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Archaeology and the community: constructing bridges for the knowledge of the past in Kaminaljuyu, Guatemala City

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Archaeology and the community: constructing bridges for the knowledge of the past in Kaminaljuyu, Guatemala City.

by

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Dedication

To the wonderful girls from Escuela “Delia Luz Gutierrez de Castellanos".

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Abstract

Archaeology and the community: constructing bridges for the knowledge of the past in Kaminaljuyu, Guatemala City

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Based on archaeological excavations at Kaminaljuyu mound E-III-5 and educational workshops at the public school "Delia Luz Gutierrez de Castellanos", this study explores how children position themselves in relation to their surroundings and how knowledge of the ancient past and their relationship to it varies when they are exposed to archaeological excavations. I focus on the perception of the archaeological site of Kaminaljuyu and its relationship to the social and political-educational discourses that are associated with Guatemalan national archaeological projects. I discuss how archaeological sites in Guatemala are used to promote a national identity that encourages tourism consumption of "exotic" ancient Mayas, which is totally disconnected from contemporary Mayan indigenous peoples' movements and local communities' interests. This represents the first systematic study and initial investigation of these issues in the

Guatemalan highlands, and I hope that it will serve as a platform for an activist archaeology in Guatemala that looks to socialize the production of archaeological knowledge to those who do not have access to private education, and to continue discussions on challenges of academia for social justice and its impacts on the population.

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Introduction

Throughout the years I have been working in Guatemalan archaeology, I gained the passion to not "discover" the ancient past but to know more about our ancestors, to not "explore" the greatness and the monumental pyramids lost in the jungle, but to study the culture and its connections to our times. Since I started studying for my *licenciatura* at San Carlos University in Guatemala, I also began working as a *practicante* (practitioner) in a lowland Maya archaeological project, which allowed me to gain experience and also to closely know how archaeological knowledge has been produced in Guatemala. The archaeological project where I began working was like many others in my country, sponsored by an international university and directed by a foreign specialist. My first experience in archaeology was at this particular project in the Maya lowlands of Guatemala, where I had an uncomfortable impression that we were reproducing a modern template of coloniality of power. Later on, I realized that not all the projects were structured the same and, indeed, there were a few other projects that were consciously working closely with the community.

During the time I spent working for that first project, I realized the separation between the communities and archaeologists, and the hierarchical relation of power we have practiced for several years, which for most of my archaeological colleagues is unrecognizable. Certainly, this dynamic needs to change and extra effort extended for our generation and the next ones so that the discipline can shift in order to practice a more fair social science for both local communities and academics.

I have to say that most of the things I learned during the excavations in that project were thanks to the teaching and hard work of the so-called *trabajadores* (workers), who also are the guards (and back in the 1960´s were mainly looters, but this is another topic that I won't be

discussing here). What I kept questioning was the dynamic of production of archaeological knowledge in this area and its relation to the community.

The *trabajadores* are those who do the heavy work on an archaeological project, the diggers, who barely receive acknowledgement for what they excavate. Furthermore, they never get to know the meanings of what they excavated in a general depiction of the history of the site and how it was 2000 years before. Sadly, workers (read: community) were integrated into the archaeological project only as part of the labor force for excavations. I think there still is a misunderstanding and improper use of terminologies like "integration of workers" as *mano de obra* (work force) for excavations: it does not mean "including" the whole community in the archaeological research. This becomes worse if a hierarchical relation of power is established over people who excavate their own past but never hear back about the results of this social science research.

It is easy to think that people are disconnected from the sites since the ruins are immersed in the green sea of Peten´s jungle. Although there are fewer communities in the lowlands compared with the highlands, people who live there have the right to know about the history of their area. I came to believe that a convergence point is needed in order to communicate the archaeological results from excavations to the broader community. At that time some members of that project and I started giving short talks related to the Maya history, parallel to alphabetization for workers who were not able to read and/or write. This allowed them to know more about the context of what they were digging. This became the first step of my interest to merge education with archaeology, which is essential to shift the discipline.

Archaeology plays an important role in Guatemala. Archaeologists have a tremendous responsibility for the creation of knowledge of the erased, buried, and forgotten past, and we

need to communicate and teach this ancient history in all Guatemalan spheres. Citizens barely are informed about their own past. People have questioned me hundreds of times: “Now that you are studying archaeology, are you able to tell me why Mayans disappeared?” My first reaction was anger, and the question itself totally shocked me.

The myth of the Maya collapse remains a topic that twists with global marketing, meanwhile, the educational system continues supporting disinformation at primary level in Guatemala’s public schools. My interest in this question of assuming that the ancient Mayas disappeared completely by the Maya collapse, came to me during high school Social Studies class. The emphasis of this class was directed to the study of the ancient cultures of Europe, giving me an uneasy feeling when I realized that I did not know more about how ancient cultures in Mesoamerica had developed before, during, and after the Spanish contact. Our books did not cover much information about the ancient peoples from my country. Entering the University of San Carlos de Guatemala meant a challenge, because I had access to information about ancient Mayan culture, while realizing that all this knowledge was being accumulated within the academy itself. This led me to ask what it would take to decolonize my own profession? Later, I realized that it was necessary to begin working to open up a space of change in archeology. Upon entering the University of Texas at Austin, I found variety of authors addressing what I was criticizing and promoting an activist approach to archeology. That was when my path was transformed into a broader road to act within the academy with a focus for social transformation.

Furthermore, I learned that the problem of this “belief” of the myth of the Maya is that the general education authorities in Guatemala are not interested in teaching real facts of the past, and that the quality of education is not a priority for contemporary governments. Therefore, my work for Guatemala could be described as archaeology with a social lens. That is, I hope to

merge fluently, through teaching, knowledge of the ancient past to practices of citizenship, starting with the youngest students in schools. One of the purposes is to make an impact on the national curricula; this leads me to start looking at ways to shift the discipline. Specializations such as Public Archeology, Collaborative Archaeology, or Activist Archaeology are some good alternatives to start pushing the new generation of archaeologists interested in Guatemalan needs. There are some variations of practicing these other archaeologies, which basically depends on their aims for research that I will address later on in this chapter.

Having recognized the effects and shortcomings of archaeological knowledge within the Guatemalan educational system, my plan was to merge educational projects with archaeological research. Yet, the following challenge was finding the right place to implement such projects. In the meantime, I started working at the *Parque Arqueológico Kaminaljuyu*, an archaeological park situated at the center of the archaeological remains of the ancient site of Kaminaljuyu, which is also located at the center of what is now modern Guatemala City. This new project, directed by Dr. Barbara Arroyo, had as its main goals to construct a visitor's center, to improve the open public areas, to enhance security in the park, and to properly protect the exposed ruins, so that the park could be reactivated, attracting more neighbors and citizens to the forgotten ancient site, and transforming the archaeological park as a space of historical importance to citizens. Arroyo (2012) started working on this proposal in 2010 and, thanks to funding from the Embassy of Japan, the construction of the visitor´s center was possible, concluding in May 2012 and inaugurated in November 2012. Constant efforts of Arroyo have become visible in the national park, for example, the roofs of *la Acrópolis*[1] have been changed from the old and weak

[1] The Acropolis is one of the main architectural groups of Kaminaljuyu, which was excavated in 1960´s and then became a symbol of the site.

[2] This refers to the "Literary generation from 1920" in Guatemala.

wooden structure to a new one made of metal and new laminas, covering more area and preserving the ancient buildings much more effectively. Nowadays, the park has increased its visitors by 57 % compared with previous years (Arroyo, 2012). Importantly, more visits from public schools from the neighborhood have begun to take place as a result of these improvements. Revitalizing the zone, the pathways of the park, its maintenance, construction of a new house for guards, and the excavations, etc. are examples of good public archaeology practice.

After better knowing the neighborhood and after the park was already re-activated with these new facilities, Arroyo and I went to talk with the principal of Delia Luz Gutierrez de Castellanos school, asking for an appointment to discuss the possibilities of doing archeological excavations on their playground area, and conducting educational outreach with their students. The core of Kaminaljuyu had more than 200 buildings, now called archeological mounds, which in the 1940´s started being destroyed by urban expansion. More than 70% of the ruins disappeared by 1960´s and just a few mounds remained next to houses, streets, malls, or schools. This is the case of Kaminaljuyu Mound E-III-5, a fragmentary portion of which is located inside the property of Delia Gutierrez de Castellanos school. The mound nowadays is considered part of the school, the students and teachers are familiar with it, but did not know anything about its history. Since no excavation had been done before, we agreed to share the results directly with them at the same time that archaeological research was being undertaken as part of a short-term project in conjunction with the *Proyecto Zona Arqueológica Kaminaljuyu*. The principal of this school was interested to know what the archaeological mound had inside, as they just knew that the "little hill" is protected by the Cultural Heritage Law, and nobody could destroy it.

This is how I ended up doing what I call activist archaeology. It is an example of my commitment to the transformation of the discipline, to advocacy for the community rights, and to the principle that being self-reflexive is necessary in order to raise the awareness of the effects or impacts of my work on communities, and recognition that, in order to move forward with changing the discipline, I needed to offer an example of what can be done with a limited budget and limited personnel, but with unlimited energy and an interest in social impact.

In this introduction I am framing my work as activist scholarship that focuses on the uses, by the public, of the information produced by archaeological excavations. For this, I am explaining how archaeology has developed in Guatemala, within its political and economic contexts, in order to better understand the different schools of thought practiced in the country. This creates the base to explain the different approaches needed in archaeology for the public, in which I am providing general concepts and the terminologies for activism that I use throughout this thesis. Before turning to a discussion of archaeological development in Guatemala, I first explain what I am referring to in all chapters as "national discourse," or "nationalism," in order that the reader can better comprehend what I am implying and discussing with regards to archaeology at Kaminaljuyu and in the urban environment of Guatemala City.

