edited volume, *Ethnographies and Archaeologies: Iterations of the Past* (Mortensen and Hollowell 2009). Culture heritage studies and tourism studies (Silverman 2009) have also focused discussions on this line of inquiry as integral to understanding local vs. national or international perceptions and understanding of heritage and archaeology today (see again, Mortensen and Hollowell 2009). Indigenous and community archaeologies (Ferguson 1996; Fordred Green, Green, and Neves 2003; Watkins 2005), archaeologies as political action (McGuire 2008) and the idea of cosmopolitan archaeologies (Meskell 2009) all share similar perspectives. All such examples form iterations of discourses that are seeking different approaches to archaeological practice and are certainly echoed as the bases for ideas that I discuss and further in this dissertation.

These studies are indicative of the continued need for this work and the reconfiguring of our own practice as a discipline (Breglia 2006, Castañeda 2009). I argue in this dissertation that such work is a process, and part of that process is understanding our own archaeological epistemologies (Yarrow 2006). That part of the process can also place us in a legitimate position as ethnographers, who through time and experience in a place (or places) normally called an archaeological context have become attuned to such needs (in contrast to Breglia 2006). Archaeologists who have worked *participatorially*, along with the legitimate participation of local stakeholders, can identify the epistemic dissonances of our archaeological practice and work to address them through legitimate practice as ethnographers, occupying a second and distinct position, not simply seeking to validate the archaeological work or simply to review reactions to a message presented.

How people live in their current circumstances and how they think about and look to the future is prefigured by the how they view the past. The past reflected in the interviews I conducted, however, is not the same "past" that we speak of in archaeological terms, but rather represents those pasts that speak to local

experiences and the roles through which people do or do not participate in Honduran society.

> *"Es importante que la población hondureña este enterada que tiene derecho de participar y a ser integrada en toda actividad de proyecto que tenga que ver con la conservación de su patrimonio y de la cultura en general. Como evidencia, esta experiencia a dado como resultado la participación de diferentes actores políticos, culturales, sociales que se convierten en actores multiplicadores de los conocimientos y experiencias adquiridas."*
>
> [It is important that the Honduran people know that they have a right to participate and be integrated in all project activities that have to do with the conservation of its heritage and of culture in general. As evidence, this experience has given as a result to the participation of different political, cultural and social actors that become multipliers of acquired knowledge and experience.]

(From *La Participación Ciudadana en La Conservación y Protección del Patrimonio Cultural,* 2010; my translation)

Changing Cultural Policy of The Honduran Institute

The period from 2006 to 2009 saw unprecedented efforts by the Instituto Hondureño de Antropología e Historia to promote a more inclusive representation of the past and lived realities and experiences of Hondurans and their diverse cultural heritage. The implementation of historic and anthropological projects that promote the *concientización* (conscientiousness or awareness)[1] of the Honduran public about their cultural heritage was the focus of the IHAH during this period. This *concientización* was not a top down effort, but one that began with and relied on the public and their participation at all levels of the conceptualization, development and implementation of these efforts, as described in Meta #3 of the IHAH (2006-2010).

The *metas* (goals) outlined by the IHAH for the period between 2006 and 2010 reflect an important departure from earlier conceptualizations of Honduran cultural heritage and the institution's role as steward of the country's heritage. They impart a new framing for the structure of the institute under which projects, both historical and anthropological, were developed, according to this reformulated

[1] Because *concientizacion* is not precisely translated by either of these terms, it will be used in the original Spanish from this point on.

articulation of culture heritage. Among the projects consciously developed to fulfill these goals was the Currusté archaeological project. It is thus worthwhile to translate and consider what these *metas* were:

> 1. To complete the institutional restructuration of the IHAH regarding its administrative, technical and legal aspects (2006-2007).
>
> 2. To promote archaeological, ethnological and historical investigations in the country, with particular emphasis on national history (2006-2010).
>
> 3. To decrease the destruction of our religious, historic and archaeological (including those underwater) cultural goods, and promote aggressive policies for the protection of the Nation's cultural heritage, with an emphasis on citizen participation (2006-2010).
>
> 4. To promote the dissemination, growth and transmission to the future generations of the Nation's cultural heritage through the national education system, newsprint and through word of mouth, museums and the country's cultural centers (2006-2010).
>
> 5. To conclude the Regional Development in the Copán Valley Project and its infrastructure work, such as the Sculpture Museum, the Casa K'inich Student Museum, the Regional Center for Archaeological Research and the Visitor's Center, all in Copán: The Maya Village and the Visitor's Center at the El Puente (La Entrada) Archaeological Park; and Management Plans and development of the archaeological parks of Los Naranjos (Lake Yojoa), Cerro Palenque (Sula Valley) and Plan Grande (Guanaja) (2006-2008).
>
> 6. Through the National Program for Sustainable Tourism, achieve the investigation, consolidation and start of valorization for the San Fernando de Omoa Fort and the archaeological site of Río Amarillo (2006-2010).
>
> 7. To foster, through the national and international centers of higher learning, the formation of Honduran professionals in the areas of Anthropology, History and related sciences such as Museography and Conservation (2006-2010).
>
> 8. To promote and support the establishment and participation of national cultural foundations for research, conservation, administration and dissemination of the nation's cultural heritage (2006-2008).
>
> 9. To promote bilingual and intercultural education of the indigenous cultures of the country (2006-2010).

> 10. To plan the development of new archaeological parks (for example, Yarumela and Tenampúa in the Comayagua Valley) and museums (for example, National Museum of Archaeology in Tegucigalpa and Colonial History in Comayagua) in the country (2006-2007)

Such goals had not existed in prior IHAH administrations. The administration sought to "reinvent" the IHAH, as the director and the IHAH "saw the necessity of developing actions to carry out a transformation in its form of organization, with the purpose of strengthening its forms of management and administration that would permit it to achieve the important general objective expressed in its Governance Plan", which outlines the following core mission:

> "To promote national culture as a strategic value and fundamental factor for the development of the country, so that it contributes to the strengthening of civic, ethical, moral and democratic values of the population to create new opportunities for employment and revenue." (In *Modelo Institucional y Estructura Organizativa del Instituto Hondureño de Antropología e Historia*; my translation.)

To carry out this reinvention, the IHAH created the Institutional Model and Structural Organization of the Honduran Institute of Anthropology and History, that went beyond outlining the structural problems reported by Salvador Delgado Garza in his *Situational Analysis and Strategic Vision of the Honduran Institute of Anthropology and History* in 2005, and provided and delineated the necessary actions to transform the IHAH. This model and the goals set by Dario Euraque's administration set it apart from previous administrations in its efforts to implement change, structurally and in regards to its approach to the country's cultural heritage.

On June 28th, 2009 a combination of businessmen, right wing politicians, and the Armed Forces carried out a coup d'état that overthrew the elected President of Honduras. Cultural institutions like the IHAH were directly affected in the aftermath of the coup (Euraque 2010), something I discuss in more detail later in this dissertation. In the months following the coup some employees of the IHAH were illegally removed from their positions, among them the director, Dario Euraque. This action was met with protest both in Honduras and abroad. Initiatives implemented by the IHAH under Euraque came under attack. In light of these events and their implications for cultural heritage in Honduras and the work many of us are trying to accomplish, it has become necessary in some ways to frame Honduran cultural heritage in terms of pre-and-post-coup periods.

The change of political regime following the coup d'état of June 28, 2009, and the removal and subsequent replacement of Dario Euraque as Director of the IHAH, represents a partial reversal of the cultural policies that he strived to implement and make part of the structural apparatus of the IHAH, as was stated by Rebeca Becerra, regarding the implications of the coup on Honduran cultural heritage:

> *"En casos como el que estamos viviendo la cultura se convierte en un*

> *proyecto ideológico alejado de la realidad social, tanto rural como urbana por lo que la diversidad cultural, todo el patrimonio cultural material e inmaterial se encuentran en grave peligro de desvalorización, división y desaparecimiento para integrarse o someterse a la cultura que impone la clase dominante y en este caso retrograda."*
>
> **[**In cases such as the one we are currently living, culture is converted into an ideological project removed from the social reality, whether it be rural or urban, in which cultural diversity, popular culture, all cultural heritage, material and immaterial are in grave nature of devaluation, division and disappearance by becoming integrated or subjugated to the culture imposed by the dominant class, which in this case is regressive.]
>
> (Lic. Rebeca Becerra, former director of the Hemeroteca (newspaper archives), quoted on voselsoberano.com 10/3/2009; my translation.)

For many archaeologists, anthropologists and historians the period from 2006 to 2009 was truly unprecedented, finally an opportunity to build on existing narratives about the country's diversity and complement the already rich history of Copan and the Maya. It was an opportunity to represent a broader constituency of the Honduran experience both past and present, and to be part of a full scale effort to have the IHAH reflect and be representative of diverse lived realities of Honduras' past, and especially to connect to today's Honduran publics. These were good times to be working, with great potential and possibility, in a way that had not existed before. We just had to show up and help create change. We didn't have to make the community a priority, we didn't have to work collaboratively with them, and we didn't have to include them in order to accomplish our work. But why wouldn't you?

This wasn't always the case. To listen to colleagues who have worked in Honduras for decades, who have long sought this kind of multivocal opportunity and approach to understanding Honduran cultural heritage as a truly diverse mosaic of people in the past, today and undoubtedly in the future, this was an ideal time. "Who were we kidding?" I overheard someone say after the coup, "We must have been crazy." It all seems like a dream that suddenly turned into a nightmare and yet, those people, myself among them, are witness to the fact that it was possible, it did happen. The people who participated haven't woken up and experienced short-term amnesia and are therefore not inclined to pretend that this is just another example of shifting politics and business as usual. No. Instead, those with long memories, those who are themselves now repositories of the historical memory of the IHAH, having seen and participated in this "crazy" time, express their sorrow, express their admiration and disbelief, "this had never been done or seen before."

A History of Gaining and Questioning "Expertise"

In 2007, when I first came to Currusté, I had no idea how fortunate I was. I was an itinerant volunteer, there to get more archaeological experience, like when I had come to Honduras back in June 2000 for a field school at Puerto Escondido, or in 2003 at Los Naranjos. On those occasions I arrived and took the task of my assigned excavation pit, which was usually already marked and set up for me and others to work in. Most of the time I felt clueless. I struggled to understand what I was seeing as I excavated, what it meant and how to make choices about how to proceed. It all seemed abstract and yet I was for all intents and purposes someone who was specializing in archaeology. I am reminded of one of my interviews with someone who has had a number of years of archaeological experience and who has worked at Currusté since 2008. This person's first experience in archaeology was years prior to the initiation of the Proyecto Arqueológico Currusté in 2007, when his task had been to *chapear,* to cut back the vegetation with a machete.

I had asked this person to tell me about his first experience working in archaeology and then we discussed other work.[2]

> LP: Well, first I started by cleaning the site, I knew nothing about that (implying archaeology, excavation, etc.), I started by cleaning the site…. (sound gets muffled)
>
> DJM: Do you remember what site it was?
>
> LP: The first site where I started to work was at Currusté
>
> DJM: Currusté?
>
> LP: Yes, because it was overgrown and they would take me to clean.
>
> DJM: How long ago?
>
> LP: Like four years ago
>
> DJM: Four years ago?
>
> LP: Yes, about 4 years ago the site was very dirty and overgrown, so it was ordered cleaned. So when I started and today they are giving it upkeep, it looks cleaner now and it is ordered cleaned more often. But when I started cleaning the site and where I would excavate too. So then seeing, that's all, I learned by seeing.

I then asked if he'd worked anywhere else besides Currusté…

> LP: Well, I've worked at the site of Los Naranjos in Yojoa…

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[2] Here and in the following chapters, all interviews were by me; transcribed by me; and translated by me. See the Appendix for original Spanish transcriptions of cited interviews.

DJM: Only there?

LP: Yes, but I only worked screening the dirt and the ones that were supposedly excavating were the students.

There are several things that are notable here. Even in his first description of working *chapeando,* he distinguishes between that work and *"eso",* in context implying archaeological research, which he says he knew nothing about.

I was surprised to learn that his first job *doing* archaeology had been at Currusté 4 years prior. I hadn't been aware that more archaeological work had been done there between the original excavations in the 1970s and our project starting in 2007. Yet there had in fact been some salvage archaeology there at different times of varying duration and he had gotten his start there, *chapeando, viendo* (seeing/observing) and eventually *haciendo* (doing) actual excavation.

In contrast, in my case I had begun just doing, not exactly knowing how, but with more of an understanding of the why. Still, I didn't feel confident that I was competent. There seemed to be a great lacuna. I seemed to be missing part of the process. When the person I was interviewing talked about having worked at Los Naranjos, a site I had also worked at years before having worked at Currusté, I suddenly remembered feeling like one of those students who he said were *supposedly* ("supuestamente") excavating, as he and other laborers screened the excavated soil.

I had formed a part of a group of North American students at Los Naranjos. We were the primary recipients of formal teaching of archaeological field methodology, not the local laborers hired seasonally through the IHAH. Although many of us had had other opportunities for excavation and had taken courses at our universities pertaining to archaeological theory and methodology and were receiving daily lectures about Honduran archaeology in the afternoons after returning from the field, to me it still felt like abstract knowledge. I pored over pages of our locus forms, trying to make sense of our Harris Matrices in order to understand the sequence of deposits, trying to picture and imagine how they rested and were formed over time to be what we were now excavating. In the field we utilized our senses, especially the visual and tactile. Were we actually seeing a change in soil color or texture? How were the sherds laying if we found any? It was so hard to tell, at least for me. I second-guessed myself, going back and forth.

At Los Naranjos, I was paired with another graduate student in a 1 X 2 meter excavation unit. During the field season students were also introduced to archaeological methods utilizing a magnetometer and ground penetrating radar. Prior to our arrival, the magnetometer had detected an anomaly whose characteristics, I understood, were not precisely defined. In order to investigate what was there, a 1 X 2 meter unit was placed in the area where the anomaly had been detected and we were instructed (as I remember) to go down for the purposes of verifying the presence or absence of said anomaly. (In writing this dissertation, I clarified my understanding: we were being asked to explore what had created the

anomaly, not to verify whether or not it existed. But it is instructive that I understood this differently even now.)

The truth is, I don't remember the details of the whys, we just excavated and really had no clue what we were doing. It was meant to be one of those fast and dirty pits. Except neither of the graduate students involved knew what that meant (I know I was not sure), so we'd go back and forth. I'd say, "slow down, did we miss a floor, was that a soil change?" He'd say, "we have to keep going" and then he'd pose the same questions and I would be the one saying, "we have to keep digging", neither of us entirely sure. And so we went back and forth, at times wanting to strangle each other.

Eventually, we hit a series of rocks that seemed to form something, but what? The director, the graduate advisor for both of us, came over and said, it's a wall or something like that… I had no idea what it was or whether I believed it or not, I just knew that excavating rocks was long and tedious! Besides, who was I to question the authority of such an authority? It never occurred to me to question the assumption; I had nothing to base it on. She was right, that was the anomaly. But the point wasn't whether she was right or wrong. Experience had taught her to understand what she was seeing and how she knew what she knew. The point was whether I understood it to be a wall, had she transmitted her interpretation of the deposit to me in such a way that I understood what I was seeing?

I am conscious that my advisor is reading this. No, I was nowhere close to understanding her interpretation. How did she know that? I could not visualize a wall. I was not very convinced; she had not transmitted the information and knowledge in a way that I could understand it. It was disembodied knowledge; I could not imagine the wall. She had stated her interpretation, some of the whys and continued to work with the undergraduate students, who also needed help and orientation. I continued to dig without really knowing what I was doing. The afternoon lectures on the archaeology of Honduras didn't really help me while I excavated. They were two separate events. The information wasn't coalescing for me. I was getting nowhere.

When I left Honduras that year, after a month or so, I continued on to the Bolivian Altiplano, where I had been invited to do some ceramic analysis. I knew nothing about Bolivian ceramics, but I felt closer to the archaeological literature of the Andes. In fact, I had intended to do an Andean-based dissertation. I came to work for the ceramic specialist and I had read some literature about the ceramics written by the ceramicist I would be assisting. I became proficient at drawing sherds and their profiles and at sorting them, but again, I only vaguely understood what they were telling me.

What time period were the sherds from? I wasn't sure. I spent all day in the laboratory workspace, never in the field observing the excavations, except for when we all took a break for lunch. In the evenings, when the natural light had been exhausted, I read, watched movies, babysat or just unwound with others. The

excavators worked diligently on their field forms. We all talked and enjoyed each other's company. But we rarely talked about each other's experience, what we were finding and what it meant (nobody really wants to talk about that anyway, after a long day). Unfortunately for me, I sorted sherds in a void, counting and weighing, counting and weighing. It's tedious and yes, it's boring. I was confined to the lab area and hardly ever out in the field participating in excavations where I might get the opportunity to understand the kinds of deposits that generated the material culture I was working on. I was nowhere close to understanding Tiwanaku I from II (I really don't remember and am probably mischaracterizing the ceramic sequence…) or the regional history of the area. I had a vague knowledge, but it wasn't coming together here either. Again, I felt as though I was missing parts of the process. I possessed some knowledge but it was very compartmentalized and rarely did different knowledge seem to merge to provide greater understanding. It was again that feeling of disembodied knowledge.

One could say that I did possess an ability that contributed to these projects in a broader day-to-day sense, my ability to speak Spanish. However, even language was not enough to communicate something to someone in Bolivia, more precisely in the rural community that housed the project. My interaction with the Aymara community was very limited (and yet immersed) and mostly relegated to instruction on cooking or cleaning. Cleaning especially was important, especially when it came to washing sherds. The water was ice cold and we had a rotating series of Aymara women fulfilling that duty, which meant weekly "re-training". Most of the time, when sherds were not properly washed, I had to go out and try to communicate with these women, whose primary language is Aymara. It was a great challenge, straddling the line between languages and trying to communicate that they were not accomplishing their jobs to our standards, without being disrespectful. Certainly we enjoyed conversation; what we talked about, I have since forgotten.

I distinctly remember however, something that became a constant annoyance to me. The large number of school children that filtered through outside of the lab, eager to catch a glimpse of what we were up to inside. They crowded the window, obstructing the natural light essential to our work. Niceties would shift to annoyance and restrained demeanor, again, not wanting to upset anyone, but extremely annoyed.

I have since learned that the directors of the Bolivian project did in fact have an outreach component to their overall project goals. As with many others, my head was shoved in the work, in my case the ceramics, for others maybe the pit or the scientific enterprise. It never occurred to me to invite the kids in and talk to them about what we were up to. I didn't have time for that. My purpose there was focused on the work. Although I shared a beautiful experience with people from the community, it rarely went beyond gathering their perspective or opinion about what our purpose as a whole was. Sure, people were pleased with our presence. It presents an economic opportunity and a way to leave a legacy for their children, so that their kids will understand the importance of these places, and the people that

came before. It wasn't that I was uninterested in forming relationships, on the contrary, I was and did. But what were they based on? The people of the community, in particular those providing the service duties for the project, weren't *tomados en cuenta* (taken into account) in the same way that project members (archaeologists) were. It seemed, for me, as though our duties and roles were just as compartmentalized as our knowledge.

Reflecting on this time during my own acquisition of archaeological training and knowledge, I realize that I hadn't yet understood the relevance and importance of collaboration and the distinct relationships that could be built through our work. These relationships are not relegated to the roles we perceive to require archaeological "expertise", and those of local residents as the purveyors of service and labor. Everyone is taken into account, but under different parameters. Those then structure the kinds of relationships we build. These structures are significant: built on the premise of a mutual and beneficial collaboration, but in which the relationships often, in my experience, did not transcend these prescribed roles.

Even the advantage of having language on my side was insufficient for the type of collaborative relationships that my current work reveals to be of utmost importance, relationships that are the focus of this dissertation. There must be a disposition toward seeing the collaborative relationship as mutual and beneficial. Yes, everyone gets something from it, but it mustn't be a simple transaction. Of course, I am oversimplifying here. The relationships of which I speak are not transactions but engagements *donde se le toma en cuenta a la gente de otra manera* [where people are taken into account in a different way]. Forming such relationships is part of a process that cannot be an outcome of what Lave and Wenger (1991) call "peripheral participation" by people undertaking the labor and outside of the broader archaeological endeavor.

In terms of the acquisition of skills and knowledge to both make the archaeological field component a better experience and gain more expertise, I never felt quite there. Fieldwork can be very isolating and also a solitary enterprise, very insular and defined by the similarities shared by those engaging in the pursuit of understanding the past. So, we talk to each other, as in to those *like us*, students (undergrad or graduate students) and other professionals. Somehow we end up speaking the same language, we try to get each other to understand. We exist in a community of likeminded individuals. We may not always agree with each other, but our "language" makes sense to us (Joyce 2002).

While I was able to talk to local people, I hardly bothered to talk to the people who worked for us, because there is that distinction. People work for us as laborers and hardly alongside us. We enjoy the countries we go to visit as a result of our work; we grow to fall in love with places and people via these experiences. We develop friendships with people and try to sustain them over time and distance. We get to know each other. But we rarely stop and look up from our clipboards and holes in the ground and think of the people doing the brute labor as more than employees there to perform a job. We train them to do straightforward things: to fill buckets with dirt,

screen the dirt and separate all the material culture, “here’s what we’re looking for.” We *allow* (employ) them to excavate under careful supervision and once we are satisfied with their competence, less babysitting is involved.

I could say to someone employed in archaeological fieldwork, “Take that down 10 centimeters” and the person would follow instructions, because I said so, but have no idea why. On the other hand, if someone told me to dig 10 centimeters, because I had a vague understanding of the whys, I would be so concerned, so anxious I was doing it incorrectly. I knew I was looking for something that would speak to me, indicate in some way, shape, or form how to proceed. I had ideas about how to understand what I was excavating and how to accommodate my method and skill as I excavated to include what I learned or unearthed from one moment to the next. That requires not just the use of our senses but our being immersed and enmeshed in engagement at different levels at once, knowing more beyond our pit or the site itself, in relation to a broader array of things: how excavation here, and what it generates, relates to wider processes, networks of things and people.

Archaeological excavation is not automation and people are not automatons, yet the people working for us seem like outsiders to what we are doing, even though they are integral to what we are doing. Once the basic skill set is acquired, then it is much easier to proceed, with the instruction to fulfill a task. Thinking is out of the equation.

What type of relationships are we archaeologists forming this way? What are archaeologists creating and building, especially in communities or situations where we want people to care about archaeological sites? Speaking as an archaeologist, we also want local people to care that *we are bringing them their history*, knowledge about their ancestors and the past. Who do they think about when they think of their ancestors and the past? What image or images are conjured when they think of the past? It probably resembles nothing like what we assume they should envision.

The images conjured may be alien to what archaeologists perceive as important pasts (see Gordillo 2009; Jacobs and Porter 2009; Rodriguez 2006, among others). We’ve made the mistake (I certainly have), of assuming that everyone will be interested in what we have to say, as if it bares any semblance to things of import to others or indicative of similar ways of life. Not everyone is going to either care (although, this framing it in terms of "caring" is not really accurate) or feel and think about things in the way we do or want them to.

The “Practicality” of Archaeological Practice

With the Currusté Project assuming a central role for development into a National Park, our participation in the field was highly visible, with large stakes riding on producing results with limited resources and time. Given the priority of the project to the IHAH, our motley crew of archaeologists took to the field with some expectations rooted in privilege. One of these was that we would have experienced

Institute archaeologists. Unfortunately, this was not the case. Instead, all of the experienced Institute excavators, of which there are only a few, were already working on other projects.

The regional director for the Department of Cortés, Lic. Aldo Zelaya, had only recently joined the Institute, following the untimely death of his predecessor, Lic. Juan Alberto Durón, who had a history with the Institute going back to the early 1980s. Durón was one of a small group of Hondurans to have archaeological experience leading to permanent employment by the Institute (Velíz 1983). This transition, initiated following an accident and thus without prior planning, raised a number of challenges for the La Lima Regional Office. Among them was finding a labor force from the La Lima area and from Currusté to participate in our excavations. We were able to find people from La Lima. Currusté, however, presented a more difficult proposition. We were assisted by Arqla. Geraldina Tercero, who was contracted by the IHAH to develop the museological component of the Currusté project, and who had collaborated extensively with the local community as part of her work.

So in 2007, we began work with a crew of five women from the United States: the director, another Ph.D., a professional archaeologist and 2 PhD candidates (including me). We laid the grid and staked the site with hundreds of stakes made for us as the week wore on and Institute employees and contractees began to be hired and participate. Stakes were placed 2, 4 or 8 meters apart on the grid and a shovel test pitting program began. These are described as a quick way of understanding the nature of deposits across an area/site and are really straightforward when they are explained to us (see Lucas 2001). I do not recall how this was explained in that first season but remember later, reflecting on how this may have been perceived by the seasonal laborers hired to work excavating at Currusté, that they must have wondered why we were doing this.

Explaining how to excavate shovel test pits consisted of a simple set of instructions: excavate a hole the diameter of the width of an average sized shovel on the southwest corner of the stake. Dig it to sterile soil (60 - 80 cms…) or unless otherwise unable to do so due to obstructions presented by rocks, cobble stone, etc. In the course of the excavation, be aware of the presence or absence of material remains such as ceramics, bajareque, obsidian or carbon. Carefully and quickly document and draw the plan view of the placement of the shovel test pit in the space provided on the PAC form, a scaled space provided for drawings a 2 X 2 meter area. You imagine that the stake itself constitutes the SW corner of a potential 2 X 2 meter excavation unit.

How are these instructions presented to a group of people never having participated in archaeological excavations? I had never excavated a shovel test pit, but I grasped the concept, although at times to think abstractly about the stake being the corner of an unstrung unit was difficult, and I accidentally would put it on the other side, on the SE corner.

The people hired from La Lima to work as excavators and sherd washers at Currusté were either related to or knew someone who worked at the La Lima regional Institute office, but none had ever excavated before. For the Currusté crew the situation was very similar, but the relation was to the Guifarro family that had once owned the land, whether actually relatives or friends is difficult now to ascertain, as there was quite a bit of turnover in those first weeks of excavation. Those coming for work from around Currusté showed up at the site in the mornings and talked to either Project Director Dr. Jeanne Lopiparo or other Spanish speaking staff, myself among them, and asked for work. None of these people had ever had excavation experience, nor did they know exactly what it was that these *gringas* were up to. At the very least, those coming from La Lima had the advantage of, I assume, having someone to *mas o menos* orient them about the work they would be performing on the rides to and from the site, as we all traveled together in government vehicles provided by the Institute. As for the Currusté Crew, their experience was different given that this work represented something with which they were completely unfamiliar.

Archaeology entails a great deal of manual labor, and requires quite a bit of physical strength for excavation. Therefore, the requirements for employment as laborers are the ability to dig and transport large quantities of soil and skills with the machete. For people seeking employment in archaeological excavation, being physically strong was a desired criterion. There was also the desire to try and incorporate as many people from the local community as there were coming from La Lima. We wanted to include women on work in the field and undertaking excavation. Our own instructions regarding the excavation of shovel test pits and the expansion of excavations to 2 X 2 meter pits that season, were very hurried, especially the shovel test pits. As I remember, I showed people the general placement of the test pit and instructed them to dig and look for any changes in soil color, texture, but most importantly the presence of artifacts or lack thereof, as I recorded and described the presence or absence of material culture and its densities on the locus form. Most of the crew was new to archaeology and we also went through a "training" process in that first week or so when we began to break ground. It was not only about digging holes. All the soil had to be screened for ceramics, obsidian and other material remains. Our learning what to look for while screening consisted of a very informal, one-on-one discussion and example at the screening stations by one of the *gringas* and the person or people with whom they were working. The purpose of these STPs was not formally discussed, instead we emphasized *"quick and dirty".*

In retrospect, during that first season, and often, it feels, in similar situations, the "big picture" goals were not really shared, not included in the "training". People excavating seem like just employees, which of course they are. It is a difficult realization, especially thinking about it in retrospect. In the moment, other goals become a priority, given the limited time we are able to be in the field each day and our time in the country in general: the expected results desired by the Institute, the Minister of Culture, the other teams relying on the results to incorporate into their own interpretive designs, the *municipios*, etc.

Dr. Lopiparo was invited to participate in a number of planning meetings as well as public lectures at the Museo Regional de San Pedro Sula over the course of the 2007 field season. These were well attended by students from the local branch of the national Universidad Pedagogica [teachers' college], Honduran and international scholars, as well as the San Pedro Sula news media and members of the Honduran general public. As a member of the PAC project, I was able to attend these meetings and lectures in support of colleagues and to gain more insight about planned developments at the site and as the field season went on, the progress of all collaborators. What was a non-obligatory participation (on Saturdays after grueling weeks in the field) for those of us volunteering on Dr. Lopiparo's project, became an opportunity to learn, ourselves, about the extent of the overall project and more about the prehispanic history of the region, which Dr. Lopiparo explained in palatable ways in these public talks.

Our own positions as members of the Proyecto Arqueologico Currusté granted us differential access to what were public and yet specialized conversations, in a way that was not accessible to others. Not all members of PAC however, shared the same access, even after we realized that the inclusion and presence of other project members was sorely missing. Getting local participants to public talks was only half of the problem, and looking back, was one that could have been negotiated had we had the resources. These talks helped me, at least, to understand the "bigger picture". But they were not readily accessible conceptually to all Honduran project members working with us, because they were too scientifically abstract and not intended entirely for a general Honduran public. Nonetheless, while they would likely be unable to get transportation into San Pedro Sula for these talks, to be invited to them and acknowledged by *us* would have made a difference. They may have felt taken into account. A sense of the "bigger picture" which I saw emerge from these talks, in tandem with the work they were performing would have made more sense of the project.

For me, understanding this "bigger picture" and its potential for presentation to diverse public(s) in Honduras was a turning point in many ways as what I perceived was a viable way of offering multiple narratives of the past, in contrast to a single monolithic history focused on the Maya and Copan (Mortensen 2009). This could be a potential case study similar to that I had envisioned for Mexico, where Aztecness and Mayaness are embedded in the popular imagination and symbolism of Mexican nationalism, identity and archaeology. The abstraction of the archaeology coalesced on the ground, being in the mix and "doing archaeology". It was for me an opportunity do what I saw as impossible in Mexico, develop a model inclusive of other ways of knowing and understanding the past. I saw the IHAH's efforts being a necessary way of concretizing arguments stemming from critiques of nationalist ideologies, and attempting to implement the message of a pluralistic Honduran past.

Nonetheless, we embarked on an archaeological field project where a great majority of those working at Currusté, myself included, were not exactly prepared and familiar with the archaeology of the Ulúa Valley. This became very frustrating

and difficult to manage. There was a differentiation between the North American archaeologists and the local seasonal labor force. While in the 2008 field season, I hoped to bridge that gap, it is not entirely "bridgeable". There was a difference in the activities that we, North American archaeologists, engaged in and a difference in the activities that they, Honduran locals, engaged in as part of their work at the site (see also Carman 2006). Our own relationships were/are more closely tied with the "intellectual" communities rather than with the "non-intellectual", even though we were working on a common project with the local participants, not with the public intellectuals who were often the audience for lectures.

Theories of Learning and Archaeological Practice

In thinking about and through all these disquieting and disarticulated memories I found a way to analyze these experiences and my reflections on them in the work of Jean Lave and Elliot Wenger on learning as a social activity, described in their analysis of the formation of "communities of practice" in *Situated Learning: Legitimate Peripheral Participation* (1991). They postulate that learning is an inherently social activity within "communities of practice", in which the roles of participants are shaped and reshaped via engagement in activities, rather than by the structure in which engagement takes place (Lave and Wenger 1991:53). In their model, as in my experience, learning is shared among a group of people who are in close contact and develop shared understandings of their common tasks and the best ways to undertake them.

In their review of apprenticeships that work, Lave and Wenger stress the importance of *legitimate participation*, meaningful contribution to a shared and jointly understood project (Freire 2003). They explore how individual participants proceed to gain greater experience through participation, experience that lends them a degree of skill authority. In this model, merely being an archaeology graduate student should not have placed me in a different sphere. Expertise is gained by participation and the entire suites of skills involved have to be recognized and made accessible to all participants.

So from the perspective of Lave and Wenger, my sense that there were two separate worlds, one of the people employed and the other of the people designated "archaeologists" by schooling and status, was accurate: there were two *communities of practice* that were not actually sharing common goals and understandings. My challenge was to devise a way to change that reality, to create a *single* community of learning at Currusté that would include everyone, regardless of status and experience. Lave and Wenger's research indicated that this would require structuring participation so that everyone was able to contribute comfortably at their own level of understanding, while also creating opportunities for real substantive contributions on everyone's part at every level. Luckily, the conditions existed for me to implement a pilot research project to address these goals.

Situated Learning: Participatory Archaeology at Currusté

"Participatory archaeology" as approached in this project combines the interdisciplinary theory and methodology from the fields of anthropological archaeology, sociology and education. Participatory archaeology is usually included in, but is not identical to, "community archaeology", something that will be addressed throughout this dissertation. One problem is the definition of "community". Here, I am concerned more with who has a stake in understanding the past. Involvement with stakeholders has always been an important aspect of archaeological practice (Wylie 2005). What is important to distinguish however, is which stakeholders we've privileged in the course of our professional relationships (Watkins, Pyburn and Cressey 2000). What types of collaborative relationships have we focused on and with whom? Our professional exchanges and relationships have been mainly directed to collaboration with stakeholders in professional capacities and seldom with the actual people we work alongside.

In the social and historical milieu of present day Honduras, stakeholders in archaeological research are varied. Particularly in the area near San Pedro Sula, where continuity of indigenous identity is denied by local people and national government alike, and historical research documents complex histories, the stakeholders cannot adequately be defined as "descendant communities", the dominant model addressed in community archaeology. Research questions in participatory archaeology, as Alex Geurds (2007), echoing a statement by Linda Derry (1997), suggests, should be inclusive of all interested stakeholders (see also Cavalcante Gomes 2006). As Derry says, "if the community does not help to define the questions, the answers probably will not interest them" (Derry 1997: 24, quoted in Moser et al. 2002).

Over the course of the long gap in archaeological research at Currusté after the late 1970s, the site had been acquired by the IHAH from Don Roberto Guifarro under circumstances that to this day are a motive for discord and contention by his descendants (see Chapter 4). The portion of the land today known as the "Sitio Arqueologico Currusté" is adjacent to property now owned by Doña Marta Guifarro, Don Roberto's daughter, her children and grandchildren. Other members of the Guifarro family also live in the vicinity. This is a different kind of descendant community, descendants of the original proprietor of the land, which Doña Marta tells us had been in her family since 1904, land acquired by the IHAH as the Currusté archaeological site. This descendant community would become a primary source of the seasonal laborers employed to undertake archaeological excavations at the site.

At Currusté, the program in Participatory Archaeology evolved because something was missing and felt wrong to me. There was a profound disconnect between us, the archaeologists, and the local residents from Currusté and the near-by town of La Lima, hired to provide labor to the project. There was a disconnect between those things of import to them, to the archaeological community, and to the

professional entities charged with representing Honduran interests in national patrimony. We seemed to work in complete isolation from each other at all levels of the social network.

The Pilot Program in Participatory Archaeology at Currusté had expected and unexpected results, but the most important results were new kinds of relationships that were created through this project. That should really not be such a revelation. It is nonetheless important to encourage the building of relationships, to make possible these sorts of involvements with people. It should not matter whether the relationships are with indigenous or descendant communities, or with people who do not identify as either, but whose stake can be having owned and lived on the land on which we excavate and their memories of the people, things and traditions of their relatives and friends associated with what we call a site.

It is imperative that we not only approach archaeological work with this in mind, but that it becomes part of archaeological practice. It is the ethical thing to do and something that the discipline has sought to make part of archaeological practice since at least the 1990s (Geurds 2007). The Currusté case study doesn't so much comply with guidelines of community archaeology, since the diverse Honduran publics who are stakeholders at Currusté are not indigenous or descendant communities envisioned in much of this literature (for discussion of how communities can be defined, see Cavalcante Gomes 2006; Derry and Malloy 2003; Greer, Harrison and McIntye-Tamwoy 2002; Grimwade and Carter 2000; Marshall 2002; McClanahan 2006, 2007; Moser et al. 2002; Watkins, Pyburn, and Cressey 2000). Rather, it takes as fundamental relationships in the present among all the people engaged in day-to-day archaeological activities, and residents of the area where these activities take place, and includes and encourages their participation. The Pilot Project developed at Currusté represents one model of how to treat participants as actual stakeholders.

Honduran national identity has been linked strongly with a uniform Maya past. This has engendered a monolithic understanding of the past and the suppression of multi-local, multiethnic and multilingual pasts suggested by the presence of speakers of a wider range of indigenous languages living in a diversity of societies in the past. The inability of archaeology to represent such pluralism has been identified as a major failing both in its ability to depict the past and in its ability to connect with diverse groups in the present (Euraque 1996a, 1996b, 1998, 2004; Joyce 2003, 2005; Lara Pinto 2006; Maldonado, Joyce, and Sheptak 2008; Maldonado and Mortensen 2009).

The IHAH's mission under director Dario Euraque sought to "expand the definition and encompass the diversity of what constitutes "cultural heritage" in Honduras" (Maldonado, Lopiparo, and Morell-Hart 2009). One of the ways that the IHAH set out to accomplish this *concientizacion* was through the development of new national parks, representing histories of groups other than the Maya, Currusté among them. Currusté was one among a series of sites in northern Honduras to be developed as national parks to encompass the histories of the cultural diversity that

exemplifies Honduras today, as in the past.

In summer 2009, before the coup, the IHAH organized a series of workshops over a six-week period with a diverse array of stakeholders as a means toward the *concientizacion* of the public. At the conclusion of this series of workshops, participants were awarded certificates in acknowledgement of their new status as potential *guarda recursos* (guardians of cultural resources). People from among this group, including participants in the work at Currusté, are taking an active stance to see the inclusion of their understanding of the world become part of the narratives that represent all Hondurans. At Currusté, our project put people today and our relationships with them at the forefront of our archaeological practice. Doing this type of work is difficult; it involves not just participant observation but full immersion. It takes effort, but is not impossible.

In reflecting on this project, the pragmatic aspects of normative archaeological practice, like devising questions and developing a research design to address those questions (that undoubtedly changes) are what we set out to apply in practice, in the field, what we analyze to evaluate our outcomes. I set out with those things in mind, with a language rooted in an archaeological voice, tied to that epistemic positionality and academic formation and preparation. My own reflections as an archaeologist both in and out of the *field* contradicted other aspects of the distinct and disparate positionalities that are embodied in my own personhood, existing in concurrent and continuously (overlapping) changing communities of practice (compare Breglia 2006). My awareness of different positions developed over time. Epistemic dissonance pervaded my experience as I reflected, even before identifying the impetus for the pilot project I developed, carried out, evaluated and describe here as an attempt to bridge archaeological epistemology. My attempt was intended not just to pertain to a single place, Currusté, but what it could tell us about wider discussions in which the field is now engaged, about local knowledge(s), understandings and perspectives on those places we call archaeological sites.

I did two separate things to address the dissonance between my archaeological position and other positions. I wanted to address what I have elsewhere described as an untenable simple division of stakeholders into archaeologists and descendant communities (Maldonado 2010; Maldonado and Mortensen 2009), as some of the literature that pertains to Community and Indigenous Archaeology has done and at times continues to do. At Currusté, as the reader will find, as in places the world over, this model is not adequately representative of the lived realities, perspectives and understandings of people and their stakes in a place (compare Rodman 1992). I hope to have conveyed, in what follows, why such a bifurcation is untenable, not just for Currusté and other places, but for archaeology itself.

One of the things that has emerged from this project, prompted through my own experience in the field and the body of literature that I was able to engage with, is the conclusion that as a discipline archaeology needs to problematize and scrutinize the use of terms like community, stakeholders, descendant and

indigenous, because they have different meaning, weight and understandings in different contexts and to different people. What holds in one place or archaeological context may not be the same in another. My intent is not to dismiss, but to augment the already existing, rich literature that has allowed me to speak in a voice that bespeaks other experiences beyond the archaeological as a way to understand and know. Therefore, it is my hope that this work serves as a way to extend the conversation and dialogue to allow us to include multiple voices in our work and practice by reconfiguring our approach and relationships with local residents/people of differentially participating "communities."

In the first part of this dissertation (Chapters 1-3), the reader will engage with my archaeological voice and positionality, as I set up why these questions became important for me and what I would do to evaluate them after developing a model for Participatory Archaeology at Currusté. In the remaining chapters (Chapters 4-6) another voice (other voices) emerges, unknowingly, as I grapple with the ethnographic component of the dissertation, originally meant to evaluate the Pilot Program itself (which I did). This voice is characterized by continued dissonance, that that which we (archaeologists) perceive as important bears little semblance to that which others in the places where we work perceive as important. Certainly our preoccupation with time must be reconfigured to account for disparate understandings of time as we listen to people, by actively engaging and allowing ourselves to be directed in conversations and threads that may seem unconventional and unrelated to our archaeological enterprise.

Chapters 4-6 are parts of such threads. The archaeological voice is superseded and knowledge about our relationships, both past and present, eclipsed by stories of a place: how it is understood by different people, how it is felt, lived, protected, contested, pronounced and evoked in ways meaningful and intelligible to those living there, different to each of the different actors that have a stake in the place, archaeologists included (Rodman 1992). Ideas of what cultural heritage means to different people are augmented, questioned and turned on their heads. These have more implications than those that exist for Currusté, Copán or Honduras in general. Archaeological sites like Copán, a UNESCO World Heritage Site, have become representative of a universal stake and ownership of a collective human history. Yet this understanding of sites like this are obstacles to seeking out and listening to the diversity of voices that abound, and should also be included as part of the storie(s) of places in archaeological practice.

The dissonance that is exemplified in this dissertation is what I perceived and felt. Inherent in archaeological practice as it stands there's a disconnect. Our challenge then becomes addressing that dissonance. As Dario Euraque told me during an interview in the fall of 2009

> well of course there's a disconnect, there's a profound disconnect. In fact, the Institute is founded on that disconnect, there was never an interest to connect. So saying that there is a disconnect, is in and of itself, not provocative, that is… What's important to me is how to approach the problem,

the problem is clear…

The ethnographic conversations in the second half of this dissertation represent a nascent approach to addressing this disconnect. This approach is rooted in the building of relationships, through activities like those described in the first part of the dissertation. To find ways of actively incorporating discussions like those that emerged from these relationships in our archaeological practice begins addressing those disconnects, even though these are yet understood as not entirely bridgeable, but something we can and should work toward understanding and addressing in legitimate ways. That way for me, became relationships that may start with archaeology but that allow us to go in many other directions guided by the things that others see as meaningful and important, even when they don't mirror our own ideas of importance or value. Through that we can begin to understand where the dissonance(s) resides, listening to different voices and perspectives of people today and those voices will vary.