FRAMING NATIONALISM

Ernest Gellner, the principal proponent of the theory surrounding nationalism, defines it as "the principle that holds that the political and national unit must be coherent", and places it as a product of modernization that seeks the homogeneity of societies, under cultural, linguistic or religious units (Taylor 2000:254). In re-evaluating this position, Taylor (2000) indicates that a unidirectional theory does not exist for nationalism, because it can change according to the political situation of every country. Nevertheless, he does not reject the notion that nationalism is

tied to modernity and to political culture (Taylor 2000:254). Likewise, the convergence of modern society with the modern form of the State is critical to recognize, since the economies of these societies must be addressed or managed by the State, which gives way to nationalism. This relationship creates a situation in which it is optimal for the State to be responsible, for instance, for cultivating and spreading a homogeneous language and culture in order to achieve a general degree of consistency and education (Taylor 2000:255-256).

Moreover, according to Taylor, identities in relation to the "family, locality, origin, etc. tend to decline", in favor of more general categories that link a multitude of people together in a national scope that corresponds to new categories based, for example, on citizenship or profession (Taylor 2000:257). Education plays an important role within this dynamic, as indicated by Casaús, who refers to the "*Generación* del 20"[2] in Guatemala, which was influenced by social and intellectual movements from other Latin American countries that were building various models for forging the "patria" or nation. Urban elites posed new models for how the nation could face an "Indian problem." But, more than anything else, these practices treated them like objects, while pretending "to integrate" them into the modern nation (Casaús 2005:268). Meanwhile, Brubaker (2000) explains that there are only two types of nationalism. The "good" nationalism is a civic concept that views the nation as based on common citizenship, and the "bad" nationalism, or ethnic nationalism, which according to the author is based on fabricating a common ethnicity within the nation (Brubaker 2000: 355). Nationalism is tied to social consciousness, and it is also strongly related to modernization processes and the contemporary political organizations of the state (Osorio 1995).

[2] This refers to the "Literary generation from 1920" in Guatemala.

The Guatemalan nationalism that I refer to in this thesis is a process of cultural "standardization," or the creation of a homogenous identity that the governments promote. In my view, this is based in part on the exaltation of ancient history of "the nation" as found to be politically convenient. But this nationalistic identity is not adequately connected with Modern Maya peoples that currently form more the 60% of the population. Nor does this nationalism necessarily recognize or address the oppression that indigenous people have had over the history of Guatemala; instead, it appropriates specific local stories for very specific uses of the government when useful or convenient to this nationalist identity. A good example is the presidential takeover discourse of current president Otto Pérez, who used the ancient Maya past to proudly remember Guatemalan common heritage, referring to "Nuestros antepasados, los Mayas" (Presidential discourse: page 3[3]) to contextualize his new government as part of the new era that come with the change of the *13th Baktun*, a calendrical celebration based on the ancient Maya calendar. Yet, ironically, 30 years ago with the nickname of *Mayor Tito Arias,* Otto Pérez Molina was commanding the military base of Nebaj in the Ixil area (Simon 2010:159), where the military carried out genocide over several Ixil Maya indigenous peoples. Why use the Maya culture and history as the national icon for Guatemalan identity when clearly, in the not so distant past, he acted against indigenous peoples? As expected, his opportunistic discourse is linked to economic concerns: archaeological sites play an important role in the promotion of tourism in the country, and they are in important part of adapting created landscapes that sensationalize and exoticize the mysterious ancient Maya (Magnoni et.al 2007: 363).

[3]http://www.mindef.mil.gt/noticias/PDF/noticias/2012/enero/DISCURSO%20DE%20TOMA%20DE%20POSESI%C3%93N.pdf

Another clear example is the recent elementary school curriculum from the Ministry of Education of Guatemala. In this curriculum, the theme of the formation of "citizens" emphasizes the post-independence period. In other words, 2,000 years of native history of the country is summarized in four pages. There is a disparity between the nationalism crafted by the government and that which is taught in the classroom: the nationalism that promotes the Mayan past as "exotic" is worthy for selling abroad for tourism, but in daily life, the realities are still oppressive, racist and classist.

THE SHIFT NEEDED

In this section I brief describe a genealogy of the development of archaeology in Guatemala. This is linked to travelers and explorers from the United States and Europe after Guatemala´s independence in 1821, who came to the country to make a report about political, economical, social and cultural situations, with an emphasis on the potential for harvesting natural resources. Knowledge of the region was geared to foreign investment and development for different projects. According to Gutierrez (1996: 60-71) among the most famous travelers that influenced the interest for the past were: J. Eric S. Thompson who traveled in 1825, John Caddy and Sr. Patrick Walker in 1838-39, John L. Stephens and Frederick Catherwood in 1839-40, Brasseur de Boubourg in 1855, Arturo Morellet in 1861, and Edward Muybridge in 1875. This interest in and information about these travelers provoked a “nationalistic feeling” in Guatemalans, causing by decree of the General Archive in Guatemala City, in 1846, the creation of a National Museum that functioned from 1866 to 1881. Likewise, it inspired the creation of foreign, national, and private collections of archaeological materials that the travelers and

explorers collected. Another consequence was a new interest in "the ancient indigenous" history of Guatemala during this time (Ibid).

During the end of the 19th century and first half of the 20th century, Guatemalan archaeology was undertaken and sponsored as part of US academic institutions that studied several ruins around the country. The first American institution that worked in Guatemala was the Peabody Museum of Harvard University, at the end of the 19th century (Gutierrez 1996:69,125), through which several renowned archaeologists explored all the country. They sketched archaeological sites now destroyed and conducted archaeological research that marked the beginning of an ongoing archaeological practice in the country. From 1914 to 1958, the Carnegie Institute of Washington worked among the highlands, coast, and lowlands of Guatemala, doing ethnographic, linguistic, historical, and anthropological studies; their main archaeological research projects were in Quirigua (1915-1934), Chichen Itza (1923-1937), Uaxactun (1926-1937), Copán (1935) and Mayapan (1950-1958) (Gutierrez 1996: 78).

At the end of the 19th century, explorer Alfred Maudslay traveled to Guatemala, supported by England, to report the behavior of Guatemala´s government "to measure the military potential and describe the route of railway that would go from Belize to Guatemala" (Gutierrez 1996:69), especially near British Honduras, a British colony until 1981 when Belize obtained its independence. He documented through photography, drawings and observations several archaeological sites, such as Palenque, Chichen Itza, Kaminaljuyu or Iximche (Maudslay 1989), which is valuable for its early documentation of the condition of the sites at that time.

At the end of the 19th and first part of the 20th century, with Manuel Estrada Cabrera in power, the North-American interest on Guatemala was present in all levels: political, economic and cultural, especially with regards to natural resources, which allowed research travel to

Guatemala "for ethnographic, ethnologic, and archaeological studios of ethnic groups" especially for the United Fruit Company –UFCO- (Gutierrez 1996:73). Archaeological theoretical positions during the first part of 20th century were based on the notion of Cultural Relativism, since the majority of North-American archaeologists came along with the market expansion of the USA (Gutierrez 1996; Chinchilla 1998). This positivist approach focused, for instance, on the accumulation of data of one site without any relation to other cultures, more interest on statistics applied to cultural inventories, cultural evolution, and no environmental relations (Gutierrez 1996:75).

As a consequence, archaeological research was organized within Guatemala according to geographical divisions, proposed by North American archaeologists that corresponded to the south coast, highlands, and lowland areas. Among the archaeologists who influenced the Cultural Relativism in archaeological research in Guatemala were: S. Morley, A. V. Kidder, E. P. Pollock, O. Ricketson, T. Proskouriakoff, K. Ruppert, A. M. Tozzer, A.L. Smith, R. Smith, E. Shook, H. J. Spinden, S. K. Lothrop, L. Satterwaite, R. Wauchope, E. Thompson, G. Willey, and J. Sabloff (Gutierrez 1996:76; Chinchilla 1998:106,107). Interestingly, some of them worked in Kaminaljuyu during the Carnegie Institution project (i.e. E. Shook, A. V. Kidder, S. K. Lothrop, T. Proskouriakoff, and R. Wauchope).

Throughout José Maria Orellana's government, 1920-1925, archaeological and historical topics received increased importance for the country (Gutierrez 1996:80). In 1922 the *Dirección General de Antropología, Etnología e Historia* was created, which changed its name in 1925 to *Dirección General*. The Society of Geography and History was also created in this period, and represented a space to divulge some results from archaeological, anthropological, and

ethnographic research that was happening in the country, and which achieved more communication between national and foreign archaeologists (Gutierrez 1996:81).

Although there were several foreign academics in the country, there also were Guatemalan archaeologists working during this period, including Carlos Luna, Antonio Villacorta and Carlos Villacorta (ibid). These last two archaeologists participated, along with Manuel Gamio, in the first excavations at Kaminaljuyu (Villacorta and Villacorta 1927). Also, in 1934, Gustavo Espinoza excavated the ruins of Guaytan, in the eastern part of Guatemala, as a government employee. When the *Instituto de Antropología e Historia* –IDAEH- was created, Espinoza became the inspector (Gutierrez 1996:85), a position that allowed him to intensely excavate the Acropolis of Kaminaljuyu years later from 1956 to 1961 (Gutierrez 1996:87). Tragically, however, we do not have any account or field notes from his excavation of the Acropolis (Arroyo 2012; Henderson 2013).