This dissertation therefore, documents the deliberate attempts to foster such relationships and, through ethnographic interviewing, assesses what aspects of the pilot program worked and where there is room for future development. It begins with a more extended discussion of the methodologies involved in Chapter 2. This is followed by a discussion of the Pilot Project itself (Chapter 3). In Chapter 4, I turn to a discussion of some of the rich ethnographic data about concepts of place and past that came from the ethnographic interviewing I carried out. Chapter 5 continues to present the ethnographic material, with an emphasis on the relationships between archaeology, history, and identity. I follow this with a discussion of the ethnography as *testimonio* in Chapter 6. In the final chapter of the dissertation, I underline what might be considered generalizable findings from this pilot study of the creation of a single community of practice at an archaeological site that does not limit participation by interested stakeholders in advance either to those who can claim the status of descendants, or those who have pre-existing archaeological experience.

Chapter 2

Methodology

Participation is always based on situated negotiation and renegotiation of meaning in the world. This implies that understanding and experience are in constant interaction - indeed, are mutually constitutive. The notion of participation thus dissolves dichotomies between cerebral and embodied activity, between contemplation and involvement, between abstraction and experience: persons, actions, and the world are implicated in all thought, speech, knowing, and learning.

Lave and Wenger (1991: 51-52)

In 2007, I was part of the archaeological team undertaking the first field season at Currusté under the direction of Dr. Jeanne Lopiparo. Since one of our explicit goals was community participation, I monitored how conventional field approaches worked, and identified the lack of engagement with local workers, a primary stakeholding group, as a normal outcome of archaeological field practices. In committing to continue in 2008, I proposed directly addressing this problem. Prior to the 2008 archaeological field season at Currusté I designed a Pilot Program for apprenticeship in archaeology to be carried out over the course of the 10-week field season. The goals of this pilot project were the inclusion of workshops and activities as training modules for the preparation of both apprentice archaeologists and experienced excavators with archaeological skill authority. These workshops provided instruction on archaeological field methodology in conjunction with broader discussions pertaining to archaeological theory. Because literacy is not universal in Honduras, these workshops focused on social engagement in activities promoting differential levels of skill and knowledge, making the archaeological site an open-air classroom that gradually generated dialogue among participants and confidence in an interactive setting.

Following Lave and Wenger (1991), this procedure was based on the understanding that learning is a social practice and routine performance, where the instructional setting cannot be divorced from the actual hands-on performance. The Pilot Program focused on three primary modes of engagement: language, visual and hands-on. The workshops were structured to promote a move from peripheral participation to more central roles, to create a positive outcome amongst participants, a sense of belonging (inclusivity), confidence, and a continued desire for the re-creation of such programs as archaeological work continued at the site.

The majority of activities and workshops took place at the site of Currusté over the course of the 10-week field season. Each week we conducted 2 workshops, one at the beginning of the week and the other on Friday. As we wrapped up work for the week we took the last hour of work to do a walk-through of the excavation

units and talked about the deposits, their contexts, and associations. We did this as a group around the excavation units. We also created a designated space with large tree trunks as benches to sit and discuss different topics. We discussed topics such as archaeological interpretation and the importance of the site and the region in the past, by utilizing modern events that were representative of participants' daily lives, such as weddings, *quinceañearas*, etc. These helped make topics such as trade and social networks, among others, more readily understandable to local participants. These discussions generated many questions: "Why don't you excavate the mounds?" or "Do you take the things we find to the United States?", among others. In addition to these weekly workshops, every moment was an opportunity for an impromptu "class", especially during excavation, in and around the excavation units, where we would talk about archaeological methodology and other topics.

Beyond on-site activities, "field trips" to the Museo de Antropologia e Historia in San Pedro Sula and to the IHAH regional installations in La Lima were organized and were an opportunity to contextualize the work participants had been engaged in for two field seasons. To our surprise, this was the first group of local laborers of an archaeological project to be brought to the museum to contextualize their work. This visit to the museum formed part of the *concientizacion* of the group regarding archaeology and the Ulua Valley. During this visit, some participants were overheard talking about their desire for greater care and detail in excavation. This outcome came from an increased understanding of the broader implications of their work, and the care they saw as they toured the lab facilities at the Museum and saw material they had helped excavate in the process of restoration.

Finally, in order to understand how the program actually was working, I undertook ethnographic interviewing with a range of participants. These included laborers, members of the family that has lived on the site since long before it was developed as an archaeological park, and museum professionals and students and faculty in archaeology.

In summary, the methods I employed were (1) learner-centered pedagogy (based in theories of communities of practice); and (2) reflexive ethnography. The remainder of this chapter considers these methods in detail (see Schram 2006).

My reflections about my experiences in the field during the 2007 field season centered on two specific issues that these methods were designed to address. The first issue with which I was concerned was about labor practices and my own position of power within the archaeological project and the structured hierarchies in place, whether due to social and/or archaeological practices. The second issue stemmed from the first and dealt more pointedly with the nature of archaeological practice and how as archaeologists, we know what we know, how this is learned, taught, represented and presented to diverse publics. These two concerns were not and are not separate but rather intrinsic, in my view, to what I see as a problematic issue not just in archaeological practice but more generally our integration and membership into communities of practice, whether these be the personal

relationships we engage in in daily life to those that are occupational, as in related to employment, in nature.

For the Currusté case study both kinds of communities were at play and at times these were indistinct. In addition, there were other communities tied to the place, yet distinct and with little overlap in communication, dialogue and engagement with those living there, working there and with more personal attachments and investments.

My use of the term community is based on the definition of Lave and Wenger (1991):

> "In using the term community, we do not imply some primordial culture-sharing entity. We assume that members have different interests, make diverse contributions to activity, and hold varied viewpoints. In our view, participation at multiple levels is entailed in a *community of practice*. Nor does the term community imply necessarily co-presence, a well-defined, identifiable group, or social visible boundaries. It does imply participation in an activity system about which participants share understandings concerning what they are doing and what that means in their lives and for their communities."

The preoccupation with the term community in archaeology may benefit from more critical engagement with ethnographers. I look primarily at Lomnitz (2001) when I discuss nationalism and his critique of Benedict Anderson's (1983) *Imagined Communities*, especially as this involves discourses on nationalism, another strand related to discourses on communities. An approximation to legitimate collaboration, inclusion and participation was possible at Currusté through the reconfiguration of our conception and implementation of archaeological practice to create a learning community of practice as defined by Lave and Wenger (1991).

The design of the Pilot Program was such that the site itself would become an "open-air" classroom, hence the designation of the term *clase* or *clasecita* in reference to different activities related to the apprenticeship program I designed. The Pilot Program was rooted in an established network of professional relationships that preceded me and included diverse scales of interaction and engagement within the different communities of practice existing within Honduran archaeological practice. It exemplifies how a community of practice forms through participation.

Dr. Lopiparo's receptive disposition for the integration of the Pilot Program in the project she directed at Currusté was a first step toward the real integration of the program in the broader Proyecto Arqueológico Currusté (PAC). The second step was being on board with the activities we would all be engaging in as a group. It was important therefore for Dr. Lopiparo to have a clear understanding of my goals and the methods I would utilize in the field in order to create a community of practice through archaeology at Currusté. This also entailed negotiation between us,

especially given that the Pilot Program was being introduced to the IHAH in the official Plan of Work for 2008 that she would be submitting to the Institute, as director, as per their requirements for approval of requisite permits. It was a practice that she was familiar with through her extensive experience and relationship with the IHAH (an expected part of the community of practice of archaeology). My plan of work therefore had to necessarily be within the auspices of the broader PAC and included in the Plan of Work, in such a way that our goals and the methods necessary to accomplish and evaluate those goals would be clear and mutually agreed upon.

Another step required was a discussion with members of the project, explaining and describing the pilot program, its purpose, and how we would be incorporating it into daily practice in the field. Every member working at the site needed to be on board. In the abstract, the goals of the pilot program and its design worked, and generated a great deal of discussion and revision with Dr. Lopiparo even months before the season was to begin. On the ground however, we faced many challenges that we had to negotiate daily in order to meet our overall PAC project goals. For example, would my individual goals for the pilot program detract from the progress of the PAC? How would it impact the project, both positively and negatively? Would I be able to negotiate the roles I would inhabit and be responsible for, i.e., operation crew chief and "director" of my own project within the PAC, among others (with all that entailed)? It was a very difficult negotiation. I had made a commitment to form part of the project in the capacity of crew chief, to oversee Operation 24, and simultaneously enact the pilot program activities on the site, conduct *clases,* interviews, be a participant observer and take notes. Could I do it all successfully? This was a great challenge.

Participants in the Pilot Program for Participatory Archaeology

The participants in the pilot program included Hondurans and North Americans who formed the field crew for excavations at Currusté in 2008. All together, this was a total of 17 people. The majority of the people interviewed were women between the ages of 19 and 60+ years of age (eight women). Among the men (seven), there was a range between 14 years old and 50+ years of age. The groups can be categorized as museum personnel (three women and two men), apprentice archaeologists (three women and five men) and two local members of the community (both women). The interviews ranged from approximately 30 minutes to 2 hours. I also undertook one interview with the director of the IHAH and one with the local museographic consultant for the development of the Currusté national park.

Following the approach of encouraging the formation of a community of practice that allowed legitimate peripheral participation (Lave and Wenger 1991), it was critical to integrate people with different levels of experience together.

Fellow Berkeley graduate student Shanti Morell-Hart (Op. 26) and I (Op. 24) were designated crew chiefs. Both Shanti and I had participated during the 2007 field

season when the Proyecto Arqueologico Currusté was initiated. After the 2007 field season we both decided to shift our dissertation research to Honduras and specifically to Currusté.

In contrast to 2007, the first year when we began work at Currusté, in 2008 the PAC was fortunate to have returning local workers who had initiated their experience with archaeology at Currusté the year before. Upon the completion of the previous year's archaeological season at Currusté we had celebrated the crew and thanked everyone for their contributions and hard work. A sheet of paper was distributed among all the local participants where everyone jotted down their contact information or, when unable to, had someone else write down their information by dictating it. It had seemed likely at that point that we would be returning for another season of fieldwork at Currusté and we shared that information with those who had been working alongside us throughout the 2007 season. The purpose of the contact sheet was to be able to reach them, if they wished to rejoin the project the following year. Many had expressed their desire to do so, but getting hold of them would be slightly difficult as cell phone numbers in Honduras are often changed, lost, or difficult to maintain in a trying and uncertain job market.

We had our local source, Doña Marta Guifarro, and her family, to put the word out that the *gringas* were back, but I also made personal visits to the homes of people, who were just as excited, as I was to see them! The gesture was important and yet not planned, but it indicated our commitment to continue working and to do so with them, and that they mattered and were valued. More than an opportunity for employment, it was an opportunity to continue building and fostering the relationships we had began during our first season at Currusté. It was also evident that a great majority of those participating in 2007 and returning in 2008 and in 2009 were linked to the Guifarro family, extended family members and *amistades* (friends). This fact is important and needs to be made explicit, because it affects the nature of the research and what can be said about it in the evaluation of the pilot program.

As is the case in many projects, things changed due to a number of unforeseen factors and we had to reevaluate and remain flexible to the changing needs of those involved and the activity/activities we shared. In 2008, this meant that we had to reallocate project funds, restricting the number of local people the project was able to hire, which was very difficult to explain to people soliciting employment who had been referred by returning workers. This also impacted the scale of work that had been initially planned in the 2008 Plan de Trabajo.

Another thing that we faced (that happens in many places and archaeological projects) was the staggered arrival of people volunteering on the project. Schedules will always vary and all help is greatly appreciated! Unfortunately, what this meant was that the pilot program was introduced and discussed with everyone at different times, in different settings. While not necessarily a significant problem, ideally one would hope that everyone could receive the same information as a group, where all participants would be present. For the most part however, most of the American

team was aware of the pilot program, what the goals were and how it would be integrated into the overall PAC project in the field even before arriving. Where there was any confusion we discussed it, especially given the roles everyone played at multiple levels, as both "teachers" and "students" engaging in activities that would help us all understand our shared activity, the archaeological project at Currusté, and facilitate the creation of a learning community.

Continuity and sustainability were also important components to the apprenticeship program. Through experience gained over time, and participants' legitimate participation in the activities they performed as members of this community of practice, their skill authority could potentially provide a more sustainable means of employment that did not end at the site of Currusté, even though IHAH has very few permanent positions in this capacity. In thinking about the development of the site as a national park, there also could be a potential for employment of project participants as tour guides and as employees in the planned interpretive center, where they could bring to these roles the knowledge and experience that were gained through their participation on the project.

The *clases* that took place allowed us to think not just about the material remains, but their contexualization in a wider network of meaning. Thus, it was a move from lower order thinking skills (as defined, for example, in the Bloom Taxonomy; Gross Davis 2009) as simple knowledge to digest, to higher-order skills of understanding and comprehending, through discussions and hands-on activities. The excavation component of the project served as the shared hands-on activity in this learning community, where we could apply knowledge, analyze and evaluate from prior knowledge, and foster the collaborative building of new knowledge, with actual examples, and explain them in a way that made sense to everyone.

Later in the season we all took trips to both the Museo Regional de Antropologia e Historia in San Pedro Sula and the local IHAH lab facilities in La Lima, Cortes, Honduras. This allowed us to introduce participants to the deeper understanding of archaeological analyses that are performed elsewhere and not on-site. Our archaeological understanding of the past did not stop in the confines of the archaeological site with excavation.

Our daily practice in the field yielded a number of topics that were incorporated into field practice as we worked. The site wasn't just a site of work, but rather a place for engagement in a social activity we were creating through our shared project of archaeology. As the grid was being set throughout the areas of the site that we would be working in during the 2008 field season, we began shovel test pits (STPs) and talked about their purpose and their use as a sampling strategy for the site, given that we could not excavate EVERYTHING. Excavating everything was not the purpose, and should not be the purpose in archaeological fieldwork. We talked about archaeology as a destructive process and that we could learn a lot from sampling a site. Such conversations would eventually lead to discussions of the costs of conservation and restoration of features, mounds, etc. This led to another topic of discussion:

archaeological preservation, which would also be highlighted during the excavation of a badly preserved burial.

What this process of ongoing discussion would yield was not only the gaining of experience and knowledge, but rather something more meaningful, the creation of social relationships, built on the inclusion of local workers' legitimate and more central participation in an activity in which they had previously only peripherally participated. This changed how people saw themselves and their relationships with others, because we began by assuming that the field crew formed a single community of practice, not, as is normal, two communities of practice, one unskilled (local participants) and the other skilled (Honduran and North American professionals). It was also disconcerting for some local participants, almost heterodoxic (Bourdieu 1977, 1980), to have an opinion. This would gradually change as people gained confidence.

Apprenticeship began almost immediately that first week at the site, with those returning from the previous season taking the position of teachers to new members with simple tasks, like teaching what to look for as they screened the soil from the STPs. The most common materials recovered were ceramics and obsidian, but sometimes participants would encounter carbon, so more experienced participants showed less experienced participants what that looked like, how to treat it and not to touch it with your fingers. Later, people with more skill authority and knowledge would explain why these artifacts needed "special care". Most importantly, we discussed the contexts of the artifacts and how important it was to not mix up that information. Since at this stage we were only dealing with STPs, we would not be handling a number of different loci for the STPs, therefore we could properly bag all artifacts for an STP together. What we could not do was mix up the contents of one STP with that of another: our data and what we could say about a particular STP would be compromised. The experienced participants kept new members at the screening station until they were satisfied that they understood how to identify artifacts, and were able to separate the material from one STP vs. another, so as to not confuse the contexts. This is an example of legitimate participation: this is a straightforward procedure not limited to this pilot apprenticeship program, but rather, is a real task all participants in an excavation must learn, whether they have a university degree or not.

The goals of the visits to the IHAH installations in La Lima and to the Museo de San Pedro Sula were the *concientizacion* of the group of apprentice archaeologists regarding important components of archaeology outside of the archaeological site itself, for example, the processing and analysis of ceramics, paleoethnobotanical samples, obsidian, carbon, *bajareque* (remains of wattle and daub construction materials), and bones. One of the questions asked frequently during the course of excavation was, "What happens with the things afterwards, do you take them to the United States?" To answer questions like this, we walked through the IHAH warehouse in La Lima that stored and cared for the archaeological material, not just from Currusté but from the entire Valley, in order to verify and alleviate any

insecurity about the whereabouts of Honduran cultural heritage (see Luke 2007). We took this opportunity to discuss the laws for its protection.

Ethnographic Interviews

The second phase of this dissertation project was comprised of an ethnographic evaluation of the Pilot Program described above, through structured interviews with participants during the 2008 and 2009 field seasons, as well as during fall 2008. The majority of those interviewed in 2009 were return participants (who were part of both field seasons). These interviews sought to understand the environments in which learning occurs. Sample questions in these open-ended interviews span the themes of learning as well as the applicability of differential knowledge in diverse situations beyond the archaeological site and setting and toward engagements of daily practice, something upon which I draw to bridge the temporal and spatial gap perceived between the deep Honduran past and the circumstances and situations of local Honduran communities today. For example, while narratives common in archaeology nationally and internationally stress the practice of ritual, the relations between "elites" and the majority of the people, and connections with the broader universe of Classic Maya sites in Honduras and beyond, these themes resonate less than discussion of farming and of aspects of everyday life in the past that may have faced the people of Currusté with challenges such as how to manage their lives after large-scale floods like those experienced locally in the wake of hurricane Mitch.

The ethnographic interviews were taped, and undertaken entirely in Spanish, in which I am fluent. They ranged in length from 30 minutes to two hours. Most took place at the home of the interview subject. These interviews were unstructured-- that is, I began with open-ended questions and let the interviewed person guide us. Unlike the taped segments of the pilot project sessions on which I also draw, in which I participated by offering suggestions, explanations, and my own experiences, in the ethnographic interviews, my role was primarily to listen. Yet it is clear from writing about ethnography that what people offered was dependent on our existing relationships.

Reflexivity and Archaeological Practice

Reflexivity is a final part of my methodology. Reflexivity is inherent in ethnography, and is unavoidable as I transcribe tapes of interviews and programs and think about what sense they make now, after the coup, and what they meant then, before the coup. But it also is inherent in comparing my motivations for engaging in research in Honduras with my understanding as it evolved.

As archaeologists and scientists we often go into communities blindly, coming there after poring over background archaeological literature about a place,

understanding previous research and the narratives of the past that have been constructed about these places. Our goals are focused on understanding the lifeways of people in the past by the material remains we meticulously excavate, and presenting the results of our analysis at conferences with other archaeologists, where we are each other's audience. We often forget that in our pursuit of knowledge we engage with living people and isolate ourselves to the site as an object of scientific research that *we* are bringing to life by studying it and constructing stories to tell to those living today. Why should they care? And what should be our role?

Looking back on the months and weeks preceding my departure to Honduras for the 2007 field season, I don't know that I really understood the project goals and their relevance in terms of the practice of archaeology in Honduras. I was caught up in preparing for my oral exams for advancement to candidacy at the University of California, Berkeley, with a research proposal that pointed toward Western Mexico and the archaeology of nationalism and identity. I was invited to participate in the Currusté project just as things in Western Mexico were taking a turn to widespread violence in the region, meaning that I would be unable to return there for the time being. I accepted being part of the Currusté project for more field experience and ended up, by virtue of that first 2007 fieldwork experience at Currusté, seeing similar questions emerge. These questions changed and evolved, as research questions always tend to do. Eventually, I felt that the research questions I had for Mexico (those I still am asking today) could be applied at a smaller scale to Honduras.

Prior to 2007, my work was focused on Western Mexico and in particular on questions of nationalism and identity in regard to archaeology. I was interested in understanding the historical processes and events that made of the Aztec and Maya the preeminent civilizations for study, and those that garnered the popular imagination of Mexican citizens and the transnational Mexican community in the United States, as well as the international community. My questions concerned the Mesoamerican Culture Area framework, which I view as a problematic and flawed concept, one which scholars have been trying to move away from for quite some time (Graham 1993; Joyce 1991, 1993; Steward 1948; Willey 1959).

The circumstances at Currusté and in other areas of Honduras today also require thinking about nationalism, identity, and archaeology. They merit rethinking how to include not just different stakeholders to participate at different levels of project planning, design and practice, but also in de-centering narratives about the past to include more heterogeneity in an otherwise homogenous understanding that has essentialized not just the past, but how people identify today as a nation at the macro-level in terms of this essentialized past. But what does the community want? What does it all mean to them? These questions are seldom asked in Honduran archaeological projects. Only in the last decade has this really become a central subject of inquiry in the discipline of archaeology world wide, as part of community archaeology. It had been a goal of the IHAH over the course of the Currusté development project to include community perspectives in the design of the park. For the case study I examine in this dissertation, these questions manifest

themselves in retrospective reflections about experiences both in and out of the field, about participatory archaeology as a means to open up a dialogue based on educational programs. Even reflexivity can at times be elusive, much less become a normal part of archaeological practice in terms of incorporating potential "solutions" and concretizing them in programs indicative of that reflective process.

Such realizations do not occur over night, they come with time and experience and quite a bit of stumbling. Even three years after the fact, I cannot help but recall a young man working on the project during the 2007 field season. I had all these expectations that I had conjured up about what skills people should possess. I was frustrated with myself for not being able to convey information or teach something that I myself was only peripherally competent at. I wasn't in teaching mode; I was in "do it" mode, "how hard" can it be to dig? It wasn't only that however, sometimes excavation was what we call in Spanish *acomedirse* or to show initiative. I felt this young man lacked initiative. No matter how I explained a method or its concept, he just worked slowly if at all, he just did not "get it" and he spent the days in the pit just seemingly clueless, until one day, I lost it while he trimmed loose strings from his shoes with the root cutters (of which we had a limited quantity) and I asked very harshly if he had nothing else better to do, as I was determined to sit in the pit myself and excavate what he obviously just did not get, all the while angrily telling him how it "should be done", at which point he finally picked up his bottle of water, emptied it on the ground, dropped his tools and left, never to return.

Acomedirse is interesting… It is a word I grew up hearing from my parents all the time. *No esperes a que te digan, ponte a hacer algo, a trabajar* (don't wait for anyone to tell you what to do, do something, work…) *acomedete a hacer algo.* If nothing else, if I was unable to understand the concepts of excavation or the big picture, there was something I was very good at, manual labor. The intellectual enterprise scared me, but the more practical side of me knew what I "was good for" and I understood how I could be useful. This sense of self is born from a number of things, among them a sense that this is my role, not just *my* role, but a role "*we*" are meant to occupy and perform, one with which I identified. Yet at the same time I repudiated this identification in the field with those that did not perform what I felt were simple tasks.

I felt caught in between different roles and identities: the North American academic, the student archaeologist, the friend, colleague, the Mexican outsider, and the one acutely aware of the circumstances that at times mirrored my own working class upbringing which frowned on sitting "doing nothing" while others around you are working, with that of the place and people I was working alongside (the Honduran Crew) that recalled my memories of childhood visits to Mexico and the *monte* and *campo* of my parents childhood. I straddled two if not more structures of understanding and I could not come to terms with for whom I worked and my behavior and positionality within such structures.

I became at that time the paternalistic parent I myself still negotiate with at home, when my parents on a Sunday afternoon can be seen sweeping the living room

floor in front of the television while we try to watch it, all the while making us feel bad *por no acomedirnos a ayudar* (for not taking the initiative to help). By "doing it" I am supposed to fall in line and do it myself, just as I imagine I meant to show the young man, Daniel, how it is done. Instead, he reacted, like I have many times, put off, enough so to walk away. That day, the day Daniel left, still haunts me. I provided no clear direction, guidance or trust in something I was invested in for different reasons. I assumed he should be invested in it also, for the mere fact that it is cool to know about *our* history, yet without any of the knowledge of how archaeology could help us understand it and without asking him or anyone else what they wanted to know.

What history are they interested in? How do we understand time? When I say the past I mean the deep prehistoric past. Their "past" is redirected to the "short-term", single to second generational past, recalling a quote from Walter Benjamin, "every image of the past that is not recognized in the present as one of its own concerns threatens to disappear irretrievably" (cited by Behar 1996).

I recall an interview with Don Roberto's daughter, Doña Marta, asking her what memories of the past does Currusté hold for her? What concerns about the place are still very present? How does she think of Currusté? For her it is a site memorializing her family and a site of repatriation of that place, not as it was (long ago in the deep past), but in terms of acknowledgement for what was hers and her family's (see Chapter 4). Currusté has become a site for different purposes, a work site for employment, a site of promotion for cultural heritage, a site of research, a business opportunity for tourism and the local communities, a site *in the making.* For those living in close proximity, and for the Guifarro family, it is a place of memories of a better time, memories unlike those we outside archaeologists have attached to it. In interviews, participants often talk about *los antepasados* with a sense of nostalgia, or is it as Behar (1996) puts it that "they are plagued, but by a sense of having lived anachronistically for too long." Often, *los antepasados* dwell in the place where times were simpler and better. I dwell there too, for a generation of young people, like those working at Currusté, to be better excavators y *acomedirse a trabajar …* It is still a difficult site to return to in retrospect and to keep returning to (both in my mind and physically), wanting to strike a balance between the imposed structure in place, of archaeologist and laborer, when I am both.

I returned again to Daniel (recalling what happened, returned to him metaphorically) in the days that followed his departure and in the days after my arrival back home in the States. Trying to reconcile what had happened, if I could not find a rational explanation or justification for my attitude, then find a solution. The solution(s), this research being an attempt, are varied and not entirely resolved. One thing I felt was important to include as part of archaeological practice in the field and at other stages and places that intersect with diverse communities was the incorporation of research design and goals as part of "training" in order to allow everyone the opportunity to understand what the purpose is, and hopefully what they would like to contribute to that purpose. There is and has been a reticence by the part of the Honduran crew in giving opinions, commenting on or questioning

aspects of our work or directly contributing to change design or goals as we might understand them, but their "voices" are active in other ways. They feel it is not their position or place to opine, why is that?

While this may be the case, not providing a space for dialogue in which this may take place is a disservice to those for whom "we work" and to ourselves. We are otherwise giving the impression that we are moving dirt for the sake of moving dirt or taking the stance of single and only authority too complex for others to really understand. In not moving from reflexivity to action, the stance of intellectual authority propagates and perpetuates the continuance of unreflective archaeological practice. Because we are not used to including such action as part of our archaeological practice does not justify us not moving toward a more inclusive and collaborative approach. As it stands we are at the peripheries of understanding existing and developing relationships that impact our work and that our work impacts in the process on the local scale.

Chapter 3

Implementing a Pilot Program in Participatory Archaeology

Implementing the Pilot Program in Participatory Archaeology at Currusté was part of a continuing process within a wider set of professional networks and relationships, established by both my advisor and Jeanne Lopiparo over decades of work and contributions to Honduran archaeology and the relationships (through this network) that I myself was developing in Honduras since 2007, and even before. Being connected to these wider networks was important. More important, however, was my own effort and initiative as I learned, and through legitimate participation became part of a community of practice (the local IHAH network) and moved toward a more central role and participation within the PAC. I address this process of my learning below as well as in the ethnographic chapters that follow.

When I arrived in Honduras for the 2008 field season, I went to the Regional Offices for IHAH in La Lima, Cortés, Honduras, having contacted (through email with Dr. Lopiparo) Isabel Perdomo (the heart of the LA Lima Office) prior to my arrival to notify her of our work plan for the season. Through Dr. Jeanne Lopiparo's work in Honduras and the important relationships she and our mutual advisor, Rosemary Joyce, have fostered over time with various members of IHAH personnel, we reconnected with people that already formed part of our existing community of archaeological practice in Honduras, among them Isabel. I arrived in Honduras, ahead of the remainder of our American team, including Dr. Lopiparo, in order to set up our housing for the season and begin the planning logistics.

My prior experiences working in Honduras at both Puerto Escondido (2000) and Los Naranjos (2003) had only allowed me minimal interaction with IHAH personnel, basically three or four of the experienced excavators that worked seasonally with the IHAH, and Isabel. My interaction with Isabel before 2007 had been brief, but memorable to me, especially given her help with an injury I sustained during my time at Los Naranjos.

Toward the end of that field season, I had also been pick pocketed in San Pedro Sula, while waiting to board a bus to Lake Yojoa where the field school was based. I came into San Pedro to file a police report and report my missing passport which I had on me at the time of the pick pocketing and also to receive some money that my family was wiring me from the United States. I hadn't been smart the weekend of the pick pocketing and instead of dividing my money and IDs (as I usually did), it had all been on my person, not the best of ideas. Realizing that the bank would require a picture ID in order to release the funds to me, I went directly to the IHAH in La Lima and sought out Isabel, with whom I'd until then only had brief interactions. We contacted my family and asked them to place the money in Isabel's name. On our walk to the bank I was limping and in pain from an injury I'd received prior to the pick pocketing in San Pedro. Isabel noticed and alerted me that the wound was

infected and that I should go to the doctor immediately. I was in pain, but hadn't imagined that it was infected and only had a limited time to accomplish all the errands prompted by the loss of my passport in San Pedro. Isabel took me to her doctor, explained the situation and she saw me almost immediately, while others waited ahead of me. Luckily the diagnosis was fast and she treated me quickly with injections. I already felt guilty about the people who had been ahead of me. If Isabel hadn't caught the infection it could have gotten much worse and I wouldn't have been able to walk and complete my errands or leave the country as scheduled two days later.

After my participation at Currusté during the 2007 field season, I was on Isabel's radar. My role in the field and with the logistics pertaining to the daily management of the project, based on the experience that I was gathering and my investment in the archaeological project, placed me in frequent and daily contact with her, upon which we were beginning to form a professional relationship as well as a friendship based and rooted in our mutual commitment to archaeology. I formed part of a group of people who Isabel, from her experience and tenure at the La Lima Regional Offices and the IHAH, had seen as committed individuals that contributed immensely to the understanding of Honduran cultural patrimony. This wasn't the lone reason for her openness and respect. That I had to earn, *con hechos* (literally "with deeds") by following the model of good relations that were formed by those who preceded me, and working hard. In representing Dr. Lopiparo during my early arrival, I wasn't just an intermediary, but a legitimate participant in the archaeological project who was also laying the groundwork for the implementation of the pilot program for participatory archaeology at Currusté.

In the planning phases of the Pilot Program that I would be implementing at Currusté in 2008, what made an important difference was that I was already part of the project and not an outside ethnographer who would be almost a separate entity observing the project. I would be participating. I had become part of an existing community of practice that predated me and which I was learning to navigate, given its multiple scales of diverse participation within the broader Honduran archaeology community of practice.

Tracing the Roots of Archaeological Research at Currusté

The site of Currusté was initially investigated by George Hasemann and colleagues in the late 1970s as part of an effort to develop it as an archaeological park (Hasemann, Veliz and Van Gerpen 1978). This initiative was driven by local stake holding communities comprised primarily of local businesses, the Chamber of Commerce and Industries in the department of Cortés, and individual Honduran citizens, mostly from the city of San Pedro Sula. The primary motivation for this initiative was the site's proximity to San Pedro Sula and its adjoining airport. The site's location close to San Pedro Sula, the second largest city in Honduras and the country's business capital, was an attractive choice for the development of

archaeological tourism in the region, as well as for a hoped-for move away from a Copan-centric examination of the Honduran past. We can today see these efforts as a nascent approximation of collaborative or community archaeology, and a desire to investigate and present the Honduran public with multiple understandings of the past rather than a single monolithic one focused on the Maya.

The project directed by Hasemann had 3 main goals:

1. To provide a detailed topographic map of the site

2. To determine the architectural elements of a variety of structures on the site

3. To establish a chronology or sequence of occupations at the site and its cultural affiliations.

Most important, however, was understanding the site's archaeological significance and its potential for stabilization and reconstruction (Hasemann, Veliz and Van Gerpen 1978). Hasemann's early pioneering vision of collaborative archaeology and community involvement at Currusté would, however, have to wait nearly three decades to resume under the auspices of the Institute of Honduran Anthropology and History (IHAH).

In 2007, Jeanne Lopiparo was invited to direct the Proyecto Arqueologico Currusté by Dr. Dario Euraque, then director of the IHAH. Over the course of his tenure as director of the IHAH, Dr. Euraque and his team at the IHAH made it the goal of the Institute "to expand the definition and encompass the diversity of what constitutes "cultural heritage" in Honduras" (Maldonado, Morell-Hart, Lopiparo 2009). Similar goals have been held by archaeologists working in the Ulúa Valley (and elsewhere in Honduras) over the last few decades. Some examples are the extensive work of long-term multiphase projects like the Proyecto Arqueológico Sula, PAS (Henderson, Agurcia and Murray 1982) as well as the Proyecto Arqueológico Valle del Río Ulúa, PA-VIRU directed by John Henderson and Rosemary Joyce (Henderson and Joyce 1998). The Proyecto Arqueológico Currusté and my research within this project provided a unique opportunity to participate in facilitating the broader goals proposed by the IHAH in their five-year plan to promote Honduran cultural heritage through a diverse array of programs that would be inclusive of citizen participation in the creation and understanding of knowledge about Honduras.

Very little has been published about archaeology at Currusté. The main source was what had been intended to be a preliminary report (Hasemann, Veliz and Van Gerpen 1978). One additional study of a selection of pottery from these early excavations at the site had established that the characteristic local type, Quitamay, was closely related to pottery from the Belize Valley across the Gulf of Honduras, and had identified sherds probably imported from Belize (Sheptak 1987). Unfortunately, the bulk of the original collections, stored on-site in a wooden structure raised on stilts, were irretrievably mixed in the 1980s when the structure was stolen and the contents dumped on site. The original field notes also appear to have been lost. While

the 1978 report is the only existing written document of the early work at Currusté, oral histories of members of the community pertaining to this work provide another record of memories of this experience.

Drawing from the maps and information contained in the 1978 report, the new Proyecto Arqueologico Currusté initiated in 2007 sought to continue research and build on Hasemann's work with the following three primary goals:

1. To follow investigation strategies that focus on questions pertaining to the interpretation of the daily lives of the inhabitants of the site

2. To carry out sustainable excavations

3. And to carry out excavations to recover information about the groups impacted by the development of the site as a park (translated from Lopiparo 2008).

Understanding and interpreting the daily lives and practices at the site was a focal aspect of the PAC investigations as they also figured as the primary data for the museological and education teams collaborating on the design of the planned interpretive center and trail for the park. Due to the already extensive work by previous projects, a great deal of information and interpretation of the Ulúa Valley has already laid the ground work for narratives that are inclusive of the diversity of Honduras' past (Henderson and Joyce 1998; Joyce 1986, 1991; Joyce and Sheptak 1983; Lopiparo 2003; Luke 2003).

The plan of work that Dr. Lopiparo envisioned and submitted to the IHAH in 2008 for the season of archaeological work called for three areas of excavation (Operations 24, 25 and 26). Each included an extensive program of shovel test pits (STPs) and the selection of 2x2 horizontal excavation units based on the nature of deposits encountered through the STPs, with excavation eventually broadened out from there. However, due to time constraints and the need for a third crew chief, we were unable to go beyond a program of STP investigation in Operation 25. Participants therefore were divided into 2 groups after the completion of the STPs in the areas proposed for excavation as Ops. 24, 25 and 26. Each group was comprised of a Crew Chief and participants with different levels of experience and mastery, both Honduran and North American.

Introducing the Pilot Program to Local Participants

The pilot program for participatory archaeology at Currusté was introduced to local participants at the site during the first week of the 2008 field season. In explaining the purpose of the program with respect to the overall project, I discussed our experience during the prior field season and thanked them for their participation and welcomed them to another season of work. I acknowledged the presence of new project members and my desire for those with more experience to help and guide

them as they learned. I talked about treating the site like an "open-air classroom," in which we were all students, including myself and the rest of the North American members of the project, learning together. Everyone had important skill sets and knowledge that were appreciated and valued and that could contribute to our overall understanding of Currusté today and in the past. This acknowledgement was important because we were re-conceptualizing the site and our roles within the project and our approach to working at the site together. By positioning everyone as learners with different things to offer and with varying degrees of skill authority we could draw on each other in the process of learning. We would be both students and teachers guiding each other.

I discussed what I had learned from the prior field season and the experiences we had shared. I also discussed some of the problems and misunderstandings we had encountered over the course of our work the previous season, namely the sense that we were working and excavating in a void (moving dirt, reinforcing the labor dichotomy between archaeologists and laborers, without need to really go beyond manual labor) without having a clear understanding of why we were excavating and what this work told us about the people who lived here and their relationships and networks in the Ulúa Valley and beyond.

Of equal importance was a discussion of how trained archaeologists know what we know, how we make interpretations based on what we encounter as we excavate and how we make sense of this based on the context and association of artifacts and features (something we would continue to talk about over the course of our work). It was something that we had not done before. The lack of conversation about this process had caused a great deal of frustration for everyone. I expressed my sense of feeling lost and the feeling of moving dirt in a void, exposing my own fears and lack of experience and how vulnerable this made me feel. It was something we all related to.

Also important was introducing the concept of apprenticeship and our roles as apprentices, *un aprendiz de arqueologia*, not just an employee there to move dirt. They were archaeologists and their insights and ideas were important, encouraged and appreciated. I also acknowledged our dependence on their hard work and labor and being unable to accomplish the goals for the project without their help and thus reiterating the importance and value of their contributions.

In our discussion, I spoke about the incorporation of master archaeologists in the project. These four individuals had extensive expertise and I emphasized how lucky we were to have them working with us. Some of the returning participants had worked with one of these master archaeologists, Don Rodolfo Mendoza, the previous season in Op. 23, when he had joined the project after completing his work in a salvage archaeology excavation. They had had the opportunity to learn from him and experience his great mastery of excavation and his dedication to his work. He had been assisting Shanti Morell-Hart in the excavation of very complex deposits, helping her identify and recognize, with the help and mediation of Dr. Lopiparo, what she was excavating. Don Rodolfo would explain and confer with Dr. Lopiparo, informally, *"at the trowels edg*e" (Hodder 2003) while excavating and tell her what he thought

was going on with the deposit. Dr. Lopiparo trusted Don Rodolfo's judgment, owing to his experience with such deposits and all three (Don Rodolfo, Shanti Morell-Hart and Dr. Lopiparo) would formulate how to proceed, based on prior accumulated knowledge of Honduran archaeology, that both Dr. Lopiparo and Don Rodolfo understood through years of experience. As Dr. Lopiparo explained it herself

> JL: I have worked...with both of them for 15 years, more than 15 years and they understand the soil, they understand the deposits very well because they have so much experience with these types of deposits. They know what they will find before they find it. And this type of experience, people who work and return, it's an understanding (knowledge), an almost physical understanding that develops over time…. [3]

Framing these discussions of knowledge-building around experience acquired over time, putting not only their work in context, but the place in context as well, was a significant aspect of how the pilot program would be introduced. It provided the pattern for how it would be integrated into every aspect of what we did on the site.

Most people were familiar with Don Rodolfo, everyone respected him. They were not familiar with Rene Rivera, Narciso Lopez and Luis Larios, also introduced as master archaeologists. I discussed them as important resources, I expressed my excitement about learning from them and how we would all get an opportunity to work with them throughout the season. I talked about having groups for each Op. (Operation) and how we would rotate so that everyone could share in the learning and teaching process. Rotation would take place weekly, swapping Op. Teams in order to have exposure to archaeologists with skill authority as we all learned and gained more experience.

It was also important to acknowledge and take responsibility for the root of our frustrations the previous season that sensation of feeling like we were excavating in a vacuum, because we had not shared the goals of the project and how what we were all doing together contributed to accomplishing those goals. While instruction and direction was provided, not offering explanations as to why we were doing what we were doing, beyond that it would help us understand the daily lives of people in the past through their material remains, contributed to us feeling frustrated, not really understanding what seemed so abstract or recognizing and identifying things as we went about our work. I encouraged participants' questions, ideas and opinions in this on-going conversation we were beginning and would continue this practice in our future work. The Pilot Program sought to create a more holistic approach to our

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[3] Unless otherwise indicated, all dialogue in this chapter comes from recordings of Pilot Program activities. Participants are referred to by their initials; DJM is Doris J. Maldonado. All conversations were originally in Spanish, and all translations are my own. See the Appendix for original transcriptions of Spanish dialogue.

archaeological practice that was characterized by the inclusion of these broader themes in conjunction with excavation as it unfolded in real time at the site. Most important, however, was the inclusion of all participants' voices.

The Creation of a Learning Community Through Apprenticeship

Having skill authority is acquired over time in a community of practice of a shared activity, as we start contributing to the building of knowledge, and participants start to gain experience and begin to see themselves as part of that process. In the Currusté case study, introducing the basis of our knowledge as rooted in experience was important because local participants brought to our shared community of practice extensive experience and knowledge from their own daily life. Drawing from these experiences allowed us to discuss and understand the archaeological phenomena we encountered in our work in contexts that are perceptible to us today, because we identify more readily the practices we ourselves recognize as familiar and that we engage in daily. This was especially true of the local participants and residents of the area. Local participants and residents primarily connect with the place through their own personal relationships and networks in the vicinity surrounding the site, rather than with the *antepasados* [literally, people from the past, ancestors] from long ago.

Below is an excerpt of a transcription of an activity that became part of our archaeological practice at Currusté. In this excerpt, the acknowledgement of people's work is a significant part of the conversations and discussions we engaged in. Also important is an understanding of how we made decisions as we worked, how we accounted for those decisions based on their rootedness in previous experience and knowledge from other archaeological sites and what we have experienced at Currusté, and how that experience and knowledge allowed us to identify and recognize things, their context and associations from similar phenomena that we've previously encountered. The following excerpt is therefore a discussion of the archaeological decision making process and its basis on prior knowledge and experience and an invitation for people to contribute their own knowledge and experience and potentially be part of that decision making process.

JL: and you make decisions based on experiences in other sites, in this site about what we have found before. "Well, this looks like the other place, where we found that and what I think that it is is this…" And we make decisions everyday about how we will proceed that are based on prior experiences.

DJM: Yes, and this gives us the opportunity today, for those of you who have worked with us last year, to also invite you to help us and share your knowledge and hopefully in this way, you can even help us make these decisions, right…

JL: For example, Don Rodolfo and Rene. I have worked with…

DJM: With both of them…

JL: With both of them for 15 years, more than 15 years and they understand the soil, they understand the deposits very well because they have so much experience with these types of deposits. They know what they will find before they find it. And this type of experience, people who work and return, it's an understanding (knowledge), an almost physical understanding that develops over time…

DJM: Yes, over time and we… it would be beautiful for us to bring you closer, give you a sort of apprenticeship. We are all learning together and then see if this brings you a closeness like Don Rene and Don Rodolfo have had, which is a true love of this work. Hopefully it will happen…

This discussion took place at Currusté on June 17, 2008, a couple of weeks after the beginning of the field season, as we were about to open horizontal excavations at the site. We were all gathered, all the members of the project, Hondurans along with North Americans who were already in the country alike, around an excavation unit in one of the two operations where excavations would be taking place at the site that season. Such gathering of all those participating in work at the site was a salient part of the pilot program. At the beginning and closing of each week we held mini-workshops/*clases* where we discussed the ongoing work in Operations 24 and 26, the excavation areas that we focused on during the 2008 field season. The purpose of these *"clases"* or classes was for open discussions among participants about the progress of our work together, what kind of deposits we were encountering and what we thought they indicated. More importantly, it was an opportunity for people to teach each other about what they were encountering in the course of their work that week, and to encourage people to formulate possible interpretations together and to ask questions. For example:

DJM: and… if you have any questions for us. Do you have any questions?

IR: Yesterday, a friend of ours asked me why we didn't excavate on top of the mounds. They excavated on top. So I replied, that I didn't know how to respond to that question because I don't know, see…

JL: Ok, I can talk a bit about that. Well, the big mounds had clay structures on top. So, you can clean it a bit and for example, find the walls. But after its aban… (searching for the word abandonment)

DJM: Abandonment…

JL: The abandonment of the site, the structures generally fell from the mounds. But the majority of daily life happened around the mounds.

DJM: Not inside

JL: Not inside… There were probably special activities on the larger mounds. This site is very different from Copan, but one similarity is that on top of the larger mounds in the main plazas was where special activities took place. The main plazas were used for annual events, for example, the solstice, the longest day of the year. The days that held special significance in agricultural life and also in ritual life, because there were many calendric rituals.

In these examples it is important to note that while people still felt at times apprehensive about asking questions, it was made explicit that their opinions, ideas, questions and contributions were encouraged. The person who asked this question had worked on the project the prior season and would continue to gain experience. The action of soliciting their opinion was a way of acknowledging their legitimate participation in this learning community.

One of things that is instructive in our response to this question was our discussion of the potential purpose of a mound structure, as essentially a house foundation where the house was perishable and deteriorated after the site was abandoned, the activities happening atop and not inside, but mainly surrounding the mounds. We also shared our understanding that the larger mounds and main plazas were loci for special activities, potentially having to do with annual events, agricultural cycles, etc.

It was also important to state that this site, in the Ulúa Valley, was very different from Copan. While not captured in this passage, something that was important for us to communicate and acknowledge as we went about our work was the distinction between Copan and other Honduran archaeological sites, given Copan's monumentality and iconicity as a symbol for national identity as both a place and in its identification with an essentialized Maya past. It was important that Currusté and the Ulúa Valley be recognized for their own merits both prehistorically and in the present in wider networks. This was something that was easy for us to understand, but potentially difficult for Hondurans like the participants in the project to understand and accept. Our effort, in accordance with the IHAH's vision of a multicultural and diverse past, was a difficult enterprise, given the IHAH's history of institutionalized Mayanization. Currusté would never look like Copan, nor would any other sites in the Ulúa Valley, but they had much to offer and teach us about people and their daily lives long ago. They also provided a way to think about the country's rich diversity today.

The following portion of the transcript follows directly from the one above, as a further example that illustrates such contextualization and use of hands-on activities:

DJM: Yes, it could be kind of like, like when young women today turn fifteen, it's a special moment, right? So it's a Quinceañera and maybe these types of events that aren't or weren't the same back then… But, so you have an idea… It could have been…

JL: For example the June festival is an annual event that was probably a saint's day or longest day of the year, before (in the past). There was a history about these dates, but after time they came to have there own meaning. They are calendric, personal and public events shared by people who lived in the Valley (in reference to the Ulúa Valley).

DJM: Lived and coexisted…

JL: People lived… People from here sponsored events in the plaza, but people came from everywhere. One thing we can find out with artifact contexts is where these artifacts come from. For example, we can construct exchange between people, by finding things from other places.

DJM: Yes, as I was explaining to Melvin earlier… That… Do you remember Melvin what I was explaining? Could you tell us a bit about obsidian, for example, obsidian from Ixtepeque?

MI: Suppose, right. There are 2 types of obsidian. Maybe one was brought from Mexico by people that visited from Mexico to Honduras.

DJM: Maybe, as an example…

MI: We visit Mexico and leave things from Honduras in Mexico. Then people start excavating and they find, what could they find? The Honduran coat of arms. So they find it Mexico so they say, "this is from Honduras" like that, if they find obsidian… There are all types of obsidian. They look at it [to find out] if it was from Mexico or some other place that they visited.

DJM: Yes..

ML: In the same place…

DJM: Yes, what we were talking about is that there are obsidian sources here in Honduras, right (I ask Jeanne to verify).

JL: Yes…

DJM: For example, there is one in Ixtepeque, as you were saying (referring to Melvin, in Spanish I am using the formal *usted* form, because it is common practice in Honduras, but also as a sign as respect)…

JL: There are local and foreign sources.

DJM: Yes…

JL: and there was exchange of this kind over long distances. But many beautiful things were made here, marble vases, different types of ceramics, figurines that are found in the Copan Valley, in Belize and in Yucatan. There was an abundance of exchange through water, using the rivers here and even the ocean.

DJM: Yes, So we are able to decipher what type of communication existed, if it existed, right. And luckily with the technology we have today, obsidian can be used for various analyses; two among them are for dating and another to see where the material comes from, right.

JL: Yes…

In this example, there are a number of things that are of significance. First, we contextualize these rituals, ceremonies and festivals, which we had been discussing earlier in this recording, in ways that may be meaningful for people, as readily recognized practice, in which people might participate in their daily lives today. It might be a wedding, an annual festival like that being celebrated in Honduras during June (when this recording was made), or the example I used to potentially make it a practice the participants could relate to, not alien or long forgotten, but transformed over time: the *quinceañera*.

The Quinceañera figures as a prominent event in a young woman's life in many Latin American countries, and these practices are also something that have been carried by people to different places as transnational practices, like in my case, to the United States. It may be celebrated differently, big or small depending on a number of factors, but the celebration brings together families and friends and, as Dr. Lopiparo notes, people might come from everywhere. They may bring food, drinks, gifts, etc. and these things leave traces, *rasgos* of people who may have participated. We can trace where artifacts came from and the networks that people belonged to, locally and maybe even further afield.

During our visit to the Museo de San Pedro Sula, I used an example that participants could all connect with. I began talking about a material that most people already recognized as obsidian through excavation and screening, when excavations had yielded artifacts made of the material and people were able to think about its uses.

In the discussion, I took a step back, hoping to encourage an archaeological apprentice who was joining us that year for his first season of work with us. Prior to this *clase,* he and I had been discussing obsidian sources, the procurement of the raw material, the production of things from the material and how we could analyze the material to help us find out where it came from (sourcing).

This apprentice explained it as he had understood it from our conversation, employing something that he and the rest of us could relate to, the Honduran Coat of Arms, and the potential interactions between Honduras and Mexico that might exist if things from different places were found elsewhere. He postulated an inference about potential networks. The details in his example may not have been necessarily "correct" but what was important here was the introduction of a concept like exchange, communication and networks in conjunction with excavation.

The task of archaeology was no longer isolated to the task of excavation alone. Skill and more legitimate participation was being acquired through an understanding of why we were excavating and what it might represent, instead of just digging in a vacuum with no clear understanding of how we get from one point to another. Lastly, we discussed the methods that could help us not only trace or source material, but also analysis that could help us date the material as a reference to absolute and relative dating techniques. This alluded to archaeological practice beyond the site itself. We would have discussions like this regularly and also informally as we excavated on a daily basis.

First Stage of Archaeological Practice: Setting up the Site Grid

We began work at Currusté with much of the crew from the previous year and were able to hire three new members. During the first week of our 2008 field season our primary task was to grid the proposed areas earmarked for horizontal excavation. The first week of work, in preparation for laying a grid at the site, those working on site were mainly the foreign, North American contingent of the project and our volunteers. We hadn't yet assembled all of the local participants of the team and only had a few local people helping us in the capacity of labor intensive straight forward tasks, such as making stakes and *chapeando* (cutting back the overgrown grass on the site) in preparation for excavation.

Locals, whose daily lives are spent in *el monte* [the secondary undergrowth] planting and harvesting their crops and taking care of their livestock (some of the activities that characterize people living *en el monte*), are masters with a machete, precise and fast, the kind of skill that takes, as with anything else, experience and time to develop. It may seem straightforward to us, but this is an embodied skill and a practice in their daily lives to which many of us from North America have not been exposed in our daily lives.

We were performing different duties and tasks that required different knowledge bases and understandings and performing them separately from each other in the same place. These different tasks also are embedded in class status. That of the local participants was a working class status (and positionality) and ours was another, non-working class. Whether or not some of the academic and professional archaeologists at the site also came from a working class background, we still held a position of power, regardless of our backgrounds, by mere virtue of being North

Americans. It is an inherent part of the relationship, and there were going to be tasks involving manual labor that we would be depending on local participants to perform, while we undertook "higher level" tasks.

What was important however, was trying to have everyone be involved in the higher level tasks as well. People might participate differentially, but would share in the exposure of tasks, instruments, excavation methodology, and an understanding of the prehistoric narratives of the region and landscape that they belong to and experience as part of their daily lives today, in ways that make sense and matter to them, in the process of collaborative knowledge building and changing identification in a shared community of practice.

We were to set up the grid with the use of a Sokkia Total Station, an instrument that requires precise set-up procedures that often took us some time to level. In the past, the set up of the grid has been relegated to people trained in using this equipment, the North American members of the project. Yet often we ourselves have to re-familiarize ourselves with the equipment or get trained to use it by those already proficient in its use. Whereas before, we (the North American members) had explained how it worked to each other, we had not thought of explaining and including local laborers in this aspect of the project. While people had seen us use the instrument, they were not aware of what it did, why we were using it, and why it was necessary to do before excavations.

Under the pilot program, everything we did became an opportunity for an impromptu explanation or class. So people rotated through work with the total station, and we would discuss what we were doing and why. People took turns looking through the total station and understanding things like the precision necessary for the setting of the grid, recording of data and its importance, situating the site in a broader coordinate system, datum points, etc. This was integral to the pilot program, every aspect of what we did had to be explained and discussed. Excavation itself was no longer the only activity in which people would take part. Together we would understand what, why and how: the steps necessary for how we got from one point to another.

While using the total station is integral to setting up the site grid from which we sample the site using STPs and eventually broaden out with horizontal excavation, this is also a higher level activity that requires different kinds of knowledge and skill sets. It is something that seems very abstract and not concrete. In particular, when we talk about the wider significance and implications of mapping and coordinates in a broader global positioning system it is not something readily linked to the surrounding landscape. The information can feel like disembodied knowledge, that is, not readily experienced on the ground by people that are learning about it for the first time. My own experience with the total station had been one of apprehension, fear of doing it incorrectly and messing something up, so I tended to shy away from it.

What we did therefore was to try and not overwhelm people as we introduced it and its purpose. People who rotated up to where the total station was stationed were given an explanation and the opportunity to look through the scope. Time is always a factor and this activity requires quite a bit of knowledge beyond the practicality of setting up the device and shooting the lines to lay the grid. In addition, illiteracy is also a concern, so we had to take that into account. For these reasons actually using the total station was done by people who already possessed experience and knowledge regarding its use and purposes so as to complete the task in a timely manner and to move on to the next stage and begin STPs.

This can be thought of as an example of what Lave and Wenger (1991) discuss as legitimate peripheral participation. A learning community acknowledges differential skill, and that some learners do not have the same level of skill (which is what is implied by the word "peripheral"). Rather than create a make-work task that appears to give less experienced learners an introduction to the Total Station (which is what many field schools do with North American undergraduates), we made certain that all the activities in which people participated where what Lave and Wenger (1991) would call "legitimate": real steps in the process that learners at their stage could master. For those participants who already had experience, it was our goal to provide them opportunities for legitimate participation that would expand their experience.

In the 2008 field season we were fortunate to have four local participants with extensive experience working on previous archaeological projects with the IHAH, who I have described above as "master archaeologists". One of them, Rene Rivera, had extensive experience with different people and different projects. He was already familiar with the various aspects of setting up the site for excavation, including use of the total station, having had some experience with an IHAH technician. We encouraged Rene to help us in laying the grid. At first he was apprehensive and reluctant to try because he was concerned that he'd hold up the process by taking too long. Rene and I talked about it and I explained how I too, felt the same way, because of my lack of knowledge with the instrument and method. Eventually we convinced each other to give it a try and we guided each other while Dr. Lopiparo supervised.

Disarming ourselves of skill and knowledge authority we took it as an opportunity to learn. Once Rene felt comfortable, he explained things like the difference in degree gradients, etc. on the machine, sharing what he knew about it and what he understood about the process with me. It was really neat and something that we both really appreciated. I was learning from him and acknowledging his greater experience. We all agreed that Rene would take the lead in laying out the line we were working on, instructing us on where to place stakes. Acknowledging his experience and having him instruct us, presented a shift in the kinds of engagements and relationships during knowledge building that we wanted to foster in our work together. As Rene continued directing us where to place the stakes, other local apprentice archaeologists would pass by and seemed pleased to see Rene in this role,

a role and position in which they seldomly saw themselves, a position of leadership and instruction.

Rene was doing a great job with the grid. We still had plans to open up horizontal excavations in Op. 25, so we asked if he might be the Crew Chief for that operation. He had extensive experience and knowledge, had already worked with Dr. Lopiparo on various occasions and was familiar with the recording system (a modified Harris Matrix) and forms we used to record our data. We would help and guide him throughout the process and his transition to being the Crew Chief. He handled almost all the recording for the STPs in Op. 25, which was great in terms of our desired goals for that third Operation. This is an example of how, building on legitimate participation, members of the learning community could progress from more peripheral to less peripheral status.

Nor was this process reserved only for local participants. With both Dr. Lopiparo and Shanti Morell-Hart's absence from the field for the second week or so of the field season, I had to take the role of interim "director", something for which I certainly did not think I was ready. I was very concerned about how this might impact the project. It was not a role I was used to, but that Dr. Lopiparo and other members of the project felt I could do based on my experience at the site. I shied away from it, but did what I could. We had begun horizontal excavations in Op. 24, Rene continued recording the STPs in Op. 25, there were more people than I could keep busy while I managed the open units and recorded the data.

We also used the week that Dr. Lopiparo and Shanti Morell-Hart were absent to have more *clases,* to discuss broader topics. We arranged to visit the Museo Regional de Antropologia e Historia in San Pedro Sula, with its director, Teresita Campos de Pastor. Here, again, my goal was to encourage greater understanding of how archaeological knowledge was created among all project participants.

Archaeology Beyond the Site

One of the activities that I had proposed as part of the pilot program was a "field trip" to the Museo Regional de Antropologia e Historia de San Pedro Sula. It was an activity that I talked to folks about early on, during the first week of the project. It would be an opportunity to discuss Currusté in a much broader context in relation to other sites in the Ulúa Valley (Gómez Cascante and Campos 2008). It would be an opportunity to contextualize their work in these wider networks and communities of practice that they also formed part of (peripherally) but rarely learned about or had an opportunity to experience, even as a day trip with their families.

When I introduced this planned activity, I asked if this would be something that they might like to do as a day trip. I also explained that even if we made our visit during the week in lieu of working at the site, their weekly salary would not change. For all intents and purposes it might be construed as a "free day," but folks were still

enthusiastic about us going. Almost none of them had ever been to the museum. They had only been able to experience the byproducts and fragments of past material traces, but had seldom seen whole artifacts that they might be able to use a reference points to understand something in its finished form or understand its use and production technology.

When everyone agreed, I asked them to think of the kinds of things they might like to learn about so we could formulate a list that I could confer about with the museum director and other museum personnel who would be participating and providing workshops for our visit. Everyone was shy, so I offered to let them discuss it amongst themselves and create a list of possible topics as I continued working on something else, so that they could feel comfortable expressing their views and opinions and so I wouldn't feel like I was predisposing them to what I thought was important.

Our museum visit was on the 4th of July 2008, a Friday. I had met with Doña Teresita (museum director), the museum museographer, David Banegas, and Doris Sandoval, the museum restorer, and had proposed the plan and the activities we would like to do on our trip, prior to our visit. I enlisted their help and they agreed to give the group a tour of the lab facilities where both Doris and David were working on the conservation and restoration of some of the artifacts that many from the group had helped excavate during the 2007 field season. Three primary activities were planned for our July 4th visit:

> *1. Lab Tour with Doris Sandoval and David Banegas*: The lab tour was an opportunity for the Currusté group to experience another side of the archaeological process, outside of the field. It was an opportunity for the museum restorers to talk with the people who had actually excavated the artifacts that they were currently restoring. This kind of communication or interaction is rarely something that takes place and is relegated primarily to discussions between "authorities" in Honduran archaeological practice. The lab component of the museum visit was therefore a sharing of knowledge between participants with different levels of participation in what had been separate communities of practice but which we were committed to make a single community of practice. The Currusté crew was more reserved, but engaged in discussion when Doris and David both talked about and demonstrated their work, and the painstaking and meticulous level of detail necessary in the restoration process. They took the group through the care that went into cleaning ceramic sherds. Up until that point, most people who returned to participate in the 2008 field season had seen and experienced a very different sherd cleaning process, that involved careful sherd washing and storing, but not at all similar to what Doris and David were doing. This was something that required specialized knowledge and special products to properly clean artifacts, while also preserving the artistic aspects of the artifacts, like the paint on polychrome ceramics. The different stages of the restoration process were presented in the lab tour, and the crew was able to see and interact with the

artifacts they had excavated. Not all of the many thousands of sherds that were recovered from the prior 2007 field season were in the museum, nor all the artifacts from other materials they remembered excavating. Why the differentiation? Why were these receiving special care and where were all the other sherds and artifacts? For that, we had to enter into a discussion about some of the special contexts that were encountered in the previous season and the planned interpretive center for the Currusté National Park. The artifacts chosen for restoration were from specific contexts from different areas of the site. One in particular that became a media sensation was what came to be known as the "Venus of Currusté." This designation took place in a completely separate event, one that the Currusté crew was not privy to or included in. The people who had worked alongside Don Rodolfo Mendoza and Shanti Morell-Hart in Op. 23 during the 2007 field season were able to recognize some of the pieces of this figure of a woman, but they were drastically different now. They were no longer individual fragments; instead they formed part of a much larger statue of a woman, whose complexities Doris and David were only discovering in the process of their restoration. The group, however, possessed knowledge about the excavation and contexts that yielded the artifacts that David and Doris were painstakingly restoring. While the group was very shy, they spoke amongst themselves and recalled the items they recognized as part of something that they had excavated themselves, interested but also in awe of it. They had never seen what happened with the artifacts after they left the field and they had had many questions about this and this provided them with an important piece of the puzzle. It was also an opportunity for us all to discuss the artifacts and to share our own knowledge with Doris and David. This was significant because Doris and David had not yet been out to Currusté and were missing information about the archaeological context in which these artifacts were found. At the end of the lab tour, David demonstrated the use of *ocarinas* (ceramic whistles) that he had reproduced from various examples of ocarinas from all over Honduras. Many people had never seen an ocarina played, they recognized it as a whistle from our interpretations, but had not placed it in a daily life context that they might identify as familiar. Everyone seemed excited. David doesn't just play for anyone, so we were honored that he'd play for us.

2. *Meeting with the museum director:* After the lab we moved over to one of the museum's meeting rooms where Doña Teresita, a trained ethnologist, elaborated on the *ocarina* as a form of communication so that we could get a sense of some of its utilitarian uses. We discussed them in terms of modern communication with cell phones that we all might relate to (everyone had a cell phone for the most part). Doña Teresita gave an example of a rural community she had visited as part of her work some time prior. She was going to visit someone (if I recall correctly) and had come across a man she knew, who invited her to his home. On their way he whistled loudly in a specific harmony intended to alert his wife (on top of a hill) that he was on his way. When they

arrived, his wife had managed to tidy the house, get cleaned up and thrown together some food. She had understood, through the sound and melody of the whistle, that it was her husband and he was on his way. Ocarinas may have served a similar purpose, and that is what Doña Teresita was trying to convey with her story: that the diverse array of ocarinas in all sizes, shapes, with multiple or single chambers and designs, could have been a form of communication. But she achieved this in a manner that we all could relate to.

3. *Guided Tour of Museum Galleries:* The last activity was a guided tour of the museum exhibits by Teresita and David who took us through the different spaces in the exhibition hall. We began in prehistory and went chronologically through time. The museum does a great job in terms of presentation. While there are labels with information about the different objects, the museum also presents the information in a visual and didactic manner, which is important because of illiteracy in the country including among some of the Currusté group. Everyone had an opportunity to go at their own pace with some guidance and explanation. They saw examples of complete objects, possibly similar to those they had excavated, the difference being that most of what we'd excavated was in pieces and fragments. So we had real analogues to which we might compare them. While everyone seemed excited as they went through the exhibits, a topic we discussed had to do with the nature of archaeological provenience and the context and association of things in the archaeological record. A great portion of the whole and restored artifacts in the museum's collections were donated by various individuals. Sometimes we had vague information about where they came from, their provenience. These were beautiful objects that we could learn a lot from, but because we had little information about where in Honduras they'd come from, what contexts and associations they were found in, it was very difficult to really understand them outside of their archaeological context. We had on other occasions also had similar discussions in the field, about our purpose for detailed record keeping.

While these visits generated a great deal of discussion and information for the group, what was most important to them seemed to be being taken into account, having people ask them what they thought and having people taking the care and time to make them a priority and honor their contributions.

The visit also gave the museum professionals, who are another stakeholding group, an opportunity to discuss excavation procedures and the contexts in which materials were found. It was an opportunity to bring together stakeholders who do not usually engage each other and have them talk to each other, rather than to work in a vacuum. Although local participants in the Currusté project at times felt insecure about voicing an opinion, the encouragement of their voices and views were a daily

part of our practice, both in the field and outside it, and something they responded to with appreciation and engagement.

The activities implemented as part of the pilot program for Participatory Archaeology at Currusté constituted a different archaeological approach that integrated ways of understanding that brought together the contributions of everyone's distinct knowledge(s) in ways that were intelligible to all participants, for example, as recognizable practices. These were presented in ways that made sense to everyone, drawn from the actual experiential knowledge base that we were all familiar with. These activities were informed, reworked and tailored based on reflexivity as we worked and during reflection outside of the field. The interviews that were conducted in the fall of 2008 with local participants provided the basis for further discussions of the things of import to those participating as apprentice archaeologists in the PAC. The interviews also encouraged the continuation of such programs and activities as part of archaeological practice in our future work in Honduras, whether at Currusté or elsewhere.

Chapter 4
Local Memory, Local Pasts

"I have always been here, but..." (Number 1 in Appendix)

"Well, I was sad to lose the property, right. Because you know, one day… We have gotten this through inheritance, right. It belonged to my grandfather since 1904. Then it was my father's, well my father has already died and now it is ours, right… was ours. The rest of the property continues to be ours. Well, I felt sincerely sad and angry, because nobody likes to lose…" (Number 2 in Appendix)

"So, that's how I compare the things; ones things and the ancestral things, do you understand. We have to take care of them because them came/were from back then. I can't throw them away, because that's where I come from, do you understand, that's where I come from…" (Number 3 in Appendix)

In this chapter, I examine a series of different voices and perspectives on a number of themes that surfaced during the analysis of the ethnographic interviews that I conducted as part of this dissertation and that are related to the research questions of this dissertation. The voices that figure prominently in this discussion are those of Doña Marta Guifarro, who I interviewed in both the fall of 2008 and then again in July 2009 (after the coup). I examine the changing nature of our relationship, not only hers and mine, but of hers and the PAC and its mediation through me. I say mediation through me because in many ways, I became a representative and liaison between the Guifarros and the apprentice archaeologists working at the site, and the North American members of the PAC. What my *position* also allowed me was to listen and to share experiential stories that brought us together in the course of exchange and in *doing* our everyday activities as daily practice (de Certeau 1984). In many ways this position was an intersection, not necessarily a focal one, but rather an intersection between different people and their views on a particular place and its meaning and significance to various sides. Those sides appear here as *stakeholders* with different views and understandings of this place, Currusté.

This chapter however, is not just about examining stories and what they can help us understand about the present sociohistoric context of a place, the people involved and the meanings that are attributed to such a place. This chapter also acts as methodology in practice through reflexivity. These conversations therefore allow reconsideration of the contexts that allow these conversations to take place, whether we think about this in terms of approach or the reconfiguration of the roles we have played in the field, or how we can reconceptualize engagement with local communities in potentially more meaningful ways for all those involved.

Hence, the chapter is not just about what conversations generate in terms of information, but rather how to think about this kind of work as part of archaeological practice and the formation of human relationships. It provides a case study of the approaches taken to integrate such work into archaeological field practice at Currusté, more fully discussed elsewhere in the this dissertation. In reading this chapter it is important to understand the kinds of dialogues this practice creates, the contexts that allow such dialogue to take place, and the purpose for having such conversations, as people voice their perspectives and opinions.

In many ways, as I think about how to frame this, I fall back on what may be perceived as simple and not really "work or science": *el trato* (conduct, treatment or way of acting). The context for this kind of exchange starts with the *trato* that people have with one another. How one carries oneself and the interactions that one has and the sorts of relationships that one wishes to have, people's behaviour and conduct with one another. One's positionality shifts and changes, giving new meaning to the saying, "*hablando se entiende la gente"* (people understand each other by talking to one another), creating an embodied attunement.

As mentioned elsewhere, many times those involved with and invested in a place, for example, do not share in all the "conversations" and dialogue surrounding it, and hence are unable to adequately share or get their views, understandings or perspectives across. All our interests rest in a place, but they overlap, and the perceptions of place change depending to whom one speaks.

While not completely a full or central participant in either the institutional or local understandings of how this land had *become* a place, it is evident to me that its *placeness* has different routes of understanding and different stories attached to it (Rodman 1992). I found myself immersed in the place as an archaeologist, as myself an *other* within my own archaeological community and in the process of *becoming* an archaeologist (my archaeological identity)*;* with closer affinities to the experience of the place by those inhabiting the space (the local participants and people like the Guifarros), but nonetheless an *other* even there, still a *gringa*:

DMG: Then they said to me... Yes, they said that they were going to write a book and that they wanted to see why the (hard to hear with noise around us)... *and I went with them there, we walked, "ay, now I am called Doris," I said to them (we laugh). "And who is Doris?" the licenciado said, because the licenciado is my friend, "Marta, who is Doris?" "Well, she is a gringa archaeologist that came to carry out work here," I said to him.* "Ahhh, how good." And they were going, "how many gringas came?" "Ah, many came," I said to them, "some came and then came others," I said to them. "They are students and they are getting their Masters' and they come and go," I said to them. "Every year they come," I said, "but so they come, some come and others go,", I said, "like two or three months in the year...." (emphasis added).

(Number 4 in Appendix)

In this section of my interview with Doña Marta in 2008, our conversation is related to the interest that the public is showing for the site. She discusses people coming to visit and telling her uncle, the site *vigilante* (watchman), to allow them in and show them around. In this instance she herself takes some visitors into the site, some very important men. ("And that includes, one Sunday I received a *licenciado* here, a man who works in agronomy and other very important men. One of them is a writer and he wants to write a book…")

She assumes the role of an archaeologist, me. It is worth noting that the stature of these men compels her to *herself* be their guide, thereby positioning her own power and importance in the family and in relation to the site.

My designation as a *gringa* is as an *other* but with earned *belonging* over time (different classes/type/range, etc. of belonging). The quote is also indicative of the ascribed power and authority attributed to my person when the word archaeologist is used with my *gringa* status, as in *una arqueologa gringa*. It is possible that had the interviewer been anyone else from within our North American team, she could also have substituted my name for theirs: "ay, yo ahora me llamo Jeanne"; (ay, now I am called Jeanne).

My interactions and exchanges with Doña Marta have created a particular relationship, itself mediated through her interactions with me as a person and secondly with me as an extension of the archaeological project at Currusté since May 2007. The quote that follows speaks to these interactions and the stress I place on them as a necessary part in the cultivation of our relationship, which as will be seen later, is also reciprocated. This is important because while respect may have been a starting point for interactions with people, sustaining relationships certainly had not been understood as part of the exchange in the "employer/employee" relationship, particularly among such disenfranchised peoples as those with whom we've worked in Honduras.

DJM: Well Doña Marta, thank you very much for letting me carry out this interview and more than anything, I would like to give you thanks on behalf of our project; you have always assisted us and have put up with us when we are here and we thank you very much for having us here when we are here and for taking care, certainly, of this site. (Number 5 in Appendix)

In this exchange I am drawing from what I have learned in reflecting on the prior field season of work at Currusté and acknowledging this in my expression of gratitude, while also and most importantly acknowledging my place as a "guest in her home", so to speak, and acknowledging the tensions in our working relationship. I am acknowledging her role in the safekeeping of the site, but also speaking to her continued participation and assistance in the storage of our field equipment and all the hassle that this has caused for her.

My choice of language speaks to our experiential affinity and knowing from my own experience how to communicate the delicate nature of communication with

adult elders, such as Doña Marta and my own parents. This is something that I have had to learn and I continue to learn the nuances of everyday communication with people in general, it is not a given. I am speaking deferentially and although our experiences and language are rooted in different places, my choice in words speaks to that deference, *"han lidiado con nosotros,"* you have put up with us, put up with the annoyances that we have imposed on your good will. I am also speaking on behalf of the PAC project and this is part of that intersectionality. I am both an archaeologist, but am also reflected in the stories (lives) around me of the similarity in ways of life in *el campo*. I am part of the PAC and am representing and extending the relationships that those before me have established, mainly in professional working capacities.

The *doing* of our everyday activities and practice in these contexts is an organic performance, witnessed by Doña Marta and validated through others and their experiences with us, with me (de Certeau 1984). My person, as a member of this community, as I oscillate in various communities, changes as I become accepted through both my own "merit" and through the affirmation of others and their experiences with me. Through our shared stories and experiences and our mutual commitment to each other and to the PAC, we all seek to see the fruits of all of our labor and efforts come to fruition and to ultimately see the long promised and awaited national park at Currusté.

More importantly however, we all (the local people working at the site, the Guifarro Family, the PAC and myself) are invested in the relationships we have created and fostered over time. The project may undoubtedly bring an important economic opportunity to those working alongside us for years, but what is most appreciated seems to be the mutual respect and *confianza* (confidence) in each other's abilities that the pilot program in Participatory Archaeology at Currusté helped foster and made an integral part of the in-the-field component of our work, that *trato.* We approached archaeological practice differently, by putting relationships and their cultivation ahead of any methodological goal and drawing from those relationships to talk about our common community of practice, archaeology, in terms of past and present relationships, something that made the experience transformative for all involved. While existing in numerous "communities" we all share the same goal, but have vastly different understandings of this process.

"Is This How you Treat Hondurans in the U.S.?"

In July 2009 we resumed excavations at Currusté after the coup had halted our work for approximately a week and a half. After daily requests by the director of the IHAH to remain in the country and resume work at Currusté, we waited for an opportunity to return to the field, but with the explicit understanding that our utmost priority was the safety of the local and international participants in the

project. With the assurance, after having driven with Dr. Lopiparo to Doña Marta's home, that the "climate" appeared safe for daily travel, we resumed work.

While Dr. Lopiparo received daily calls from the Director of the Institute, I had also received daily calls, mine coming from local participants, especially one young woman, wondering when we would return as they needed work and a salary. This was something that weighed heavily on us all, people having to work. When we returned, I spoke to the team, representing the project along with Dr. Lopiparo, and expressed our sadness at the recent events and their impact on the lives of Hondurans. The only impact that local participants expressed was their inability to continue working and earning a salary and continuing as a team. During the remainder of the season, I brought a radio to the site daily, listening to the news in the areas where I was working.

One morning I was struck by a question that this young woman who called me daily, asked me while we excavated together. She asked: Are you like this with everyone, with Hondurans in the U.S. too? I wasn't sure what she meant, so I asked what she meant and she said (and I am paraphrasing from memory), "you know, nice, friendly, good to people? I still did not understand and was unsure of how to respond. So I began to talk about my experience in the United States as a first generation Mexican-American, my working class background and my family's struggles in the U.S. because of our immigrant status and my understanding of the world from this perspective. I talked about the way I'd like to be treated, like a human being, like a person. I talked about my parents and the understanding, compassion and respect I would like people to have for them, people like them and us, the same I'd like us to have for others, regardless of their class, educational background, race, gender, etc. I told her it has taken a long time to understand this and that at times it is still a struggle, but that this has shaped how I relate to human interactions and relationships. I asked her, as she had been working with the project for all three seasons, if she sees a difference between the "relationships", working or otherwise, between us, the *gringa* archaeologists, during the first season of work and the following seasons (when I implemented the participatory archaeology program at Currusté).

She said yes and smiled shyly as she continued working, seeming relieved and happy. As we continued working, I thought somewhat stunned about what had just happened, thinking it could not be all about being nice. And it's not: it is much much more than that. We had been building a relationship in which she could see herself legitimately participating as a peer, and that had changed over time since our first season at Currusté in 2007.

Her younger brother had been participating on the project, since 2008. One of the things he expressed interest in was learning how to draw the plan views and profiles of excavation units, something that I promised we would work on. He was interested and seemed to enjoy the conversations he would have with my brother, who in 2008 had been a lifesaver to the project with his excavation drawings. My brother and this young man had developed a friendship. The young man was sad to learn that I had pleaded and convinced my brother to leave Honduras only a week after he had arrived in 2009, in the aftermath of the coup and the uncertainties that it brought. My brother very sadly and reluctantly left. I had hoped that the three of us

together would work on learning the purposes of drawing in the field, my brother comprehending the methodology and rendering amazing work, but with limited understanding of excavations. We each had unique knowledge to contribute and learn from each other.

Returning to work after the coup meant less time was left than we had planned. That we would have to regroup and reshuffle our excavation priorities, but we had agreed that we would learn this together. So we had a “crash-course” in the methodology of drawing, with limited time to talk about why we drew and the purposes of the drawings as data. I believe this is what his sister, the young woman I refer to above, and I had been discussing when she asked her question. At the end of the day, I reshuffled my priorities on-site to focus attention, albeit superficially, on a commitment I had made to her brother's committed interest, following from the numerous on-site *clasecitas* we had had over the last two years.

Prior to this exchange, but after the coup in 2009, I had conducted an interview with this young woman that touched on the goals of my work, and specifically, the efforts I was making to introduce her brother to drawing:

DJM: For me, what I am most sorry about is that, for example, when I say it to you and I say it with total frankness, not just you, but also the rest (of the people) who have worked with us, is that I have a high level of respect, gratitude, and confidence in your skills and I would like that you would one day have the same confidence that others have in yourself.

LP: Certainly we have it.

DJM: So that you could also say, have an opinion...

LP: Yes...

DJM: To be able to say, "no, I do not think that it was like that," perhaps and to enter into a dialogue with others, with me, with Julie, more than anything, with yourselves and to assist each other. So it is about re-enforcing this professional relationship, of friendship, and with the work, to give us, one another, that confidence. Then, I would like to place a greater focus on you to give you that knowledge, because right now you have a part, but to augment it, to always continue augmenting it... the apprenticeship never ends.

LP: Yes, that's so

DJM: And then so that tomorrow, because tomorrow, the day will come, where what we know about Currusté is going to be sufficient, we won’t need to excavate more. We won't need to, we shouldn't because we will already know enough. Then perhaps we'll go another year to Cerro Palenque, right. Then, and I would like it, that if one day we come to another archaeological site to work that you would come with us and that also, if there are persons that come new to the work, from right there in Santiago, in the same place of Cerro Palenque, that you would be the ones that would give the classes, that you would be the ones that teach. So that it would pass on, from practice to practice...

LP: The knowledge...

DJM: Yes, the knowledge. Exactly, the knowledge that you have...

LP: What we have learned we should teach to them...

DJM: Yes. Because one learns by doing, yes...
LP: Yes, that's how it is.
DJM: If I want to learn to make a tortilla I have to practice...
LP: You have to learn, yes
DJM: And even though mine come out lousy, but I have to give it a try...
LP: That's how it is
DJM: Well then, eh, thank you very much, Wendy for giving me the interview, then we can speak of other things on another occasion. I am going to try to resume the classes very soon, perhaps on Monday. Right now I am going to try to assist Jeanne, Julie and Nick, so that well, so that they can maintain the level of work right now to give me the opportunity to focus on my own. One of the things is giving... Alban has been able, he has experience as a technician as well. Then he has a way of doing archaeology and we are teaching him our system and he has been able to complete his own paperwork, his own excavation, and in this way he goes on learning. I would like, one of the things that Delvin asked me last year is to teach him to drawn, so I want to teach him as well a little about the profiles...
LP: Yes, that's good
DJM: He is doing them very well, but I would like to teach him why he is doing it, what it signifies...
LP: Yes…
DJM: Excuse me, then I think that tomorrow I am going to give him the profiles that he draws and that I have corrected so that he will see more or less how he did. Then that's what it is, it is giving, offering this skill so that others also can do it. So that the knowledge is not concentrated in only one person, so that everyone should know...

(Discussion with local participant 2009: Number 6 in Appendix)

What is it about this conversation, this exchange between this young woman and I, or the many conversations similar to this with her and others that would make me seem like a nice and good person, who was good to them? The reader is not privy to the numerous daily conversations and interactions on site with people, except for what I choose to excerpt from interviews. Even in a straightforward reading of these interviews, it might be assumed that I am potentially perpetuating the power dichotomy that I argue against (Breglia 2006). Although I am conscious of its inherent omnipresence, it is important to take account of the *trato*, a context for these exchanges. This "way of acting" wasn't a given before, and it was something that everyone involved, had to work to achieve. The words transcribed and translated to the page don't substitute for the subtlety of the nuances of expression communicated, understood in the reformulation of our relationships with one another, something that happened over time, gradually.

In evaluating the exchange above, it is important to take into account what was said that is different. If you see nothing wrong with this, it could follow that it is a practice that you already do, explicitly trying to actively and deliberately impress upon others the importance of their opinions, their knowledge and concerns, in a situation where the understanding by "those others" has historically been entirely

different. Until recently, archaeologists have highlighted in our writing the problems with such relationships with local communities. If this exchange (that could be interpreted as unilateral and uni-directional, me offering her some knowledge) can be seen beyond the transcribed words, as the more holistic relationship that it is becoming over time, it would be a step toward understanding why she may have felt like a legitimate participant in our community of practice and the relationships that it had generated.

It is a complex series of social and professional networks, with a series of miscommunications and controversies (*a la Latour*), explored here from the vantage point of the "local" (represented primarily here by Doña Marta); the Institutional (from the local IHAH employees to the director, at the time, himself); another professional and central participant in the project (a repository of historical and institutional memory) who was the museological consultant for the interpretive components of the Currusté archaeological park; and me, the archaeologist (compare Ardren 2002; Smith 2009). Four interviews with these three people comprise a central portion of the material in this chapter (Doña Marta Guifarro, in 2008 and in 2009; interpretive museological consultant; and the director of the IHAH from 2006-2009). Yet other voices are also included, as well as my own voice as an interlocutor in these various, yet distinctly different conversations.

So how is this place understood? How does it become a place of importance at the local level and at that of the cultural and Institutional level? How have archaeologists, in this case, fit in, in terms of exerting power over the cultural hegemony of Mayaness? What are our epistemic positionalities, those of all of these voices, where are we all coming from?

In the Beginning: Them and Us

I am a person with a marginal and superficial understanding of Catholicism, raised in a Mexican (in the United States) household in the Roman Catholic religious tradition. I've heard this phrase, *In the Beginning…* but I can't tie it to any one or any place from whence it came, that is, how it was introduced to me. Was it as a child? Did it then just become part of my internal "*folk catholic*" wiring, hidden deep within the recesses of my brain, only to be recalled and readily understood upon my hearing it once again and countless times since? I imagine the voice of someone like Charlton Heston or whatever actor may have been the Spanish-speaking counterpart in the Spanish rendition of the *Ten Commandments* (even I don't know if I'm making the proper pop cultural reference), a loud booming masculine voice, *"En el principio…"*.

My popular culture religious misstep is not the point, because the phrase is referential and one that I, and potentially many people indoctrinated in a Christian based religion will find familiar. My brain is re-routed, I have entered the realm of the biblical and I know enough (maybe not that much, but enough) to understand how to situate the following portion of my 2008 conversation with Doña Marta. As much as I may try to be objective about religion, it is ingrained in me through my familial and

cultural traditions. I am not an active participant in the religion, but it is a part of my identity and that of many others, in this particular case, Latin Americans in and outside of Latin America.

DJM: But what reaction did you and your family have in the beginning... That is, did you know what archaeology was, what did you know about the past of Honduras, the past of this region here?

DMG: Well, let me tell you, we knew nothing. That was sincerely not taken into account. Here, it was known that archaeology was only in Santa Rosa de Copán.

DJM: In Copán…

DMG: Only that was known here and there… Those mounds that are over there, that you see there, they were huge grasses, huge overgrown grasses and ohhhh, a lot of cows...

DJM: Yes... what did your Papa have here?

DMG: Oh yes, this was… and one would come on horseback to bring cows and they had no idea what that was, what that meant, do you understand….

DJM: And they found it before everything happened... when the archaeologists came... Because I have met various people that were working on the land at times, you know, whether it was planting, working the land and suddenly they ran across some *pichingo* (fired clay object), with a sherd and well, what did you think when you encountered something of that kind, before archaeology came here? What did you think that was?

DMG: Well yes, we always found them, look, we always found *pichingitos* like that what with the... that the earth was watered and they fell there, no. But we never put it... that they were the *indios*, only so it was said "ah, here maybe the *indios*, maybe the *indios"*...

DJM: And you what... do you identify with that past, with these *indios* perhaps, that there were... because they lived here, that's true...

DMG: Exactly... I, for me what... Look, I, it still didn't occur to me, no idea, that because, neither kinship nor anything with the *indios*. You don't... it doesn't have, for me, truly the significance that because, I only know that they were, I think now, that they were people like ourselves that came to live, like us... But for me they came before the deluge (we laugh together)…

DJM: And how is it the deluge, explain to me what is the deluge...

DMG: Well for me, the little that I have read of the deluge it was...(she says something I can't make out…) a flood of water where only Noah remained, you know...

DJM: Yes... ah yes... (It dawns on me that she's speaking in biblical terms)

DMG: Because they say that there's the boat of Noah on a hill I don't know where. And that is all that I can say now about it...

(Number 7 in Appendix)

The *Indio* in Conversations

There exists a schism of the psyche when it comes to time and thinking of *los ancestros, los de atras.* Namely, it is what comes before the time of Christ, I imagine how it might be imagined; savage, lesser beings, "*los indios eran lelos,"* ("the indians were stupid") says one of Doña Marta's grandchildren in 2009 during one of our week long "classes" at the site of Currusté when they were home for about a week and a half because of the swine flu epidemic. This is what her teachers have told her in school.

It's this notion of, "I may not know exactly where I come from, my familial history, but I'm not an Indian. Well, ok, ok…" It's this reluctant "acceptance," this resignation, maybe… But there is a difference: see, one is civilized and the other is not, one is dead, but invoked pejoratively (in association with its perceived *lelo-ness*) in description of someone acting badly:

> "It gives me, it gives me consternation," I tell them that "these people sometimes don't eat…" Because I pay attention, "and they're there," I say and one, like an Indian, who is the owner of the things puts no interest in the things…

In this portion of our conversation Doña Marta is discussing her sense of consternation when people ask her about the *gringas* and who pays our salaries for our work. She's bothered, telling them that we come through our own means (we obviously try for funding, some of us have some research funding, but not a salary), at times going without food, as she's seen, *y uno de indio* doesn't seem to care.