The policies that prevailed at that time included an interest in indigenous political consolidation, and an institutionalization of the social sciences in order to facilitate foreign capitalist incursion (from the U.S.) in the country. These policies obeyed the theoretical positions (functionalism and cultural relativism) practiced in the USA (Gutierrez 1996:88). During the revolutionary period (1944-1954), U.S. funding for archaeological work decreased, but simultaneously a Guatemalan concern for increased knowledge of ethnic groups developed, causing more anthropological reflection in the country that was driven by the strong influence of Mexican *indigenismo* (Gutierrez 1996:104). Arbenz used these spaces to create policies that integrated the "Indian in the Ladino world" (Gutierrez 1996: 97), one result of which was the creation of the *Instituto Indigenista Nacional* in 1945 and the *Instituto de Antropología, Etnología e Historia de Guatemala* –IDAEH- (Institute for Anthropology, Ethnology and

History of Guatemala) in 1946 (Gutierrez 1996: 97, Chinchilla 1998:111).[4] The first steps of teaching Archaeology, and training archaeological technicians, happened in this period. In 1949, the Humanities Department at the *Universidad de San Carlos de Guatemala* developed a program that taught archaeology (Gutierrez 1996).

In the early 1960's counter-revolutionary period, the University of San Carlos of Guatemala, and the Faculty of Humanities, sponsored the first archaeological expedition at Dos Pilas, Peten. Also, American universities such as Tulane, Yale, Pennsylvania, and the French Mission conducted research (Gutierrez 1996:105), which brought new theoretical development in the archaeological positions nationwide.

Gutierrez (1996:105-120) indicates that during this period, Neo-evolutionism predominated in archaeological studies. Among the theories that would most influence archaeologists were Cultural Materialism, Cultural Ecology, and The New Archaeology (Gutierrez 1996:106). I refer to the latter, the "New Archaeology", as opposed to traditional archeology.[5] This is also called processual archeology or explicitly scientific archeology. Begun in the 60's by its principal exponent Lewis Bindford, it was based on discussing and explaining the data, considering archeology as anthropology, and standing in contrast to the descriptive archeology practiced previously (Gutierrez 1996:119, 120). It also brought about positivist approaches focusing, for example, on environmental changes of ancient societies, and giving priority to statistics and mathematics for an archaeology with a more scientific analysis (Kehoe 1995).

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[4] Rios Montt's dictatorship (1982-1983) created the Ministry of Culture and Sports, in which IDAEH is under its dependency, removing the administrative control it had over museums, and also causing the decline of research and teaching, becoming a purely administrative government entity (Gutierrez 1996:133, 134).

[5] Gutierrez Mendoza makes a thorough study of the theoretical positions of archeology in Guatemala; to read more check Gutierrez Mendoza 1996.

In the 1970s, the movement known as Latin American Social Archaeology emerged in order to consolidate a theoretical posture for the discipline. After Luis Lumbreras´ publication "Archaeology as a Social Science" (1974) and the "meeting of Teotihuacan" (1975), archaeologists proposed the development of a Latin American Archeology that applied Historical Materialism. Thus, the Latin American Social Archaeology included epistemology, ontology, historical materialism, a defined methodology, and a political and ethical position, consolidating a group of archaeologists who supported it, and also looking to understand the diachronically development of ethnicity (Gutiérrez 1996:124,125).

Thanks to the effort of Juan Pedro Laporte, the opening of the *Escuela de Historia* in 1975 as an official part of the *Universidad de San Carlos de Guatemala* represented the first academic space dedicated to the practice of history, anthropology, and archaeology (Gutierrez 1996; Iglesias 2011; and Chinchilla 1998:114). Even more significantly, Guatemalans started developing archaeological projects of their own in areas where foreigners were not doing research, such as Lake Izabal in the eastern side of the country that created the first archaeological field school, and Dolores, Peten in the Maya lowlands (Chocon 2011:1252). Meanwhile, in 1980, Marion Popenoe de Hatch, the principal student of Edwin Shook, founded a program of study at the *Universidad del Valle de Guatemala* (Barrientos 2010:15)

The Latin American Social Archaeology line of thought of the 70´s came to the Guatemalan academy in 1987, with the "Group 4 Ahau". This group wanted to integrate the same ideals as those held by proponents of Latin American Social Archaeology. However, they faced the “official archaeology”, as Gutierrez called it (Gutierrez 1996:138) in reference to the dominant paradigm practiced by North Americans, which determined its short life of five years (Gutierrez 1996:138).

On the other hand, postprocessual archaeology came to re-conceptualize processual approaches, preparing a framework for more challenges to keep transforming the discipline. Other related tendencies in archaeology for social justice have been pursued around the world, specially in Australia and the United States, aiming to link academics and communities though methodologies that include activist, indigenous, community-based, collaborative, multivocal, and ethnographic archaeology for a more democratic production of the knowledge of the past.

Postprocessual Archaeology is the transformation of New Archaeology, and it focuses on studying societies rather than "typologizing" them (Kehoe 1995:25). This approach allows archaeology to think, for example, beyond environment changes (as Processual theory emphasized), focusing instead on the individual as a principal element of ancient societies. One of the major principles of postprocessual strategy is the entailment of archaeology in contemporary politics (Duke and Wilson 1995:9; Kehoe 1995), and the belief that political situations are fundamental to interpretation when we produce knowledge. For example, the rise of feminist archaeology goes along with the development of Postprocessualism. Also, postprocessual archaeology is pushing the contribution of a greater social equality that looks to "all minorities and socioeconomic classes" (Duke and Wilson 1995). So, with postprocessual approaches, archaeologists started to see the political uses of archaeology, and started working with native groups. Another important principle of Postprocessualism is reflexivity, which in activist scholarship transforms into self-reflexivity so that archaeologists can be aware of the effects (positive and negative) in the communities where we work (Duke and Wilson 1995; Demarest and Barrientos 2002).

Postprocessual archaeology transformed the discipline by opening the door to new considerations and approaches. In consequence, different approaches have emerged from

postprocessual archaeology that are working to impact on societies and transformation of the discipline itself, such as public, indigenous or activist archaeology.

I think it is fascinating the way Alice Kehoe pointed out her response to positivist institutions that generally fund archaeological research but do not allow the transformation of the discipline: "Emergence of postprocessual archaeology reflects societal shifts on two levels, directly mirroring societal concern with pluralism and accommodation to non-Western power and responding to the funding source shifts that themselves reflect a societal need to deal with peers in foreign cultures" (Kehoe 1995:26). Her political stand to change archaeology is very clear, as is her recognition of the changing funding needs, which represent a major obstacle for academics to totally immerse themselves in the new generation of activism.

Part of the shift of Postprocessualism relies on the modification of archaeological methods to integrate the "descendant" communities into the production of knowledge of their past as part of an ethical and democrat response to the colonial baggage we inherited. Although there are various archaeological approaches towards community participation, such as Public, Collaborative, Ethnographic, Multivocal, Activist, and Community-Based, they all interact, work, or partner with local communities in a joint effort. I will point out the principles and differences of some of the approaches I used for this thesis that have slight differences in their terminologies. That is, my approach to Public, Collaborative, Ethnographic, and Activist Archaeologies is explained below.

With respect to Public Archaeology, it has reached the public through its participation in cultural resource management, and has helped with educational outreach in the community with museum exhibits and tourism. In the US, government regulations have been done through public archaeology. Development of public archeology strives "to directly involve and educate the

public in the discovery and experience the past" (Stottman 2010:3,4,8). In the Guatemalan context, just a few projects have connected the communities with the research. This underscores the urgency for Guatemala, to first implement public approaches as a platform to step up the next level of community participation in all stages of research, such as collaborative or activist approaches. Most of public outreach in Guatemalan archaeology has been educational, such as cases of workshops for teaching epigraphy in Uaxactun, Peten to high school students and teachers, and to local tour guides and archaeologists (Xol 2011), and bilingual (Spanish-Q´eqchi´) lectures presenting results of archaeological research at Nueve Cerros (Woodfill 2013). Other projects have been focused on community development through cooperatives or projects to manage tourism (Woodfill 2013:109,115,116). Particular mention should be given to the Cancuen Archaeological Project, which for three years has implemented a social component that allowed community development within the archaeological agenda, with an emphasis on ecotourism, training for site management (García et.al 2002; Demarest and Barrientos 2002), and studying the impacts of the archaeological work within local communities. The case of Candelaria Caves is another example of involvement with various communities for the development of tourism (del Cid and Garcia 2005; Woodfill 2013:110).

In contrast to Public Archaeology, Collaborative Archaeology, also known as Collaborative Continuum, is a method to engage actively with the community during the planning and execution of archaeological research (Thomas 2008:vii). Colwell-Chanthaphonh and Ferguson (2008) are the principal scholars that have been explaining the principles and benefits for archaeology. They believe that it is necessary to move from communication to a "genuine synergy" with the descendent community, in order to create positive results that could not be obtained with another approach. This can be reached differently depending on the type of

community, their participants, and the type of collaboration, having as a main goal the shift or transformation of archaeology to a more inclusive, reciprocal, democratic, accurate, and ethical practice with descendant communities. In other words, it advocates going beyond a mere consultation with descendant communities. Collaboration means people working jointly on a project (archaeological)-- and "particularly those outside of academia" -- which implies the descendant communities (Colwell-Chanthaphonh and Ferguson 2008:1-3,7).

Also, a Collaborative Continuum approach does not imply that descendent communities necessarily have biological connections to the archaeological remains. Rather, these communities are defined by Colwell-Chanthaphonh and Ferguson (2008:2,8) as a self-defined group of people that link themselves intensely to archaeological heritages through social, political, or economical affinities.

Methodologically, one of the "best formal models" for Collaborative Archaeology is Collaborative Inquiry (Colwell-Chanthaphonh and Ferguson 2008:9), which basically consists of three stages taken from the principles of participation and democracy: 1) establishing co-researchers to work with local people; 2) involving cycles of reflection; and 3) finding a common important question. This requires, throughout the entire research process, academics to work in partnership with the communities that normally are the subjects of research.