Here the use of the term *indio* is not about a connection to the "indigenous" past, but rather speaks as a descriptor of a person in a negative light.

The dead Indian also becomes a negation of the live Indian just as Christina Bueno (2004:11) states for the Mexican case:

> I argue that state-archaeology was a negation of the live Indian. It reflected leaders' concerns with modernity and their preoccupation with what they saw as Mexico's "backward" Indian population. The Mexican elite had contrasting views of the indigenous past and present: while the ancient Indians were seen as sophisticated and advanced, the live Indians were seen as backwards and degenerate.

This manner of thought is endemic in many Latin American populations. Christina Bueno is speaking about a specific period in Mexican history, the *Porfiriato,* foregrounding the use of archaeology in constructing Mexico's national identity as *Aztecness* (and also Mayaness in southern Mexico), as an enterprise of the elite. I argue that this notion of Indians as "backward and degenerate" today cross-cuts social classes and is part of the psyche of a great portion of the Mexican population, both in Mexico and transnationally (embedded in the long colonial history of Latin America), with the exception of some first (in my case), second, and later generation Mexican Americans who celebrate that potential connection to an indigenous past. Those of us who celebrate this connection due so potentially because it may offer a counter history to that of American history in which many immigrant communities do not feel included, a history of Aztec grandeur that we feel we can connect to, something to be proud of, ours, in a way that American (U.S.) society does not provide us or of which we don't feel a part.

My parents however, would not say that they are descended from *indios*, it's more or less, *una historia desconocida,* an unknown history of my family and where we came from. The default, in my father's case, could be *de gente blanca, Española*, because of their light skin and colored eyes. On my mother's side, notions of identity are murkier and clouded with a history of poverty and suffering. Even though my father's side may have been white, who they were and where they came from is still unknown. Vestiges of these *hombres blancos* are committed to few photographs, an important resource, but on its own inconclusive.

For Bueno (2004) this is a point of departure for the Porfiriato; but these notions, as is evident in her work, permeate Mexico and other areas of Latin America, stemming from the colonial rupture(s) and wound(s) onward, and are very much alive today. Mexico, and Honduras, for that matter, are not the exception. These disconnects, these disjunctures, this lack of identification with such a past (because who am I to say that they should identify with an indigenous past, when there are potentially many histories), have a history and antecedents. They have to be explored, researched as part of archaeological practice, to really understand where a perceived "lack of care or interest or identification" in the past archaeology offers resides. They should not be taken for granted with an assumption that people don't care or don't know their history and that we are therefore here to deliver it to them.

Doña Marta also talked about the place of her birth and rearing in the same dialogue where we discussed her ideas about the indigenous past:

DMG: Well, well I don't know, maybe because I was born here. Look, I was raised here, I was born further down (down the road), 3 blocks down and when I came here when I was, since I was 28 years old. Yes, I was already 28 years old and I live here and now I am 56 years old and I continue (I am still here). I plan on dying here and that they keep vigil over me there (she refers to the "site" as we sit looking toward it and into it)… (Number 8 in Appendix)

Doña Marta speaks of changes in the use of space over time, even though there is an inherent desire in her discussion to envision a continuity of the landscape that neither archaeology nor time can destroy. Examples in Doña Marta's lived experience include a change in the designation (and character) of the river, from the Rio Blanco to the Rio Negro, and the status of her familial land. This land had changed, certainly, over time but even in different incarnations practices persisted, with a continuity in the use of space, even as the wider landscape and people's uses of it changed and shifted.

As Doña Marta put it in the dialogue presented previously, "Well, let me tell you, we knew nothing. That was sincerely not taken into account. Here, it was known that archaeology was only in Santa Rosa de Copán… Only that was known here and there… Those mounds that are over there, that you see there, they were huge grasses, huge overgrown grasses and ohhhh, a lot of cows…Oh yes, this was… and one would come on horseback to bring cows and they had no idea what that was, what that meant, do you understand….

Upon asking Doña Marta about what she, her family and others may have understood about archaeology, she responds saying, they knew nothing. That this (archaeology) was only in Copán. She proceeds to explain what those places were, pastoral lands with huge grasses, overgrown for the purposes of grazing cattle. What lay covered under those grasses, they had no idea what it was or what it meant.

The uses of the space, prior to its "discovery" as an archaeological site with culturally meaningful material remains, were for the purposes of culturally meaningful recognized practices (material and immaterial) of its present inhabitants and those sharing in similar ways of life, potentially in *el monte* (the bush). In this the *indios* were like people/humans, who maybe were not their direct descendants but may have engaged in similar land uses and practices.

But Doña Marta's family, *su gente* (her people), had been there since 1904, and she had a land title to prove it. That date has been anchored in her familial history and in her memory of the place. The paper (*escrituras*) that shows it, is an iteration of the coming into being of the family, a legitimate recognition of the family's name and renown in the place and in the surrounding communities. In the memory of the Guifarro generation today, "the site dates to 1904". This was Doña Marta's concrete *In The Beginning…* moment, as related to her family; beyond that it was understood as a biblical framework. If connected with an indigenous past, that past was situated in Copan and was Maya-centric; both being abstract ideas of time and the past. It is 1904, however, that represents an important date, a date that also resonates as an important year for Doña Marta's daughter.

During the 2008 field season at Currusté, in a discussion among some local project participants at which I was not present, recorded for me by them, Doña Marta's daughter responds to another local participant's question as they discuss what they would like to know about the site during their visit to the Museo Regional de Antropologia e Historia in San Pedro Sula, scheduled for the following week:

JD: What year does the site date to?

JG: The what?

JD: The site, what time period does it date to?

JG: Listen, this site has been here since my grandparents, owners of this.

JD: No, I'm saying…

Before he can finish his sentence

JG: Since 1904.

JD: No, what I am saying is what time period, because there is the classic, post-classic…

Silence… No response.

(Number 9 in Appendix)

This interaction took place between two people working at the site in 2008, one of them a great granddaughter of the previous owners of the site. From her standpoint, the date for the site's occupation is 1904, when her great grandparents first arrived there, not the Late/Terminal Classic period, to which the first speaker refers. JD (a young man), although never having worked in archaeology, grew up in an environment with IHAH employees. His father was the previous IHAH regional head, based in La Lima. Doña Marta's daughter had worked and participated during the first season (2007) of archaeological fieldwork at Currusté. Our ability, as North American archaeologists, to convey the time-space distinctions that we are working with may not always be effective. To this person the interest and stakes in the place are certainly different, and the important past is 1904, not the Classic Period.

This connection to the place is not simply made by the immediate descendants of the original "owners" of the land in which "the site" is located, but extends to the name Guifarro being known and connected to the place by others in the area, as the museum specialist working on developing the on-site visitor's center discovered.

ICC: Well, Don… there was a proposal, that I don't know if the lady knows, but apparently they had spoken with Sr. Guifarro, and that was that the site would be named, Currusté de Guifarro, right. That's why I suggested that at least one of the pathways should be given the name of Guifarro, right. And well perhaps, I considered that if it... I suggested that the Visitor's Center should carry the name of Antonio Bogran, because he was the initiator of this at first, really it had been him, right. And really the Sr. motivated it. He tried to find funds with all his wealth, his social capital, right. And with all that ambitious idea that he had, not only for this property, but in Currusté, right. Because aside from that, this Sr. did good in San Pedro Sula... he made other

cultural contributions, it's for that reason, right. So it was a recognition of him in that sense, right. But on reviewing the archives of the Institute, then I spoke with the Director and I said to him, "well, let's also do something as to recognize the family of Currusté." So my suggestion was that at least one of the paths should carry the name of Currusté. Because I believe that. I don't know if the Sra. knows that, *but in reality the history behind the property is that,* right. (Emphasis mine.)

DJM: Yes... because her, I don't know if she knows that. She does fight for the land in a monetary fashion at times, but more than anything it is the family memory, this connection to the land for being where she grew up, where her Papa was, his parents. So that memory... She sees a tree and says, "No, that tree saw me grow." Then she...

ICC: Well in fact I have the idea that the hills, two hills that can be seen there, they are called The Guifarros [referring to a family connection to the place by using their family name as a referent to a place name and landmark on the landscape], right…

DJM: Ah, I did not know that...

(Number 10 in Appendix)

We continue discussing the interviews she conducted in the Currusté vicinity, clarifying how she learned this:

ICC: And well, that commentary, whether those are The Guifarros (referring to the cerros/small hills) came from one of the members of the *patronato* (local council), right. It's that he knows so much of the area, right. And I know that the Institute had, they have plans to do something about oral history, right. Obviously about that zone of Artemisales as it is called, right. So I don't know when they are going to do that. I at least dedicated myself to collect the names of the older people, right. At least that, right. There are various (people) that are Guifarros, others are related with the Guifarros, right. To collect a little of the history, right. I also went to review some documents in the archive that correspond to this zone, right.

(Number 11 in Appendix)

The beginning of this excerpted dialogue with the museological consultant leads to information about the Guifarro name being attached to two prominent hills in the surrounding landscape, something that I did not know and could have been unaware of forever, not knowing to ask the right question, or knowing that this was relevant data for archaeological practice. What begins this portion of the dialogue, however, also brings into relief the "story" a history, from the vantage point of the consultant: the history of the land and its contentious transfer to the IHAH, a story she wonders whether Doña Marta knows.

This story, however, contradicts Doña Marta's understanding of her familial land. I wonder, if she knew about this discussion between Antonio Bogran and her father about naming the park Currusté de Guifarro, if it would make her that much

more infuriated about the site's inauguration in December of 2008. She expressed this on several occasions to me, on the record and off the record. Don Antonio Bogran is recognized because of his social capital and position in Honduran business, politics, and society. So he is remembered. But what about Don Roberto Guifarro's social capital, and his relationships in the area? The family name is inscribed in the landscape and has meaning to his family and others that I will discuss at length in the pages that follow.

Chapter 5
History, Archaeology, and Identity

In Honduras, national identity is imbued in the popular imagination, and reinforced by IHAH, the institution that "makes a claim on identity of people" (Euraque interview 2009). The national imaginary ends with Mayaness (Euraque 1998, 2004). Here again we see a resurrection of the dead Indian (Bueno 2004). Only those 'traits' alluding to the grandeur of their 'sophistication and advancement' and to that time immemorial are invoked by the IHAH with its emphasis on Copán and its rhetoric on national identity as Maya.

ID: Sure, to me… and it's not just with respect to the Institute, I think that overall states… and in fact not only overall states now, but state-based societies, if you want to put it in those grand terms. I think that what makes possible, I have not really thought about this detail much, but this disconnect possibly more problematic, is that the institute makes a claim on identity of people.

DJM: How so?

ID: Well, because it's the official policy of representing what Honduranness is supposed to be about… (Number 12 in Appendix)

This then becomes the official narrative and the only connection, if at all, that people make to an indigenous, prehistoric, pre-Christian past. They are seen as two separate and non-concurrent events in time; *antes y después del diluvio,* before and after the flood, before Noah, in popular consciousness. The Mayanization of the Institute is entrenched "*Sino por que es parte de la psiquis"* (if only because it is part of the psyche; Euraque interview 2009), and so too a limited notion of descent and evolution.

In this portion of our conversation, the former director of IHAH and I are talking of the historical context of the IHAH and its entrenchment in Copán-centric personnel. Its genesis and Copán-centric archaeological emphasis are evidenced in the omission by even his own secretary of "history", the final H in IHAH, in answering the phone at the primary offices in Tegucigalpa by simply saying *Antropologia* without acknowledging the *Historia* in the acronym. This deletion is widespread, for even in the local La Lima IHAH offices, if you call, Isabel Perdomo will answer the phone with *"Antropologia."* Here again, another thread is the Institute's preoccupation with archaeology and it being synonymous with archaeology as its primary research and investigative pursuit. The word *antropologia* is synonymous with archaeology; a great portion of the IHAH personnel makes no distinction. I will pick up this thread again below, for the omission is not just of the Historical component of the Institute, but of the other branches of anthropology and their importance in the understanding of people, both past and present.

"Everyone Has Their Own Story"

Once “accepted” that people "evolved" concurrently all over the world, some like Doña Marta and like myself might not be able to make the distinction between a pre- and post-biblical time frame or worldview. But it is not just or entirely about religion, it’s also about the social relationships in a locality, relations at the level of the family, because that is how we identify, at least in her example and through the one I shared with her about my family, most viscerally and profoundly. Time is erased and becomes important when it can be anchored in a place, a person (with a name and/or face), a memory, an object or a sense and then recalled spontaneously. What came before is interpreted in terms of vague knowledge. The loss is more profound and more difficult to access, when the ‘faces’ have nothing to anchor them. By default, we reconcile and “accept” the generalized version of the past and humankind:

DMG: Exactly, to me… Look I, it still doesn’t dawn on me, no clue, that why, no relationship or anything with the Indians. You don’t… I don’t take with me, right, the significance of why… *I only know, I think now that they were people like us that came to live, like us. But to me, they came before the flood…* (my emphasis)

Our conversation continues (picking up from above):

DJM: But you remember being a girl and walking through this piece of land…

DMG: exactly, yes, that yes...

DJM: what do you remember of that time?

DMG: Well look, first when I was in school they took us from the school to come rummage around here...

DJM: Who brought you here?

DMG: The director of the school brought us...

DJM: Ahhh, the director of the school...

DMG: The director of the school. Yes, excursions on foot. It was the one that was on the other side of CEMCOL. They took us here and later took a walk, we went to swim...Because my Papa was a member of the board of the school, of the school. Yes, he was President of the parents of families and supported the

school a lot. He was the only one that did good there, the school. There we bathed in the river, that was the Rio Blanco, now it's the Rio Negro[4], and then we'd go back to school, we found nothing, we found nothing. Only... as now that on Fridays the kids are taken out to the park there above, so we came because the teacher didn't know where (else to take us) to go.

DJM: But what did they say that you were going to do, was it just... What reason did they give you to excavate here, or that is....

DMG: Well he did tell us that the *indios* lived here... What could it be, the *indios* did not live [here]...Well yeah, he told us nonsense here...

(Number 13 in Appendix)

Our conversation continued. we discuss her memories of the place as a child, being brought there by her schoolteacher and excavating as a field trip pastime. We are allowed a window into that time of her life: her childhood, and we begin to start forming a picture of her father and his importance within the local schools and in the area.

What other activities did these fieldtrips extend to the young *cipotes* (children), since the teacher, *no sabia 'pa donde agarrar* (the teacher didn't know where to go)? They bathed in the local Rio Blanco; today for her, the Rio Negro. We see the changing nature of the landscape and changing ways of life and practices of those in the surrounding area. We can extend such phenomena to elsewhere in Honduras, elsewhere around the world; the heavy pollution and contamination of once vibrant sources of water for drinking, wading, bathing, washing, fishing, etc., no longer viable options.

Doña Marta remembers those times, having lived them: "From there see, we brought water from the river, because before one would get into the river and these, "oh, if I don't drink purified water I'll die," and I would drink it from the river, I tell them. All you did was put it in a clay pot so that it would be fresh… ummm, my mother would filter it".

Many of us can relate and recall such memories. My own memories are from my childhood visits to Mexico, in the home of my maternal grandmother and that of my paternal grandfather. *Cantaros,* or globular clay jars with a restricted opening, would be filled with drinking water; only my Mama Nacha did not need to treat it to

[4] "Blanco" means "white" and "Negro" means "black". The meaning is more than simply a change in the name of the river: "black water" is the translation of the term used for sewage; the former "White River" is now so polluted it has been renamed, essentially, "sewer".

drink it herself. Because we were not adapted to drinking this water, my mother would treat it by boiling it and eventually adding some pills she'd brought from the US so that it would not make us sick. Once the water cooled, however, it was placed in the *cantaros,* whose clay fabric kept it cool and fresh and gave it a taste I still long for today. Today though, we wouldn't dream of not drinking water from a store bought bottle.

Doña Marta recalls her childhood experiences in this place, seared in her memories and recalled in both of our interviews, in the fall of 2008 and in July of 2009. These experiences and memories have also marked her and are referential nodes in her life and family history and how she positions herself both within *the world* but more specifically to this case study, within her social milieu and therefore how she understands her stake in this place: through her and her family's "ownership" of the land.

It's an accepted narrative that becomes precarious (distorted and not taken into account) through the various stakes that exist in the place today. She must tell this story in order to keep it alive and account for that history.

This passage however, speaks to a number of other things. It brings into relief the fact that Doña Marta does not really identify with the indigenous populations that may have inhabited the region and places like Currusté in the past, nor does she see herself as a direct descendant of these past indigenous communities. She connects to these people as a human being, first and foremost.

Being a *ser humano* is an important thread in our conversations in both 2008 and 2009. As she said in a passage quoted above, "I think they were people like us, who came to live, just like us. They came before Christ, but they were people like us". Here she seems to be tapping into her understanding of what it means to *be human*.

Being human and understanding the daily lives of people, whether in the past or present, is not just a thread that comes up in my conversations with Doña Marta, but is something that the consultant and designer of the interpretive center also discussed. Through her extensive work, doing her own research and interviews in Currusté and its surrounding vicinities, she has identified some of the things of importance about the Honduran past to those she interviewed:

DJM: and what was more or less… in terms of the results, in terms of what people knew/ understood about prehistory?

GT: Oh, ah… I presented that in the Austin and Comayagua conferences, right. And well, the questions were really about archaeology and toward the Honduran past, right. So there are really many misconceptions about the labor of and archaeologist, right; but also about the past, right, prehistoric (past), right. So then the logic and the response that was expected and is what happened, right; is to connect the Sula Valley with the Maya, right. That the presence here was Maya, right. But the questions were also focused on what (people) wanted… if an archaeological park was going to be developed, what did

people want, right. *People were focused a lot toward understanding a bit of the daily lives and to know how people had learned to live in a zone (an area) that floods, in a zone where there are hurricanes and tropical storms, right.* (emphasis mine).

(Number 14 in Appendix)

During this portion of our conversation we were discussing how Currusté became the subject of archaeological investigation and development through the efforts of a local Honduran politician, Don Antonio Bogran, who was the prominent recipient of acknowledgement by the IHAH during the site's inauguration in December 2008. Don Antonio's "very ambitious" plans, however, were curtailed, and the project was turned over to a private university in San Pedro Sula and the IHAH.

The explanation of this context then moved us into the reemergence of the plan for the creation of the Currusté national park and her consultation on the project. This included several interviews with residents of the local area as well as with the local *patronato* presidents (trustees). Her interviews canvassed what archaeology is, and the misconceptions people have about what archaeology is and does. It is evident that people want to link those living there prehistorically with the Maya, but are also centrally interested in the daily lives and activities of people in the past in this region and how they were able to contend with the natural landscape during climatic events that still afflict the area today. The portion of the quoted text that I have emphasized in bold is an example of the kinds of things that are of import to people near Currusté today, who are challenged with similar issues, in this instance, the climate.

The Maya are a recurring theme, when it comes to talking about the prehistoric indigenous past of Honduras. This was something that we approached during our discussions in the field by talking in terms of relationships, similar to activities we undertook with the young Guifarro children.

The Guifarro kids were a constant presence at Currusté, especially when they were on vacation from school, or when school was cancelled because of things like teacher strikes or, as happened in 2009, for measures against the spread of the swine flu, and after the coup d' etat. The kids were always interested and played a big role when people came to the site after hearing about it on the news, and would themselves act as budding "tour guides." We had discussed having some *clases* for them at some point during the 2009 field season. When they were home indefinitely because of the swine flu epidemic, we chose that week to begin talking about archaeology. They were already used to seeing the "fun/cool" stuff and would watch us excavating for hours on end.

But when we began talking about archaeology, they were so bored that I began to talk about relationships. One of their "take home assignments" was, after having consulted a large map of Honduras that I brought to the site for them to consult and study, to make a list of places in the country where they might have a family member, friend or acquaintance, and to do the same if they could for people living outside of Honduras. After having devised their list we would come back and

discuss the kinds of ways people communicate today and how they might have in the past, in terms of networks and relationships.

We encouraged these young children, the local participants, undergraduate volunteers, local university students, and grade school students who visited Currusté over the course of our work there to think about people in the past, not specifically as Maya, but as people with extensive relationships with other people and places. For some, identifying with an indigenous past was still difficult, but they were recognizing the value of understanding Currusté:

DMG: So that now they see that based on that now, people are no longer coming to intrude, because if they came before to walk (loiter) around here and, not to rummage around, but because the people believe that, the people believed that there had been, that there could have been gold, but I, "no man there's no gold here, none ever has been found, nor are they going to find any," I said to them, "they guard it because our ancestors lived there, because from there..." *"but we aren't indios," they say. The problem is that we are not indios because we are now well mixed, right. But with some indio, I had to have come from one of those indios, that's why I live in this place, right...(we laugh together). Anyone...*(emphasis mine) (Number 15 in Appendix)

Doña Marta acquiesces again to a potential connection to an indigenous past. I wonder however, if what she is connecting to are people in general, in this instance, "that came here to live, just like us".

What she will not agree to, as she continues from the quoted section above, is the following:

DJM: we have our ancestors, right...

DMG: Yes... from there, as they say that we also come from monkeys, but I don't come from there... (we laugh...). God knows, truly, God knows... I don't know... I would have liked to study archaeology to know if I come from here or who knows what material I have (come from). But I, that I will not accept, that I come from a monkey, the *indios* yes... (DMG 2008:7)

There is so much here that is relevant for more reasons than that for which I have highlighted this portion of the transcript at this moment: Doña Marta's understanding of the archaeologists' role and purpose, the perception of other people that there is gold to be found, people becoming aware and *tomando conciencia* (taking consciousness) of the value and importance of the site and its potential for employment, as well as the active role that people are now taking in safeguarding the place and the potential occupational means it represents.

I highlight it here, however, with particular emphasis, because people do not think of themselves as *indios.* More importantly, the people responding to Doña Marta assumed that wjen she said *antepasados* (in her narration of the story, implicating her own understanding) was synonymous with *indios.* This is important because as archaeologists we have potentially created the expectation that people should think of themselves as having *indio* antepasados, and people forego voicing their understanding of *their* pasts in favor of the one that comes with academic "authority." Essentially we are imposing our own views of history.

Where Memory Resides

In 2009 Doña Marta and I sat outside in her *patio* in an area of her property that abuts the property lines of the IHAH archaeological site of Currusté, land that formerly belonged to her family. We were surrounded by animals; dogs, chickens, ducks, pigs and the occasional horses or cows that have passed by over the three years (since 2007) that the Proyecto Arqueologico Currusté has worked at the site, and as long as memory serves those who have lived there. Doña Marta lives in *El Monte* and she has a reason for that, so that she can have and keep her animals as she sees fit:

DMG: and I'm going to tell you something else, that's why I live in *el monte*, to have all kinds of animals. They don't feed me. And tell them to fence, that I said that if they don't they're always gonna be… And whoever tries to kill a pig is gonna see over here, I'm saying this before you (judge), I'm going to kick them out with a rifle, I'm going to kick them out," I'm telling you....

Over the course of the more than thirty years that there has been archaeological work at the site of Currusté, whether in its initial stages through the efforts of local businessmen for its potential development into a national park, or in later investigations by the IHAH, including the PAC, the relationships have at times been contentious. In this part of our conversation, Doña Marta is referring to her relationship with the previous IHAH regional representative, Lic. Beto Duron, who brought charges against her. She was summoned to appear in San Pedro in an ongoing dispute concerning her animals entering the archaeological site. She appeared before a judge anticipating that all parties would discuss the situation. Beto and another IHAH employee from the La Lima office went to San Pedro but never met with Doña Marta. While she spoke with the judge, she saw them out in the corridors of the judge's offices, but there was never, according to her, mediation between both parties.

DGM: Look, I am going to tell you that when he came, when Beto died, they brought Aldo, almost a month after, something like that. Well... Like a month after they brought Dr. Euraque, who they asked for from the US he told me, he came. I passed by here under this tree in a hammock. Well I had... I went by fighting with Beto. Yes, I was always fighting with Beto. Because, look I had... this houseyard was from there where the little tree is toward the gate, Doris. To go over there inside, that was mine and this is not within their writings

(escrituras, deeds). So when I made my demand that I wanted to toss this there, this because my Papa said to me, "so leave it, that is going to be your access towards the back", right. Well, afterwards he told me that he would write a letter that he was going to say where it would be directed so that they would give me permission for access. Why do I have to go asking permission, if this is mine...

DJM: If it already is yours...

DMG: But they took it away from me anyways, Doris, they took it anyways, because of Beto. Now (muffled), they have legalized it, you understand me. So I just left it like that for them. I was always fighting with Beto. When Beto died, "ah, lord Jesus, they killed Beto, they killed Beto." Because one day they brought me to the *fiscalía* (district attorney's office), if not to the *fiscalía,* to the *vocalía* of the police, to the municipality, that Carlos and Beto took me one day, at such an hour, I remember that at one in the afternoon I was there. I had an appointment with the *licenciado* there, they were calling me because the pigs intruded there. Then I said to them, "it is you," I said to them, "what the hell do you take care of (She says, "es que putas cuidan? I think that's what she said, it was sort of quiet, under her breath), if you don't even work. They come and throw themselves there (as in sit around and do nothing), you're not doing anything here. And if you don't want the pigs not to intrude (get in), fence it..."

DJM: Well yeah, if it is theirs...

DMG: Protect your property, because I am not going to limit myself, I am not going to tie up my pigs, I am not going to... That's why I live in the *monte*, "fence and you won't have a problem," "but look that...(this is what IHAH was saying, this bit here, according to her)," I said that to them here. When they summoned me there, they did not go, I only saw that fat one pass by, "there he goes, there he comes", but he never came to the office (as in, they never got involved), they never got involved. So I said to the lawyer, the judge that they had there, "Look," I said, "what happened, this and that with the pigs," "yes Doña Marta, that's true" he said, "that's what they are complaining about, look," "but I want them to come, I want to talk with them before (in front, in your presence) you," I said, "so that you can see, the fence is mine and the ones who have to fix it are them, because I lend them my wire so that they can protect themselves there. They haven't come to put up wire there, all that is mine. And another thing that I am going to say, that's why I live in the *monte*, to have every kind of animal. They don't feed me (the IHAH) and tell them that they should fence, that I say that if they don't they are always going to (have problems)... And anyone who dares to kill a pig is going to see because, I say it to you, I am going to take a rifle, I am going to take it," I said, "because that..." Once I had told him the story, "ah you are right to be angry Doña Marta, don't worry, I will tell them. I am going to tell them," "yes, tell them." I would be angry with Beto because of all these things. When the licenciado Euraque, Dr. Euraque, came and he came with another woman from Tegucigalpa. Then

Aldo introduced me to her. Aldo brought him to me and so I told him, "I always have had problems with the people from there, Doctor," I said to him. "Because they already took that (the land) from me, this was mine, this was, they have given it to me," I said to him, "but they fell on me and they confiscated it from me," I told him. "I don't know if they have already told you that," I said, "and they still wanted to take my house because they said that there were two manzanas lacking here. No," I said. Come on, what do you mean you lost them...

DJM: Yes (i'm following)…

DMG: Doris, you could lose that handkerchief, those glasses, the hat, because the wind blows it away or you left it behind. *But you can't lose the land (land can not be lost), how?* "Rather, you robbed that from me," I told them, "and I am going to court so that you will return it to me," I said. Then, I got very serious, very firm. Then Dr. Euraque afterward did not want to talk with me, because he was afraid of me. I was very angry... (Emphasis mine)

(Number 17 in Appendix)

The barrier between the two properties is a simple chicken wire fence that can hardly keep her animals from entering the site. In fact, this became a persistent problem for the PAC in 2007 as we entered an already contentious situation not entirely aware or informed about this history. I at least only had peripheral information, but certainly had not known about this ongoing judicial dispute between Beto and Doña Marta.

Our primary concern was large livestock such as cows and horses, mainly because we had begun an extensive program of shovel test pits throughout some areas of the site. These ranged in depth from 10 cm to 1 meter or more, and in diameter from 30 to 40 cm. As we proceeded with the shovel test pits, having them throughout the site presented a danger to both livestock and people, as an animal or person could inadvertently step into one and get hurt. In fact, the same IHAH employee who accompanied Beto Duron to San Pedro when they summoned Doña Marta, himself fell into one in 2007 and, I believe, broke or severely sprained a finger. He, however, was conscious of the dangers of open pits, having worked as the IHAH representative on numerous excavations and for numerous years. This was nonetheless a concern for everyone, aware or not of the implications of open pits.

Pigs also posed a serious problem to the integrity and maintenance of the horizontal 2 by 2 m excavation units throughout the site. We would often become irate after arriving at the site in the morning and finding extensive disturbances. We would be angry finding the mess left behind after animals had roamed the site. At times I found myself going down to talk to Doña Marta, or would express my anger whether in words or with my mannerisms to others on the site, some of whom were family members of Doña Marta. It was frustration, lack of understanding. It would only be in the following season in 2008 when we would finally be able to talk less

directly about things that bothered us. Our conversations then were geared to a broader understanding that gave way to a friendly relationship that eventually placed us (the archaeologists, namely me) in the position of mediators between the family and the IHAH.

Doña Marta's sense of home and place was very much tied to her life in *el monte*. That's why she continued living there, to keep all sorts of animals, and she was going to protect them. For Doña Marta, as is apparent above, the IHAH's impact did not only reside in issues concerning her animals, but was more widely related to her way of life. Having been born, raised and making her life in this place, just as her relatives had since 1904, her way of life in this place was under attack.

This passage makes evident the contentious relationship between her and the IHAH over time, since the expropriation of her father's land. Currusté and the place she is now living adjacent to the site was land her father had earmarked for her, while her other sisters also were to receive land in the local vicinity that had been in her family since 1904. The land was taken away, "*pero siempre me lo quitaron,"* and this is an open wound, one that might begin to heal when she sees the park realized. But not just realized: that's one part, however the most significant part for her is a public acknowledgement of her father's role and generous character in facilitating work at the site. She makes reference to her father's character throughout our conversation that afternoon, something I will return to below.

If the Institute had a problem then they should fence the site off properly, they should handle their property but not obstruct her line of vision and not hinder her from being in the mix of things, of seeing who was coming and going. Her problems with some IHAH employees however, would not easily dissipate; there was already bad blood between Doña Marta and the local IHAH representative who was on site daily.

Doña Marta did us the favor of housing our excavation equipment and the IHAH representative had the job of creating an inventory and checking it daily. Sometimes not everything was in its place and he would speak to her in accusatory terms, angering her often and not respecting her and her family and their role as guardians of our things (field equipment) and the site itself, as she saw herself. On one occasion my brother, who had come to Honduras to help out and learn what it is that I do, stayed behind in the afternoon to help some of the local and IHAH participants while they did some backfilling. He would tell me later that afternoon that this representative and Doña Marta had had some words, arguing over tools. The IHAH representative was accusing her of stealing machetes and she was defending her position, telling him and others to take care of their things and nothing would go missing, indignant at the inflammatory accusations he was spewing. It got so tense that my brother swore she was going for a machete and he was scared that words would turn into something more. In some ways my opening to our 2008 conversation spoke to these situations and her having to deal with all this when we were in Honduras to work at Currusté. I wanted to acknowledge the

difficulties and position that she was and continued to be placed in by our being there.

Unfortunately, such misunderstandings were common. There was an existing history between this individual and Doña Marta. This also speaks to a lack of understanding or good relationships between local communities and archaeologists endemic to the IHAH, something Dr. Euraque sought to bridge during his tenure and make part of IHAH practice.

The problems with large livestock were abated to a great degree from 2008 onwards as the IHAH used cyclone wiring at the base of the chicken wire fencing that the properties shared in an effort to minimize the problem of large livestock entering the site and one would hope, to fulfill their end of property maintenance, as according to her, had been promised.

Archaeology and Archaeologists

Problems with La Lima IHAH employees, however, continued. Now they seemed to mainly involve an institute driver who at times fueled negativity between himself and Doña Marta with his ill-informed characterization of the PAC participants and our mutual collaborative role with the IHAH. I suppose we had one assumption about the IHAH's role in support of our work and he (and others) had another. Where Doña Marta saw her relationship with the *gringas* in a more positive light, this individual saw it more negatively, maybe as though we were taking advantage. I can't say for certain, I am not sure.

DMG: Well yes, with the truth, to be honest Doris, "no, we took it away from the family, we took it from Don Roberto because it was an archaeological zone", and since there is a law, right, an article, I don't know what there is. Well ok, but they should say, "we took it from him, they took it from him." Some A ----le said the other day, "who knows with what money the gringas are going to buy that land from Doña Marta." Then I said to them, "and why would the gringas have to buy the land from me? If they are not the owners of Honduras, they are not from the Honduran government. They came to render a collaboration here, not to buy the lands so that afterward the same shameless Hondurans would have money in their pockets (pad their own pockets)."

We continue talking…

DMG: No but really. No look, the people that talk are those among you, there from the offices (La Lima Regional), they are all effing opportunists (literally, parachuters), they believe that is that... And I asked the old ugly one, Fofo (Rodolfo), "no Doña Marta, I don't know anything," he is the only man that doesn't talk nonsense.

DJM: No, that Sr. is very serious.

DMG: Yes, that Sr.... And all the other opportunities began talking *papadas*. As I said to them, "No, don't be inhumane, don't be inhumane." Because I said to Chabeli's husband the other day, "why would the gringas have to come and buy," I said "if this thing is of the Hondurans..."

DJM: But Lalo knows well, its nothing more than trying to make you angry I think

DMG: But look, see, Lalo brings you and but doesn't take you back... Yes, Lalo scrapes about here but gives you a big kick from behind (talks behind our backs), yes. And I have said to him, "Lalo you are (as in them, not just him) a M..."

DJM: An M…?

DMG: A shit, rude. Ah, why the other day as well... because I said to them, "well why they weren't transporting you, that *puchica* the poor girls are left there like nothing, in the back of a truck, arriving late, leaving late. And you going from here to there, in those old beaters (trucks)," "it's that they were not assigned a car Doña Marta," he said to me...

DJM: Not assign... what?...

DMG: "They weren't assigned a car," he said. "And that has to be done from Tegucigalpa." "Well you have to be on the ball and make time for them." "But we can't Doña Marta." "Yes you can, because I have seen you, how you work here only lying around and seated," I said to him, "without moving. At least when they are here," I said. "Doña Marta," he said to me, "and what have the gringas given you that you defend them so (I laugh)…"

(Number 18 in Appendix)

There were obviously some misconceptions and gossip that some of the La Lima INAH employees had and spread about our presence and purpose in working at the site. The person to whom Doña refers should have known they were not true. Why would we want to buy an archaeological site? Certainly if he had any doubts about our purpose in Honduras, all he really had to do was ask his wife, who has worked for the IHAH for nearly two decades, what we were about. She'd known us and the people that came before us and our work more so than any one else in the La Lima Regional.

It is true however, that there were tensions regarding the issue of transportation for the project, something that had been discussed with the IHAH assistant director as support for the project. So we, the gringa archaeologists, had certain expectations based on our direct communication with the assistant director. Transportation was a big issue for the person Doña Marta refers to. We made do the best that we could. When the La Lima office could support us with transportation it did, but this gentleman had, it appears, already made up his mind about us.

Doña Marta spoke up for us, based on the relationship she had with us and her understanding of our purpose and Honduran law, discrediting his claim that we wanted to somehow buy and profit from Currusté. It is important to recognize that this is Doña Marta's account of their conversation. It is interesting though, that the question she reports this man poses to her is *"Y a usted que le han dado las gringas que si las defiende?"* (and what have the gringas given you that you defend them?). Our relationship with the Guifarros had had its own difficulties and tensions, something we worked on, and we reframed and made central the relationships with local participants and people like Doña Marta.

Archaeologists and Institutions

The IHAH had also been developing those relationships, taking an interest in the family and the project, but this seems to have not occurred at all Institutional levels or with local representatives, such as the two I have mentioned here. Dr. Euraque spoke to such a concerns in an interview I cite below, talking about a disconnect between the IHAH and local communities and citizen participation. In this interview he sets me straight regarding the Institutional perspective on the subject and the day-to-day exigencies that they face. He did not agree with it, but wanted a compelling way to do something about it. The fact that there was a disconnect and that I brought it up, was not in and of itself compelling, so what… He was more concerned with what you do about it. The DVD, *Participación Ciudadana en la Conservación y Protección del Patrimonio Cultural,* that Dr. Euraque commissioned while still director of the Institute, is a very important response to ways that the Institution could start taking on this apparent disconnect with the Honduran people.

DJM: I don't know… well I think it is difficult in terms of the perspective that we, the different persons that participate in projects, have in the area for example of the Institute, I suppose you have a mission, correct me obviously if I commit an error, to present a message to the public and at times I feel that there is a disconnect between what the people where the work takes place feel that... feel about this message, if they know this message and at times they do not know it...

DE: Well, of course there is a disconnect. In fact, the Institute is founded with this disconnect, it never had an interest in connecting. Well, that in itself is not provocative, to say that there is a disconnect, that is to say... The important thing for me is how to approach the problem, the problem is very clear...

DJM: Yes

DE: Not just that, but that also between the different actors or as you like to say, stakeholdes and all that (I laugh…), there is a differentiation that is important that you should have or already have clear or if not should make clear... That is that from the point of view of the administration one has some legal demands and in fact management demands that none of you has. If you do a

project or don't do it, the state of Honduras is not going to come looking for you... if you finish or do not finish your doctorate, for you personally it might be a problem, etc. For the local inhabitants as well, they don't have a legal obligation, they don't have a budget to fulfill, they don't have... which is not to say that there aren't interests, including yours as archaeologist and anthropologist.... that don't have their coherence, their rationale, etc. Including the technicians that seek or do not seek a job, etc., no, or to get training, etc. If they disappear, there would be no legal or administrative problem, on the other hand the administration yes, you understand. So that... the topic, with this differentiation, the topic is that I have to decide in a very short period, with very few resources and with institutional resistance from Copan, through the national imaginary against it. So the topic was, and fine so go ahead and resign, that is to say... No, it is very complicated and there is a disconnect and... well, the disconnect is clear. The question is what you do with the disconnect...

Chapter 6
"Everyone Has Their Own History, Their Own Story…"

Doña Marta and I continued talking about the fence that "separates" her legal property and that which used to belong to her family, Currusté.

DMG: Everyone has their story. Just like people, like no one has the same face, right, even with siblings, everyone has their own story.

DJM: Their story and their reaction (can't tell if this is what I said…). I was born and raised in the United States, in California, but my parents immigrated to the United States a long time ago, like 40 years ago. My mother, more than anything, I think she left when she was very young to the U.S. They sent her to work, right. So I don't think she felt like she had a big closeness with her own parents. Well, she felt like the *India Maria* (A Mexican Comedian/Actress; widely known in Latin America), "Neither from here or there," right. But my dad was older when he immigrated, not old, he must have been something like 28 years old. But even though they've been in the States for years, I know that don't wish to return and live (in Mexico)…

DMG: You get used to it…

DJM: You get used to it, but those people are no longer there, their parents, right. But they long for… (am referring to them longing for Mexico). My dad, even though he knows that when he passes he will remain in the States, he's always said, he had always said, I think it's more than a joke, I believe it is an actual feeling, but at the same time, since we are all there, his children and grandchildren in the United States. So he say's, "when I die, I want to be buried under… so that the cows will graze/roam (above me)." They were people from the countryside (Doña Marta laughs and says, "Si."), so that they will come then…

DMG: My father would say the same thing…

DJM: It's that memory, that longing to be in his home (pueblo, place where he grew up), right…

DMG: Yes, yes…

DJM: So that's what I mean in terms of the site not being just a site, it's the place (land, home) that saw you grow…

DMG: That saw me grow

DJM: where you were born…

DMG: grow (raise you)… Look Doris, that tree (motions into the site)…

DJM: Which one, that one down there?

DMG: That big one, green, green; that tree is older than I am. That tree has seen me grow; my daughters who have always lived here. I have been here for 30 years, that tree has seen them grow. Like this atorador (referring to a tree) and those trees, those trees that are crooked, almost flat lying (horizontal), they've been there all my life. So those little things, Doris… I've always been like this, very sentimental with my things and I say, "Oh no, I've seen it there for so long," like that, right. Those are the things that maybe make you go back, (she says it with an emphasis). Because if they gave me my land back (rolls the R's in tierra with emphasis and laughs as I do)… If Aldo and the government disappeared and all the paperwork disappeared, I'd grab my land Doris, yes…

DJM: Yes, because it's this thing, it's like… You've talked about your mom's picture… She's no longer here (she repeats this), but what remains of her (Doña Marta says, "exactly") is her memory (she repeats this)…

DMG: Every picture, you say, "look here mother was very young, look at her," I say, "look" mother was very beautiful when she was young, my mother was the prettiest girl here (as in, in the area, all of it), see. She was white, very white, my mother and her hair was very straight, well formed. But she was the prettiest woman all around this place, even of San Jose del Boqueron, that's what I tell them. "And why was she so beautiful?" they say. Because my father, my father has a picture when he was 28 years old with my mother, when she was very young and my father looked like Pedro Infante…

(Number 20 in Appendix)

During this conversation we had also been discussing other aspects about her life and what the land where the site is located represented to her. We sat that afternoon in her home, gazing out into "the site" and its surroundings as we discussed what it meant to her and the responsibility she felt to protect it. She directed my attention to an enormous tree on the other side of the fence (in the bounds of the site) that I have walked past hundreds of times. The tree, as she would tell me, had seen both her and her children grow. It had been there long before she was born and was symbolic of her connection to the place, even if it was no longer hers. Her ability to gaze out into her childhood and the world around her was potentially in danger as the Institute was planning on building a tall wall in place of the wire fencing, something that would obstruct her view, but also keep her from protecting her "home" and the memories she had of it. She told me, "I've always been very sentimental with my things, so I say, oh no, I've always seen it there (the tree), right? Those are things that make you go back…"

Her story elicited my own memory, which is what she was referring to when she said "make you go back" - *"ir para 'tras."* I recalled a recent time in Michoacan,

México at my maternal grandmother's house after her death in April 2006. My father telling my mother that the large mango tree around which the house had been built needed to be cut down and removed. My mother argued against it, telling us that long ago when her mother came there, with she and her siblings, all there was then was that mango tree and that my grandmother would tie a borrowed dog to it as a means of protection for a practically single mother and four young children. In the years that followed she built a home, *'poco a poquito,'* little by little around the tree, a home my mother contributed to in absentia from the United States. It is still a reminder of the displacement she felt and feels, finding herself in a liminal place away from her family and even on the occasions when she was at home in México with her family. The house is now imbued with memories anchored in the most unlikely of things and places, much like Doña Marta's story. It is much more than sentimentality, it's how we connect and keep memories of the past alive, a past that also shapes how we engage in our own relationships, near and far, spatially and temporally.