Although traditional archaeology has changed its methods, the impacts of its practice on local communities has "often remained the same", as Colwell-Chanthaphonh and Ferguson (2008:5) observed. Although archaeological methodologies have scientifically been enhanced (through meticulous documentation, systematic collecting and controlled excavations, or scholarly publications) these changes were not translated into "sustained engagements with the communities" that are tied to the excavated sites (Colwell-Chanthaphonh and Ferguson 2008:5).

Therefore, there is the need to shift to methods that allow inclusion and more active participation of the community in the research of the past, as a response of the effects that scientific investigations have done in communities. As Colwell-Chanthaphonh and Ferguson (2008:7) conclude, "it is an attempt to restore fairness to archaeological practice by aspiring to create benefits for both the practitioners of science and its subjects."

Similarly to Collaborative Archaeology is Ethnographic Archaeology. It, too, is concerned about the meanings of archaeological practice in the present, with engaging ethnography to address ethical discussions on how to involve communities in the research process, and in analyzing social contexts and political dynamics in order to engage the communities with the meanings, identities, claims of ownerships and forms of use of archeological heritages (Castañeda and Mathews 2008:1,3,26).

Like Collaborative and Ethnographic archaeologies, Activism is another approach that works for the democratic production of knowledge of the past, interacting with people for specific activist or political purposes in the present. Activist Archaeology does not focus on great monumental and exotic findings frozen in the past, but rather the opposite. Instead of focusing on our research topics and how we perceive its significance, Stottman (2010:13) argues that Activist Archaeology acts "as an agent for change" and can begin to help erase the stereotype of Indiana Jones searching for the exotic and savage past, an idea that has prevailed for many years around the globe.

As regards activism, several archaeologists (see Stottman 2010) have argued that Activist Archaeology can only be effective if the research has a specific interest in social change within the communities where archaeologists work. We have to constantly question why archaeology is important? Why do we need archaeology? It is not just a tool to know the past, but a medium to

change the present and future (Stottman 2010: 8,9) and this can be made possible through an activist agenda within the community, where archaeologists understand the community and integrate its needs.

Charles Hale (2001, 2013) argues that an essential part of activist research is identifying the purpose of knowledge. He points out that knowledge is not knowledge if it does not benefit the community. The activist method incorporates the research communities, it creates a space for the inclusion of more voices in the process of knowledge production, and it asks us to identify our ethical-political convictions to formulate our research objectives (Hale 2001:14).

On one side, conventional methods impose authority by the state and archaeologists, without consulting or looking for approval from local communities. Archaeologists elaborate the main objectives and research questions without seeing descendent communities' needs and potential positive outcomes. In contrast, an Activist Archaeology is doubly rigorous since in addition to achieving the academic goals of objectivity, theoretical analysis, discussion, or publication, it also – in addition -- takes into consideration other types of knowledge and benefits the local community by responding to their inquiries.

In other words, Activist Archaeology is about how we view archaeology and see it as an agent for change. It is the practice of being conscious of the effects of archaeology in communities in order to "make it central feature of our projects". Stottman describes activist archaeology as "repositioning archaeological research focus to include activist goals aimed at contemporary communities" (Stottman 2010:13).

Although advocacy is also very important, activist archaeologists also have to practice self-reflexivity and social critique of their work in relation to the public. Stottman (2010:5) states "though self-reflexivity archeologists began to understand the politics and agendas that often

accompany their research. It is self-reflexivity in public archaeology that allows us to move beyond public into activist archaeology." In Guatemalan archaeology we urgently need to learn from applied anthropology methods to develop activist archaeology, since the academic sphere of production of knowledge is essentially more technical than theoretical. Moreover, negotiation of past and present with native communities is a step forward that public archaeology has done in the US. In Guatemala we need to improve the discipline by shifting it towards activist approaches so that archaeologists are aware of the impact of their work (self-reflexivity) within communities.

Furthermore, another novel approach is to include communities in the process of research. This is known as Multivocality, and it maintains that there are multiple perspectives, diverse ideas, and multiple ways of understanding cultural knowledge (Atalay 2008; Silberman 2008). Atalay (2008:34) indicates that multivocality is linked to the "practice of indigenous archaeologies" and that its purpose is not to replace European concepts with indigenous concepts, but the creation of a multivocal archeology practice that benefits and speak to society (2008:34). Additionally, the concept of multivocality is to challenge dominant interpretive narratives, as opposed to the marketed uses of archaeology (Silberman 2008:141).

Regarding indigenous archaeology, this definition widely used by Atalay (2008) is translated as the development of research questions and agendas in conversation with local groups for their benefit, and with their approval. In addition, it combines methods of European scientific approaches (the conventional methods of archaeology) with recognition and respect for an uninterrupted connection of the past with the present and future (Atalay 2008:31). Atalay argues that this archaeology is based on the foundation of indigenous concepts and experiences that are "coupled with the political aspirations of supporting indigenous sovereignty and

maintaining certain aspects of control over cultural knowledge production" (Ibid:31). This decolonization of archaeology opens a door to move away from the colonialist model. Linda Smith´s call for decolonization is applied to conventional methodologies that suggest not totally getting rid of European methodologies, but rather a different focus on indigenous worldviews and concerns, in order to know and understand theory and research based from indigenous perspectives and purposes (Smith 1999:39). Archaeologists should no longer simply proceed with the implementation of archaeological research without considering the community's interests. Ignoring community interests implies that the colonialist model continue reproducing knowledge exploitation. In my opinion, it is something of transcendental importance for the shift of archaeological practice that an activist methodology be implemented from the beginning stages of research. In other words, before beginning a project, archaeologists must ask themselves whether the methodology we have been using is really suitable for social justice.

CHALLENGING CONVENTIONAL ARCHAEOLOGY

As a response to my self-reflexive critique as an archeologist, the research in this thesis is a concrete example of how to use archaeology in a local community of Guatemala. My main critique is based on an examination of how archaeology has been done in the country and what we can do to shift away from a colonial reproduction of power both within the academy and within local communities. A self-evaluation by archaeologists is necessary in order to identify the methodological problems that have prevented us from being active within political struggles through archaeology, and it is also necessary if we are to find alternatives to enhance activism in archaeological scholarship.

My critique includes an alternative methodological approach, which I am presenting here. This work provides a case study conducted on the grounds of a public elementary school in Guatemala City and through six weeks of educational workshops and archaeological excavations. This study also demonstrates the results of a method in which I questioned the ways in which archaeological knowledge was produced, and sought to clearly define how it could be shared and distributed.

As I will explain in detail, this research explores how children position themselves in relation to their surroundings and how knowledge of the ancient past and their relationship to it varies when they are exposed to archaeological excavations. Particularly, I focus on the perception of the archaeological site of Kaminaljuyu and its relationship to the social and political-educational discourses that are associated with Guatemalan national archaeological projects. The hypothesis is that archaeological sites in Guatemala are used to promote a national identity that encourages touristic consumption of "exotic" ancient Mayas, which is disconnected from contemporary Mayan indigenous peoples' movements and local communities' interests.

From June to July 2013, I used a small-scale archaeological excavation as a means to explore how students relate to their social, cultural, and natural environment. More specifically, I discerned how these children understand the ancient past in relation to their own modern identities. To explore the impacts of archaeology in Guatemala, I draw a genealogy of research and what school of thought was developed to the country since its beginnings. Additional to this, I explored the national curriculum and 4th grade textbook looking for the archaeological information that has been produced for more than a half century.

Moreover, this represents the first systematic study and initial investigation of these issues in the Guatemalan highlands, and I believe that this will serve as a platform for an activist

archaeology in Guatemala that also looks to socialize the production of archaeological knowledge to those who do not have access to private education.

In order to present this project I will divide it into three sections. The first (chapter 1) explains the relevance of Kaminaljuyu, giving a short summary of the archaeological history and literature for the Guatemalan highlands, and particularly those issues that have a direct relationship to the loss or preservation of the ancient site of Kaminaljuyu. A vast literature on Kaminaljuyu and the archaeology of the Guatemala highlands exists, most recently summarized by Love (2007), Arroyo (2010), and Henderson (2013). Rather than reviewing this literature, however, this thesis focuses on the ramifications of this research and how it has impacted notions of cultural identities, representation, issues of historical memory, and use. The second chapter, based on the writings of Pluckrose (1992), involves an exploration of pedagogical approaches to teaching the archaeological past and an examination of how this knowledge is perceived, socialized, and reacted to by children. The National Curricula in Guatemala is evaluated to understand how history is taught at the school, and issues pertinent to the education of children and cultural patrimony; I also consider the accessibility of archaeological sites to school children, accessibility of the new Kaminaljuyu (from this point forward often abbreviated as KJ) site museum to local school children in Guatemala City, and differences between public and private education in Guatemala City. The third chapter is related to excavations and activities connected with students and their reactions towards this new knowledge and experience. In all chapters I am addressing broader issues of cultural patrimony, heritage, national identity, and multivocality. Within this vast body of literature I will be focusing on pedagogy as an alternative approach to socialize knowledge, and address the transformation of the people we work with.

This master's thesis demonstrates how much of the archaeological knowledge that has been produced over the last half century is not reflected in the general knowledge of the population. For several years, within the traditional model of archaeology in Guatemala, academics have continued reproducing a colonialist exploitation of archaeological information. This colonial baggage that most archaeologists carry and perpetuate –whether they are conscious of it or not –consists of the extraction of information obtained from research in communities that indeed enhances scholarly archaeological literature, but does not work with people in addressing and resolving their inquiries and engagement with the knowledge produced. At the same time, working with the local community places a bold emphasis on the uses and outcomes of archaeological research aims, and it involves more than just including the community as part of the labor force for excavations as I mentioned at the beginning of this introduction.