The sharing of our mutual experiences and stories, that may have begun with the topic of archaeology, revealed a completely different set of things that are of import to Doña Marta, but also placed me in a position of vulnerability, as I too shared some parts of my own history with her and how I connected to it. Our storytelling revealed experiences with immigration to the United States, displacement, working class background, and how we connect through memories referenced by these experiences and anchored in people, places, things and ideas. Over time, not just over the course of two taped interviews in two years, but during our daily conversations and interactions, the thing that gave way to the interviews, our openness and vulnerability, we were building a relationship built on *confianza*: observing and recognizing similarities that our stories revealed to one another that became the basis for that *confianza* (trust).

People want to bear witness to those struggles and having experienced similar struggles so that other people may understand, hear their stories. The end is to essentially provide a *testimonio*, written or told, for the purposes of being retold and not forgotten, kept in memory to be recounted by others to others, their children and grandchildren and relations near and far.

Ruth Behar (1996: 27) writes that the

> genre of life history and life story are merging with *testimonio*, which speaks to the role of witnessing in our time as a key form of approaching and transforming reality. Producing testimony became a crucial therapeutic tool in the treatment of people who suffered psychological trauma under state terrorism. It was practiced in Europe with Holocaust survivors, and in Latin America it was introduced in the 1970s as a way of helping people come to terms with the psychic and social effects of political repression on their lives. Its use spread to Central America and it became a key genre for the expression of consciousness-raising among indigenous women leaders. *I, Rigoberta*

> *Menchú* became the symbol of that movement, in which the purpose of bearing witness is to motivate listeners to participate in the struggle against injustice.

Doña Marta feels she has suffered injustices. She was sharing her *testimonio* and the numerous counts of injustices suffered by herself and her family. I shared my own *testimonio*, through my parents' struggle in the United States and their longing for "home." During my time in Honduras and in reflection in and outside the "field", I thought about my mother's stories. I thought about having heard the story about the importance of the tree, the only concrete commemorative marker of where she came from, time and time again, *her beginning in a place*. Every time, it brings her to tears, as she recalls her early life in Mexico, the struggles that never stopped but were only transferred and mapped onto the life she has had since immigrating to the United States. In my youth, I listened feeling empathy (for that was what she seemed to want and people want in telling these sorts of stories). At times I felt they were a ploy to make me feel guilty and I rebelled in my own way. Besides empathy, what has my mother tried to convey and elicit and what are her hopes for these stories in the future? I think that in some way she has wanted us to understand from where and what we came.

The Things That Make You Bo Back

In May 2008, as I planned to head into the field, to go back to Honduras and initiate the pilot program for Participatory Archaeology at Currusté, I got a call from one of my sisters at my apartment in Oakland, CA. My family lives approximately 40 miles south of Oakland. I may have been packing, rushing to complete things and leave things in order for the extended stay in Honduras. I had also been in a back and forth exchange with Dr. Lopiparo, who was trying to pin me down on what exactly I would be doing at Currusté. So many things were at play, a project directed by my advisor at the Fortaleza de San Fernando de Omoa, friends assisting there, and the students from a Berkeley field school. I couldn't answer Dr. Lopiparo's questions, for my plans, as they were being developed, included all these people. I felt caught and responsible for not being able to communicate to everyone what exactly I would be doing and how it would impact all those involved. This lack of informed communication led to some problems, for which I felt responsible.

I picked up the phone and my sister said, "Tío Rudy (Rodolfo) had a heart attack, he's not expected to survive the night." Thinking about this now is hard and I am taken back to those emotions, *el remordimiento* (remorse) of being in a panic trying to make everything right for Honduras and yet unable to face my father. My Tío Rudy was his older brother. I felt caught between the responsibilities to the work and to people in Honduras and obviously to my own family. I spoke to my father, to say I was sorry, I wanted to see my Tío Rudy, who was in a hospital in Redwood City,

about 3 miles from where I grew up and where my parents still live. My Tío Rudy had lived there too since immigrating to the U.S. maybe a decade or so prior. I was then told he'd passed away, before I could do anything about going to the hospital. I mourned that night and into the early hours of the morning when I was updated, no he hadn't died, he was in a coma, but the prognosis was grim. Surely, I figured I could make it to the hospital that next day before my flight to Honduras later that evening. But that next day I had an early morning meeting to finalize details with my advisor about my plans for Honduras. My inability to communicate what I would do in Honduras for my dissertation, to everyone involved, came to a head in the meeting, I was blindsided by the miscommunications and misinterpretations. I was getting it from all directions and I felt responsible. All the while, my uncle was dying…

I would leave for Honduras overwhelmed, my uncle still alive but still not conscious, with no clear answers as to whether he would ever wake up. Wanting to "make right" what I felt responsible for initiating, miscommunication, I wanted to fulfill what I had said I would do in Honduras by going out early, to set up our field house and help the co-director of the Omoa project also get set up. I had somehow messed up some things and I wanted to make them right.

I think my family knew that my uncle would never wake up. I chose not to go the hospital, hurried and in a panic about Honduras, and because I didn't want to remember my Tío Rudy like that. I wanted to remember him from my childhood trips to Mexico and from our recent visits together at my parents, as he lived a few blocks from them. He and my father would sit in the living room and we'd leave them for their grown up talk, only to return shortly after and find them fast asleep and laugh. It was a Maldonado thing; I have been widely known, among family and friends, for falling asleep, even if there is a party going on around me (the classic mid-party nap). My father and my Tío Rudy, however, may have been strangers to one another in some senses, having lived apart for so long, both in Mexico and then with my father's coming to the U.S. But they so loved each other, something that was evident as he lay dying and my father was in despair as his family looked to him for support and for decisions. Being the elder and the relative living longer in the States than his siblings, they looked to him for decisions about how to proceed, whether to keep Tío Rudy on life support or not. A struggle ensued, making tensions rise, while Tío Rudy lay dying.

To make matters worse, my father's younger brother, in his own despair to see his dying brother, tried desperately to come to the U.S. from Mexico, and my family tried in vain to petition several times for an emergency visa and drove down to Tijuana, in case he got it to bring him north to see his brother. Not having been granted permission he was forced to return to Michoacan on a bus, alone and broken, knowing he'd never see his older brother again. On the bus, while asleep, someone slipped something into his water bottle and robbed him. He would be unconscious for days, in a hospital, with no one knowing what was wrong or if he'd ever wake. I thought of my father from afar in Honduras, with two brothers in different countries unconscious and not knowing if they'd ever wake, as I was updated almost daily. My Tío Carlos eventually woke up, my Tío Rudy never did…

I got the news of his death in Honduras, where we had already begun our excavations for the 2008 season, about two or three weeks after his heart attack and my arrival in Honduras. Being away from my family in this difficult time was very hard, I felt a lot of remorse and guilt for not seeing him one last time and because I hadn't been there for my father. It was a mixture of emotions, I couldn't mourn and grieve with my family, but somehow wanted to participate from wherever I was.

The reciting and praying of the rosary in time of mourning is a Catholic religious tradition and one that I am more than familiar with, having participated in it many times before, as we mourned a loved one who had passed away or as we commemorated the anniversary of a death. We always recited it as a group together and it came to be, for me, rote memorization of the two main repeated prayers, but I was away from my family and alone in prayer and could not remember all the other parts of the rosary. I didn't even have an actual rosary and I had a hard time finding one in La Lima (Honduras is mostly Evangelical, but I also may not have known where to look). I searched for a copy of the rosary online and printed a copy, and with blue flagging tape I fashioned a rosary to follow as I prayed in solitude, at times from memory and at times assisted by the copy I'd printed. I began on the night my family began back home in California and continued every night for nine nights, as tradition has it. It was all I could do to feel close to home, it was the act, the performance, in keeping with the practice for the commemoration of our dead. I wanted to join my family in their sorrow; our sorrow, and I wanted to feel close to them and together commemorate my Tío Rudy. In solitude, I recreated my traditions away from home to keep them (my family) with me.

In the field, cows had once again broken into the site and I walked out to herd them off the site one day after my Uncle Rudy had died. I was taken back, in the middle of a place not too indistinct from the Mexico of my childhood visits and memories. Looking around me, I felt the weight of the realization of his death, it somehow felt real now, I was overwhelmed with memories of a place, a time and the people I saw fading away but desperately wanted to remember always. The sounds of dozens of cows, as I slept in my grandfather's house as the sun rose, being brought to the corral for milking every morning, and being roused from bed to see them coming, to hop the fence into the corral as my cousins ran up with their empty glasses for milk. I would never drink the milk, but followed excitedly behind, wanting to do everything my dad, uncles and cousins did. I would even beg to be allowed to take the cows back later in the afternoon with my cousins, maybe unconsciously identifying with an aspect about myself I now accept and understand. But they wouldn't let me; it wasn't something a girl did. Only once, on a later return visit to Mexico did they allow me, I don't think I gave them much choice, I said I was going and I went.

I walked the perimeter of Currusté on that day, solemnly, by myself. I wanted to be surrounded and lost among the cows. I was caught away from home, but somehow brought home with my memories, sad and happy, thinking about my father and my family. I thought about something my father had said once about where he'd

like to be buried when he died. I don't know that it was so much where, but more about a connection to his home and life in Mexico. He wanted to be in a place where the cows would graze above him, and I wondered if my Tío Rudy would have liked that. He would instead be buried in California.

Confianza and Vulnerability

I would share this anecdote of my father with Doña Marta in one of our conversations. During this interview, she too would share her thoughts, the similarities in the stories and her own wishes for her final resting place, sharing her own father's wishes too. Our *confianza* with one another happened in moments of exchange in the opening up and sharing of something to which we both had a connection.

While that began with archaeology, as our conversations would evolve and I listened to her and she to me, our stories might elicit a similar experience and we'd share those experiences and all the vulnerability that came with it. In many ways, it goes beyond writing vulnerably, as I have here. It seems, at least for me, that part of that vulnerability extends to all aspects of exchange, the disarming of oneself, including in the context of archaeology, where I began. Allowing for the more dynamic stories, memories and representations that give meaning to people's lives.

I think that this is what Behar (1996:14) is referring to in this passage from *The Vulnerable Observer:*

> Vulnerability doesn't mean that anything goes. The exposure of the self who is also a spectator has to take us somewhere we couldn't otherwise get to. It has to be essential to the argument, not a decorative flourish, not exposure for its own sake. It has to move us beyond that eclipse into inertia, exemplified by Rolf Carlé, in which we find ourselves identifying so intensely with those whom we are observing that all possibility of reporting is arrested, made inconceivable. It has to persuade us of the wisdom of not leaving the writing pad blank.

In these moments Doña Marta and I were creating a meaningful and human relationship, by reimagining and reestablishing the nature of our relationship in ways that neither of us had probably envisioned before because of the limitations that had previously defined our "relationship" and the extent to which it seemed relegated potentially to "impersonal" work interactions. And so we talked about our experiences. Doña Marta told me about where her father wanted to be buried. As I told her my story, the story given above, she would tell me where she'd like to be laid to rest:

DJM: You get used to it, but those people are no longer there, his parents, right. But they long for… (am referring to them longing for Mexico). My dad, even though he knows that when he passes he will remain in the States, he's always

said, he had always said, I think it's more than a joke, I believe it is an actual feeling, but at the same time, since we are all there, his children and grandchildren in the United States. So he say's, "when I die, I want to be buried under… so that the cows will roam (above me)." They were country people (Doña Marta laughs and says, "Si."), so that they will come then…

DMG: My father would say the same thing…

(Number 21 in Appendix)

I shared my story about having been born in the United States as the daughter of immigrants from Mexico and my father's desire to return, not so much to the place of his origin or birth, to be laid to rest after death, but to have a recognizable aspect of that place and his experience there and those memories be reiterated and somehow inscribed in a type of landscape that recalled his home, the cows grazing above him. As a child and even into adulthood, I have clear memories of my father collecting miniature cows and horses and building corrals that he would display as centerpieces in our home, symbols, representations and indexes of his own connection to a place and the lifestyle with which he so viscerally identifies. Displaced in the United States, succumbing to the reality of another place and yet still profoundly invoking his sense of that fading home by recreating it and displaying an aspect of it in what would become his home transnationally.

Doña Marta's father also had ideas about where he'd like to be buried:

DMG: Oh no, of course, of course, I'm going to tell you something else, that my father so loved his property, because my father had a number of properties over there and up that way, back there… He wanted to build a cemetery, but he wasn't given permission. It was to have been a cemetery just for him, my mother and us, his children. He even fenced it off, he fenced the area so that, "put me here, because that way no one will sell, no one will sell…"

DJM: He'll make sure that way, right…

DMG: Yes, but he wasn't granted permission…

DJM: Where is he now, where was he buried?

DMG: In Arenales, a cemetery before the Satelite, there between CEMCOL and the Satelite (a construction business and a neighborhood, respectively), there's a cemetery on the left hand side there. My Viejo (father) and my Vieja (mother; one could say my viejitos, as a term of endearment for my parents), they're all there…

DJM: It's nice that after so much suffering with the land that you now feel, that you have…

DMG: No, he would be, my father must now be happy, because my father was a big humanitarian and my father, anyone who wanted to do something, he supported them, see… "Some day you'll see, maybe not you," he'd tell me, "but your children, your grandchildren are going to work there (at Currusté), they're going to… you'll see," he told me.

DJM: And it came to pass…

DMG: "You'll see," he told me. "Oh Dad, what consolation of yours, what consolation of yours." But see, look my daughter, the oldest one, Tania, she's going to work there already, but I tell them when I see that monte (the overgrown grass), "I don't think you'll be able to work in that overgrowth (as in you won't be able to work in that rough terrain)," I say to her.

(Number 22 in Appendix)

Don Roberto would not be allowed to fulfill his dream of a family cemetery as a testament to the love he had for his land and his hope that it would remain in his family, "por que asi nadie va a vender, nadie va a vender…" No one will sell, no one will sell. Ironically, years later and over the course of time that the PAC (2007) had been working at Currusté, the municipio was building a cemetery adjacent to the site, land formally belonging to the Guifarros and yet Doña Marta's dead relatives had not been allowed to be buried there, in their own family land.

He also had visions of what, in its repurposed incarnation as a national park, the site that had formerly belonged to the family would come to represent for his family and provide for his family. Her father, according to Doña Marta, would be very happy today due to the attention the site was getting and the recognition of her family's role in facilitating and supporting the work that was generating information about the site, and the plans that were being made to make her ancestral (familial) land into a national park. Having lost the land to the Institute would be compensated, not just through the potential jobs and work the park as an economic opportunity would generate. The naming of the site and acknowledgement of her family would be a step toward a potential reconciliation of the loss of her family land. As she says in our conversation of 2008:

DMG: No, I'm happy now, see. Yes, it makes me happy because now they'll benefit from it, they'll give it a name (as in, it will be renowned), do you understand? It will be seen that they took the property (land) for a reason. It will be felt and seen… Not just by me, right, it will be of more interest to more people, the Honduran world, right. They'll know that they have a place, here in the North Coast, to go out for amusement and to learn about the people that came before, do you understand?

(Number 23 in Appendix)

In 2009, those sentiments persist and are tied to the renown of her family's name, something that is not only a desire but also a part of the local lore of the area, as is evinced by *Los Cerros los Guifarros:*

DMG: Well to see it (the site) forged, done, see the Project, do you understand? So that people will say, "There, over at the Guifarros." Since half the world knows us here. So, "there, over at the Guifarros there's an archaeological zone," right. So that people don't have to go to Copan. I've never been to Copan. I've been to Santa Rosa, but never to the actual ruins. It's like I've never (been interested)…

(Number 24 in Appendix)

Doña Marta sees herself as part of that history, one she wishes to continue in after she has passed, by being mourned and commemorated there, as part of the interpretive component of the planned site museum at Currusté, herself inscribed into the memory and story of the place. She is voicing the legal process of recognition and the potential required *tramites* or procedure that would permit her to be recognized legally, similar to the *escrituras* that serve as a proxy to her family's legal right to the land, the historical document as a tangible and material trace and witness of their history in the place. She wants the current IHAH regional representative, with whom she has established a relationship, to draw up a contract, an agreement allowing her to be displayed in a glass case. Doña Marta, with her sense of humor, may not be expressing a literal desire, but rather a figurative expression of her attachment to the land and the role she and her family have played as custodians of the site. It is a responsibility she feels the Institute should acknowledge and, perhaps in jest, she implies, they should compensate monetarily, for *la guachimániada,* or *watchiemaniada:* the guarding and protecting of the site:

DMG: Well, I don't know, maybe because I was born there. I was raised here, I was born down that way, three blocks down and came here when I was already, I've lived here since I was 28 years old. Yes, I was 28 years old and I've lived here and now I'm 56 and I'm still here. I plan on dying and being mourned here…

DJM: Mourned here (I laugh, she means the site, being mourned in the site…)

DMG: In the museum, that they put me in glass in the museum (she laughs. She means put her on display as an exhibit…)

DJM: Well (I laugh…), we'll see…

DMG: I'd make Aldo sign me a contract there, an agreement so they'll put me in glass (on display)…

DJM: Well, it would be nice since you are all here and you've given so much to the Institute, with the land and your support. Because as I said, you've taken care

of this place, you're the one (she says, "siii…") that has looked out for this place when there has been no one else to do so; you've come and taken care of this place. So it's a real feeling (sentiment).

DMG: I think the Institute owes me that support, right. Come to think of it, I'm going to give them a bill for the guachimániada (for guarding it. We laugh together).

(Number 25 in Appendix)

The Site's Inauguration

One morning during the 2009 field season, before the coup, as we were getting ready for our morning break, Doña Marta came out to the site to deliver some *baleadas* she had made for us and which we bought from her every day. More than any other snack, a *baleada*-- a flour tortilla with refried black beans and crema-- is distinctively Honduran. Every morning I went around the excavation operations and asked everyone if they wanted *baleadas* and if so how many. I'd take the order and call down to Doña Marta an hour or so ahead of time to give her time to prepare them. Our first season at Currusté in 2007, our morning meal was the peanut butter and jelly sandwiches I made and many people eventually got sick of, but no one came up with better ideas. In 2008, a Guifarro family friend prepared us some food, which was very good and for some, a welcome change to the tiresome peanut butter and jelly sandwiches (I wasn't sick of them…). When we returned in 2009, this woman was no longer in the area, she had immigrated to the U.S. (she'd already been telling me about her plans) and so Doña Marta offered to make us *baleadas*. It was after all an economic opportunity, just as it had been to her friend. It was pretty great; the *baleadas* were delicious and hearty (maybe too much so), one of the highlights to our day! Most mornings a young man that lived in Doña Marta's home (a homeless boy whom she gave room and board and treated like family) or one of the kids would deliver the *baleada* order, but on this morning Doña Marta herself delivered the *baleadas*, the kids were off at school and this young man may have been out on an errand. I don't remember if she'd ever made it out to the site while we were excavating before. I do remember this day very clearly though. It was the start of the season and I had been talking to my friend and colleague Dr. Lena Mortensen, when Doña Marta came up. We hadn't had a chance to discuss the inauguration of the site until then or to really talk beyond logistics.

As we talked, I asked her about the inauguration. I had been invited and had wanted to go, back in December of 2008. I had been in Honduras that fall until late November, working on the ethnographic component of my dissertation, and had already scheduled my return to California to coincide with the annual meetings for the American Anthropological Association (AAA), which were being held in San Francisco, CA. that year and at which I would be presenting a paper. As I remember, the planning for the site's inauguration happened quickly, and with more time, I

might have opted to stay in Honduras, as I really wanted to attend, it meant a lot to all of us, but by then I had no choice but to return to California.

So I was interested in knowing what people thought about the inauguration, about the event, especially because in the Spring of 2009 (and still to this day) I received numerous calls from the site's *guachimán* (security guard), Don Lucio, Doña Marta's uncle. He was a permanent fixture at the site in the afternoons and spent many an evening with us as we worked late into the evenings on the occasions where we were forced to stay, while following and removing a deposit that had to be taken out. We'd developed a friendship and in his effort to remain in contact and keep me abreast of the site and things like the inauguration, he'd call me up in the States. I'd given him, like all of the other local participants, a copy of the group shot from the end of the 2008 field season, which I had decorated for them as a token of my appreciation and on it I provided all my contact information.

So Don Lucio would call me often, keeping me updated of all things Currusté. Sometimes I was busy, but I also really liked when he'd call me up. Even today, when he calls I get pretty excited to hear from Honduras. I think part of it is partially about being sad, because of everything that went down with the coup and how it's keeping us from being able to continue working. In many ways I feel guilty, if there was one thing I wanted to do and make part of our field practice, it was continuity and sustainability in our relationships with people there and our joint learning. So I feel sad, because today when Don Lucio calls, he's also asking on behalf of the local participants who have worked with the project, when will we be coming back? And that's a hard question to answer. I do the best that I can and I tell them that I don't know, but that what I do know is that even though I might not be able to go work with them right now, I still hope to be able to make it there for at least a week during the summer, provided I can get some money, to be present in solidarity. I long to go back and see my friends in Honduras and so I always ask Don Lucio to send my saludos and love to everyone and express how much we miss them and can't wait to see them again!

During one of his calls to me, shortly after the site's inauguration, he told me that the site had been inaugurated and that it had been a nice event, with many people and entertainment for the invited public, but not everyone had been invited. He also seemed confused because just as he described the inauguration of the site, he also summarily described its closure, perplexed about how only a month before they had celebrated the site's inauguration but now it was closed to the public, a contradiction, especially when people were anticipating jobs.

For Doña Marta, aspects of the inauguration cut deeper and had left her angry, and from her reaction at the site the morning she brought the *baleadas* one could say she was enraged and indignant about what to her had been an apparent and glaring omission of recognition and acknowledgement of her father and her family. *Estaba que ni el sol la calentaba,* a saying meaning that she was so *caliente* (hot/angry) that nothing could make her hotter, angrier, and this was pretty evident, there was no mistake, Doña Marta was livid.

We talked about it a bit that morning, off the record (that is, I didn't record it as part of an interview). I had wanted to go back and talk to her, to sit down and have an interview with her, but it kept getting pushed back. The second week or so of the project, I was interim project director while Dr. Lopiparo was away and with the exigencies of being both part of the archaeological team as a crew chief, just as much as I *am* part of the archaeological team as the Director of Educational Programs and the different roles that that implies. Then there was the coup in late June. The interview with Doña Marta wasn't the only aspect of my work as Director of Educational Programs that kept getting pushed back to meet the needs and then (post-coup) demands of the excavation components of the project, where by now I had become a central and legitimate participant in our community of practice at Currusté. At times my own goals had to necessarily take a back seat to the overall project goals, especially after the coup, as we tried making up for lost time in the field.

I would eventually get the opportunity to sit down with Doña Marta one afternoon, as I stole away from my crew chief responsibilities feeling guilty and hurried. Nonetheless, we sat down in what had become the usual spot for our conversations in her home, the *palapa* (open thatched enclosure) that abuts the fence that separates Doña Marta's legal property from the IHAH-owned site of Currusté, where Doña Marta could often be found laying on a hammock looking into the site. And so we talked…

DJM: Let's go back to the inauguration a little bit…

DMG: Well that day there was… I liked that all the people were there and there were some newspapers and what I liked most was when they said that the project would begin, its construction. But unfortunately, the governments haven't been good. It hasn't been possible…

DJM: Yes, because one thinks "Inauguration," what do you think will happen the day after the inauguration?

DMG: Well, "There come the employees, the schools and colegios, the universities, to continue field work," that's what I think most of all.

DJM: But what really happened?

DMG: It should happen Doris, it should be a reality…

DJM: It should happen… Because when I think of an inauguration, I'm thinking maybe the way a restaurant is inaugurated (Doña Marta says, "ah, exactamente"), right. And well you say, right there, during the inauguration (it's open for business) food is already being sold… If it's a *Baleada Express* (A Honduran chain), well they're already serving Baleadas. It's already open.

DMG: It's already open… It should be open to the public, already…

DJM: But that's not what happened…

DMG: It wasn't like that, it was just talk, a conversation, some sayings; an elevation of sentiment, right.

DJM: But an elevation for what or whom?

DMG: Well for the public, because everyone gets excited for a completed project, Doris. People are like, "ok, now it's real, it's really real, it happened, it happened (the park happened, will happen).

DJM: It happened…

DMG: Because we've been waiting, Doris, I'll tell you again, it's been more than 20 years (I repeat, "hace mas de 20 años). Yes Doris.

DJM: It's been 20 years, it's time…

DMG: It's been more than 20 years… Because when I went to school, Professor Reynaldo Enamorado would bring us here to dig like this, "let's go dig to pass the time, right." When my father had… that the cows would pass by, he'd cut the overgrowth and it'd be pretty (afterwards). So they'd bring us to get ticks, what else were we going get there, a bunch of pot sherds and all that. Because they also wouldn't let us rummage a lot; so I think, yes, with all this time (that's gone by), all these years, all these governments that we've gone through, there should already be something formal, something formal.

DJM: It's on its way…

DMG: It is, it's starting, it's starting…

DJM: Yes, because this is…

DMG: They've at least already drawn the plans…

DJM: The plans, yes… Yes, it's a collaboration, a huge effort. That is, we (the archaeologists) are only one part, right. This is also for us, more than anything, to be able to contribute our understanding…

DMG: Doris, I think, like there are many times that I sometimes think, right, like any other human being. I say, "If it weren't for the *gringas* this would still be hidden," honestly, since there is no personnel here like you. I don't know why it isn't available here…

DJM: It's just that what is necessary here in Honduras sometimes is that there is no University career track in Anthropology, archaeologists…

DMG: No, no, there isn't… Can you imagine, my daughter right now, I think it's the first promotion for the hotel and tourism industry that the Universities have had…

(Number 26 in Appendix)

For Doña Marta, the opening of the site as a national park represents opportunities for her, her family, neighbors and other Hondurans, and it is something that she has been waiting for for a very long time. The site has been *in the making* for quite some time. There are aspects of those efforts, plans and all the instances where those plans fell through, stopped, were reformulated, all the incarnations that the "project" of finally making this place a national park for both a Honduran and international public has undergone. Doña Marta is not "in-the-know" about all of these or understands this differently in the other versions of the story of *the becoming* of the place and the history of her family land as it pertains to this. If Doña Marta is not aware, I'm much less so, our awarenesses lie elsewhere, situated in different postionalities and understandings of ourselves in this place and what the place represents and our purpose from those standpoints. Understandings of the inauguration bring those positionalities into relief, as the event becomes the catalyst *que rompio la taza y cada quien 'pa su casa* (everyone goes their own way, as in when you are saying goodbye or also alright, it's done, every one has to look out for themselves). In other words, it becomes apparent where the pieces fall, even though the metaphorical vessel (*taza*) was never actually whole to begin with. It was imagined, envisioned and partially executed by the IHAH under the direction of Dr. Euraque.

What do I know about this place and the Institutional memory of the IHAH, having only really worked in the country "continuously" since 2007 when the PAC project began at Currusté? What do I know about the process of opening a national archeological park in a foreign country, and who am I to compare the terms inauguration and open, in a situation and context I know very little about and just recently came to research and understand? It's that disconnect that still troubles me, the inability to understand the morass of government and bureaucracy, even when I read the news and try to stay informed. I suffer a suspension of disbelief and the simple inferences that I imagine follow, are instead clouded in this dubious and confusing network of actors, institutional entities, places, ideas and things.

I listen to Doña Marta, my central conduit insofar as local communities are concerned. I see and understand the emotions that emanate from her as she recounts the good, the bad and the ugly aspects of not just the inauguration, but everything surrounding and leading up to it. The anticipation and expectations, but it's all hype, *just talk* and an *elevation of sentiments* (emotions) for the public's sake. Doña Marta, however, has lived with the anticipation and expectation for much of her adult life. This is the moment that things will be made right, to see it, *verlo yo, yo*, see it myself

(herself), the completed project. In our 2008 interview, she's resigned to the loss of property, but optimistic about the future:

"Oiga bien, pues ahora uno se resigna, se resigna a perder y luego vienen uno y ya toma conciencia y empieza a despertar, verdad, y mira el futuro… Pues, para mi, pienso hoy en día, me siento contenta, verdad, por la prosperidad del barrio, de la aldea, del pueblo, verdad, por que vamos a tener quien ya, ya pues nos van a conocer a nivel mundial, de que somos pues, parte del proyecto. Hemos sido, verdad, siempre…

[*Listen here, well now you resign yourself, you resign yourself to lose and then you come and take stock and you begin to awaken, right, and see the future, So for me, I think today, I feel happy, right; for the prosperity of the neighborhood, the village, the people, right. Because now we're going to have someone, well, now they're going to know us worldwide, that we are, well, part of the project. We've been, right, always…*]

But that resignation comes with certain expectations. Those expectations are rooted in Doña Marta's sense of ownership of the land, something that is itself a tenuous topic for the major players involved, the Guifarros, the IHAH, and the foreign archaeologists laboring under the peril of assumptions pertaining to the claims and demands made by a family, a person whose narrative is that the land was stolen from her family. Meanwhile the other side contends that the property was never privately owned, but they have nonetheless, especially with the recent IHAH administration, tried to acknowledge the family, the *Familia de Currusté*.

Doña Marta recounts, below, her understanding of how the then familial land came to be "discovered" and misappropriated by the man who would be ultimately recognized as the initial and primary driving force behind the investigation of Currusté in its instantiation as an archaeological site. In her narrative, he encroached, "moved in", gaining headway and entry, until the land was confiscated. And yet this is the man who received the major accolades (posthumously) and recognition during the site's inauguration. Getting from there to here is however a much more complex set of circumstances that neither Doña Marta nor I are entirely aware of, but that given my research I am beginning to understand as I tack back and forth between the site and local perspectives and those on the Institutional end, as an interlocutor between both.

Through my own background research and my conversations with an established network of people in the community of Honduran archaeology, I have been learning about the history of work at the site of Currusté, for that is part of my academic endeavor and imperative as an archaeologist trying to understand the archaeological context of this place, because it is part of archaeological practice to do so. So I talk to Doña Marta from those understandings as she talks about George Hasemann, someone I have come to learn was an important figure in Honduran archaeology.

DMG: In my view it was an important act, at least locally here, right, for our sector because now in the Sula Valley we have an archaeological park. Because we'd only known about archaeological sites because of Copan (I follow, "en Copan") and from there, well, no, until now that it's been investigated (Currusté) by you (all) (the recording gets muffled and the sounds interfere with what Doña Marta says before the following), with the help of the *gringos*, as we say here (I laugh), right. The park was explored. This park was discovered by a man from San Pedro, I think, I'm not sure, about 20, 20 years ago that it was discovered by a man that worked in the municipality, I think he was a regidor (alderman), Mr. Bogran. I think he's in heaven now. And they started encroaching, encroaching until they confiscated our land.

DJM: Yes… Because this land had been your family's land, your fathers?

DMG: It was my grandfather's, my father received it by inheritance. From there, we too got it as inheritance.

My father was a man that liked helping others and if he saw that it was good for the people of the Sula Valley to have a park, well then, "there it is, take it…" (she imagines what he may have thought), do you understand? Just like… Then you came (referring to the PAC *gringas*), because let me tell you directly, you want me to tell you, the government here hasn't done anything, I haven't seen it. Because there was the man, in glory may he be (referring to Beto Duron and his passing), who was here like for 20 years, that I remember, Beto, I don't know his name, Alberto, I don't remember. He was there for like 20 years, they'd only cut the grass once and a while. They'd just keep it clean and that's all. A *gringo* came, a George…

DJM: George Hasemann. Yes, in the 70s.

DMG: Then, see then (as in since then no one else has come…). That man said, "there's nothing here." He lived there for many years in a little house, because there was a little house (in the site) and then he disappeared, who knows where they went. But then I found out that he'd died.

DJM: Yes, he passed away not long ago (she says, "yes, not long ago" in agreement), not long ago, he suffered from cancer…

DMG: Ahhh haa and he died

DJM: But look at how things happen, because that man was precisely also a North American archaeologist (what do I mean by that?), but he lived here in Honduras and he did a lot for Honduran archaeology. But yes, as you've said, he was here and initiated with… In the scientific archaeological project that was done here in Currusté. So then, yes, it seems that with Dr. Euraque's administration (she says, "ahh haaa, el Dr. Euraque" in agreement), there is

this desire for a greater projection (of the site) and to really try to do what they've been trying to do for decades, right. Not just that there is a site outside of Copan, which dominates our popular imagination, here in Honduras (she agrees) and internationally. But that there were also different people living here in Honduras (the diversity of the Honduran past). The past is like the present in the sense that…

DMG: There's everything…

DJM: There are different people, all sorts of languages and all…

(Number 27 in Appendix)

There are different people, different understandings and to a large extent, different *languages* and conversations being had that neither of us are completely participating in with each other. The Institute communicates with the archaeologists. To the extent that the archaeologists are aware of the Institutional memory of the IHAH, themselves in many instances part of that history, their investment shifts to accommodate the current Institutional situation and the adaptation over the years to the changing of the guard at the Institute. Many times we privilege those conversations, that dialogue, and only to a lesser degree do we go beyond professional pleasantries with local participants. To whatever extent our relationships and conversations with those local participants who are invested as stakeholders in a place (but not necessarily in the descendant or indigenous communities kind of way), their understanding of the labor of archaeologists is at times vague. Part of that has to do with our inability to reach out to local communities and talk to them and have conversations with them in a language intelligible to us all. Another part seems to be that even with people laboring alongside us, we share in the labor without having as part of our archaeological practice the inclusion of legitimate ways to broaden the conversations that are transformed into praxis in the field. Even so, that message, about how the past is understood archaeologically and its discussion and the combination of method and theory in real time in practice, still seems to ring hollow at times to local participants. It's difficult to identify a source or sources of that "disconnect", but one thing that seems true of this Honduran case study is that people today, in the now, seem to see very little of themselves reflected in the lives of past human peoples, especially when those *indios* came before the deluge (the great biblical flood). People seem to connect rather to the more recent history and family related memories that anchor them to a place. There are more urgent needs and more real concerns that people in the now live out on a daily basis. How similar concerns were met in the past seems a viable path of interest to people today.

The archaeologists are in the mix, in conversations with both the Institute and the local communities, but the Institute seems fairly absent as an understood entity

among many Hondurans, as the museographic consultant makes clear during our conversation in 2009.

As a field, archaeologists are also in conversation with each other. In my experience prior to my decision to focus on Honduras geographically and Currusté specifically for my dissertation research, I existed in the orbit of others and their work, past and present, in conversations with them and that work. Eventually, I could take the initiative of forming professional relationships and being an active member in the creation of my own persona within the archaeological community of practice, but then I'd only be a member there and only continue to have relationships with other archaeologists. I could have just been on someone else's project, devised my own research within that broader project, be welcomed and supported by its director and have "successfully" completed a dissertation, without much need to invest my time talking to local people or undertaking what I, upon reflection, feel was of value and meaningful, and is in and of itself, actual archaeological work, too.

What I know about George Hasemann, I read in his informe for the initial work at Currusté in the late 1970s and in articles that referred to his work in Honduras in publications like *Yaxkin*, the journal published by IHAH. I still know very little about him. After listening to conversations people would be having around me about this person, I learned that he really dedicated his life to working in Honduras and that our understanding of Honduran archaeology has been enriched by his work there for decades. But just from reading the informe alone, I could see that George Hasemann had in fact "found a lot" at Currusté worth noting, creating the first maps of the site and understanding the architectural history of the site. This is not something readily understood by Doña Marta as important. Instead, she thinks that George Hasemann said, *ahi no hay nada,* there's nothing there, nothing at Currusté. In many ways this can also be seen as a lack of understanding for the IHAH's work and goals.

Currusté and its development into a national park has had many fits and starts over the years and it is understandable to hear people's dissatisfaction with the progress of the work, especially when it is not something that is likely discussed with them directly. Without knowing, in 2007, that I would be focusing my work at Currusté, I had the privilege as a volunteer on Dr. Lopiparo's project and as a student of Rosemary Joyce to come along to several of the planning meetings at the Museo Regional de Antropologia e Historia de San Pedro Sula. This project was after all a big deal and was going to be one of the stepping-stones to pushing through some of the ambitious initiatives Dr. Euraque and the Ministry of Culture envisioned to broaden the understanding of the Honduran Cultural panorama, both past and present.

DJM: Well, what you were talking about right now, about Currusté and the visiting center and all the effort that had been placed in trying to get the project done. Why Currusté, why, why those areas?

ID: Well in the case of the areas, for me, it was part of a vision to link archaeological sites with cities and not only cities with cities, but cities with,

well in the case of San Pedro Sula, well it is a very important city. So the idea was to link archaeological sites in the Sula Valley with San Pedro (Sula). Not just because it was in the Sula Valley, especially with the museum, because the Museum of Anthropology and History in SPS in effect had no nexus (connection) with an archaeological site.

DJM: Yes

ID: Even though the archaeological sites were there. But we were also taking that vision and doing it at Comayagua, to link Yarumela with the museum in Comayagua, which has an important historical colonial center. But it was part of a general vision, that is to say, for the appreciation of the archaeological with urban sites because at least from my point of view and the Minister's (Dr. Pastor Fasquelle) because I think it was clearer to me. The idea was that the people who visited, especially the Hondurans, these sites in their areas, in effect that they see archaeology as part of a continuum, not in a simple and artificial way, but that they see that archaeology, the archaeological past and its appreciation today, was linked to the urban centers that they valorized and that didn't exist before, right. Now, why Currusté, because in the first place Currusté was ours, the lands are ours (IHAH owned). Secondly, it's small, manageable, very accessible and there was already a tradition of investigations by the Institute and there was an interest by the foreign archaeological community on which we had to depend because we don't have our own (archaeologists); so that's why Currusté. Same thing for Yarumela, because Yarumela is a lot bigger and the land isn't ours, we were going to have to buy land there and we did buy a first part, we bought a block and a half where the visitors center was to have been built.

DJM: And in terms of… What kind of message beyond the connection between the archaeological site and urbanization was desired for the Honduran publics? Because we have… When I came to work at Currusté, beforehand I had worked in 2000 and 2003 at Los Naranjos and before then at Puerto Escondido, as a student of Rosemary's, in the sense that I had volunteered in 2000 and was not a student here at Berkeley (at the time in 2000), I just wanted to try and see if archaeology was something that I wanted to do (as a career), so I went to Honduras and in 2003, I was already Rosemary's student and I went to Los Naranjos. But in reality, when I returned with Jeanne for this project at Currusté I had no plans to do my doctoral thesis there. My thesis was focused on Mexico and issues of nationalism, identity and those kinds of things. So when we started to work, all of this became refocused and well the same questions can be made for Honduras. So I reevaluated and began to, I don't know, things change in terms of the plans one has, but I have come to have a real passion for the work we have been doing at Currusté. So one of the things I have seen is that although the land was yours (IHAHs land), the institute's, the projects that had been done before already had, with George Hasemann's excavations, I believe he had a very broad vision during that time

trying to work with different communities, although many times they were communities, more business (commercial) entities, but he had that vision, trying to broaden the vision of Honduras as diverse, to give an option (for people) beyond just Maya. So has this been a message that you've (IHAH) tried to give with these types of projects, or?

ID: Yes, but for example, I didn't know anything about George Hasemann's work. That is, I came to this because of my own fundamental concern about Honduran history since the 20th century. So for me, going back to your question, what publics? To me, there are various publics, one being the local population that is eminently, racially and ethnically diverse and practically abandoned within the national imaginary itself. From what I've read of Hasemann, besides he wrote in a very technical archaeological way and once and a while makes a comment about national history, but very superficially. He doesn't explain it in a very, I talk about it in a much more organic sense. So for me there were many publics. One was so that those people who would see in their surroundings, their own marginality in the racial and ethnic sense, even in terms of class, in a certain way it was reflected in the marginality that had been attributed to those sites. And you see that in Yarumela, because there is a town called Yarumela, there is an archaeological site and its like they don't exist in the national imaginary. Well, in fact, they don't exist. The same thing in Currusté, in Dos Quebradas, well practically any site that I know (of) as opposed to Copan, which is linked to the national imaginary. Not only that but it forms a type of homogenizing ethno-racial, right. So when I come to this (position as director of IHAH) its not just that public but also the intellectual public and I address archaeologists and practically the entirety of Honduran intellectuals. Now, and this is very important, although it is very difficult to understand if one does not understand the Institute from the inside. My idea had and continues to be (laughs) to deMayanize from the inside because the employees themselves, from the accountant down to the technicians, the few that there are, when they would think about Currusté, which they never did, the Institute itself is Mayanized in a profound way. Forget about the intellectual public, one of the publics was the structure itself of the employees. My secretary for instance, constantly made reference to the Institute as Antropologia, history did not exist, so I even corrected those things…

(Number 28 in Appendix)

Those planning meetings were an important source of information regarding the site's development into a park and a great opportunity for the IHAH and the Ministry of Culture to disseminate information about their long term goals not just for the developing park, but for the public's understanding of goals for the broader IHAH initiatives in Dr. Euraque's administration. While the meetings were open to the public, I don't remember seeing people from the local Currusté area present and

am not aware of the kinds of conversations existing between the IHAH and people like the Guifarros. I was struck upon reflection that I saw no one from the Currusté local area at these meetings and wondered to what extent they had been invited to sit in and listen to the proceedings of the meetings over that 2007 summer, our first field season. Our own relationship with the Guifarro family seemed tense, an extension of the relationship that they had had with the Institute over the years.

The knowledge Doña Marta seemed to have about the plans for the development of the site seemed vague, much less her knowledge of the history of work at the site. The Hasemann informe did not seem to be available or provided to the family by the IHAH. Even if it was, it would take a great deal of contextualization, framing and "translation" for the lay public to understand the results and their potential significance to the Sula Valley and Honduran archaeology, to make the jump from looking at the site itself, to looking at it within a regional perspective, whose understanding came by virtue of a long tradition of archaeological work in the area.

That message was marred by the "confiscation" of the land and the 20 or so years of contentious relationship with the IHAH and all the succeeding *gobiernos* at the IHAH. Even though the La Lima regional head, Lic. Duron, was a permanent fixture in the area he seemed to be the biggest source of discord between the family and the IHAH. The treatment the family suffered from the IHAH, according to Doña Marta, may have made discussions about the archaeological importance and relevance of Currusté a moot point for her. Doña Marta had other expectations for the land she saw as stolen from her family. She wanted reparations for her family. If those expectations had to be lost, then it better have been for something. In her view, that something has been repeatedly promised and has not entirely materialized.

DMG: It will happen, it's bound to happen…

DJM: It will happen, it's what (we all) want, that projection…

DMG: I honestly want to see it, I want to see it, because I've been waiting for years (I agree).

DJM: Yes, it must mean a lot to you.

DMG: Well imagine, we were stripped of the lands and to not see anything (done), it seems unjust to me, right.

DJM: So what is your biggest hope for this place?