I implemented an activist approach in my work with girls by combining educational techniques with excavations in their school. This does not influence the interpretation of the data of the excavation. However, the activist approach with the girls was for their transformation when they obtained the information from the archaeological mound. Being exposed to this archaeological experience, the girls started questioning their identity and origins, positioning from their neighborhood and school towards their future, reflecting on their skills and interests for their future professional training to work for their community.

i. disconnection

In their day-to-day routines, residents of Colonia Castillo Lara, in Zone 7 of Guatemala City, unknowingly act as conservators of the remains of one of the largest and most important cities in ancient Mesoamerica, named Kaminaljuyu in the early 20th century[6]. The majority of residents and those who pass by or work nearby are nevertheless part of a disconnection with the past, produced by hundreds of years of migration through the valley since ancient times. In this area, modern peoples' imaginaries, struggles, or necessities are not necessarily related either to the ancient past, or to Kaminaljuyu's ruins. Explaining this could lead us to several different perspectives, including economic, environmental, social, or cultural. However, in this chapter, I will examine the historical process in order to depict a disconnection indicating an absence of the education needed to inspire interest, curiosity, identity with, and respect for the past by those who live in the archaeological area. The school, "Delia Luz Gutierrez de Castellanos" is a perfect case for unfolding the complexities faced when trying to combine the archaeological work of preserving ancient ruins with the social realities of its related people. This public school has inside its property one of the few archaeological mounds at Kaminaljuyu (named E-III-5[7]), as part of the students' playground. To better illustrate the scenario where this study has been conducted, in this chapter I am framing the history of this disconnection through a short description of urban expansion that provoked the destruction of Kaminaljuyu mounds. Also, I mention the linguistic characteristics of this area in order to make connections to the people who lived in the valley before Spanish encounters. Moreover, I summarize the most important characteristics of Kaminaljuyu history and who has studied it, and finally, I discuss the problem

[6] I will use KJ in reference to Kaminaljuyu throughout all chapters.
[7] Following a list based from an imaginary grid made over the archaeological area by U.S. archaeologists during the Carnegie Institution Project in the 1940´s.

of KJ´s preservation nowadays. In the next section I am describing how the destruction has happened throughout the area where the ancient ruins of Kaminaljuyu were built.

A. URBANIZATION AND DESTRUCTION OVER KJ

Despite the Urban expansion over the archaeological area of KJ, several mounds remained between houses, streets, or schools, such as the case where this study took place. Mound E-III-5 is preserved as part of the students´ playground of a public school. In this section I describe the background of this school to contextualize the study and then I explain how the destruction of KJ happened throughout the 20th century.

The official school for girls, No. 70 "Delia Luz Gutierrez de Castellanos," is a morning session public school located at 11th Street 12-60 Colonia Castillo Lara, in Zone 7 of Guatemala City[8] (Figure 1). Previously, the area was used as landfill. Thanks to the initiative of one teacher, some students, and parents, the school was constructed in 1986. Initially, the school held classes in open areas, with three grades studying in the morning, and three in the afternoon. In 1989, a change in government halted construction of the school, and by 1991 the school began using the building, despite its lacking floors and windows. In 1993 the school finished the infrastructure and began holding afternoon sessions for both girls and boys. Delia Luz Gutierrez de Castellanos School maintains a total student population annually that ranges from 100 to 150 (Dora Mariscal personal communication 2013).

The Mound E-III-5 remained within the school facilities, as part of the playground for the students. During 1997 and 1998, school authorities requested the construction of a perimeter wall

[8] The school is part a controlled list of primary schools coordinated by the Ministry of Education of Guatemala http://www.mineduc.gob.gt/portal/index.asp

in order to protect it from erosion by the weather and access by students (Ibid). Today, the school population ranges from 150-170 students per year, and the vast majority live in the Castillo Lara and Verbena neighborhoods (Lizbeth Vega personal communication 2012).

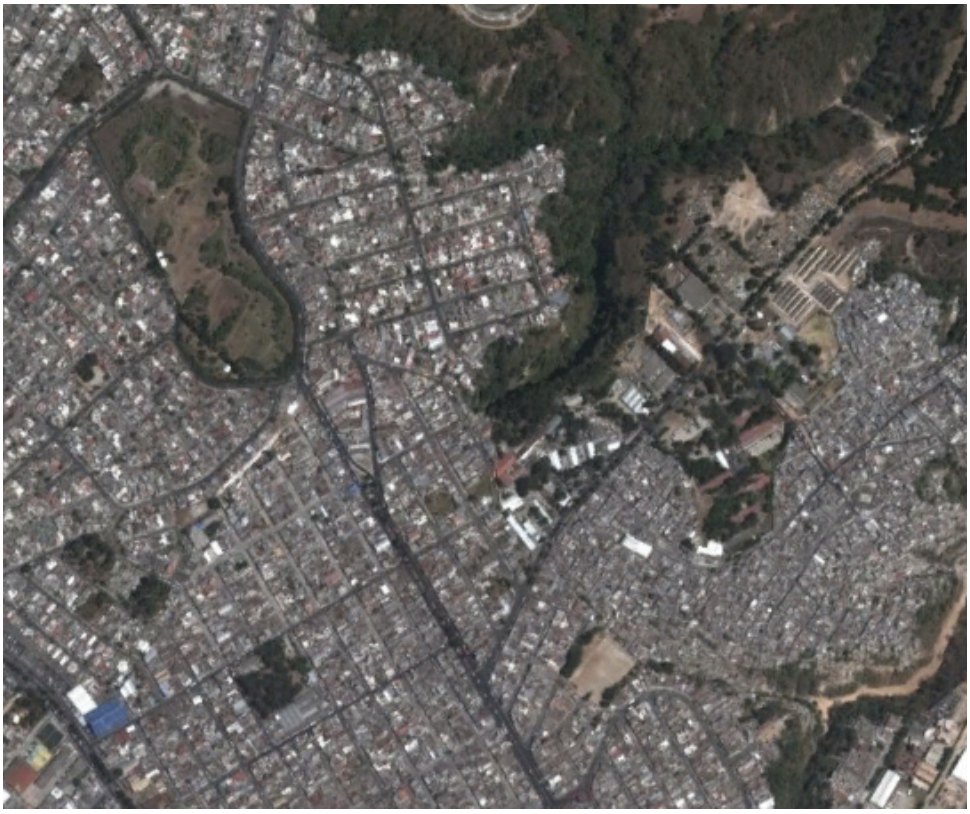

Figure 1. Photograph of Zone 7, Guatemala City. The circle points out "Delia Luz School", the archaeological park is on the upper left side (from Google Earth, 2014).

Most of students' families migrated from the western and eastern highlands of Guatemala to the city during its urbanization, particularly during the 1960s. These students are the second and third generation of offspring, raised in Guatemala City by parents from other regions. The

teachers and principal of this school live in other zones of Guatemala City, a fact that is fundamental to understanding their attitude toward the Kaminaljuyu mound and the archaeological site.

The Castillo Lara neighborhood is located in the northeast portion of what was the ancient city of Kaminaljuyu, and currently part of Zone 7 of Guatemala City. It is adjacent to the San Vicente, La Verbena, La Quinta Samayoa, and Landivar neighborhoods, which have been and continue to be developed since the time of their original construction (figure 1). Prior to this development, unleashed in the mid- 20th century on the outskirts of Guatemala City, the area was divided into private farms named according to their owner´s last names, such as: Finca La Providencia (now Castillo Lara neighborhood), Finca Arevalo also called Finca La Quinta and later called La Quinta Samayoa, Finca Miraflores, Finca Las Charcas, Finca Las Majadas, Finca Villaseca, Quinta Laparra or Granja Laparra, Finca La Esperanza, etc. (Villacorta and Villacorta 1927:50 and Kidder et al 1946:7).

The boundaries of these spacious fields, once used for cattle grazing and growing coffee, became the borders used to delimit areas that later on would protect the ruins in Guatemala City´s twentieth century map for urbanization. Over the years, this area has become very vulnerable to violence due to urban growth, unemployment, idleness, petty crime, and organized crime. The risk of crime enormously increased due to the absence of the State participation in implementing safety measures and public policy. Zones 7 and 11 of current day Guatemala City are settled directly on the remains of the ancient city of Kaminaljuyu. During the mid-twentieth century, construction of streets, schools, and shopping malls destroyed the vast majority of the archaeological mounds at Kaminaljuyu and a complex development of ancient dwellers, reached more than 2,000 years ago, vanished permanently (figure 2).