DMG: Well to see it (the site) forged, done, see the Project, do you understand? So that people will say, "There, over at the Guifarros." Since half the world knows us here. So, "there, over at the Guifarros there's an archaeological zone," right. So that people don't have to go to Copan. I've never been to Copan. I've been to Santa Rosa, but never to the actual ruins. It's like I've never (been interested)…

(Number 29 in Appendix)

There is still a degree of optimism for the national park to come to fruition. Doña Marta sees herself as part of that project, *because now we're going to have someone, well, now they're going to know us worldwide, that we are, well, part of the project. We've been, right, always…* The image of her father's benevolence in helping anyone who was in need of help and helping the Institute, if they deemed this property to be for the good of the Honduran people, well then, *"there it is, take it…"* (she imagines what he may have thought), do you understand? But to have it be taken and not fulfill the expectations that they had been led to believe in, expectations created through their understanding of the site and of the recognition that was to have been accorded to the Guifarros. She has seen that it's all been *talk,* and when the local IHAH representative talks with her about purchasing more of her land and jokingly saying, *we're going to confiscate it* (some of her legal property) she responds that she is not her father and has a different mentality and therefore will not fall for it.

Her anger is rooted in that omission of proper recognition and acknowledgement for her father and family, precisely because of the image she has of her father's benevolence and all he did to support the project. But it is also because he/they are so inextricably tied to the memory of the place and the practices that she recalls in the stories she shares with me about how she loved going to fiestas with her father, his horsemanship and his resemblance to the epitome of *caballero* in the image of the Mexican *idolo del pueblo* (popular idol), Pedro Infante himself.

She needn't say more: I know exactly who Pedro Infante is and what he represents to Mexicans and Mexican Americans. His popularity traverses Latin America, and that association between Don Guifarro and Pedro Infante is interesting. Like *Pedrito o Pepe el Toro*, Don Guifarro was a humble fighter for his family and people *y un hombre de pura ley* (a decent and honorable man) and known within his community, as was the family and family name. Maybe Don Roberto had shared the discussion he had had with Don Antonio Bogran all those years ago pertaining to the naming of the site as *Currusté de Guifarro* with his family. If he had and this was their understanding about what would happen, one can imagine the potential implications that this may have had for Doña Marta. In her understanding of the family land, Don Roberto complied with the IHAH because he determined that this was the best course of action to help the Honduran people have an opportunity to understand other aspects of the Honduran past. Recognizing to some extent that the land that has/had been in use by her family for over a century was a land cooperative (*ejido*) is not reason enough to diminish the importance of her family there. Certainly the amount that the IHAH paid out for the land, in her estimation, was without doubt not at all to scale with the "value" of the place beyond its monetary worth; these were two separate issues, as are the differing perspectives on the history of the land and how the Institute came to control it. Somewhere along the long and contentious relationship between the IHAH and the family, these perspectives seem to have not been able to be expressed in such a way to allow for more open dialogue between the different sides. For Doña Marta, the damage was done and she wants peace, peace in her heart on this matter. She also wants answers.

DMG: I'm angry, I'm sorrowful and I say, one day I will see Euraque, I don't know if it was Euraque or [Minister of Culture Rodolfo] Fasquelle, all my respect to them, but as a human being, I also have blood (in my veins). I'm observant and I analyze, right. I always say, I always get mad, because I say, "why would they…" I don't know if I'm being unjust or if I'm judging wrongly or if I'm right. Why would they, instead of recognizing Don Roberto Guifarro Cuello, who gave it (the land/place) use and pleasure, they gave it (recognition) to Mr. Bogran, if the property belonged to Mr. Roberto Guifarro Cuello, right. They didn't say, "Doña Marta, on behalf of the Institute, right, in representation of Roberto Guifarro, we give you this recognition/acknowledgment." They gave it to that man and it was his son, they didn't even know him. We'd met the man (Don Bogran senior), like I said, he was from the municipality and he'd been encroaching and encroaching. When he realized (what it was, the place, archaeological site), on some visit (as he passed through) to Ticamaya and saw the mounds and said, "aqui caigo yo (as in, I'm descending on this)" and he was there fighting until they brought a sealed paper with Beto (as in stamped with the IHAH emblem), my father signed it for them.

(Number 30 in appendix)

This is the memory about the place that lingers for Doña Marta. The omission is felt because is carrying the memory and respect of her family. It is in those terms that she understands what has happened. This is her positionality and understanding and from this standpoint the omission was a huge blow.

DJM: So what did the omission of not just your father, but also your family, mean to you?

DMG: My family, that's what I carry (with me), do you understand? I would have been overjoyed with my family (being acknowledged), right. I would have framed the recognition that they gave the man (her father); and they shoved my father aside, they stripped him. Do you know how many millions that would be today? 30, 30 by 6, 36 million pesos. Those, see, how much money, how much money can someone have made today with such (land?), right. And they stripped him for two thousand Lempiras, you hear. And that they don't remember, that they don't remember the evil deed that they did. Because it seems evil to me, maybe not evil but there's this article (law), do you understand and they base themselves on the article, to the law, who knows. The agrarian law, I don't know which law they're talking about. They've come here, "Doña Marta this belongs to the government." I pay the government taxes. Just now Doris, two months ago I paid the government 32 thousand lempiras in taxes for that land that's over there. So when they say, because Aldo tells me, and I know he's joking, "Look Doña Marta, I'm going to confiscate it." So I tell him, "Look Don Aldo, my name isn't Roberto Guifarro,

my name is Marta Estrella Guifarro and I have another mentality and I don't have my father's hanging ears," right (as in, she's not falling for it…).

DJM: Well, sometimes I don't know if it's enough to say, well the monetary value…

DMG: Right, the monetary, like the sentimental value that you always keep (have)…

DJM: Explain the difference for you…

DMG: Well look Doris, it's like when you have, like for me since I no longer have a mother or father. I save (keep) and clean my mother's picture (speaking with emotion) because she was my mother. It's an important memory that I carry in my chest (heart) every day of my life, right. So that's how I compare it (things), one's things and ancestral things, do you understand? We have to take care of them because they were from back then. I can't throw them away because that's where I came from, do you understand, that's where I come from. So I wouldn't like to be stripped of my things and just sit back with my hands crossed (do nothing) like an idiot, stupid. What's one supposed to live off of?

DJM: Because that then… what legacy do you want to leave for your children, your grandchildren?

DMG: Listen well, it's like I tell them, "No look, I don't throw this away because it was my mother's. No look, I love this because it was father's," right. My grandmother's, just like one keeps those memories in their minds, "Oh when I lived with my granny, with my nanita," one would say in those times. "Oh, I didn't live well," because the older viejitas from back then were rude, like that right, you keep that. Like I say, "Oh my father would take me to the fiestas," I loved going to the fiestas with my father, I keep (those memories) and I always remember, beautiful things. So you have something to tell, to show, right. Right, if you ask me monetarily, people with money live better, they live better, right. Because those on top, the people before left them how to live well, right. So they're different things, different things and no one wants to let go easily.

DJM: So the main thing is that longing…

DMG: Yes, ahhh hhhaaa, that longing…

DJM: Yes, because I remember that conversation we had, you were telling me about a time when you were in the United States.

DMG: Yes, look when my father left, when my father went to heaven, I felt very unprotected, Doris, very unprotected, believe me economically, because I have suffered a lot. First I got married, I had two kids and it didn't go well, I always worked, always fought for my children, because they stayed with me (I had them). I got married again and my husband, in love, left me for another

woman and I was left with my kids, *puchica*, with my father's support and the little that I worked and they were growing. But when my father died, two months later I left on foot for the United States. I went *mojada* (wetback), as they say commonly, right. At times on foot and at times however I could, one hopes, Doris. I went over there; I was there for a little bit because my feelings are not the same as everyone's. I have a sister who has cancer.

DJM: A sister, I'm sorry what…

DMG: With cancer. So she was agonizing and I remembered that my father told her, because I would always tell my father, "when you are no longer here, I'm going to go to the United States with my sister." I have a sister over there who is a citizen, she lives in Los Angeles. "I'm going to go with Talila," I told him. "You're leaving and you're going to leave your mother?" "Yes," I said, "I don't get along with mother as I do with you." So, he'd always stay there. So when he died, look… but I, he'd tell my sister, because we found out that my sister had cancer first, before we found out about my father, you hear. So then, Doris, he died, ah he told her, "you'll no longer have someone to take care of you, like they take care of me," he'd say. Because I would care for him 24 hours a day. I lived there, I slept there close to him.

DJM: To take care of him?

DMG: yes, to take care of him. Then he died and I left with a nephew. Oh, I tell you, at times on the bus, the *migra* (border patrol) would get us off, I'd pay and keep going, you wouldn't wish that Doris. I was working in some hotels, but everytime I called (home), "and Malena (how is she)?" "Oh, she's very ill." I called one day and they told me that she was dying, you hear me. So I was getting paid that day, Doris, it was a Saturday, I was getting my biweekly pay from the hotel and I said, I'm not gonna stay here any longer, Doris. I'm going because I'm going. I caught a bus, it took me three days and three nights on a bus, Doris. I changed buses until I got here. When I got here (Honduras) at ten at night, I grabbed a cab to bring me here. That same night I went to see my sister and she was really dying, Doris, dying. I literally scared them because I hadn't told them, "I'm leaving," I just up and left and left everything lost in the apartment where I lived.

DJM: In Los Angeles?

DMG: No. I didn't live in Los Angeles anymore; I was in Wichita, Kansas. I had left Houston for Wichita, Kansas because I was never able to find work in Houston. Do you know what I did (for work)? I made tamales and made my 200 dollars a week, yes, that's what I did, because I sold them at an evangelical church where my sister went (was a parishioner). On Friday, I already had clients that ordered 200 (tamales), "make me 200 tamales," and I'd make them immediately. A 4 pm I had already made (won) those 200 dollars, that's

how I got by. I moved there, Doris, but that made me come back, to get my sister back who is still here today.

(Number 31 in appendix)

Doña Marta's *testimonio* is not only about the land and their loss, but hers as well, her life and the great difficulties she has experienced, also caught away from home in a strange land, her sentiments not like those of others, but reflected in the stories of millions. Her father's passing was a pivotal and profound loss to her family and the potential loss of her sister made her return to Honduras, traveling back without the legal obstacles that my Tio Carlos faced traveling in the opposite direction. Her memories, her stories, her things, she doesn't throw them away because that's where she came from and she talks about them, *so you have something to tell, to show, right*. Not being acknowledged contradicts that possibility and it's something that she needs and maybe this will make things right… This is how they will be compensated for their loss.

DJM: So let's finish up then, I'd like to talk with you all day, I could, but I'm gonna go help the *gringas* over there. So for you, one day hopefully, the museum will be built, what will that mean to you? What legacy would you like that museum to say about your pueblo (the region/Honduras)?

DMG: Look Doris, I know that on that day, not just for me, but for my family, for everyone that surrounds us, it will be a huge accomplishment, with great joy and a great triumph, a great triumph. Doris, the day that we already have the park completed, I at least, I think that at least we'll (those of us here) have work, right.

DJM: Hopefully…

DMG: Yes, Aldo says, "Doña Marta, but you'll benefit the most, because you're gonna make money here." "But I have to work hard, up at 4 a.m." I say. I have to earn it, I have to earn it, I say, "you're not gonna give it to me, I have to earn it…"

DJM: Of course…

DMG: "Look," I say…

DJM: Yes, of course…

DMG: "Yes but, oh Doña Marta you're such a cry baby, what are you going to do?" "*Icarol* (untranslatable)," I say. So yeah, for us I think it will be… maybe our loss will be compensated there, see.

DJM: Compensated there?

DMG: Yes, that's where I think we'll be compensated, when I see it done… I'm always saying, Aldo says, "look Doña Marta, we're going to build you a wall up to here." "Over my dead body will you make a wall here," I tell him. "Because I don't see any convicts." "I'm used to the streets," I tell him, "and here," I tell him, "I won't allow you to build a wall, what am I supposed to see?"

DJM: Yes, yes… you want to see what's going on…

DMG: No, I'm going to watch over (take care of the site) from here. Doris, I've always taken care of the park from predators coming and rummaging about in there. No, I don't permit it (that), because I am watching from here, see. I hear a, "pin pin," I come over here and huddle up.

DJM: To see what's up…

DMG: Yes, or I send the kids, because these kids, "go and check it out, I saw something going on over there," because there are times that there's someone, but it's the viejito (old man) that guards there (not sure where she means, maybe the chicken farm or cemetery) and he comes looking for my Tio Lucio (Don Lucio is the site's *guachimán*), umm hummm…

DJM: Right, right. Well…

DMG: So then that's how I pass the time, how we live out here. So I won't permit that tomorrow they'll come and build a wall…

DJM: So you'll fight then…

DMG: I'm going to fight for it, I'm going to fight it. Because I'm not up for… Look here, I don't like being shut in, between four walls like here in San Pedro, that they put sheets as large gates, those huge walls. No, no, I'll suffocate.

DJM: No, I understand, we'd been shut in this past week, do you remember (I'm referring to being locked in our field house because of the coup). We couldn't stand it anymore, we couldn't stand it; so it's understandable wanting to be able to have an open air view and the liberty to come and go when you want without having to…

DMG; You maintain… I tell them that what one sees, that's called, when you see filth (dirtiness) in the streets, that's called visual contamination. So if they shut me out I'll no longer be able to be visually contaminated (I laugh). Because I'm not going be in the mix of things (*el chisme*, gossip), seeing who's coming and going anymore.

DJM: Oh, so you want to be visually contaminated (we both laugh). Well thank you Doña Marta, thank you very much…

DMG: Thank you for…

DJM: We could talk for hours and hours and hours…

DMG: No, I haven't even told you anything about…

DJM: So another interview? How about we continue next week (I was never able to do another interview, but we always talked)?

DMG: I'll tell you anything you want to know…

DJM: Yes, because for me, that day when you were telling me about the inauguration, that stayed with me that day…

DMG: Yes, yes… No, look, I don't know, the truth is that people, without thinking, think that because we live in *el monte* that we are naïve people. If we, since technology came in, who doesn't know (as in whose not informed). I watch the news, I read the newspaper, I have a phone, right. I watch the international news, I communicate with my sister, "Oh, how's it going over there," I get calls from anywhere on that phone. They've already called me from the United States this morning. They've already called me, *yo ya me noticie* (I'm up on the news, what's going on) and the radio and everything, I talk to people, Doris. So I know how to analyze, right. So I've analyzed that, because the injustice of having done that, that's what I don't (understand), I don't know and I'm going to ask the Doctor about it in private, in public, I don't know, but I'm going to get it out, Doris. Why'd he do that, maybe because he didn't know where, where it came from, right. But Fasquelle knew, Fasquelle did know, Fasquelle did know, Doris.

DJM: And you want an answer?

DMG: I want an answer and I'm going to ask them for it, Doris. So they'll tell me something, something, they have to tell me something, they have to tell me something. Because the injustice of having taken away my land and then not recognize you, not so much as look at you. Yes…

DJM: It's necessary to maintain that…

DMG: I don't know, I need that peace, in my heart…

DJM: Yes, peace…

DMG: That peace in my heart, Doris (she says this with a lot of emotion, she needs peace)…

DJM: Well it's necessary…

DMG: Yeah, no and I think because… my siblings came, "come." One of those trails (referring to one of the trails at the site), I think they named it Roberto Guifarro, but no, that's not enough, Doris.

DJM: It's not enough…

DMG: No, that's not enough, a trail, come on… go on… that day…

DJM: So what would be enough for you then?

DMG: Well look Doris, in the future, when they put up the plaque, I'd like that when they put up the plaque, I'd like them to put my father's name on it. Yeah, when they put up the plaque. When something happens, someone said one day here, "No, these properties were bought by the Institute. We bought them from Doña Marta's family." "Don't lie," I tell them, "the institute didn't buy anything, the Institute confiscated. That's what you've said, that's a huge lie. The Institute, don't go getting that in your head, that they bought (it)…" They stole the money that could have been. Yes, Doris, cause we're in dire straits here, dire straits. So now you say, I tell them, but that's done with me, I'm not going to cover for them anymore.

DJM: It's necessary that they always speak the truth, to be honest…

DMG: Well, that's right, with the truth, be honest, Doris. "No, we took it away from the family, we took it from Don Roberto because it was an archaeological zone," and since there's this law, right, an article, an article, oh I don't know. Ok fine, but say, "we took it away, we took it." Some fool said the other day, "who knows with what money the *gringas* are going to buy that land from Doña Marta?" So I told them, "and why would the *gringas* have to buy the land from me? They're not the owners of Honduras, they aren't from the Honduran government. They've come to provide a collaboration here, not to buy the lands, so that then the same Honduran scoundrels can make money for their own pockets."

(Number 32 in appendix)

The loss of her father and land is magnified by all the plans that the Institute has been throwing around in its proposal to finally open the site to the public. Among them is the building of the wall that would obstruct her view into the site, a place that she and her family have protected and continue to protect, part of her family history and a furthering of that history in a new story about the place where they still play a central and legitimate role, part of the project as they've always been. To build a wall would potentially represent yet another loss, a loss of the life that she understands and knows in *el monte*, her very reason for living there, to be free to have all sorts of animals and to be in the mix of things, to see the site, to look into her life and protect not just the site, but that aspect of her lived reality and experience in a place.

That is Doña Marta's story and her understanding. From an Institutional perspective however, the story is different. To what extent Donna Marta knows it or understands it is not clear. Nonetheless, all these perspectives are important and are a necessary part of the dialogue that all parties, local family, Institute and archaeologists, must try and be part of. Talking to everyone is an incredible feat and I

recognize the omissions on my behalf and my inability to broaden my "data set" to understand the perspectives of others who have made their homes in the Currusté vicinity. Had I been able to, many other stories would likely have emerged, like those that the museum consultant, a non-institute employee, was able to gather and share with me.

DJM: Yes, because right now people are… While we've been working there this season and last season and even when we started back in 2007, tourism students from the Universidad Pedagogica and people who have just come to visit the site. I think on Friday, right, this past Friday students from the Pedagogica came with more tourism students. So people are astonished, "So what are you going to show the public?" In that situation well the excavation units were still open. So they wanted to know if we were going to leave them open, in other words what other attraction would there be, what were people going to see when they came to the site? So I said, "Well we have to close the excavations," and that means we have to backfill them (cover them over) and for them it's like, "what are people going to see?" "Well there's supposed to be an interpretative center where there will be and (excuse me)… interpretive information and maybe also some of the artifacts (that have been excavated from the site), but it's not certain yet." So people still have that idea (vision) that… I mean, someone was even overheard saying, "what's this have to do (with anything)" that is, it's not Copan, people want it all to be Copan.

ICC: Right, people want to see, in other words, they always ask those questions, if the mounds are going to be restored, right. I don't know, if they're going to be given their original splendor, right. So I think… we have to start with that part of educating people, that there were other ways, right.

DJM: Right, and that's what we've tried to do, especially with those that have worked at the site. And that's the hard part, but we can come back to that a little later, because one of the things that I thought was interesting this past year while I was in the U.S., is that the site's security guard (Don Lucio) called me often and he wanted to tell me that the site was going to be inaugurated. So I said, "I know that it's going to be inaugurated. Unfortunately, we won't be able to be there." I had left (Honduras) in November that year as I remember. Last year I left in November. All of a sudden, I was talking… he was telling me, "It's just that they inaugurated the site, but they've closed it." So there was this disconnect, in other words there was this notion that inauguration represented open (to the public), right. So I don't know in what sense, if you could speak to that? Well because there are other things that the community, and I say community I suppose that the representatives of the community seem to be only Sra. Guifarro, right. So I've had to… I'm obviously going to talk to other people. But their perspective of the inauguration, apparently a lot of people went. They give… Well they talk about Sr. Bogran and she (Doña Marta) gets upset, she feels upset because her father, her family, is not given

(proper) recognition. That is, they talk about her family I suppose but don't give them something special (a special recognition and acknowledgement).

ICC: The problem there is… the señor (Don Roberto) was, according to the law, he had possession of the land, but was not its proprietor…

DJM: Ok… (I'm following)

ICC: Because it is an *ejidal* (cooperative) plot of land. So when the Institute wants to inform itself… That is, Don Bogran suggested (wanted to negotiate) the purchasing of the land, right. But when he goes to investigate in the land registry, they hadn't realized that the land was an *ejidal* plot of land. So a sale was not possible and what happens is that the process is to pay the person that is occupying the land for the improvements made (on the land). This is what was done, no.

DJM: Ahhhh (trying to understand, I had not understood this story or the process before), I don't know if she (Doña Marta) really understands what…

ICC: Right, yes that… So I imagine that he (Don Roberto) was paid for the fence he had made, well the improvements. I don't know if that was fair (just), I honestly don't know what the quantity was; a small house that I believe was there, I don't know, no. So he was paid for the improvements (to the land). So the Agrarian Institute determines that it is *ejido* land and if it's *ejidal*, it isn't private property, right. So the process is to pay for the improvements…

DJM: The improvements. Yes, that is what she (Doña Marta) was saying…

ICC: So, Don… there is a proposal, I don't know if the señora knows of it, but apparently it had been discussed with Sr. Guifarro and it was that the site was going to be named, Currusté of Guifarro, right. That's why I suggested that at least one of the trails be given the name Guifarro, right. And maybe well, I considered that if… I suggested that the visitor's center should have the name of Antonio Bogran, because the agent surrounding the original (initiative) had really been him, right. And in reality the man got it going. He tried to find funds with all his wealth, his social capital, right. And with this ambitious idea that he had, not just for that land, in Currusté, right. Because apart from that, within San Pedro Sula, the man (Bogran) has been… he's given other cultural contributions, to put it that way, right. So it (acknowledgment in the inauguration) was an acknowledgement in that sense, right. But after reviewing the Institute's archives, I then spoke with the Director (Dr. Euraque) and I said to him, "Well let's also do something to acknowledge the Currusté Family (Guifarros)." So my suggestion was that at least a trail have the name of Currusté (she was referring to Guifarro), because I think so (thinks it to be just). I don't know if the señora knows that, but in reality that is the story behind the land, right.

(Number 33 in appendix)

We were clear that Currusté would never be Copan, in fact that was the point, to provide a counter history, another way of understanding the past that was reflective of the rich diversity of the Honduran population today as in the past. But as Dr. Euraque aptly pointed out, after we discussed the Mayanization of the IHAH which he sought to work to begin deMayanizing, "and I insisted on that and I insisted, not simply to be resistant, but because it is part of the psyche." The psyche of which he speaks extends far beyond the Institute itself and has become part of Honduran national identity, this Mayanization of the past. Did people really expect to see Currusté restored to its splendor of yore and would that splendor be a Copan but at a reduced (size) scale?

ICC: For example, it seemed to me that in this task of trying to connect the communities with the development, there are many things at play. One being, the lack of understanding that people have about the labor of the Institute and the Institute's inability to get close and connect with the communities. And so I'm obviously not an employee, I wasn't an Institute employee, I was… I was an independent consultant contracted by the Institute. But there were a lot of complaints by schoolteachers, I'm remembering… because in reality I was at a number of schools. So then, I even visited the education authorities. So they have many complaints about the labor… what was the labor (job) of the Institute, right? So I think that the Institute has failed a lot, obviously the work has been concentrated in Copan, in Tegucigalpa, right. And there has been an abandonment, no, even though it takes steps, does work, right. But in terms of connecting with the communities, right, it's been very little. Maybe in this administration there's been greater effort, right. So people complain about that. In other words, one of the promoters for the development of the park is the Institute, but people know very little about the Institute, right. The other thing is, the minister of culture wanted to get the municipality of San Pedro Sula involved, right, by having the municipality cover the costs for the visitor's center building, the trail there, open the path, right. At the very least to make a more passable road and the fence (wall), right. But for the members of the patronatos (board, council), they have more pressing (urgent) needs, no, daily (needs), right, than having a center. I mean if we're going… Right, the park, some could say, "well yes, it could bring more visitors, maybe that will increase the value of my property, if this is developed." But they didn't see a utility (to it) because there are obviously communities where the streets, if in the dry season are unpassable, in the rain they are already terrible, right. They have serious water problems, serious water supply problems, right. The schools are devoid of… that is they don't have the conditions for children to be there studying. Therefore, they have more urgent needs.

DJM: Of course…

ICC: And they don't connect with the development of the site, right. Because they didn't see its purpose, right. And I think that the Institute's efforts were centered, honestly, only toward the Guifarro family. And the Pedroza (a neighborhood) being so close, it's a neighborhood. In fact, I know that, I don't know if… since my work was, more than anything, that first moment, right, of getting close and more with the idea of knowing what people were interested in knowing (learning/understanding) from the interpretive center. What were people interested in, right. But since it was planned, maybe in the future, right, if funds were obtained to have workshops, right. So I tried to identify people from within the neighborhoods close by that might become interested, right. So I think that's been a problem, no. Because, it's just that the relationship with the Guifarro family has never been pleasant…

DJM: they've been tense…

ICC: Yes, so then… It's also been a mistake to focus solely on them, who have been an important part, undoubtedly clear… There has to be… that is, the Guifarros are one of the many families within the many that have established their homes, right, close to the park, right.

DJM: And it's also obviously a failure on my behalf as well. In other words, the feeling that I haven't been able to expand, get out more… In other words, this thing of doing an investigation that concerns archaeology as a method of apprenticeship, maybe it's an excuse of mine… Because you get involved in only teaching classes on archaeology. So the time you have is focused there, being unable to do more and getting out (going around the neighborhoods). So I also feel that the closest and most important relationship we have had with the community has been with the Guifarro Family. It has to be expanded, I agree with you. But at least… the first year we were here, it was a bit with the family and now throughout these two years, I think it's gotten better and in a certain way, they have taken care of the site and well, they let people in when they… in other words, Aldo communicates (about the site) with her and all. Therefore, yes, it's a part, but I would like to understand what others in the community are saying. Nonetheless, in terms of what they know or understand about the Honduran past, it's not a long-term understanding, but rather to the more immediate past, that is not deep prehistory and the connections they have are more than anything, about family, about relationships. As I say, in other words, people… she says things, the landscape, her father's animals were in there, that there… in other words that connection. So for her, what would make things right, for her, in terms of the Instituto, is not that they pay her something, she wants to see a plaque with her father's name on it, that would take away (erase) that sense of anger…

(Number 34 in appendix)

There is never a clear map or route to the contexts and relationships that allow such conversations to take place and flourish. Sometimes we don't know where the conversations will take us. I certainly didn't know. What I do know is that everybody has to be on board and you have to do the best you can at devising goals that are communicable to others. Those goals will change as you "begin talking." Going into the field in 2008 was fraught with so much stress and anxiety, because I was unable to communicate; I was unable to thoroughly envision what I would do and what that implied to those involved. Now, with the reflection on what I have learned from doing the pilot project, and in talking to people about archaeology at Currusté, I think I can make some suggestions about what might work in a similar context in the future.

Chapter 7

Revisiting the Field: Reflexivity in Archaeological Practice

As peripheral participation in the archaeological project turns to vested (invested) involvement, more "central" not just in undertaking seemingly central archaeological tasks (for what is "central" also is in question), the combination of tasks and conceptual understanding and questioning of archaeological practice become an invested interest, where involvement (participation) is transformative. How, and to what degree, does this occur and for whom? The answer oscillates along recurring themes of: positionality, intersectionality, class, structure, authority, accountability and the lack and building of relationships, among other themes.

In the Honduran case study presented here these themes came to be foregrounded as I participated in the Proyecto Arqueológico Currusté. In particular, I reflected on the tenuous relationships and ideologies that are hegemonically cast as truths and largely unquestioned, it would appear, by the wide spectrum of Honduran citizens at different class levels (see also Gosden 2001). Also critical for my understanding was to acknowledge the power differentials between any North American and all Hondurans:

> Power differentials within this society and between us and those we study exist and alas, will continue to exist for the foreseeable future. Anthropologists must be constantly aware of how these differences in power can distort their perceptions and skew their interpretations. Obviously, they must also be careful not to take advantage of their (usually) considerably greater power in ways that will disadvantage the people they are studying. (Wolf 1992:6)

My main way of recognizing power differentials has been to create relationships with people based on mutual exchange, vulnerability, and reflexivity. Reflecting on my archaeological experience to date, in the places where I have worked in the past, California, Honduras, Mexico and Bolivia, over the years I have had the opportunity to talk to people, who have shared their experiences with me and invited me into their homes. I have been able to attune the inhabited positionality of archaeologist with one that also places me, by virtue of my own experiential background, into discussions that resonate with that archaeological positionality, but that more aptly resonate with human concerns and relationships.

In my time in West Mexico, years ago, I spent my afternoons dropping by to see my grandfather in Apatzingan, Michoacan, a man I hardly knew (and I'm sure my own mother hardly knew). We'd sit for hours and he'd tell me all sorts of stories about his life, my mother, my father (after my parents were married), and my grandmother. The stories repeated themselves. He was already elderly, and in every story he was the hero. Vaguely understanding my purpose during my visits he'd tell

me about gold and the fire and smoke that were telltale signs of where the gold and "treasures" could be found. Sometimes my visits were his only company in a day, and when I came by, he wouldn't easily let me go and when I couldn't come by, he'd go out looking for me, taking seriously his role as my "protector" while I was in Mexico.

These stories, I realize upon reflection, were his own *testimonio* of sorts. They were carried beyond our own private interactions when I recounted them to my parents and siblings back home in the states. My parents might remember details differently or plain disagree, but they engaged with the stories, retelling them and including their own perspectives on details and events, but the stories were recounted and perpetuated and elicited other stories. I listened and formed my own picture of my Papa Pedro's life, his strife, and tried to separate the stories and misconceptions people had of him (whether they were true or not). I'd heard stories about this man over the course of my life and I had an opportunity listen to his own stories from his own mouth and self-representation. I knew there were many sides, but I considered his side too, where it hadn't existed before.

When he died, I went to Mexico, sad, and when I saw his lifeless body in a coffin I didn't recognize him. He'd been dressed in a suit and tie *nada que ver con quien era*, he bore no semblance to who he was and the plain and meager clothing *que acostumbraba,* that were part of his daily life. My mother agreed with me, but she didn't want to upset the *status quo.* So it was accepted and he was buried in a fashion that was not representative of his lived experience, even though we knew he would probably not have appreciated it.

I remember dropping by on one or two occasions and some well-intentioned church ladies in their charitable occupation would be joining him. Upon my arrival I would be literally interrogated and bear the brunt of their accusations of negligence and the *olvido* (forgotten state) and the misery he lived in, for to look at his state one could swear he was a beggar. In fact, these women's weren't the first accusations of this sort that I encountered. They came from someone who knew me (my boyfriend at the time). He had allowed appearances to be the basis for judgment and inferences of neglect by my mother, never mind that she has three other siblings, but was the only one supporting him *a duras penas*, barely able to do so and with great economic pains. The circumstances that he was witnessing created cognitive dissonance with what he already "understood" to be part of the situation.

The point with these stories is that they are so different, with many layers, and they traverse time and space. They challenge us to make sense and see how they "fit" into wider discourses that are meaningful and of value, for reasons we haven't thought about before. Seeing their value and importance is a process. In that process, one of the things that becomes apparent is that these are the stories that are meaningful to others, because it's how they understand themselves and their circumstances in life and their ties past and present.

Parachuting into a place with the expectation that such stories will be automatically revealed, we can agree, is far fetched. With my grandfather, we were

family. With a brilliant old timer (Don Juan) in Acahuato, Michoacan, during my time in West Mexico, it was through my professional relationships with ENAH students who were registering a collection for the INAH (Instituto Nacional de Antropologia e Historia of Mexico) that Don Juan had amassed over a life time of farming and working his land. We were invited to his home and with the delicacy that one should take in such interactions, we talked about the contexts of his finds and the beautiful nuances of his home, modest and humble as it is, and the conservation of architectural traditions.

To him and his family they were a continuance of what they understood as parts of their daily lives and which they continued with the obvious adaptations and inclusions of modern technology. We marveled at the traditional beehive oven and wooden stove (relics of a past time, but very much a part of their present lives) and their juxtaposition with his wife's modern stove, the little things which we all undoubtedly notice, whether we're archaeologists or not. On subsequent visits to the *Tierra Caliente*, Michoacana, without any archaeological purpose in mind, I'd drop in on Don Juan, once bringing my parents, and just sit and talk with his daughter or whoever happened to be home, if Don Juan himself was not there. I don't know if Don Juan is still there (alive). On an occasion with his daughter, we talked about her continued, long distance studies as we sat in an area of their home that she had repurposed as a makeshift "barber shop" to support herself.

Today I am returning to Mexico, with Honduras, Doña Marta and all the locals and friends on my mind and all of our efforts and what our experiences together have taught me and continue to teach me. I return with the excitement of something new, but not different from Honduras or other places, to the stories that people find meaningful and how they manage in their daily lives. I embark on this new opportunity with a heavy heart, anticipating Don Lucio's voice when he calls and asks when I will be back. I feel guilty and sad. I also have to start over again, where no one knows me, and start a new project in the Palenque hinterland in Chiapas, Mexico and interestingly in the *Maya* area. We learn from our experiences, and while the idea of a new place scares me, this an opportunity to bring to the work and the process that it will require in Mexico all that I have learned and am continuing to learn from my time in Honduras that is and is not included in this dissertation.

The stories there will differ, but my approach in terms of Participatory Archaeology will continue, allowing for the stories of relationships (important to archaeological practice) to guide me methodologically, while I begin to form new relationships with the people in the communities around this new archaeological site. Reforma Agraria (the ejido where the archaeological site of Chinikiha is located) is a place that is home to many families, whether they came as migrants in the 1960s from other places in Mexico, or from the regional Ch'ol and Tzetzal communities of Chiapas and surrounding areas. As I have described in this dissertation this kind of work is a process. In this process, I am situating myself and the relationships I hope to form in the existing (and established) professional networks and relationships with people, archaeologists, INAH employees and most importantly within the local

communities in which the director of this archaeological project has worked for many years.

The educational programs I bring to the field have been met with positive feedback by both local participants in Honduras, and archaeologists who have encouraged me and helped me negotiate the overlapping communities of practice, with advice, opinions, concerns and the knowledge that they bring to our joint communities of practice. At times, you stumble and hope for things like more time, but are guided by the things that people felt worked or didn't work, to devise new ways to approach them together in the field, like switching *clases* or group discussions to the beginning of the day and not at the end of the day when everyone is tired and wants to go home. You also try to be involved in order to understand where everyone is coming from, understanding something that takes a great deal of time and is continuous, the socio-historic context of a place, the region and the nation in which people participate (in various ways) or do not participate as "citizens". Through reflection and continued reflexive reconfiguring, your approach and archaeological practice also becomes transformed as people begin to not only see themselves as, but do become, legitimate participants. That knowledge and understanding makes for legitimate relationships and archaeological practice, both in Honduras and other places where again, the archaeological and local contexts will differ, but not the fact that people have different ways of understanding the past and their current circumstances and lived realities.

I explained all of this to the Mexican director of the project on which I am beginning work in an email that says this as well as anything else I could write:

> *"In terms of what I would like to develop at Chinikiha, it would have ideally been best to have been there since January. Why? Well, the work I propose is a process… If we look at it from the point of view of phases, well I am already jumping to the second phase, without having completely done the "background" research of the region in it's actual and modern socio-historic context, that is, the first phase. I hope that this is something that I can acquire and apply as time goes by, because I also see it as something continuous… In terms of my purpose for these weeks, and it has been difficult because I would have to liked to be there longer, because it is really necessary to accomplish my preliminary goals. These goals have to do mainly with my integration to your team, as this grants me the opportunity to participate (develop) among the "communities" surrounding Chinikiha, but in other areas as well, even within Palenque. My connections are through you and the relationships that you and your work have already established. In a certain way I will be reflected in the communities through these relationships and from there the ones that I myself develop (in time)…*
>
> *This beginning will give me the opportunity to develop within this archaeological context, etc. and in this way see the different perspectives and needs by both the "overall" project as those of the communities close by, which is for me of paramount importance.*

So what will I be dedicating myself to in these weeks? To the integration to your project as an archaeologist, doing the same work that other participants do, excavation, surveying, mapping, etc. where ever you need me. Because my biggest wish is to learn different archaeological methods. I feel that I lack a great deal and need to relearn a lot regarding mapping and the use of certain instruments related with mapping, if I can be of help to Flavio, great. That is, I am at the disposition of the projects needs. The goal here is to learn different archaeological methods and traditions or as the say in Honduras, to empaparme (literally soak, but to learn) as much as I can…

There will be some days, we can begin with 1 day a week (but not exceed 2), where I will ask you to allow me half the day among the communities close by and talk to people, etc. Go to the schools, maybe organize a field trip for students if they wish to come to the site and it is with your ability to permit it. The goal is simply, and since I will only be there for a short period of time, to come to be known among people there, so as to later develop something more formal…"

I recently returned from Mexico, where I had been invited to participate in the Proyecto Arqueologico Chinikiha, and for which I wrote the above email regarding my goals and purposes during the three week period that I would be in Mexico. I was not able to do everything that I proposed to do in my email. While I spent the last week of my time in Reforma Agraria, during the afternoons, walking and trying to talk to some residents of the town and taking notes on the conversations I did have, they were few. Nonetheless, those conversations I did have were substantive. They are the beginning of what I expect to be ongoing future conversations that are already revealing interesting and important themes of contemporary understandings of places, migration, immigration, identity, culture heritage and nationalism. These themes echo those of the research that I began in Mexico years ago and that I furthered in Honduras during my research and work there.

An important theme that has persistently surfaced and resurfaced over time, for me, has been the notion of *destierro.* This is a concept that cannot adequately be defined as just displacement or exile. Maybe it's somewhere in between? Certainly, it hovers around *uprootedness,* whether literal or figurative. *Destierro* is metaphorically performed materially or rhetorically in the lives of those who have experienced it, residing in the embodiment of daily life that is being experienced and shared with others, the secondary relations who may not themselves have been the subjects of *destierro* but who inhabit it, even if differently than those who experienced it "first hand". *Destierro* lives in actions, in reactions, in emotions, in situated understanding and the epistemic positionalities of contemporary peoples. It is invoked in our counter-histories, for example, my generation in the United States, the children of immigrants, as we search for a connection to our "histories" and

the place we imagine our roots to be in, our unconscious and conscious choice in the material culture that represents our connection to that *destierro.*

Destierro will be a point of connection for this new project. Archaeologically, I begin to think about the landscape of the Palenque hinterland, the movement of people, ideas and things over a vast natural landscape with human modifications over time, to meet the needs and concerns of people's daily lives. I think about the conversations I did have and will continue to have in Reforma Agraria (and the surrounding areas) and how I will approach the start of a learning community at Chinikiha, through some of the stories that have already begun to emerge. People there speak of leaving their "homes" and coming to a new place and learning to contend with their new environments and the beginning of relationships that have come to be perceived by people's children and grandchildren as having always existed, unquestioned. This may help frame and situate our conversations in the field as we begin to work together, but needn't be where we will end.

Another goal that I had for my recent trip to Mexico was to begin to develop relationships through the project director and his work and history in the area, that would also, in time, allow me to be understood as a collaborator there and integral part of a new North American collaborative archaeological project that will be working independently at the site. Lastly, I aim in time to formulate my own research goals, through the development of relationships in Mexico that would allow for independence within both projects to pursue the questions and themes I have addressed above, and then bring those perspectives to our archaeological practice and approach to Chinikiha.

Similar methodological approaches will be applied in this new archaeological context, informed by recursive reflexivity and the inclusion of people's daily informal evaluations about their participation in the work. This is something that will be informed through our own (different) epistemic positionalities and the knowledge, perspectives and understanding we bring to our discussions and conversations.

Activities, like *clases,* related to communication and exchange in an archaeological context are tied to moments in the field, where we may or may not encounter something (a material remain) that may come from somewhere else, where we can talk about it both archaeologically and in contemporary ways of understanding that are recognizable to us all. Sometimes, those material traces are in fact not transports, but can be local expressions of ties to other places, where the maker makes choices to materially render their connections that can then serve as an index to others participating in similar communities of practice, that what they are representing is perhaps that connection. Sometimes, people move away and come to a new place, sometimes not by choice and sometimes because it's the only choice, and they try to materially represent their connections to the immateriality of that sense

of *destierro,* something that is much more complex to unearth archaeologically.

What limits us as archaeologists sometimes, are not necessarily the places we go to work, but rather the questions we are willing to ask and the conversations we are willing to have. These are the kinds of conversations that I hope to continue to have, in Honduras, Mexico and beyond.

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Appendix: Spanish Transcriptions Incorporated into Dissertation Text

The portions of the transcripts included here are from interviews conducted in Honduras in 2008 and 2009. I have organized the distinction between the transcripts by chapter and numerically. Additionally, the following initials and acronyms refer to the following:

"DMG" = Doña Marta Guifarro (2008 and 2009)

"ICC" = Interpretative Center Consultant (2009)

"ID" = Institute Director (2006-2009)

"LP" = Local Participant

"DJM"= Doris Julissa Maldonado (me)

Chapter 4: Local Memory, Local Pasts

Number 1: From 2008 Interview

DMG: Oiga bien, pues ahora uno se resigna, se resigna a perder y luego vienen uno y ya toma conciencia y empieza a despertar, verdad, y mira el futuro.. Pues, para mi, pienso que hoy en día me siento contenta, verdad; por la prosperidad del barrio, de la aldea, del pueblo, verdad. Por que vamos a tener quien ya, ya pues ya nos van a conocer a nivel mundial de que somos pues, parte del proyecto. Hemos sido, verdad, siempre…

DJM: Si…

DMG: Y yo me he sentido, déjeme decirle que siempre me he sentido como dueña (I laugh… as she laughs…)… Si, siempre me he sentido como dueña por que siempre he estado yo ahí…

DJM: Pues ustedes han custodiado todo ese tiempo…

DMG: "salga, no meta, no toque," verdad. Allí cuidando siempre, el proyecto para verlo realizado un día, verdad…

DJM: Si, por que una de las cosas que es difícil, a veces, es decir en sentido de que bueno ya de que pertenece, pertenece bueno, ya pertenece al gobierno… Pero siempre a estado aquí, junto a su familia…

DMG: Yo siempre he estado aquí… Pero…

Number 2: From 2008 Interview

DMG: Pues mire, me dio tristeza perder la propiedad, verdad. Por que ya sabe un día… Nosotros hemos obtenido esto por herencia, verdad. Era de mi abuelo desde 1904. Entonces de ahí fue de mi Papa, pues ya murió mi Papa y ahora es de nosotros, verdad.. Fue de nosotros. El resto de la propiedad sigue siendo de nosotros. Pues me dio tristeza y enojo, sinceramente por que a nadie le gusta perder…

DJM: Claro…

DMG: Pero con el gobierno uno que puede hacer, verdad. A veces son injustos, quiere que le diga por que, por que el gobierno sabe que las tierras son de ellos y nos sacan a nosotros los impuestos anualmente. Es perdida para cada quien, verdad.

DJM: Entonces ha sido para usted, de cierta forma una experiencia injusta para su familia?

DMG: Claro que si, por años..

DJM: Si por que ya tradición, mucho tiempo aquí su gente…

DMG: Oiga bien, pues ahora uno se resigna, se resigna a perder y luego vienen uno y ya toma conciencia y empieza a despertar, verdad, y mira el futuro.. Pues, para mi, pienso que hoy en día me siento contenta, verdad; por la prosperidad del barrio, de la aldea, del pueblo, verdad. Por que vamos a tener quien ya, ya pues ya nos van a conocer a nivel mundial de que somos pues, parte del proyecto. Hemos sido, verdad, siempre…

Number 3: From 2009 Interview

DMG: A mi familia, eso es lo que yo cargo, entiende. Yo me hubiera llenado de gloria con que mi familia, verdad. Yo hubiera enmarcado el cuadro que le dieron al señor en reconocimiento. Y me hicieron a mi padre un lado, que lo despojaron, sabe cuantos millones fueran ahorita? 30, 30 por 6, 36 millones de pesos. Esos mire cuanto, cuanto dinero, cuanto dinero no pude hacer uno ahora con tal, verdad. Y lo despojaron a el por 2 mil Lempiras, oiga bien. Y que no se acuerden, que no se acuerden de la maldad que hicieron. Por que me parece a mi que fue como maldad, tal vez no como maldad sino que como hay un articulo, me entiende y ellos se abasan (base themselves on the article of law) al articulo, a la ley, que no se que. A la ley agraria, a la ley yo no se de que dicen ellos. Aquí ha venido, "Doña Marta, esto es del gobierno." Yo le pago impuestos al gobierno, yo le pago impuestos al gobierno. Ahorita Doris, hace dos meses le pague 32 mil lempiras al gobierno de impuestos, por aquella tierra que esta ahí. Y cuando ellos dicen, por que Aldo me dice, yo se que me lo dice en broma, "Mire Doña Marta se la voy a confiscar." Entonces le digo yo, "Mire Don Aldo, yo no me llamo Roberto Guifarro yo me llamo Marta Estrella Guifarro y yo tengo otra mentalidad, yo no tengo las orejas gachas de mi Papa," verdad.

DJM: Pero a veces, no se si es tan solo decir, bueno el valor monetario…

DMG: Si, el valor monetario como el valor sentimental que uno guarda todo el tiempo…

DJM: Explíqueme la diferencia para usted

DMG: Pues mire Doris, eso es como cuando usted tiene, vaya para mi que ya no tengo Papa ni Mama. Yo la foto de mi Mama la guardo y la limpio (speaking con sentimiento…) por que era mi madre. Un recuerdo muy grande que yo camino en mi pecho, todos los días de la vida, verdad. Entonces así lo comparo yo las cosas, las cosas de uno y las cosas ancestras, me entiende. Hay que cuidarlas por que fueron de aya atrás. Yo no las puedo tirar a la basura por que de ahí vengo yo, me entiende, de ahí vengo yo. Entonces yo, a mi no me gustaría que me despojaran de mis cosas y quedarme con las manos cruzadas como estupida, como mensa. Y de que va vivir uno?

Number 4: From 2008 Interview

DMG: Si, "ellos quieren conocer," le digo yo. Vienen maestros con los alumnos, de Choloma han venido, de varios lugares. Y incluso un domingo yo aquí recibí a un licenciado, un señor que trabaja en agronautica y otros hombres bien importantes. Uno de ellos es escritor y quería escribir un libro…

DJM: Sobre de aquí?

DMG: Entonces me dijo.. Si, me dijo que iba a escribir un libro y que quería ver por que el (hard to hear with noise around us…)… Yo fui con ellos ahí, hay anduve, "ay yo ahora me llamo Doris," les digo yo (we laugh). "Y quien es Doris?" me dice el licenciado, por que el licenciado es amigo mío, "Marta, quien es Doris?" "Pues es una arqueóloga gringa que viene a hacer trabajos aquí," le digo yo. "Ahhh, que bueno." Y me estuvieron, "cuantas gringas vienen?" "Ah, vienen bastantes," le digo, "se van unas y vienen otras," les digo. "Son estudiantes y están sacando maestría y van y vienen," le digo. "Cada año vienen," le digo, "pero así van ellas, se van unas y vienen otras," le digo, "como dos o tres meses en el año…"

DJM: Si, tratamos de tener esa continuidad…

DMG: Si, "ellas ponen su, todo su empeño en hacer algo por aquí." "Y han sacado oro?" "No." "Yo solo se que sacaron Jade, unos pedacitos que aya los tienen en el museo," le digo. Ah por que me preguntan que donde están las cosas, les digo que en el museo. "Aya las llevan para el museo," les digo, "Pa San Pedro, pero un día las van a trae," les digo "pero un día las van a trae," les digo. "Cuando ellas hagan su proyecto aquí, todo eso viene para acá," le digo.

Number 5: From 2008 Interview

DJM: Bueno Doña Marta, muchas gracias por dejarme hacer una entrevista y mas que nada quisiera darle agradecimiento departe de nuestro proyecto; que siempre nos han apoyado ustedes y han lidiado con nosotros cuando hemos estado aquí y le agradecemos muchísimo por tenernos aquí cuando estamos acá y por custodiar pues este sitio.

Yo creo, una de las preguntas que tenia mas que nada, es como ha sido su experiencia teniendo aquí este sitio arqueológico? Se que este terreno perteneció a su Papa y se que también hubieron estudios en los años setenta. Entonces, como usted ha visto todo esto, que significa todo esto para usted?

DMG: Pues mire, me dio tristeza perder la propiedad, verdad. Por que ya sabe un día… Nosotros hemos obtenido esto por herencia, verdad. Era de mi abuelo desde 1904. Entonces de ahí fue de mi Papa, pues ya murió mi Papa y ahora es de nosotros, verdad.. Fue de nosotros. El resto de la propiedad sigue siendo de nosotros. Pues me dio tristeza y enojo, sinceramente por que a nadie le gusta perder…

DJM: Claro…

DMG: Pero con el gobierno uno que puede hacer, verdad. A veces son injustos, quiere que le diga por que, por que el gobierno sabe que las tierras son de ellos y nos sacan a nosotros los impuestos anualmente. Es perdida para cada quien, verdad.

Number 6: From 2009 Interview

DJM: A mi lo que me apena mas es que por ejemplo, cuando yo le digo a usted y se lo digo con toda franqueza, es que no tan solo a usted, sino a los demás que han trabajado con nosotros es que tengo un gran nivel de respeto, agradecimiento y confianza en sus habilidades y quisiera que ustedes un día tuvieran también la misma confianza que otras personas les dan (as in confidence in yourself).

LP: Claro que la tenemos

DJM: Para que usted(es) puedan también decir, tener opinión…

LP: Si…

DJM: Poder decir, "no, yo creo que fue así," talvez y entrar en dialogo con otras, conmigo, con Julie, con mas que nada, con ustedes mismos y ayudarnos unos a los otros. Entonces es reesforzar esa relación profesional, de amistad y con el trabajo, para darnos, unos a los otros esa confianza. Entonces, quisiera ponerle un enfoque mas grande a ustedes a darles a ustedes esos conocimientos, por que ahorita ustedes tienen una parte, pero es aumentarla, es siempre seguir aumentando… el aprendizaje nunca termina.

LP: Si, asi es

DJM: Y entonces para que el día de mañana, por que va ver el día de mañana donde ya lo que conocemos de Currusté ya va ser suficiente, no vamos ocupar excavar mas. No necesitaremos, no debemos por que ya sabemos bastante. Entonces tal vez nos vamos otro año a Cerro Palenque, verdad. Entonces, y yo quisiera, que si un día vamos a otro sitio arqueológico a trabajar que ustedes se vinieran con nosotros y que también, si hay personas que van a trabajar nuevas, de ahí del mismo Santiago del mismo lugar de Cerro palenque que ustedes sean los que les den las clases, que ustedes los enseñen. Para que pase, de practica en practica….

LP: El conocimiento…

DJM: Si, el conocimiento. Exacto, el conocimiento que ustedes han…

LP: Lo que nosotros aprendimos, ensañárselos a ellos…

DJM: Si. Por que uno aprende haciendo, si..

LP: Si, así es

DJM: Si yo quiero aprender a hacer una tortilla tengo que practicar…

LP: Tiene que aprender, si

DJM: Y aunque me salgan feas, pero tengo que echarle ganas…

LP: Así es

DJM: Bueno entonces, eh muchas gracias Wendy por darme la entrevista, entonces podemos hablar de otras cosas en otra ocasión. Voy a tratar de resumir las clases muy pronto, tal vez para el lunes. Ahorita voy a intentar ayudar a Jeanne, a Julie y a Nick, que pues, que puedan mantener el nivel de trabajo ahorita para darme la oportunidad de enfocarme yo en lo mío. Una de las cosas es dando… Alban ha podido el, el tiene experiencia de técnico también. Entonces el tiene una forma de hacer la arqueología y nosotros le estamos enseñando el sistema nuestro y el a podido llevar a cabo su propio papeleo, su propia excavación y de esa forma ir aprendiendo. Yo quería, una de las cosas que me pidió Delvin el año pasado es enseñarle a dibujar, entonces yo quise enseñarle también un poquito a el los perfiles…

WB: Si, esta bien

DJM: Esta haciéndolo muy bien, pero quiero enseñarle por que lo esta haciendo, que significa…

WB: Si…

DJM: Perdón, entonces creo que ya mañana le voy a dar los perfiles que el dibujo y que yo corregí para que el vea mas o menos como se hace. Entonces eso es lo que es, es dando, ofreciendo esas habilidades para otros también las puedan tener. Para

que las sabiduría no se concentre tan solo en una persona, para que lo sepan todos…

Number 7: From 2009 Interview

DJM: Pero que reacción tuvo usted y su familia cuando empezar… O sea, sabían ustedes lo que era la arqueología, que conocían sobre el pasado de Honduras, del pasado de aquí de esta región?

DMG: Pues déjeme decirle que, nada. Sinceramente aquí eso no se tomaba en cuenta. Aquí se sabia que arqueología solo estaba en Santa Rosa de Copan.

DJM: En Copan…

DMG: Solo eso se sabia aquí y ahí… si esos montículos que están ay, que ven ahí, aquí eran grandes sacates, grandes sacatales y uyyy porciones de vacas…

DJM: Si… que tenia su Papa aquí?

DMG: Ah ha si, aquí era un… y uno venía allí en caballo a echar vacas y ni cuenta se daba que era eso, que significaba eso, me entiende…

DJM: Y daron a encontrar antes que sucediera todo.. que vinieron los arqueólogos… Por que he conocido a varias personas que a veces están trabajando la tierra, verdad, ya ósea sembrando, trabajando la tierra y de repente se topan con algún pichingo, con un tiesto y pues, que pensaban ustedes cuando encontraban algo así por el estilo, antes de que viniera lo de la arqueología aquí? Que pensaba que era eso?

DMG: Pues si, siempre hayamos fíjese, siempre hayamos pichingitos así que con la.. que se lava la tierra y caen ahí, no. Pero nunca le pusimos… eran los indios, solo así se decía, "ah, es que aquí a lo mejor los indios, a lo mejor los indios…"

DJM: Y usted que… se identifica con ese pasado, con esos indios tal vez, tiene… por que vivieron aquí, verdad…

DMG: Exactamente… Yo para mi que… Mire yo, todavía no me cae, ni idea, que por que, ni parentesco ni nada de los indios. Usted no… no llevo para mi, verdad el significado de que por que, solo se que eran, pienso yo ahora, que eran gentes como nosotros que venían a vivir, como nosotros… Pero para mi que vinieron antes del diluvio (we laugh together)…

DJM: Y como así, el diluvio explíqueme que es el diluvio…

DMG: Pues para mi, lo poco que leído del diluvio era … (she says something I can't make out…) un llenadero de agua donde solo quedo Noe, verdad..

Number 8: From 2008 Interview

DJM: Y dice pues que es la tierra, que han tenido ese apego a ese lugar. Pero mas del lugar, mas de la tierra, ósea por que cree usted que tienen ese cariño, que su familia, ya casi mas de un siglo que pues ustedes…

DMG: Pues, pues no se, quizás por que aquí nací yo. Yo aquí me crié mire, nací aya mas abajo, tres cuadras abajo y ya (vine ahí) cuando ya tenia, desde que tengo 28 años vivo aquí yo. Si, ya tenia 28 años y ya vivo acá y ahora tengo 56 y sigo, pienso morirme aquí y que me velen ahí.

Number 9: Discussion Among Local Participants

JD: De que año data el sitio?

JG: el que?

JD: El Sitio, de que epoca data el sitio?

JG: Mire, este sitio esta aquí cuando mis bisabuelos, dueños de esto.

JD: No, yo le digo…

JG: Desde 1904

JD: No, yo lr digo de que epoca, por que esta clasico, pos clasico…

Number 10: From 2009 Interview

ICC: Entonces, Don… hay una propuesta, que yo no se si la señora la conoce, pero aparentemente si se había hablado con el señor Guifarro, que era que el sitio se iba llamar, Currusté de Guifarro, no. Por eso yo sugerí que por lo menos uno de los senderos se le diera el nombre de Guifarro, no. Y quizás bueno, yo considere que si se… yo sugerí que el centro de visitantes llevara el nombre de Antonio Bogran por que el gestor alrededor de esto inicial, realmente había sido el, no. Y realmente el señor se movió. Trato de buscar fondos con todo su caudal, su capital social, no. Y con toda esta idea ambiciosa que el tenia, no solo para ese predio, no en Currusté, no. Por que aparte el señor dentro de San Pedro Sula, bueno ha sido… a dado otros aportes culturales, por así decirlo no. Entonces era un reconocimiento a el en ese sentido, no. Pero como al revisar los archivos del Instituto, entonces yo hable con el Gerente y le digo, "bueno hay que hacer algo también para reconocer a familia de Currusté." Entonces mi sugerencia fue que por lo menos uno de los senderos llevara el nombre de Currusté. Por que yo creo que si. No se la señora si conoce eso, pero en realidad la historia 'tras el predio es esa, no.

DJM: Si… por que ella no se si lo conoce así. Ella si pelea la tierra de forma monetaria a veces, pero mas que nada es esa memoria familiar, esa conexión a la tierra por ser

donde creció, donde estuvo su Papa, sus papas. Entonces esa memoria… Ella ve un palo y dice, "No, ese palo me vio crecer." Entonces ella…

ICC: Bueno de hecho yo tengo idea que los cerros, dos cerros que se ven ahí, les dicen Los Guifarro's (family connection to the place by using their as a referente to a place name and landmark on the landscape), no…

DJM: Ahh, no lo sabia…

Number 11: From 2009 Interview

ICC: Si si. Viéndolo de… cuando yo estuve haciendo las entrevistas, bueno… si, en los 70s quizás cuando hablaban de desarrollar el sitio si, la idea fue… Involucraba mas a los empresarios por que yo creo que esa ha sido siempre la visión de San Pedro Sula, no. Ósea, los desarrollos que ha habido acá siempre han sido a través de aporte, no, de los vecinos, no. Y siempre ha visto ese orgullo de que no se ha contado con el apoyo de Tegucigalpa, no, del gobierno central. Sino que siempre ha sido por la iniciativa de los vecinos de San Pedro y con la municipalidad. Entonces bueno, esa era la idea en ese entonces. Ya cuando llega el Dr. Euraque, bueno y bajo la gestión del ministerio de cultura del Dr. Fasquelle; hay que recordar que la política del gobierno de Zelaya es el poder ciudadano, no… la participación de los ciudadanos, no. Entonces bajo ese lema también se sugiere que el desarrollo de este parque tiene que involucrarse, no. Entonces yo por aparte desde antes que comenzara lo de Currusté, yo siempre había estado interesada en medir, por así decir, lo que tanto conocimiento tenia la gente de San Pedro sobre el pasado prehispánico, no. Entonces cuando se me invita, entonces yo bueno… es en Austin, verdad? Si… ósea yo estaba preparando presente en una propuesta un abstract ahí en el SAA que iba ser en Austin, sobre las entrevistas que iba estar haciendo, no. Pero en ese entonces yo no había sido contratada para lo de Currusté. Entonces lo que trate ya cuando empecé hacer las entrevistas, es quizás concentrarme un poco mas hace el área de Currusté, no. Por que mi plan incluía mas cuestiones, no. No solo San Pedro Sula y quizás quería ver, entrevistar a gente que venia antes de la visita al museo y posterior a la visita del museo. Pero bueno ya no hubo tiempo. Pero si, entonces enfoque mucho de las entrevistas en diferentes escuelas de San Pedro Sula, en diferentes barrios para saber que tanto conocían del pasado prehispánico, no, las concepciones que tenían de el. Pero decidí enfocar buena parte en los alrededores de Currusté, no. Entonces eso se…entonces bueno Currusté hacia el este. Entonces es ese gran sector de La Rivera Hernández, no. Entonces se entrevistaron en las escuelas que están hace a Jucutuma, las que están en la misma colonia Pedroza, no, que es la mas cercana a Currusté, otra que esta por los bordos, la zona ahí de Río Blanco, mas hacia… las que están al lado de Calpules y las que están de lado de La Rivera Hernández. Ósea que ahí se visitaron, no se cuantos… de la de Jucutuma, la de la Pedroza, la de Bogran, la del Calpules… como 6 escuelas de la zona de Currusté y otras aquí de San Pedro Sula. Y también implico por ley los barrios de las colonias, no todas creo. Pero bueno hay muchas colonias que están constituidas en patronato, no. Y

son los enlaces entre la municipalidad, entonces logre conversar con varios presidentes del patronato en ese entonces que era el de La Pedroza, no se de Calpules. No se, como con 3 o 4 de esa zona ahí cercana, no. Y bueno ese comentario de que si esos son los Guifarro's viene de uno de los miembros del patronato, no. Es que tanto sabia de esa zona, no. Y yo se que el Instituto tenia, tienen planes de hacer algo sobre historia oral, no. Obviamente sobre la zona esta de artemisales que se llama, no. Entonces no se cuando se va hacer eso. Yo por lo menos me dedique a tomar los nombres de la gente de mayor edad, no. Por lo menos, no. Hay varios que son Guifarro's, otros son relacionados con los Guifarro's , no. Para recoger un poco de la historia, no. Fui también a revisar algunos documentos en el archivo que corresponden a la zona esa, no.

Chapter 5: History, Archaeology, and Identity

Number 12: From October 2009

ID = Director of Honduran Institute of Anthropology and History (2006-2009)

This part of our interview was in English.

Number 13: From 2008 Interview

DMG: Exactamente… Yo para mi que… Mire yo, todavía no me cae, ni idea, que por que, ni parentesco ni nada de los indios. Usted no… no llevo para mi, verdad el significado de que por que, solo se que eran, pienso yo ahora, que eran gentes como nosotros que venían a vivir, como nosotros… Pero para mi que vinieron antes del diluvio (we laugh together)…

Conversation continues…

DJM: Pero usted recuerda siendo niña y andando por este terreno…

DMG: exactamente, si, eso si…

DJM: que recuerda de ese entonces?

DMG: Que mire, primero cuando estaba en la escuela nos traían de la escuela ha andar hurgando ahí…

DJM: Quien los traía ahí?

DMG: El director de la escuela nos traía…

DJM: Ahhh, el director de la escuela…

DMG: El director de la escuela. Si, excursiones a pie. Que era la que esta al otro lado de Cemcol. Nos traían aquí y luego dar un paseo, nos íbamos a bañar a… Por que mi Papa era dirigente de la escuela, de la escuela. Si, era Presidente de los padres de familia y apoyaba mucho a la escuela. Era lo único que había bueno aquí, la escuela. Ahí nos bañábamos en el río, si era Río Blanco, ahora es Río Negro y ya luego íbamos 'pa tras 'pa la escuela, nada hayamos, nada hayamos. Solo… como ahora que los viernes los cipotes los sacan al parque aya arriba, así veníamos por que no sabia a donde agarrar el profesor.

DJM: Pero que les decía que iban a hacer, nada mas… Que motivo les daba por excavar a ustedes ahí, ósea…

DMG: Pues el si nos decía que ahí vivían los indios… Que va ser, no vivían los indios… Pues si, tonteras nos decía ahí…

Number 14: From 2009 Interview

ICC: Si si. Viéndolo de… cuando yo estuve haciendo las entrevistas, bueno… si, en los 70s quizás cuando hablaban de desarrollar el sitio si, la idea fue… Involucraba mas a los empresarios por que yo creo que esa ha sido siempre la visión de San Pedro Sula, no. Ósea, los desarrollos que ha habido acá siempre han sido a través de aporte, no, de los vecinos, no. Y siempre ha visto ese orgullo de que no se ha contado con el apoyo de Tegucigalpa, no, del gobierno central. Sino que siempre ha sido por la iniciativa de los vecinos de San Pedro y con la municipalidad. Entonces bueno, esa era la idea en ese entonces. Ya cuando llega el Dr. Euraque, bueno y bajo la gestión del ministerio de cultura del Dr. Fasquelle; hay que recordar que la política del gobierno de Zelaya es el poder ciudadano, no… la participación de los ciudadanos, no. Entonces bajo ese lema también se sugiere que el desarrollo de este parque tiene que involucrarse, no. Entonces yo por aparte desde antes que comenzara lo de Currusté, yo siempre había estado interesada en medir, por así decir, lo que tanto conocimiento tenia la gente de San Pedro sobre el pasado prehispánico, no. Entonces cuando se me invita, entonces yo bueno… es en Austin, verdad? Si… ósea yo estaba preparando presente en una propuesta un abstract ahí en el SAA que iba ser en Austin, sobre las entrevistas que iba estar haciendo, no. Pero en ese entonces yo no había sido contratada para lo de Currusté. Entonces lo que trate ya cuando empecé hacer las entrevistas, es quizás concentrarme un poco mas hace el área de Currusté, no. Por que mi plan incluía mas cuestiones, no. No solo San Pedro Sula y quizás quería ver, entrevistar a gente que venia antes de la visita al museo y posterior a la visita del museo. Pero bueno ya no hubo tiempo. Pero si, entonces enfoque mucho de las entrevistas en diferentes escuelas de San Pedro Sula, en diferentes barrios para saber que tanto conocían del pasado prehispánico, no, las concepciones que tenían de el. Pero decidí enfocar buena parte en los alrededores de Currusté, no. Entonces eso se…entonces bueno Currusté hacia el este. Entonces es ese gran sector de La Rivera Hernández, no. Entonces se entrevistaron en las escuelas que están hace a Jucutuma, las que están en la misma colonia Pedroza, no, que es la mas cercana a Currusté, otra que esta por los bordos, la zona ahí de Río Blanco, mas hacia… las que están al lado de Calpules y las que están de lado de La Rivera Hernández. Ósea que ahí se visitaron, no se cuantos… de la de Jucutuma, la de la Pedroza, la de Bogran, la del Calpules… como 6 escuelas de la zona de Currusté y otras aquí de San Pedro Sula. Y también implico por ley los barrios de las colonias, no todas creo. Pero bueno hay muchas colonias que están constituidas en patronato, no. Y son los enlaces entre la municipalidad, entonces logre conversar con varios presidentes del patronato en ese entonces que era el de La Pedroza, no se de Calpules. No se, como con 3 o 4 de esa zona ahí cercana, no. Y bueno ese comentario de que si esos son los Guifarro's viene de uno de los miembros del patronato, no. Es que tanto sabia de esa zona, no. Y yo se que el Instituto tenia,

tienen planes de hacer algo sobre historia oral, no. Obviamente sobre la zona esta de artemisales que se llama, no. Entonces no se cuando se va hacer eso. Yo por lo menos me dedique a tomar los nombres de la gente de mayor edad, no. Por lo menos, no. Hay varios que son Guifarro's, otros son relacionados con los Guifarro's , no. Para recoger un poco de la historia, no. Fui también a revisar algunos documentos en el archivo que corresponden a la zona esa, no.

DJM: Y que fue mas o menos… en términos de los resultados en términos de lo que conocía la gente de la prehistoria?

ICC: Ha esta… Eso lo presente en las conferencias de Austin y Comayagua, no. Y este, pero bueno realmente las preguntas fueron hace arqueología e hacia el pasado de Honduras, no. Entonces realmente hay bastantes concepciones equivocadas sobre cual es la labor de un arqueólogo, no. Pero también sobre el pasado, no, prehistórico, no. Entonces, lo lógico y la respuesta que se esperaba y de hecho fue así, no. Es conectar el Valle de Sula con los Mayas, no. Que la presencia aquí era Maya, no. Pero también las preguntas se enfocaron hace a que quería… si se iba desarrollar un parque arqueológico, que quería la gente, verdad no. La gente se enfoco mucho hacia conocer un poco sobre la vida cotidiana y saber como la gente había aprendido a vivir en una zona que se inunda, en una zona donde hay huracanes y tormentas tropicales, no.

Number 15: From 2008 Interview

DJM: Entonces los niños, yo siempre los veo interesados, vienen y quieren ayudar, y que quieren aprender y tratar de formar programas para que ellos también se sientan incluidos en el proceso y aprendan de lo que es y también la gente de esta aldea. ¿Qué cree usted que seria bueno que nosotros pudiéramos hacer, tanto nosotros las arqueólogas como el Instituto, para difundir pues la importancia de este lugar, aquí a la aldea, a la comunidad… que actividades, por que…?"

DMG: Pues definitivamente ya están ellos sabiendo que existe este proyecto. Por que como hay empleados, verdad, temporales pero vienen ellos ahí, contentos cuando ya, "van a venir las gringas," y pasan, "ya van a venir las gringas?" "Ya llamaron, ya vienen…?" "Avisen," verdad, pues si ya… Pues definitivamente yo pienso que lo único que, es emplear la gente cuando ustedes vienen para que ellos, verdad.. Por que emplea uno, pues cuenta ya todo, verdad, "no hombre si ponen… va estar bueno, verdad porque…" para que ya miren que a raíz de eso ya la gente no viene a meterse por que si antes venían a andar ahí y, no a hurgar, por que la gente cree que, la gente creía que había, que podía haber oro, pero yo, "no hombre si ahí no hay oro, ni nunca han hallado, cual, ni van hallar," les digo, "ellos cuidan por que ahí vivían los antepasados de nosotros, por que de hay…" "pero es que nosotros no somos indios," dicen. El problema es que no somos indios por que ya nosotros estamos bien mezclados, verdad. Pero con algún indio, yo de algún indio de esos

tuve que salir, si pues presto vivo en este lugar, verdad… (we laugh together…). Alguno…

DJM: tenemos nuestros antepasados, verdad..

Number 16: From 2008 Interview

DJM: tenemos nuestros antepasados, verdad..

DMG: Si… de aya, como dicen que también procedemos de monos pero de ahí no vengo yo… (we laugh…). Sabrá Dios, verdad, sabrá Dios… no se yo… Me hubiera gustado estudiar arqueología para saber si yo vengo de ahí o no se que materia tengo. Pero yo, eso si no lo acepto, que yo vengo del mono, los indios si…

Number 17: From 2009 Interview

DGM: Mire, le voy a contar que cuando vino, cuando se murió Beto trajeron a Aldo, como al mes, algo así. Bueno… Como al mes trajeron al Dr. Euraque, es que lo pidieron de Estados Unidos me contó el, vino. Yo ahí pasaba abajo de ese palo en un hamaca. Pues yo tenia… yo pasaba peleando con Beto. Si, yo pasaba peleando con Beto. Por que, mire yo tenia… este solar era desde ahí donde esta el palon hasta el portón, Doris. Para ir para aya para adentro, eso era mío y eso no esta dentro de sus escrituras. Entonces sabe cuando yo le reclame que yo quería tirar esto aya, este por que mi papa me decía, "así déjalo, ese va ser tu acceso aya atrás," verdad. Entonces después me dijo que hiciera una carta que el me la iba a decir donde iba ser dirigida para que me dieran el permiso de acceso. Por que tengo que andar pidiendo permisos, si eso es mío…

DJM: Si ya es de usted…

DMG: Pero siempre me lo quitaron, Doris, siempre me lo quitaron a raíz de Beto. Ya (muffles), haber legalizado, me entiende. Entonces, bueno pues se los deje así. Siempre pasaba yo peleando con Beto. Cuando se murió Beto, "ay señor Jesús, se mato Beto, se mato Beto." Por que un día me llevaron a la fiscalía, no fue a la fiscalía sino a la bocalia de policías, a la municipalidad, este Carlos y Beto me llevaron un día, a tal hora, me acuerdo que a la una de la tarde estaba aya yo. Tenia una cita con el licenciado ahí, ellos me estaban llamando por que los chanchos se metían ahí. Entonces yo les dije, "son ustedes," les dije yo, "es que putas cuidan (I think that's what she said, it was sort of quite, under her breath), si ustedes ni trabajan, es que solo vienen a echarse ahí, ustedes no están haciendo nada ahí. Y si quieren que no se metan los chanchos, cerquen…"

DJM: Pues si, si es de ellos…

DMG: Protejan su propiedad, por que yo no voy a limitar, yo no amarro a mis chanchos, yo no los voy a … Yo por eso vivo en el monte, "cerquen y no hay problema,"

"pero mire que… (this is what IHAH was saying, this bit here, according to her)," yo les dije eso aquí. Cuando me toco que ellos me citaron aya, no fueron, solo mire pasar a este gordo así, aya anda, aya va a venir, pero a la oficina nunca se metió, nunca se metió. Entonces yo le dije al abogado, al juez que tenían ellos ahí, "Mire," le dije yo, "lo que pasa, esto y esto con los cerdos," "si Doña Marta, es verdad," me dijo, "por eso la están aquí demandando, mire," "pero yo quiero que vengan, yo quiero conversar con ellos ante usted," le digo, "para que mire, el cerco es mío y quien lo tienen que arreglar son ellos. Por que yo les presto mi alambre para que ellos se protejan ahí. Ellos no han ido a tirar alambre ahí, todo eso es mío. Y otra cosa que le voy a decir, yo por eso vivo en el monte, 'pa tener toda clase de animal. Ellos a mi no me dan de comer y dígales que cerquen, que digo yo que si no siempre van a estar… Y el que se atreva a matar un chancho va a ver 'pa 'ca, ante usted se lo digo, lo voy a sacar con una escopeta, lo voy a sacar," le digo, "por que esto…" Ya le conté la historia, "ah tiene razón estar usted enojada Doña Marta, no se preocupe, les digo. Yo les voy a decir," "si dígales." Por todas esas cosas yo pasaba enojada con Beto. Cuando vino el licenciado Euraque, el Dr. Euraque y vino con otra mujer de Tegucigalpa. Entonces me la presento Aldo, me lo trajo Aldo y entonces yo le dije, "yo siempre he tenido problemas con la gente de ahí, Doctor," le dije yo. "por que ya me quitaron ahí, eso era mío, eso era, me lo habían dado a mi," le dije, "pero ellos cayeron y me confiscaron," le digo yo. "Eso no se si ya se lo dijeron a usted," le dije, "que toda vía me han querido quitar la casa por que dicen que le faltan dos manzanas ahí. No," le digo. Que se les perdían…

DJM: Si (i'm following)…

DMG: Doris, a usted se le puede perder ese pañuelo, los anteojos, la gorra, por que se la lleva el aire, la dejo votada. Pero la tierra no se le puede perder, como? "Si mas bien me robaron ahí," les digo yo, "y les voy a meter juicio 'pa que me lo regresen," le digo. Entonces, yo me puse bien seria, bien firme. Entonces el Dr. Euraque después no quería platicar conmigo, por que me tenia miedo. Yo estaba bravísima…

DJM: Saca la escopeta… (I am Laughing)

DMG: Digo que estaba bravísima. Pero como no, Doris, si me despojaron Doris. Me dejaron en la calle con ese tema, que quitarle a uno, que por que es del gobierno, que por que son zonas… Si yo entiendo, yo entiendo. Pero Doris, cuando le cobran a uno los impuestos, a ellos no les importa que clase de tierra sea, verdad. Entonces, si ellos debían de venir a ver las tierras. No que no pague impuestos, por que esto es del gobierno. No, se lo quitan, le quitan a uno los impuestos, después le quitan la tierra, son ladrones. Injustos, por que le deberían de decir a uno, "Mire, con usted, es suya verdad. Entonces le vamos a dar tanto, Doña Marta," verdad, "no pierda mucho, pierda la mitad. Le parece bien?" Si hombre, para nada, va…

DJM: Pues algo, que sea (trying to see her point, show understanding)..

DMG: Algo Doris, algo.

Number 18: From 2009 Interview

DMG: Pues si, con la verdad, ser honestos Doris. "no si se lo quitamos a la familia, se lo quitamos a Don Roberto por que era zona arqueológica," y como hay una ley, verdad, un articulo ay no se que. Esta bien, pero que digan, "se lo quitamos, se lo quitamos." Dijo un jodido el otro día, "a saber las gringas con que dinero le van a comprar a Doña Marta esa tierra." Entonces yo les dije, "y por que las gringas me tienen que comprar a mi la tierra? Si ellas no son las dueñas de Honduras, no son del gobierno de Honduras. Ellas vienen a dar una colaboración aquí, no a comprar las tierras pa que después los mismos sinvergüenzas Hondureños hagan dinero para sus bolsillos."

Conversation continues…

DMG: No pues si. No mire, la gente que habla es la que esta dentro ahí de ustedes, ahí de las oficinas, son paracaidistas jodidos todos, creen que es que… Y yo le pregunto al viejo feo, a Fofo (Rodolfo), "no Doña Marta, yo no se nada," es el único hombre que no habla babosadas.

DJM: No, ese señor es bien serio

DMG: Si, ese señor.. Y todos los otros paracaidistas empiezan a hablando papadas. Como les digo yo, "No, no sean inhumanos, no sean inhumanos." Por que yo el otro día le dije al marido de la Chabeli, le dije, "por que las gringas tienen que venir a comprarles," dije "si esta cosa es de Hondureños…"

DJM: Pero Lalo bien sabe, es nada mas para hacerla enojar yo creo

DMG: Pero mire ve, Lalo se las trae y no las lleva… Si, Lalo rasquetea aquí pero atrás les da una gran patada, si. Y yo le he dicho, "Lalo ustedes son una M…"

DJM: Una M…?

DMG: Una mierda, groseros. Ah por que el otro día también… por que les dije yo, "que por que no las andaban, que puchica pobrecitas las muchachas como andan ay tiradas como cualquier cosa en una paila, llegando tarde, saliendo tarde. Y ustedes del timbo al tambo, pasando en esos gallones viejos," "es que no les asignaron carro Doña Marta," me dijo…

DJM: No asig… que?...

DMG: "No les asignaron un carro," dice. "Y eso tiene que haber sido de Tegucigalpa." "Pues ustedes tienen que ponerse vivos y hacer tiempo para ellas." "Es que no podemos Doña Marta." "Si pueden, por que yo los veo como trabajan ustedes ahí solo echados y sentados," le digo, "sin moverse. Por lo menos cuando ellas están

aquí," le digo. "Doña Marta," me dice, "y a usted que le han dado las gringas que si las defiende (I laugh)…"

DJM: gracias (Laughing…) por abogar por nosotras…

Number 19: From 2009 Interview

DJM: No se… Bueno creo que es difícil en términos de la perspectiva que tenemos distintos personas que participan en los trabajos, de la área por ejemplo del instituto, ustedes tienen una misión supongo, corríjame obviamente si cometo error, de dar un mensaje al publico y a veces siento que hay un disconnect entre lo que la gente donde se hace el trabajo siente que… siente sobre ese mensaje, si conocen ese mensaje y a veces no lo conocen…

ID: Bueno, por supuesto que hay un disconnect, hay un profundo disconnect. De hecho, el instituto esta fundado con ese disconnect, nunca hubo interés en conectar. Entonces, eso en si no es provocador, decir que hay un disconnect, es decir… Lo importante para mi es como abordar el problema, el problema esta claro…

DJM: Si

ID: No solo eso, sino que entre los diferentes actores o como a ustedes les gusta decir, Stakeholders y todo eso (I laugh…), hay una diferenciación que si es importante que usted tenga o tiene claro o sino la debe tener claro… Es que desde el punto de vista de la gerencia uno tiene unas exigencias legales y de hecho de exigencias gerenciales que no las tiene ninguno de ustedes. Si usted hace su trabajo o no lo hace, el estado de Honduras no la va a venir a buscar ni… usted termine su doctorado o no lo termine, para usted personalmente debe ser un problema, etc. Para los pobladores también, ellos no tienen una exigencia legal, no tienen un presupuesto que ejecutar, no tienen… lo cual no quiere decir que sus intereses no sean, incluso los suyos como arqueóloga o como antropóloga… que no tengan su coherencia, sus lógicas etc. Incluso los técnicos que buscan o no un empleo, etc., no, o capacitarse, etc. Si ellos desaparecen, no tienen ningún problema legal ni gerencial, en cambio la gerencia si, entiende. Entonces eso… el tema, con esa diferenciación, el tema es que yo tenia que decidir en un periodo bien corto, con muy pocos recursos y con una resistencia institucional desde Copan, hasta el imaginario nacional en contra. Entonces el tema era, y bueno que se va hacer afuera de renunciar, es decir… No, es bien complicado y hay un disconnect y… no el disconnect esta claro. La cuestión es que haces con el disconnect…

Chapter 6: Everyone Has Their Own Story…

Number 20: From 2009 Interview

DMG: Cada quien tiene su historia. Pues así como la gente que nadie tiene la misma cara, verdad. Por muy hermano que sea, antes cada quien tiene su historia.

DJM: Su historia y su reacción (can't tell if this is what I said…). Si por que yo nací y crecí en Estados Unidos, en California. Pero mis papas hace muchos años, como casi cuarenta años que se emigraron a Estados Unidos. Entonces, mi Mama, mas que nada creo que ella se fue muy joven a Estados Unidos, la mandaron a que trabajara, no. Entonces ella, creo que nunca sintió tener un apego muy grande con sus propios papas. Sentía pues, como *La India María,* "Ni de aquí ni de aya," verdad. Pero mi Papa ya se emigro ya mayor, no muy mayor, tenia algunos 28 años, algo así por el estilo. Pero a pesar de tanto año que han estado en Estados Unidos, se que no desean regresar a vivir…

DMG: Uno se acostumbra…

DJM: Se acostumbra, pero es que ya no están aquellas personas, sus Papas, verdad. Pero siempre añoran estar… (Am referring to them longing for México). Bueno, mi Papa aunque sabe que un día cuando el falte va quedar en Estados Unidos. El siempre ha dicho, siempre había dicho, no se si en broma, creo que es mas que broma, creo que es un sentimiento real; pero creo que también a la vez, pues como estamos todos sus hijos y sus nietos aya en Estados Unidos. Entonces dice, "No cuando yo me muera, yo quiero que me entierren debajo de, para que pasen las vacas." Por que era la gente de campo (Doña Marta Laughs, says "Si."), para que vengan pues…

DMG: Mi Papa así decía…

DJM: Y es aquella memoria, aquella añoranza de estar en su pueblo, no.

DMG: Si, si…

DJM: Y entonces a eso es a lo que me refiero en términos de que el sitio no es tan solo un sitio, es la tierra que la vio crecer…

DMG: Que me vio crecer…

DJM: nacer…

DMG: crecer… Mire Doris, ese palo… (motions into the site..)

DJM: Cual, ese que esta aya abajo?

DMG: Ese grandote, verde, verde, ese palo es mas viejo que yo. Ese palo me ha visto crecer; mis hijas que siempre han vivido aquí. Yo tengo 30 años de estar aquí, ese

palo las ha visto crecer. Como este atorador (referring to tree) y aquellos palos de, aquellos palos que están aya pandos casi acostados, toda la vida han estado ahí. Entonces, uno todas esas cositas, Doris… Yo siempre he sido así, bien sentimental con mis cositas y le (digo), "Ay no, si yo ya tiempo lo miro ahí," así, verdad pues. Esas son las cosas que a uno lo hacen a uno a veces, quizás, *ir para atrás* (she says it with this emphasis). Por que si a mi me dieran mi tierra (rolls the r's with emphasis and laughs, as do I)... Si desapareciera Aldo y desapareciera el gobierno y todo aquel papeleo, yo agarro mi tierra Doris. Si…

DJM: Si por que… Es una cosa, es como… Usted ha hablado pues, de la fotografía de su mami... Ella ya no esta (she repeats this…), pero lo que queda de ella (Doña Marta says, exactamente…) la memoria de ella (she repeats this)…

DMG: Cada retrato que uno (dice), "mira aquí mi mami estaba bien jovencita, mírala," le digo yo, "mire.." Mama jovencita era bonita, mi mama era la mas bonita de todo esto aquí, fíjese. Era blanca, bien blanca mi mama y su pelo bien lacio, bien formado su pelo. Pero era la mujer mas bonita de todo esto aquí, hasta de San José del Bocaron, así les digo yo, "y por que era tan bonita mami," me dicen ya ve. Por que mi papa, mi papa tiene una foto cuando tenia unos 28 años (referring to a picture of her mother) con ella bien jovencita y mi Papa se parecía a Pedro Infante…

Number 21: From 2009 Interview.

DJM: Se acostumbra, pero es que ya no están aquellas personas, sus Papas, verdad. Pero siempre añoran estar… (Am referring to them longing for México). Bueno, mi Papa aunque sabe que un día cuando el falte va quedar en Estados Unidos. El siempre ha dicho, siempre había dicho, no se si en broma, creo que es mas que broma, creo que es un sentimiento real; pero creo que también a la vez, pues como estamos todos sus hijos y sus nietos aya en Estados Unidos. Entonces dice, "No cuando yo me muera, yo quiero que me entierren debajo de, para que pasen las vacas." Por que era la gente de campo (Doña Marta Laughs, says "Si."), para que vengan pues…

DMG: Mi Papa así decía…

Number 22: From 2008 Interview

DMG: Ay no, claro, claro y fíjese que le voy a contar otra cosa. Que mi Papa amaba tanto su propiedad, por que mi Papa tenia varias propiedades por aya y mas para adelante, ahí atrás… Quería hacer aya un cementerio, pero el medio ambiente no le

dio el permiso. Era un cementerio solo para el, mi mama y nosotros los hijos, los del.. Pero no, el medio ambiente no le dio permiso. Pero el hasta cerco, cerco ahí para, "aquí me ponen a mi. Por que así nadie va a vender, nadie va a vender…"

DJM: Así se asegura, verdad…

DMG: Si, pero no medio ambiente no le dio…

DJM: Y el ahora donde esta, donde lo han enterrado?

DMG: Ahí en Arrenales, en un cementerio que esta antes de la Satélite, ay entre Cemcol y la Satélite a mano izquierda ahí hay un cementerio. Ahí esta el viejo y mi vieja, ahí están todos…

DJM: Es bonito que después de tanto sufrir con la tierra que ahora se sienta, que tenga…

DMG: No el, mi Papa ahora debe de estar contento. Es que mi Papa era bien humanitario y mi Papa, todo aquel que quería hacer algo, el lo apoyaba, fíjese… "Algún día vas a ver, tal vez voz no," me decía "pero tus hijos, tus nietos ahí van a trabajar, ahí van a… vas a ver," me dijo.