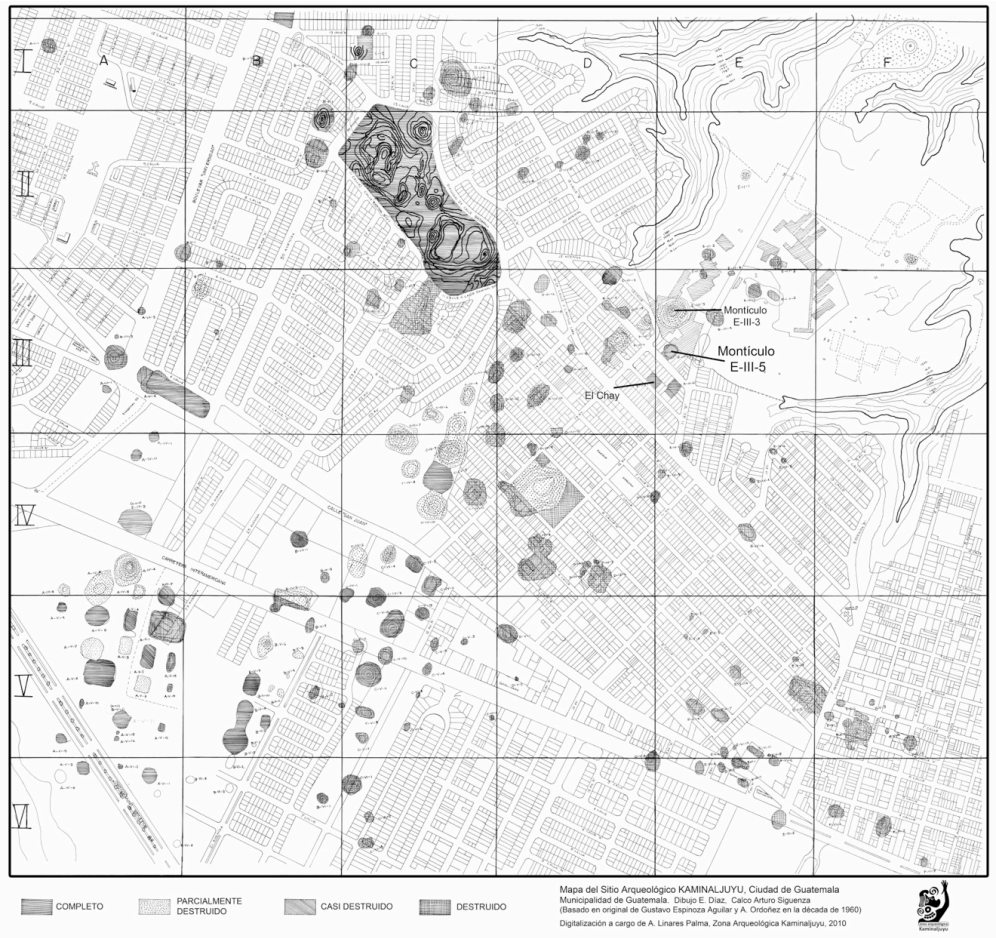

Figure 2. Map of G. Espinoza. Urban grid over the archaeological mounds of Kaminaljuyu (Proyecto Zona Arqueológica Kaminaljuyu 2010)

Recreating the destruction and later urban development in these areas is possible by using historical documents for Guatemala City. Maps from 1606 to 1960 found in the AGCA (Archivo General de Centro America), DEMOPRE (Departamento de Monumentos Prehispánicos de Guatemala, from the Minister of Culture), and in particular *Crónicas* illustrate a genealogy of

visual representations of the City as a historical process in the development of the Guatemalan state.

There is not enough information available about the inhabitants of the "Valle de La Ermita" prior to the last move of the Guatemalan capital. However, we do know some things about the indigenous towns of Petapa, Chinautla, and Mixco that today surrounded the valley. By the end of 19th century, the territory was already divided into "fincas" (farms) for cattle and corn harvest, and owned by Spaniards and Ladinos (Navarrete y Lujan 1986). The oldest map (figure 3) is from 1606 (Navarrete y Lujan 1986), and shows the valleys of Mixco and Pinula, pointing out that Hector de la Barreda, from La Habana, brought a great quantity of cattle into the region. This map emphasizes cattle and agricultural distribution in relation to geography, natural resources, and access to the land. This map titled as "Asiento de la Billa" focuses the attention by the convergence of the royal roads (Caminos Reales) from Petapa and Pinula, represented by a large square on the map. The map depicts current Guatemala City and "la culebra de tierra echa a mano" (the snake made by hand), written at the center of the map, which marks a path that goes from the valley to Pinula´s road. It represents an ancient clay mound in the valley, which the Spaniards re-used to transport water through an aqueduct to their "fincas" (Ibid). Maps from the seventeenth century show new physical, religious, and political boundaries. As Carrera (2011) has demonstrated for Mexico, "state" or institutionalized cartography exerts political power over territories in the nation. Producing visuals and displays as portable objects, these maps propagated a national discourse (Carrera 2011:122,141). The same ideas can be applied to the map "Corregimiento de el Valle qes Provincia de Goathemala," from Fuentes and Guzman in 1690 (figure 4), in which can be seen early nationalistic notions for a new identity. The map depicts the central area of the Guatemalan highlands, including the main towns with their houses

and geography, leaving at the center the "Ciudad de Goathemala y su Valle", and thereby giving prominence to the size of the capital, its eight churches, including the cathedral at the center, surrounded by volcanoes (Fuentes and Guzman 1932). This gives importance to the colonial capital as opposed to other settlements, villages, and the small towns around Santiago de los Caballeros de Guatemala. Toward the East is located the Valley of La Ermita, the final settlement, called "de las Vacas" due to a large number of *fincas* for cattle. However, as with the other documents, it does not refer to any indigenous ontology, giving emphasis just to the new lands.

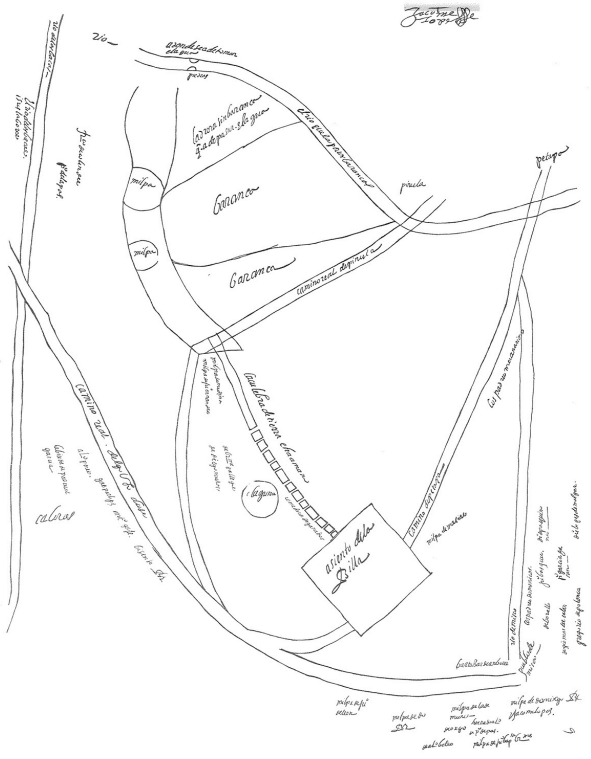

Figure 3. Map from 1606 (Navarrete y Lujan 1986)

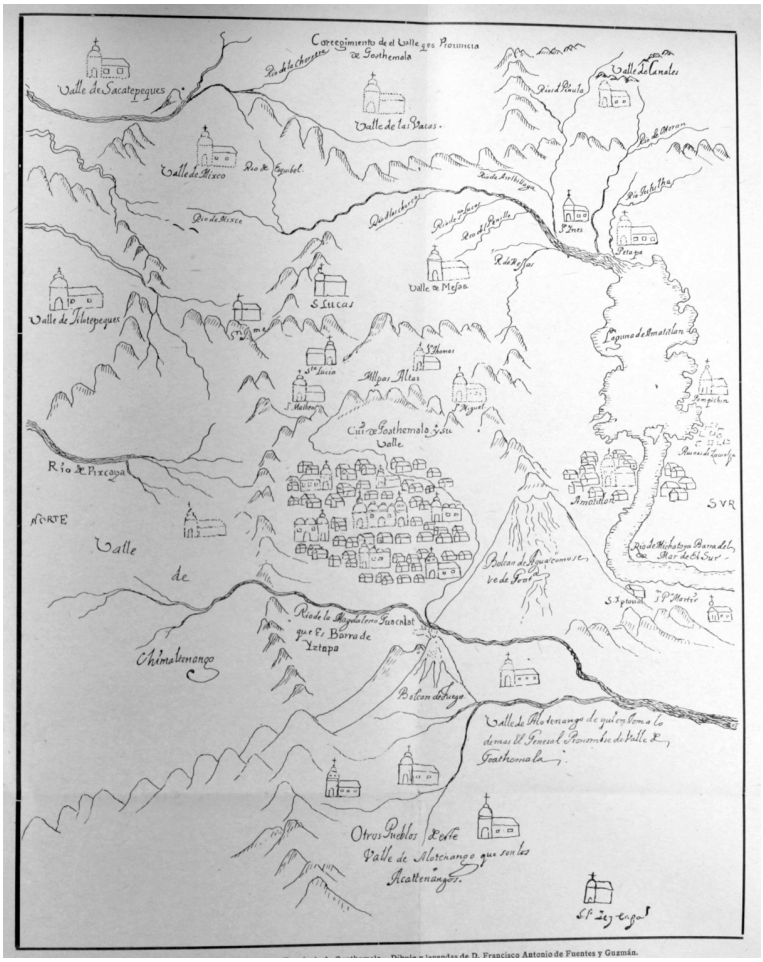

Figure 4. "Corregimiento de el Valle qes Provincia de Goathemala" from 1690 (Fuentes and Guzman 1932)

Approximately one hundred years later, another completely different depiction of Guatemala Valley was published. Similar to Stephens and Catherwood,[9] Alfred Maudslay made several expeditions to Central America exploring and documenting all things related to ancient Maya remains, in a work published in the Biologia Centralli-Americana between 1889 and 1902

[9] Two recognized and authorized experts on traveling, exploring, writings, and drawings.

(Maudslay 1889). The “Plan of the Mounds” between the cities of Guatemala and Mixco” (Figure 5) is evidence of the first international interest in the ancient Maya beyond 1889, documenting the “archaeological remains” of Kaminaljuyu, and putting special value on the interests of the national and international community of academics. This was possible due to the authority Maudslay brought with him and through which he was able to highlight the archaeological importance of the mounds as part of a larger project with scientific aims. Although modern indigeneity in this map is barely represented, an ancient indigenous presence in the valley is not in doubt. Beyond mere visuality, the ontological depiction in this map is rigorously academic. Moreover, this document represents the first sketch-map of the archaeological site, showing more than 200 ancient mounds. This allows modern archaeologists to make comparisons between the original dimension of the ancient city and what is left of the past due to urbanization and city expansion, particularly urbanization in the twentieth century.