DJM: Y si se dio…

DMG: "vas a ver" me dijo. "Ay Papi, que consuelo el tuyo, que consuelo el tuyo." Pero no, mire que yo mi hija la mayor, la Tania, ella ya va trabajar ahí, pero les digo yo cuando miro ese monte, "fíjate que no creo que voz trabajes en ese monte," le digo yo…

Number 23: From 2008 Interview

DMG: No, ahora si me da gusto, fíjese. Si me da gusto por que le van a sacar provecho, le van a dar nombre, me entiende. Se va ver, se va ver que por algo fue que nos quitaron la propiedad. Se va ver y se va sentir… Pues no solo yo, verdad, que le va a poner mas interés mas aya a la gente, todo el mundo Hondureño, verdad. Va saber aquí en la costa norte que tienen un lugar donde salir a distraerse y a conocer pues de los que vienen atrás, me entiende (to know about the people that came before…)…

Number 24: From 2009 Interview

DMG: Pues ver ahí, ver forjado, ver hecho, ver hecho el proyecto, me entiende. Que digan, "aya, aya donde los Guifarro's". Va, como aquí nos conocen medio mundo a nosotros, entonces, "aya donde los Guifarro's, hay una zona arqueológica", verdad. Entonces para que la gente, pues no tenga que ir a Copán. Mire yo, nunca he ido a Copán. He ido a Santa Rosa, pero ahí donde mero están las ruinas, nunca. Como que nunca me a…

Number 25: From 2008 Interview

DMG: Pues, pues no se, quizás por que aquí nací yo. Yo aquí me crié mire, nací aya mas abajo, tres cuadras abajo y ya (vine ahí) cuando ya tenia, desde que tengo 28 años vivo aquí yo. Si, ya tenia 28 años y ya vivo acá y ahora tengo 56 y sigo, pienso morirme aquí y que me velen ahí.

DJM: Que la velen ahí (I laugh…)

DMG: En el museo, me pongan en un vidrio en el museo (she laughs…)

DJM: Bueno (I laugh…), hay que ver…

DMG: Hiciera a Aldo que me firme un contrato ahí, un acuerdo que me pongan en vidrio…

DJM: Pues, seria bonito que, bueno como están ustedes aquí y como ustedes han aportado tanto al Instituto, tanto con las tierras y con su apoyo. Por que como le digo, usted ha custodiado aquí, usted es la que (she says, "siii…") la que ve por el lugar cuando no esta nadie aquí, pues ustedes vienen y protegen el lugar. Entonces es realmente un sentir…

DMG: Yo pienso que el Instituto me debe a mi ese apoyo, verdad, de repente que les voy a pasar ahí un recibo por el la guachimaneada (we laugh together…).

Number 26: From 2009 Interview

DJM: No pero, hay que regresar a la inauguración pues, un poquito…

DMG: Si… No pues, ese día estuvo… A mi me gusto que estuviera toda la gente ahí y estuvieran algunos periódicos y mas me gusto cuando dijeron que ya le iban a dar inicio al proyecto, a las construcciones, pero desafortunadamente los gobiernos no han sido buenos. No se ha podido…

DJM: Si por que uno piensa, "inauguración," entonces que piensa usted que va pasar al próximo día de la inauguración?

DMG: Pues, "ay, ya viene el personal a trabajar, a las escuelas, los colegios, las universidades, a continuarle el trabajo de campo," mas que todo, es pienso yo.

DJM: Pero que paso en realidad?

DMG: Que pase Doris, que sea la realidad…

DJM: Que pase… Por que cuando yo pienso en un inauguración, pienso tal vez como se inaugura un restaurante, (Doña Marta says, "ah exactamente") verdad. Y dice bueno, y ahí mismo en la inauguración están vendiendo ya… Si es una

inauguración de una *Baleada Express*, pues ya le sirven las baleadas. Ya esta abierto..

DMG: Ya esta abierto… Que quede abierto al publico, va.

DJM: Pero no fue así…

DMG: No fue así, solo fue platica, una conversación, unos dichos, una elevación al sentimiento, verdad.

DJM: Pero elevación al sentimiento de que o quien?

DMG: Pues del publico, por que todo el mundo se alegra por un proyecto realizado, Doris. Si ya uno "ahora si, ya pero ya si es verdad, ahora si es verdad, se dio, se dio"

DJM: Se dio..

DMG: Por que esto lo estamos esperando, Doris, como le vuelvo a repetir, hace mas de 20 años (I repeat, "hace mas de 20 años). Si Doris…

DJM: Hace mas de 20 años, ya es hora…

DMG: Hace mas de 20 años… Por que yo cuando iba a la escuela que el profesor Reynaldo Enamorado nos traía ahí a escarbar así, "hay que ir a escarbar para venir a pasar el día, verdad." Cuando mi Papa tenia… que pasaban las vacas le daba una chape al potrero y quedaba bonito. Entonces nos traían a agarrar garrapatas, por que otra cosa no agarrabamos ahí un montón de pedacitos de tiestos y todo. Por que tampoco nos dejaban hurgar bastante. Entonces yo pienso que si ya, con tanto tiempo, con tantos años, con tantos gobiernos que hemos pasado, ya debería ver algo formal, verdad, algo formal.

DJM: Ya esta en pie…

DMG: Ya, ya empieza, se empieza…

DJM: Si por que esto es…

DMG: Por lo menos ya hicieron el plano…

DJM: El plano, si… Si, es una colaboración, un esfuerzo pues muy grande. O sea, nosotros nada mas conformamos tan solo una parte, verdad. Y también para nosotros, bueno mas que nada, es poder aportar nuestro conocimiento…

DMG: Doris pienso, pienso, como hay veces que pienso, verdad como todo ser humano. Digo yo, "si no fuera por las muchachas todavía eso estuviera como escondido," si sinceramente, por que como aquí no hay personal así como ustedes. No se por que no se da aquí…

DJM: Es que lo que hace falta a veces en Honduras es que no hay una carrera universitaria de Antropología, arqueólogos…

DMG: No, no, no hay… Imagínese que hasta ahorita mi hija, yo creo que es la primera promoción de hotelerilla y turismo que sacan las universidades…

Number 27: From 2009 Interview

DMG: Para mi fue un acto muy importante, por lo menos para el local aquí, verdad. Para el sector de nosotros, por que ya nosotros en el Valle de Sula ya tenemos un parque arqueológico. Por que nosotros habíamos sabido de parques arqueológicos solo en Copán (I follow, "en Copan) y de ahí pues, no hasta ahora que ya se averiguo con la ayuda de ustedes (muffled rounds interfere with what DMG says right befote she says the following…) con la ayuda de los gringos, como dice uno aca (I laugh..), verdad. Fue explorado el parque. Este parque lo descubrió un señor de San Pedro, será no se, hace muchos años, hace 20, 20 años que lo descubrió un señor que trabajaba en la municipalidad, creo que era regidor, el Sr. Bogran. Creo que ya esta en el cielo el señor. Y se fueron metiendo y se fueron metiendo a tal grado que hasta que nos confiscaron la tierra.

DMG: Si… Por que esta tierra anteriormente era de su familia, de su papa?

DMG: Era de mi abuelo, mi papa lo concedió por herencia. Ya de ahí nosotros también por herencia.

Mi papa era un hombre que le gustaba ayudar a los demás y si el miro que era bueno 'pal pueblo, lo del Valle de Sula tener un parque, pues bueno, "ahí esta, pues quédense con el.." (she imagines, i guess, what e may of thought), me entiende? Asi como… Y luego vinieron ustedes, por que, directamente quiere que le diga, el gobierno de aquí no ha hecho nada, yo no he visto. Por que estuvo el señor que en gloria lo tenga, que estuvo como 20 años ahí si recuero, Beto, yo no se que nombre tenia, Alberto, no me acuerdo. Estuvo como veinte años ahí, solo chapeaban de ves en cuando. Nomás mantenían limpio y nomás eso. Vino un gringo, un George…

DJM: George Hasemann. Si en los años setenta.

DMG: Entonces, mire entonces (as in desde entonces, no one else has ever come…). Ese señor dijo, "aquí no hay nada". Ay 'stuvo viviendo muchos años en una casita, aya había una casita y se perdió el hombre 'pa ver 'pa donde le dieron. Pero después yo supe que se murió el hombre.

DJM: Si, se murió, pues no hace mucho (she says, "Si, hace poco" in agreement), hace poco. Sufría de cáncer.

DMG: ahh haa y se murió

DJM: Pero, mire lo que son las cosas, por que ese señor justamente fue un arqueólogo Norteamericano (what do I mean by that?), pero que vivía aquí, pues en Honduras y que hico mucho por la arqueología Hondureña. Pero si, como usted dijo, el

estuvo aquí iniciando con… En el proyecto arqueológico científico que se hace aquí en el sitio de Currusté. Entonces, si ahora con, parece con la administración del Dr. Euraque (she says, "ahh haa, el Dr. Euraque" in agreement), parece que se le quiere dar una mayor proyección y ahora si tratar de lo que han querido hacer por décadas, no. Dar a conocer no tan solo que existe otro parque afuera del de Copan, que es el que domina nuestra imaginación popular, aquí en Honduras (she is in agreement as I continue) e internacionalmente. Pero también dar a conocer que habían distintas personas viviendo en Honduras. El pasado es como el de hoy en el sentido de…

DMG: Hay de todo…

DJM: Hay de toda gente, todos idiomas y todo…

Number 28: From 2009 Interview

DJM: Bueno, lo que estaba hablando ahorita sobre Currusté y el Centro de visitantes y todo el empeño que se había puesto en tratar de realizar ese proyecto. Por que Currusté, por que por que esas áreas?

ID: Bueno, en el caso de las áreas, era parte de una visión de vincular sitios arqueológicos con ciudades para mi y no solo ciudades sino ciudades con, bueno el caso de SPS, pues es una ciudad bien importante entonces la idea era de vincular sitios arqueológicos en Valle de Sula con San Pedro. No solo era por que estaba en el Valle de Sula, especialmente con el museo por que el Museo de Antropología e Historia de SPS en efecto, no tenia un nexo con un sitio arqueológico

DJM: Si

ID: A pesar de que allí estaba los sitios arqueológicos. Pero esa visión la estábamos haciendo también en Comayagua, vincular Yarumela con el museo en Comayagua que tiene un centro histórico importante colonial. Pero era parte de una visión general de vincular arqueología, es decir de valorización de lo arqueológico con los sitios urbanos por que, desde el punto de vista mío, por lo menos, y el Ministro por que yo creo que yo lo tenia mas claro. La idea era de que la gente que visitara, especialmente los hondureños, estos sitios en estas áreas en efecto, vieran a la arqueología como parte de uno continuo, no en la forma sencilla y artificial, pero que vieran que la arqueología, el pasado arqueológico y su valorización en la actualidad estaba vinculado a los centros urbanos que ellos valorizaban y eso no existía, va. Ahora, por que Currusté, por que Currusté era nuestro, en primer lugar, las tierras son nuestras. Segundo, es pequeño, es manejable, bastante accesible y ya había una tradición de investigación de parte del Instituto y había interés de parte de la comunidad arqueológica extranjera, que era a la cual teníamos que depender por que no tenemos nosotros. Entonces, por eso Currusté. También, lo mismo para Yarumela, ya había cierta tradición de investigaciones. El problema de Yarumela es que Yarumela es mucho mas grande y las tierras no son nuestras. Ahí teníamos

que comprar tierras y si compramos una primera, compramos una manzana y media donde se iba a construir el Centro de Visitantes.

DJM: Y en términos de… Que tipo de mensaje mas aya de la conexión entre el sitio arqueológico y la urbanización ese el que se le quería dar a los públicos Hondureños? Por que tenemos este… Yo cuando vine a trabajar a Currusté, había trabajado anteriormente en el 2000 y en el 2003 en Los Naranjos y anteriormente en Puerto Escondido, si nada mas era como estudiante de Rosemary, en el sentido de que había volunteered in el 2000 y no era estudiante aquí de Berkeley y nada mas para tratar de ver, bueno, si la arqueología era algo que yo quería hacer entonce fui a Honduras y en el 2003 ya era estudiante de Rosemary fui a los Naranjos. Pero en realidad cuando regrese con Jeanne para este proyecto de Currusté yo no tenia planes de hacer mi tesis doctoral allí. Mi tesis doctoral era enfocado en México en cuestiones de nacionalismo, identidad y cosas así por el estilo. Entonces, cuando empezamos a trabajar todo esto se reenfoco y bueno, las mismas preguntas se pueden hacer en Honduras y entonces reevalúe y empecé a, no se, de repente cambian las cosas en términos de los planes que tiene uno pero he llegado a tener una pasión por el trabajo que hemos estado haciendo en Currusté. Entonces, una de las cosas que he visto es que además de que la tierras son de ustedes, del Instituto, los proyectos que se habían hecho anteriormente tenían ya en pie, con las excavaciones de George Hasemann, creo que tenia el una visión muy amplia en ese entonces tratando de trabajar con las distintas comunidades aunque muchas veces eran comunidades, entidades mas de negocios, pero tenia esa visión, y tratar de ampliar la visión de Honduras coo diverso y dar una opción mas aya de solamente Maya. Entonces, este es un mensaje que ustedes han querido dar con este tipo de proyectos o?

ID: Si, pero, yo por ejemplo, el trabajo de George Hasemann yo no conocía nada. Es decir, yo llego a esto por mi propia preocupación fundamental sobre la historia de Honduras desde el siglo 20. Entonces para mi, regresando a su pregunta, cuales públicos? Para mi hay varios públicos, una es la población local que es eminentemente racialmente y étnicamente diversa y prácticamente abandonada dentro del propio imaginario nacional. Hasemann, por lo que yo he leído de el y escribió y además de un forma muy técnica arqueológica de ves en cuando hace un comentario al la historia nacional, pero muy superficial, no lo plantea de una forma mucho, yo lo planteo de una forma mucho mas orgánica en ese sentido. Entonces para mi eran varios públicos. Uno eran esas poblaciones que en sus alrededores miraran de que su propia marginalidad en el sentido racial y étnico, incluso de clase de cierta manera estaba reflejada en la marginalidad que se le había atribuido a estos sitios. Y eso lo vez en Yarumela, por que hay un pueblo que se llama Yarumela, esta un sitio arqueológico y es como que no existen en el imaginario nacional. Bueno, de hecho no existen. Lo mismo en Currusté, lo mismo en Dos Quebradas, bueno, prácticamente, todo sitio arqueológico que yo conozco, a diferencia de Copan, que si es vinculado al imaginario nacional. No solo eso sino que una forma etno-racial homogenizante, verdad. Entonces cuando yo llego a esto, es no solo ese publico sino el publico intelectual y me dirijo a los arqueólogos y a prácticamente a todos la intelectualidad Hondureña. Ahora, y esto si es muy

importante aun que mas difícil que se entienda cuando no se conoce al Instituto de adentro. También la idea mía era y sigue siendo (laughs) des-Mayanizar al Instituto de adentro por que los empleados mismos, desde el contador a los mismos técnicos, los pocos que hay, cuando pensaban en Currusté, que casi nunca pensaban, el Instituto mismo esta Mayanizado de una forma profunda. Olvidémoslos de los publico intelectuales, uno de los públicos era la estructura misma de los empleados, mi secretaria, por ejemplo, constantemente hacia referencia al Instituto como Antropología. Historia no existía. Entonces, yo corregí hasta esas cosas.

Number 29: From 2009 Interview

DMG: Se va lograr, tarde pero se va lograr…

DJM: Pero se va lograr, es lo que queremos, esa proyección…

DMG: Yo, sinceramente lo que quiero es verlo yo, yo. Por que tengo años de estar esperando (I agree).

DJM: Si, ha de significar bastante para usted.

DMG: No pues imagínese que fuimos despojados de las tierras y no lograr ver nada, Me parece como injusto, verdad.

DJM: Entonces, cual es su gran ilusión entonces para este lugar?

DMG: Pues ver ahí, ver forjado, ver hecho, ver hecho el proyecto, me entiende. Que digan, "aya, aya donde los Guifarro's". Va, como aquí nos conocen medio mundo a nosotros, entonces, "aya donde los Guifarro's, hay una zona arqueológica", verdad. Entonces para que la gente, pues no tenga que ir a Copán. Mire yo, nunca he ido a Copán. He ido a Santa Rosa, pero ahí donde mero están las ruinas, nunca. Como que nunca me a…

Number 30: From 2009 Interview

DJM: Pero una de las cosas sobre la inauguración que hablamos aquella vez era, pues el tipo de dedicatorio que se hicieron y a quienes se las hicieron y si me podría hablar usted un poquito eso, sobre eso. Por que recuerdo que usted quedo un poco con sentimiento…

DMG: Que yo estoy enojada, yo tengo sentimiento y yo digo, un día voy a ver a Euraque, que no se si fue Euraque o fue Fasquelle, todo mis respetos para ellos. Pero yo como ser humano, también tengo sangre. Y soy observativa y analista, verdad. Digo yo siempre, siempre me enojo yo, por que digo yo, "por que ellos," no se si estaré yo injusta o estaré juzgando mal o estaré bien. Por que ellos en vez de darle este reconocimiento a Don Roberto Guifarro, que le dio gocé. Se lo dieron al Sr.

Bogran, si la propiedad era de el Sr. Roberto Guifarro Cuello, verdad. No dijeron, "Doña Marta, en nombre, verdad del Instituto, le damos en representación de Roberto Guifarro, a usted este reconocimiento", se lo dieron a ese señor y era al hijo, que ni siquiera lo conocían. Al señor, si ya lo habíamos conocido, como le digo, era de la municipalidad. Y el se estuvo metiendo y metiendo. Cuando se dio cuenta, en alguna pasada que dio 'pa Ticamaya miro los montículos y dijo, "aquí caigo yo" y ay tuvo luchando hasta trajeron un papel sellado con Beto, mi Papa les firmo.

Number 31: From 2009 Interview

DJM: Entonces que significo entonces para usted la omisión de un reconocimiento, no tan solo a su Papa de usted, pero a su familia?

DMG: A mi familia, eso es lo que yo cargo, entiende. Yo me hubiera llenado de gloria con que mi familia, verdad. Yo hubiera enmarcado el cuadro que le dieron al señor en reconocimiento. Y me hicieron a mi padre un lado, que lo despojaron, sabe cuantos millones fueran ahorita? 30, 30 por 6, 36 millones de pesos. Esos mire cuanto, cuanto dinero, cuanto dinero no pude hacer uno ahora con tal, verdad. Y lo despojaron a el por 2 mil Lempiras, oiga bien. Y que no se acuerden, que no se acuerden de la maldad que hicieron. Por que me parece a mi que fue como maldad, tal vez no como maldad sino que como hay un articulo, me entiende y ellos se abasan (base themselves on the article of law) al articulo, a la ley, que no se que. A la ley agraria, a la ley yo no se de que dicen ellos. Aquí ha venido, "Doña Marta, esto es del gobierno." Yo le pago impuestos al gobierno, yo le pago impuestos al gobierno. Ahorita Doris, hace dos meses le pague 32 mil lempiras al gobierno de impuestos, por aquella tierra que esta ahí. Y cuando ellos dicen, por que Aldo me dice, yo se que me lo dice en broma, "Mire Doña Marta se la voy a confiscar." Entonces le digo yo, "Mire Don Aldo, yo no me llamo Roberto Guifarro yo me llamo Marta Estrella Guifarro y yo tengo otra mentalidad, yo no tengo las orejas gachas de mi Papa," verdad. (she ain't fallin for the banana in the tailpipe, so to speak…)

DJM: Pero a veces, no se si es tan solo decir, bueno el valor monetario…

DMG: Si, el valor monetario como el valor sentimental que uno guarda todo el tiempo…

DJM: Explíqueme la diferencia para usted

DMG: Pues mire Doris, eso es como cuando usted tiene, vaya para mi que ya no tengo Papa ni Mama. Yo la foto de mi Mama la guardo y la limpio (speaking con sentimiento…) por que era mi madre. Un recuerdo muy grande que yo camino en mi pecho, todos los días de la vida, verdad. Entonces así lo comparo yo las cosas, las cosas de uno y las cosas ancestras, me entiende. Hay que cuidarlas por que fueron de aya atrás. Yo no las puedo tirar a la basura por que de ahí vengo yo, me entiende, de ahí vengo yo. Entonces yo, a mi no me gustaría que me despojaran de

mis cosas y quedarme con las manos cruzadas como estupida, como mensa. Y de que va vivir uno?

DJM: Por que eso después… que legado le quiere dejar usted a sus hijos, a sus nietos…

DMG: Oiga bien, y yo como les digo, "No miren, yo esto no lo voto por que era de mi mama. No miren, esto yo lo quiero por que era de mi Papa," verdad. De mi abuelita, así como uno guarda recuerdos en la mente, "Ay cuando yo vivía con mi abuelita, con mi nanita," decía uno en el tiempo de antes. Ay, no vivía bien," por que las viejitas de antes eran groseras, así verdad, uno guarda aquello. Como yo digo, "Ay mi Papi a mi me llevaba a las fiestas," que tanto me encantaba ir con mi Papi a las fiestas, yo lo guardo y me recuerdo siempre, ah cosas bonitas. Uno tener que contar, tener que enseñar, verdad. Si pues, y si usted me pregunta a mi, monetariamente, la gente con dinero vive mejor, vive bien, verdad. Por que los de arriba, los de atrás le dejaron como vivir bien, verdad. Y son cosas diferentes, cosas diferentes que nadie las quiere aflojar fácil.

DJM: Pero lo mayor es aquel, añorar…

DMG: A si, ah ha, añorar…

DJM: Si, por que recuerdo esa conversación que tuvimos, usted me hablaba de un tiempo haber estado en Estados Unidos.

DMG: Si, mire cuando mi Papa se fue, cuando mi Papa se fue 'pal cielo yo me sentí bien desprotegida, Doris, bien desprotegida, créame yo económicamente. Por que yo he sido una mujer bien sufrida, primero que me case, tuve dos hijos no me fue fácil, siempre trabaje y siempre para sacar a mis hijos, por que me quede con ellos. Me volví a casar otra vez. Mi marido enamoradísimo se fue con una mujer y ya me quede con mis hijos, puchica, al respaldo de mi Papa y poquito que yo trabajaba y ahí iban creciendo los niños. Pero cuando mi Papa se murió, yo a los dos meses me fui a pie para Estados Unidos. Me fui *mojada* como dicen, verdad, comúnmente. Ratos a pie y ratos a como fuera, uno desea, Doris. Me fui aya, aya estuve poco tiempo por que mis sentimientos no son igual que los de todos. Yo tengo una hermana con cáncer.

DJM: Una hermana, perdón que...

DMG: Con cáncer. Entonces ella agonizaba y me acordaba yo que mi Papi le dijo, por que yo siempre le decía a mi Papi, "Cuando voz ya no estés, me voy a ir a Estados Unidos con mi hermana," yo tengo una hermana aya que es ciudadana, vive en Los Ángeles. "Me voy a ir con Talila," le dije, "te vas a ir? Vas a dejar a tu Mama?" "Si, le dije con mi Mami no me llevo también como con voz." Entonces el, siempre ahí se quedaba ahí. Pues cuando el se murió, mire… Pero yo, el decía le decía a mi hermana, por que supimos que mi hermana tenia cáncer primero que mi Papa, oiga bien. Entonces Doris, se muere, ah le dijo el, "siempre hija cuídate, bébete tus medicamentos por cuando yo me muera" le dice, "pues ya no vas a tener quien te cuide como me cuidan a mi," decía el. Por que yo lo cuidaba a el las veinte cuatro horas del día. Yo vivía ahí, yo dormía ahí cerquita de el.

DJM: Para cuidarlo?

DMG: Si, para cuidarlo. Entonces se murió, me fui con un sobrino. Uh, ya le digo, ratos en un bus, me bajaba la migra, pagaba y seguía adelante, eso no desea, Doris. Anduve trabajando en unos hoteles, pero yo siempre cuando llamaba, "Y Malena?" "Ay 'sta bien grave." Un día llamo y me dicen que Malena esta agonizando," oiga bien. Entonces yo Doris, ese día me pagaban, era Sábado, me pagaban a mi la quincena del hotel y dije yo ya no voy a seguir aquí. Me voy por que me voy. Agarre un bus, 'stuve 3 días, 3 noches en un bus, Doris. Solo cambiaba de bus hasta llegar aquí, Doris. Cuando llegue aquí a las diez de la noche, agarre un taxi que me trajera para acá (she's coming back to Honduras). Esa misma noche, me fui a ver a mi hermana, que en realidad Doris, estaba agonizando, agonizando. Y mas bien las asuste por que no les dije, "me voy" no que solo agarre de viaje y deje perdido todo en un apartamento donde viví.

DJM: Aya en Los Ángeles?

DMG: No. Yo ya no vivía en Los Ángeles sino que estaba en Wichita, Kansas. Me había ido de Houston a Wichita, Kansas por que en Houston nunca pude hallar un trabajo. Ahí sabe de que la pasaba? Haciendo tamales y me ganaba yo mis doscientos dólares a la semana, si. Eso hacia, por que los vendía en una iglesia evangélica donde me hermana asiste. El viernes que yo ya tenia unos clientes que me encargaban doscientos, "hágame doscientos tamales," e inmediatamente va va y ya. A las cuatro de la tarde ya me había ganado aquellos doscientos dólares, así me la pase ahí. Yo me moví para aya, pero eso me hizo venir acá, a recuperar a mi hermana que hasta la vez esta.

Number 32: From 2009 Interview

DJM: Pero entonces, vamos a terminar.. Yo quisiera hablar con usted por todo el día, si pudiera pero voy a ayudar a las muchachas aya. Entonces para usted, un día ojala se va a construir el museo, que va a significar eso para usted? Que legado, que quisiera que ese museo digiera de su pueblo?

DMG: Mire Doris, yo se que ese día no solo para mi, sino para mi familia (I ask her to speak up), para toda la gente que nos rodea, va ser un gran logro, una gran alegría, un gran triunfo, un gran triunfo, Doris el día que lleguemos a tener el parque ya realizado. Yo por lo menos si pienso que nosotros aquí por lo menos vamos a tener trabajo, verdad.

DJM: Ojala…

DMG: Si, dice Aldo, "Doña Marta, pero usted va ser la mas beneficiada, por que aquí va hacer pis(to)," "pero tengo que echar maceta desde las cuatro de la mañana," le digo yo. No me lo voy a ganar, no me lo voy a... le digo yo, "no me lo van a dar ustedes sino que me lo tengo que ganar…"

DJM: Claro que si…

DMG: "Mire," le digo…

DJM: Si, claro que si.

DMG: "Si pero, ay usted que es tan llorona, que va hacer" "icarol (no idea what this means), " le digo yo. Entonces si, nosotros creo que va ser… tal vez la perdida ahí la vamos a compensar, fíjese.

DJM: A recompensar ahí…

DMG: Si, ahí creo que me van a recompensar, cuando ya vea yo… Yo siempre vivo diciendo, dice Aldo, "Mire Doña Marta, hasta aquí le vamos a hacer un muro," "sobre me cadáver hace un muro aquí," le digo, "por que yo no vio ni un presidiario." "Yo siempre estoy acostumbrada a la calle," le digo, "y aquí," le digo, "no le voy a permitir que me haga muro, pues yo que voy a ver?"

DJM: Si, si… quiere ver como están las cosas…

DMG: No, yo de aquí voy a cuidar. Doris, yo siempre he cuidado el parque de depredadores, de este que se metan a andar acá hurgando ahí, no. Yo no permito, por que aquí yo miro, mire. Oigo, "pin pin," yo vengo aquí aquí y me encaramo.

DJM: 'ver como esta…

DMG: Si, o mando a los cipotes por que estos cipotes, "vayan a ver, aya mire algo que pasa," por que a veces que anda, pero es el viejito que cuida ahí que viene a buscar a mi tío Lucio, um hmm.

DJM: A si si. Bueno…

DMG: Y ya entonces así paso, así pasamos nosotros aquí. Entonces yo no permito que el día de mañana me vayan a hacer un muro.

DJM: 'tonces lo va a pelear..

DMG: Me lo voy a pelear, me lo voy a pelear. Por que no estoy pa… Mire ve, no me gusta el encierro, las cuatro paredes como aquí en San Pedro que ponen acá lamina ahí de portón y aquel gran muro, no no. Yo me asfixio…

DJM: No, yo comprendo, habíamos estado encerradas esa semana pasada se acuerda (am referring to when we were in lock down because of the coup). Ay ya no aguantábamos, no aguantábamos. Entonces, es comprensible tener la vista al aire abierto y la libertad de poder andar y venir y salir cuando como quiere uno sin que…

DMG: Uno mantiene… Les digo yo, que uno lo que mira, eso se llama, cuando uno mira suciedad en la calle se llama contaminación visual, les digo yo. Eso se llama contaminación visual. Entonces yo ya, si me encierran ya no me voy a contaminar visual (I laugh). Por que no voy a 'star en el chisme viendo quien va y quien viene.

DJM: Ay, quiere andar contaminada visualmente (we both laugh). Bueno Doña Marta, muchísimas gracias…

DMG: gracias a usted que…

DJM: Nosotros podríamos hablar por horas y horas y horas…

DMG: No, no le he contado nada de lo que…

DJM: Entonces otra entrevista, tal vez la próxima semana continuamos…

DMG: Yo le cuento todo lo que quiera…

DJM: Si… Por que para mi ese día que me contó sobre la inauguración, se quedo conmigo ese día.

DMG: Si si. No mire, yo no se, la verdad es que la gente cree que por que vivimos en el monte somos personas ingenuas, sin pensar. Si nosotros, desde que la tecnología entro, quien es el que no sabe. Si yo miro las noticias, yo leo el periódico, yo tengo teléfono, verdad. Miro noticias internacionales, yo me comunico con mi hermana, "ah como esta ahí," donde quiera, a mi me llaman por ese teléfono. Ya me hablaron de Estados Unidos hoy en la mañanita. Eh, ya me hablaron, yo ya me noticie. Y el radio y todo, converso con la gente, Doris. Entonces yo se analizar, verdad. Entonces yo he analizado eso, por que la injusticia de haber hecho eso, yo eso es lo que no, yo no se y yo se lo y voy a preguntar al Doctor en privado, en publico, no se, pero me lo voy a sacar, Doris. Por que hizo esas cosas, tal vez el por que no sabia de donde, de donde prevenía, verdad. Pero Fasquelle si sabia, Fasquelle si sabia, Fasquelle si sabia, Doris.

DJM: Y usted quiere una respuesta?

DMG: Yo quiero una respuesta y se las voy a pedir, Doris. Para que me digan algo, algo, algo tienen que decirme, si algo tienen que decirme. Por que la injusticia de quitarme la tierra y después no reconocerlo a uno, ni voltearlo a ver. Si…

DJM: Es necesario para mantener esa

DMG: No se, yo necesito tener esa paz en mi corazón…

DJM: Si esa paz…

DMG: Esa paz en mi corazón (y lo dice con sentimiento), Doris.

DJM: No, es necesario pues..

DMG: Si no… Y yo pienso por que… Mis hermanas vinieron, "vengan." Bueno una calle de esas (refers to one of the trails at the site) como que le pusieron Roberto Guifarro, pero no, eso no es suficiente, Doris.

DJM: No es suficiente…

DMG: No, eso no es suficiente, una calle, eh (demonstrating how insufficient the gestare was), adelante (muffles…) ese día…

DJM: Que seria suficiente para usted entonces?

DMG: Pues mire Doris, a mi me gustaría que en el futuro cuando pongan la placa, cuando pongan la placa, que me pusieran aya el nombre de mi padre. Si… cuando pongan la placa. Cuando algo pasa, dijo el otro día uno aquí, "no estas propiedades las compro el instituto. Se las compramos a la familia de Doña Marta," "no mientan ustedes," les dije yo, "el instituto no compro nada, el instituto confisco. Si eso es lo que les han dicho a ustedes, esa es una gran mentira. El instituto… no se vayan metiendo eso en la cabeza que compraron…" Que se robaron el dinero pudo haber sido. Si Doris, que aquí estamos en un medio bien, bien jodidos. "Ahora dicen ustedes," les digo, pero no eso ya se acabo conmigo, ya no les voy andar tapando.

DJM: Es necesario que hablen con la verdad siempre, sean honestos…

DMG: Pues si, con la verdad, ser honestos Doris. "no si se lo quitamos a la familia, se lo quitamos a Don Roberto por que era zona arqueológica," y como hay una ley, verdad, un articulo ay no se que. Esta bien, pero que digan, "se lo quitamos, se lo quitamos." Dijo un jodido el otro día, "a saber las gringas con que dinero le van a comprar a Doña Marta esa tierra." Entonces yo les dije, "y por que las gringas me tienen que comprar a mi la tierra? Si ellas no son las dueñas de Honduras, no son del gobierno de Honduras. Ellas vienen a dar una colaboración aquí, no a comprar las tierras pa que después los mismos sinvergüenzas Hondureños hagan dinero para sus bolsillos."

Number 33: From 2009 Interview

DJM: Si, por que ahorita la gente… Cuando hemos estado trabajando ahí esta temporada y el año pasado y incluso cuando empezamos en el 2007, venían estudiantes de la Universidad Pedagógica de turismo, también han venido personas simplemente a visitar el sitio. Creo que el viernes, no este pasado pero el viernes pasado, vino también de la Pedagógica, otros estudiantes de turismo. Entonces la gente se queda asombrada, "pero que van a enseñarle al publico?" En esa cuestión obviamente teníamos los pozos todavía abiertos de las excavaciones. Entonces ellas querían saber si íbamos a dejar los pozos así, ósea que atractivo tenían, que iba a ver la gente cuando vinieran al sitio? Entonces le conteste, "Bueno, vamos a cerrar las excavaciones," y eso implica que vamos a tapar y para ellos, "y que va a ver la gente?" "Bueno, se supone que va haber un centro interpretativo donde van a tener y perdón… información interpretativa y tal vez algunos de los artefactos pero no se sabe todavía." Entonces la gente todavía tiene esa visión de que… bueno, incluso a alguien se le oyó decir, "y esto que tiene que ver" ósea no es Copán. La gente quiere que sea todo Copán.

ICC: Si, es que la gente quiere ver, ósea… siempre hacen las preguntas, si los montículos los van a restaurar, no. No se, si les van a devolver el esplendor, no. Y entonces yo creo… hay que empezar con esa parte de educar a la gente, que había otras formas, no.

DJM: Si y eso es lo que hemos tratado de hacer, especialmente con las personas que han trabajado ahí en el sitio. Y eso es lo difícil, pero podemos regresar a eso al ratito. Por que una de las cosas que se me hico interesante mientras yo estaba este año pasado en Estados Unidos, es el vigilante del sitio me llamaba frecuentemente y me quería avisar que iban a inaugurar el sitio. Entonces yo dije "bueno, se que lo van a inaugurar. Es que desafortunadamente no vamos a poder estar." Yo me había ido en Noviembre ese año recuerdo ese año. El año pasado, mi fui en Noviembre. Entonces de repente estuve hablando… el me decía, "bueno es que inauguraron el sitio, pero ya lo cerraron. " Entonces había un disconnect, ósea había esta noción de que inauguración representaba apertura, no. Entonces no se en que sentido si usted puede hablar hace a eso? Por que bueno hay otras cosas que la comunidad en si, y digo comunidad de forma supongo que los representantes de la comunidad parecen ser nada mas la señora Guifarro, no. Entonces he tenido que… voy a hablar con mas personas obviamente. Pero, a la perspectiva de ellos a la inauguración, supone que fueron muchas personas. Se hacen… bueno, hablan sobre el señor Bogran y ella se siente, se siente sentida por que no se le da un renombre pues a su Papa, a su familia. Ósea, hablan de su familia supongo pero no le dan, ósea no le otorgan algo especial.

GT: Es que ahí el problema es… el señor estaba, de acuerdo a la ley, tenia posesión del terreno, mas no era el propietario…

DJM: Si… (following)

GT: Por que es un terreno ejidal. Entonces cuando el Instituto quiere informarse… Ósea, Don Antonio Bogran gestiona para comprar el predio, no. Pero cuando se va a investigar en catastro, no se han dado cuenta que es un terreno ejidal. Entonces no puede haber venta, lo que procede es pagar por las mejoras a la persona que lo esta ocupando, esto fue lo que se hizo, no.

DJM: Ahhh (trying to understand, hadn't gotten it before), no se si ella comprende muy bien lo que…

ICC: Si, si eso… Entonces al señor se le pago me imagino el cerco que había hecho, bueno las mejoras. No se si es lo justo, honestamente no se cuanta cantidad fue; una casita que creo estaba por ahí, no se, no. Entonces, se le pagan por las mejoras. Pero el Instituto Agrario determina que es un terreno ejidal y si es ejidal, no es propiedad privada, no (notion of public vs. Private. In eyes of Doña Marta, it had always been "privately" owned by her family, when it becomes of public interest their "ownership" is questioned and summarily evaluated in favor of the state. But

the views of th estate are not those of the occupants of the land…). Entonces lo que procede es pagar las mejoraras..

DJM: Las mejoras. Si, eso es lo que estaba diciendo ella…

ICC: Entonces, Don… hay una propuesta, que yo no se si la señora la conoce, pero aparentemente si se había hablado con el señor Guifarro, que era que el sitio se iba llamar, Currusté de Guifarro, no. Por eso yo sugerí que por lo menos uno de los senderos se le diera el nombre de Guifarro, no. Y quizás bueno, yo considere que si se… yo sugerí que el centro de visitantes llevara el nombre de Antonio Bogran por que el gestor alrededor de esto inicial, realmente había sido el, no. Y realmente el señor se movió. Trato de buscar fondos con todo su caudal, su capital social, no. Y con toda esta idea ambiciosa que el tenia, no solo para ese predio, no en Currusté, no. Por que aparte el señor dentro de San Pedro Sula, bueno ha sido… a dado otros aportes culturales, por así decirlo no. Entonces era un reconocimiento a el en ese sentido, no. Pero como al revisar los archivos del Instituto, entonces yo hable con el Gerente y le digo, "bueno hay que hacer algo también para reconocer a familia de Currusté." Entonces mi sugerencia fue que por lo menos uno de los senderos llevara el nombre de Currusté. Por que yo creo que si. No se la señora si conoce eso, pero en realidad la historia 'tras el predio es esa, no.

DJM: Si… por que ella no se si lo conoce así. Ella si pelea la tierra de forma monetaria a veces, pero mas que nada es esa memoria familiar, esa conexión a la tierra por ser donde creció, donde estuvo su Papa, sus papas. Entonces esa memoria… Ella ve un palo y dice, "No, ese palo me vio crecer." Entonces ella…

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ICC: A mi me pareció por ejemplo, que en esta tarea de tratar de conectar a las comunidades con el desarrollo hay varias cosas en juego. Una, el desconocimiento que tiene la gente de la labor del Instituto y la incapacidad del Instituto de acercarse y conectarse con las comunidades. Entonces yo obviamente no soy empleada, no era empleada del Instituto, sino que estaba… era una consultora independiente contratada por el Instituto. Pero había mucho reclamo de profesores, estoy recordando… por que en realidad anduve en varias escuelas. Entonces, incluso visite a las autoridades de educación. Entonces ellos reclamaban mucho sobre la labor… cual era la labor del Instituto, no? Entonces creo que el Instituto ha fallado mucho, obviamente las labores se han concentrado en Copán en Tegucigalpa, no. Y ha habido un abandono, no. Aunque hace gestión, hace labor, no. Pero en cuanto a conectarse con las comunidades, no, ha sido poca. Quizás en esta administración ha habido un mayor intento, no. Entonces la gente reclamaba eso. Ósea, uno de los promotores del desarrollo del parque es el Instituto, pero la gente conoce poco sobre el Instituto, no. La otra cuestión es.. el ministro de cultura quería involucrar a la municipalidad de San Pedro, no, a través vaya de que la municipalidad cubriera los gastos para el edificio del centro de visitantes, la trocha ahí, abrir el camino, no. Por lo menos hacer un camino mas transitable y el cerco,

no. Pero para los miembros de los patronatos, ellos tienen necesidades mas urgentes, no, diarias, no, que tener un centro… ósea si vamos… el parque si, algunos podrían decir, "si bueno si, puede traer mas visitantes quizás eso logre subir el valor de mi propiedad si esto de desarrolla." Pero utilidad no le miraban por que obviamente hay ahí comunidades obviamente donde las calles, si en tiempos de secas es intransitable, en la lluvia es todavía terrible, no. Tienen serios problemas de agua, de abastecimiento de agua, no. Las escuelas están desprovistas de… ósea no tienen condiciones para que los niños estén ahí estudiando. Entonces tienen necesidades mas urgentes…

DJM: Claro…

ICC: Y no se conectaban con el desarrollo del parque, no. Por que no miraban una utilidad, no. Y creo que el esfuerzo del Instituto se centro, honestamente solo hace a la familia Guifarro. Y habiendo… esta la Pedroza bastante cerca, que es esa colonia. Incluso yo se, yo no se si… como lo mío era mas que todo fue ese primer momento, no de acercamiento y mas con la idea de saber que le interesaba a la gente conocer en el centro de interpretación. En que estaba interesada, no? Pero como se planeaba, quizás a futuro, no. Si se conseguían fondos a hacer talleres, no. Entonces trate de identificar algunas personas dentro de los barrios estos cercanos que podían interesarse, no. Entonces yo creo que ese ha sido un problema, no. Por que es que las relaciones nunca fueron muy gratas con la familia Guifarro…

DJM: Han sido tensas…

ICC: Si entonces… Pero también ha sido un error solo enfocarse en ellos que han sido una parte importante, indudablemente claro. Hay que tener… pero ósea, los Guifarro's es una de las tantas familias dentro de las muchas que han establecido su hogar, no, cerca del parque, no.

DJM: Y obviamente también es una falta mía, también. Ósea, de sentir que también no he podido ampliar, salir mas… ósea esto de hacer una investigación que concierne a arqueología como método de aprendizaje, pues a veces tal vez es una escusa mia… Pero que se mete uno nada mas a dar clases en la arqueología. Entonces el tiempo que tiene uno se enfoca ahí por no poder hacer mas y salir. Entonces también siento que el apego mas importante que hemos tenido con la comunidad ha sido con la Familia Guifarro. Tiene que ampliarse también, estoy de acuerdo con usted. Pero por lo menos… el primer año que estuvimos ahí si fue un poquito con la familia. Y ahora a través de estos dos años creo que se ha puesto mucho mas mejor y de cierta forma ellos han cuidado el sitio y bueno dejan meter a la gente cuando… ósea con ella se comunica Aldo y todo. Entonces es una parte si, pero a mi me gustaría saber lo que dice mas de la comunidad. Pero todavía en términos de lo que saben o lo que comprenden del pasado Hondureño es un conocimiento no a largo plazo sino al pasado mas inmediato, ósea not deep prehistory. Y las conexiones que tienen son mas que nada de familia, de relaciones. Como le digo, ósea la gente… ella dice bueno las cosas, el landscape, ósea que ahí estaban los

animales de su Papa, que ahí… ósea ese apego. Entonces para ella lo que haria las cosas, what would make things right. Para ella, en términos del Instituto, en términos del sitio, no es que le paguen algo sino que ella quiere ver una placa con el nombre de su Papa. Para ella, eso borraría el sentido de enojo…

ICC: Bueno, ahí hay que ver que paso con el Instituto, por que la sugerencia, por lo menos yo dije que uno de los senderos quizás el que llega hace a los cacaos, no. Se llamara sendero Guifarro. Mas atendiendo vaya, aquella intención que tuvo el ingeniero Bogran, no, de dar cierto reconocimiento a la familia, no.