After Maudslay´s map, various other archaeological maps came into this depiction of Kaminaljuyu and the city growing, such as the work of Gustavo Espinoza, who was part of the Ministry of Culture in the 1960´s. Based on the maps drawn by Shook and Donalson (Figure 6) that were published by the Carnegie Institution Project, which basically shows all the KJ mounds and geographical features (Arroyo 2010, Michels 1979), Espinoza´s map merged the urban grid of houses and streets with the map of mounds (figure 2), resulting in a very informational map that tracks the quantity of mounds in good preservation, and those that were partially and totally destroyed at the end of 1960´s. This was the first map that displayed modernity over the ruins of ancient past, causing alarm among scholars and authorities in the urgency to its conservation.

After the destruction of several mounds in the southeast of KJ caused by enlarging a soccer field in the area of well-known Mounds A and B in 1930´s, construction of the Cancer

hospital in the 1950´s, and the vandalization of the Palangana complex in 1958, the Guatemalan government decided to protect the mounds until 1964. However, the urbanization kept destroying the archaeological remains in the following years, for example, between 1964 and 1967 five mounds were completely destroyed and two mounds almost totally damaged. By the end of the 1960´s there were 95 mounds remaining out of 200. Nevertheless, the commercial activity continued expanding and destroying the ruins, and in 1980´s 60 mounds were left and by 2002 only 44 (Henderson 2013: 4,5 and Crasborn, et al. 2004: 188,198).

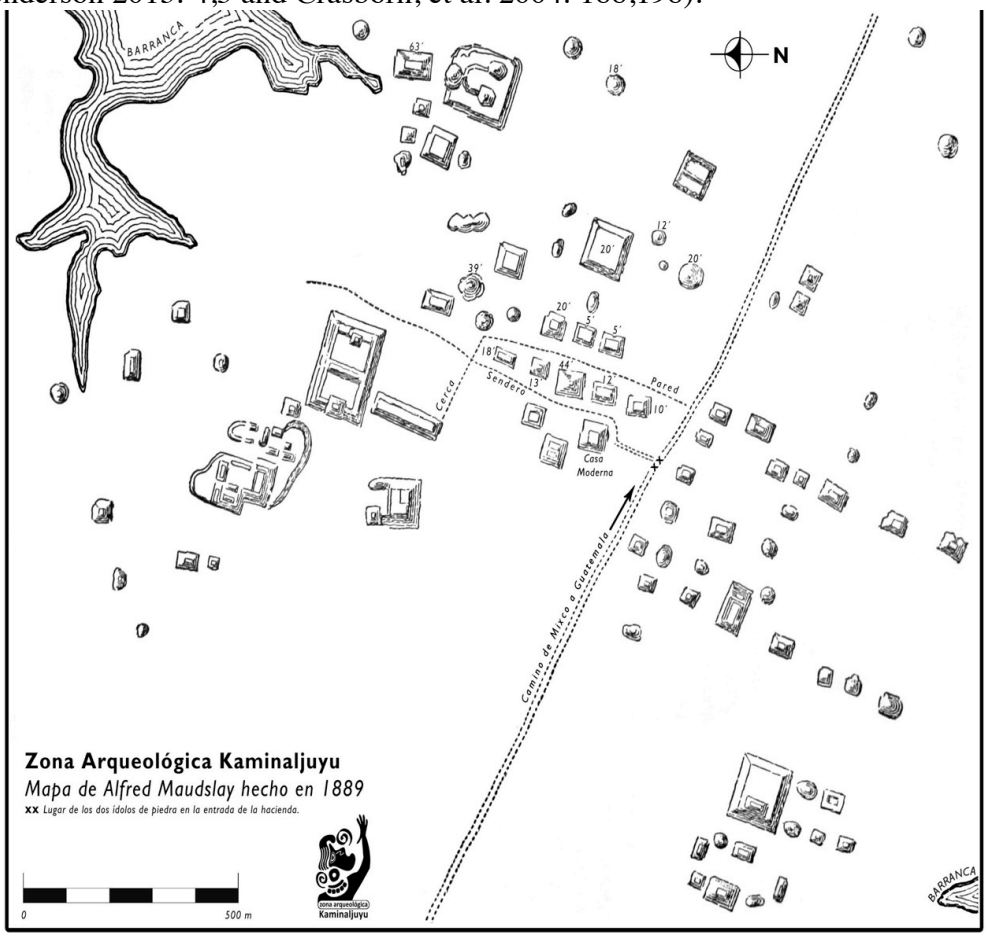

Figure 5. Map of Kaminaljuyu showing ancient city mounds found in 1889 (Maudslay 1889)

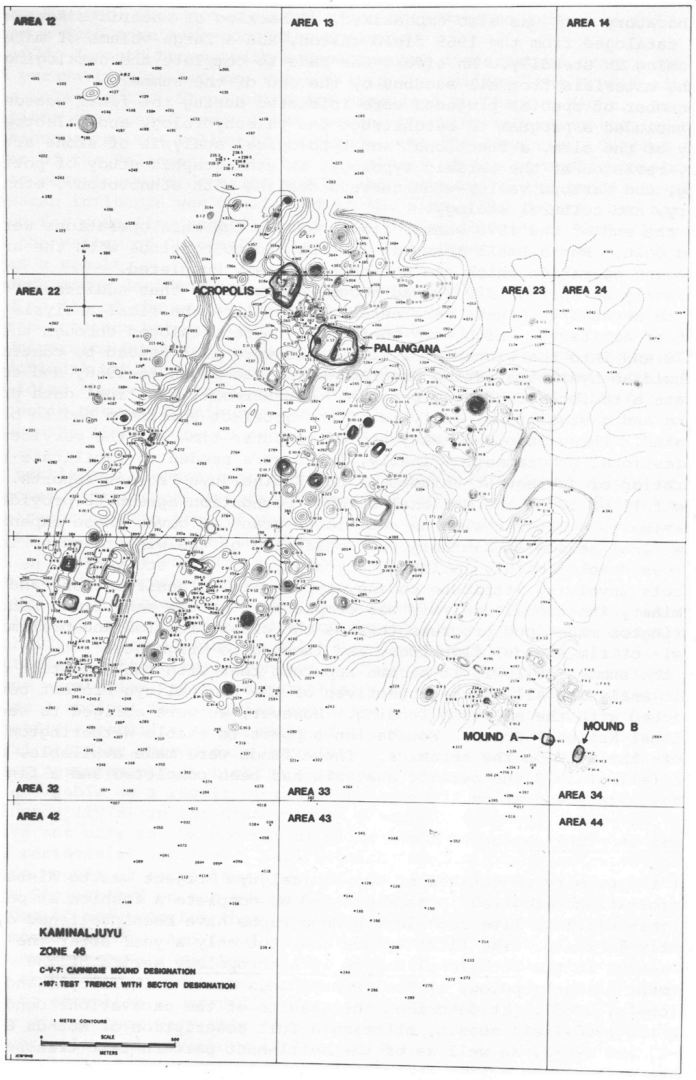

Figure 6. Map of Kaminaljuyu by Carnegie Institution mapped between 1940´s and 1950´s (Michels 1979)

The creation of an archaeological park to preserve the majority of mounds did not happen until 1968 (Henderson 2013: 5). The current archaeological park was a donation from the owners of the farm of "La Quinta Arevalo" that the Arevalo family made to the government (Hatch 1997:vii), protecting 13 mounds in an area that recently has been revitalized by current new

projects (see section d); this new direction is activating a place with historical importance for Guatemala. Nowadays, despite the protecting law over the archaeological remains on the 33 mounds left of Kaminaljuyu (Arroyo 2013), those that are outside the boundaries of the park remain in risk due to the high demands of "development" in the construction of more commercial centers and business. Although we lack linguistic and cultural specificity about the community of people who lived in ancient KJ, it is very important to mention historic and current linguistic maps, in order to have an idea of the people who developed the city. I think that this linguistic confusion resulted in a situation that made it difficult to "craft" an identity for ancient KJ, in part due to the spectacular discoveries in the Peten that allowed governments to just adopt the same lowland Maya imagery and symbols into the national discourse of indigeneity that was also being promulgated by businesses. This national discourse used a generic idea of "Mayaness" disconnected from the modern Maya, which homogenizes and simplifies a remote past that had no immediate relevance to most indigenous populations. The scenario is complex, however, and in the next section I am mentioning the closest indigenous settlements in relation to the City, to start a debate about who lived in KJ.

B. WHO LIVED IN THE VALLEY OF GUATEMALA BEFORE THE SPANISH INVASION[10]?

While there are still extensive cultural remains at Kaminaljuyu, we lack information about script traditions or their adequate decipherment, we are not sure which language(s) were spoken at the city, or whether the inhabitants culturally identified with other Maya groups in the

[10] I am using the term " invasion" in reference to the so-called "conquest". This is my positionality against uses of the "conquest" terminology, due to its intrinsic meaning of total subjugation and complete power over conquered peoples. Indigenous peoples, since more than 500 years ago, continue resisting and fighting for their rights as natives.

lowlands of the Peten. Although the picture seems blurry, we can use some ethno historical linguistic data to start tracing the identity if these ancient peoples in the valley of Guatemala City.

Previous to the invasion, or the Spanish encounter, the indigenous population settled in the central valley in the towns known today as San Juan Amatitlan, San Cristobal Amatitlan (Palin, Escuintla), San Miguel Petapa, Santa Catarina Pinula, Santo Domingo Mixco, and Santa Cruz Chinautla (figure 7). There is no strong evidence about what Mayan group inhabited these areas, although linguists continue to argue that Poqomans[11] inhabited the area.

Figure 7. Political Map of Guatemala, showing its *Municipios:* San Juan Amatitlan, San Cristobal Amatitlan (Palin, Escuintla), San Miguel Petapa, Santa Catarina Pinula, Santo Domingo Mixco, and Santa Cruz Chinautla (http://www.zonu.com/)

[11] Several sources write the Poqoman word differently, i.e. Poqoman, Poqomam, and Pokoman. I use the former, which is the word that the *Academia de Lenguas Mayas* in Guatemala uses.

There are two theories with regards to migration and settlement by indigenous peoples in the central valley of Guatemala. The Central Valley of Guatemala was a major trade center in ancient times, and crucial due to a convergence of multiple peoples from Mesoamerica and especially due to the trade in cacao, obsidian, and other goods, thereby creating a corridor between the north to south, increasing contact with more distant regions such as Oaxaca and El Salvador.

Evon Z. Vogt (1969) proposed the first theory about how the Poqoman Maya came to populate the valley. He argues that Poqoman settlements date back to 900 B.C, after the migration of the Q´eqchi´ Maya towards the east, pushing Poqomchi´ Maya peoples to the north and the Poqomans peoples to the south. This ethnic-territorial segmentation occurred prior to the expansion of K´ichee´ Maya, in postclassic times (ALMG 2014).

The second theory is from of Daniele Pompejano (2009) who argues that Poqomans settled in the central highlands of Guatemala, in today's *departamentos* of Guatemala, Jalapa, and Escuintla. He points out that in the sixteenth century, the Poqoman area extended from Amatitlan and Mixco toward the eastern borders of the country with Honduras and El Salvador (2009: 53-55). The ethnic groups from México (Nahualts and Pipiles) invaded the highlands numerous times, marking the first invasion of the valley. During the eleventh century a second invasion in the area by the Cholutecos-Toltecos-Chichimecas (called the Nonualca Pipil) inserted themselves into the "pure" Mayan populations from the valley and surrounding areas, provoking division among the Q´eqchi´, Poqoman, and Chorti at the east, and the Mames at the west. The new K´ichee´ nation was born from these invaders. This invasion displaced the Pipiles to the south and into what is now El Salvador, populated at that time by Poqomans, Chorties from Copan, Xincas, and Lencas (Ibid).

Nowadays, Escuintla, Chinautla, Petapa, and Mixco are the closest indigenous towns to Guatemala City, and Poqomans still populate them (ALMG 2014). Pompejano (2009) and Van Akkeren (Personal communication 2014) refer to the Kaminaljuyu inhabitants as the ancestors of the Poqomans. Attempts in reconstructing the linguistic map of ancient peoples in this area is a challenge since the written evidence from KJ has not been deciphered yet, however, considering how long Poqomans have been living in this region it is important to have in mind that the people who constructed, developed and lived in KJ, may also be the ancestors of modern towns like Mixco, Petapa or Chinautla.

Although the linguistics for these ancient peoples in Guatemala City are not clear, it would have been better for the state, educational curricula, and businesses to promote a local identity of KJ, instead of promoting the Maya lowlands features. This would open the door for a consciousness on the importance of KJ. In its place, the state keeps using Tikal national symbol as homogenous background for a national identity. The construction of these imagined "Maya" identities are drawn from stereotypical Peten-centric notions, as I discuss in the following chapter. Before it, I describe the main characteristics of KJ based on archaeological research, sketching a portrait of the ancient city. For a complete and detailed history of the site see Villacorta (1927), Lothrop (1926), Kidder et al. (1946), Michels (1979), Hatch (1997), Ivic (1994), Martinez et al (1996), Ohi (2001), Crasborn, et al (2004), Houston, et.al (2005), Love (2007), Arroyo (2010, 2011, 2012) and Henderson (2013).

C. KAMINALJUYU

There have been several archaeological studies since late 19th century that have reconstructed the history of KJ. Hence, to understand the magnitude of development that this

ancient city had, it is necessary to depict the principal attributes that made Kaminaljuyu so important throughout Mesoamerica.

Kaminaljuyu[12] means Hill of the Dead, a word that was taken from the K´ichee´ in reference to the ancient remains buried at the site. This was the first city established in ancient times in the central valley of Guatemala. It was one of the most important and largest cities within Mesoamerica, due to its control of commercial exchange in the central valley, particularly of obsidian brought from El Chayal, as well as its multilateral interaction with Teotihuacan, in the Valley of Mexico, and with Tikal in the Maya lowlands (Laporte 2003; Braswell 2003 and Henderson 2013; Arroyo 2012).

Kaminaljuyu´s growth began in the Middle Preclassic period (approx. 400 BC), however, the city was completely abandoned prior to the Early Postclassic period (approx. 1200 AD) (Shook and Kidder 1952; Sanders and Michels 1969). In spite of this long history, however, it is not clear that the same cultural groups were always in power or even the majority population. Based on ceramic changes (Hatch 1997), as well as stylistic changes to sculpture (Henderson 2013), scholars have postulated that there were shifting groups of speakers who dominated KJ throughout its history (Arroyo 2013, Akkeren personal communication 2014). There is no material evidence of any other settlement after Kaminaljuyu in this valley. At the time of the Spanish invasion, Kaminaljuyu was already in ruins, and when the Spanish located their capital

[12] Antonio Villacorta, then Minister of Education, named the archaeological site in 1936 as Kaminaljuyu, at the request of A. Kidder and E. Shook who were going to conduct excavations in the area. Prior to the use of this name, the findings were pointed to specific names of the properties in the area that was divided, like Finca La Providencia, Finca Arevalo, La Quinta Samayoa, Finca Miraflores, etc. (Kidder 1946:7).

in Iximche,[13] to the northwest, new owners occupied the now "empty" land around Kaminaljuyu, to raise cattle on private property called "fincas".

Kaminaljuyu was a very complex society. Its center was built around Miraflores Lake, an essential component for the city's development. "Experts" of the time developed hydraulic systems to drain the lake and carry water to their farming fields, located in what are now known as the San Jorge, Miraflores, and Las Charcas neighborhoods (Hatch 1997) (figure 3). By doing so they took control of the harvest located near their center of power, while defining agricultural boundaries for public areas within the site. These hydraulic waterways, formed by cuts to the "talpetate", the natural stratum of the area, regulated the water flow to drain Lake Miraflores of excess of water, diverting it for agricultural fields (Hatch 1997:12,14).

Nevertheless, the city's actual boundaries are unknown. The city might have occupied the entire central valley, with strong relations with other regions. Its strategic geographical location contributed to the development of a huge commercial network in the lowlands, the southern coast of Guatemala, and the Motagua Valley to the east. The people of KJ traded jade, some fine ceramics and, particularly obsidian. These relationships attest to the power KJ's leaders achieved in Mesoamerica. Strong ties between KJ and Teotihuacan are manifested architectonically,

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13 The Spanish system founded three "capitales" before the current city. The first Spanish settlement was established in 1524 in Iximche, Tecpan, at the western part of the central highlands of Guatemala. Three years later in 1527, the city moved-out towards the Valley of Almolonga, where the "Ciudad de Santiago" was founded. This city was destroyed in 1541 due to an enormous flood. Consequently, the city was again relocated in 1543 to the Valley of Panchoy, in modern day Antigua, Guatemala. This third Spanish settlement was destroyed, by the Santa Marta earthquake in 1773; thus obligating residents to settle in a different location once again. Three years later, the last "capital" was founded in the Valley of the Ermita, also known as "Valle de las Vacas" due to cattle raising and related activities at the aforementioned "fincas" (Suñe 1998 and Chinchilla 1998). This is the current location of Guatemala City.

through the popular construction technique known as *talud-tablero*[14] during the Early Classic and Late Classic periods (between 300 to 700 AD). Besides architecture, artistic productions, building paintings, sculptures and ceramic decorations also indicate stylistic connections between these cities. Several academics (Braswell 2003, Laporte 2003, Carpio 1999) have studied the multilateral interaction and commerce between these sites, which demonstrate the "international" nature of communication and exchange that characterized KJ during much of its history.

The topographical characteristics of the area where KJ was built are important. Rivers providing easy access, ravines and natural boundaries, soil fertility, and the environment of the central valley, provided ideal conditions for the development of the city. KJ residents utilized the available natural resources to build houses and public buildings, constructed mostly with black and brown soils, brown and yellowish clays or *talpetate* (a very pasty and hard yellow clay), and sands composed of pomiceous ash (Shook and Kidder 1952:66). Use of stones was limited until the Classic period, when people started using them for hydraulic channels and *Taludes* (Mah, 2012).

Regarding the material culture of KJ, there are ceramic phases proposed by Alfred Kidder (in the 1940s) and Marion Popenoe de Hatch (in the 1990s) to measure the time of occupation, the study of its development and its expansion over the area. Stratigraphic findings defined the phases Arevalo, Las Charcas, Providencia, Verbena, Arenal, and Santa Clara for the Preclassic period; Aurora, Esperanza, Amatle, and Pamplona for the Classic period; and the Ayampuc and Chinautla phases for the Postclassic period (Hatch 1997: 8,9) (Figure8).

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[14] The *Talud* is characterized by "inward-sloping basal elements" (Braswell, 2003:1) while "stacked rectangular bodies containing recessed insets" characterize the *Tablero* (Ibid). These compositions "pass completely around a platform, with stairs flanked by balustrades" (Laporte 2003: 200).

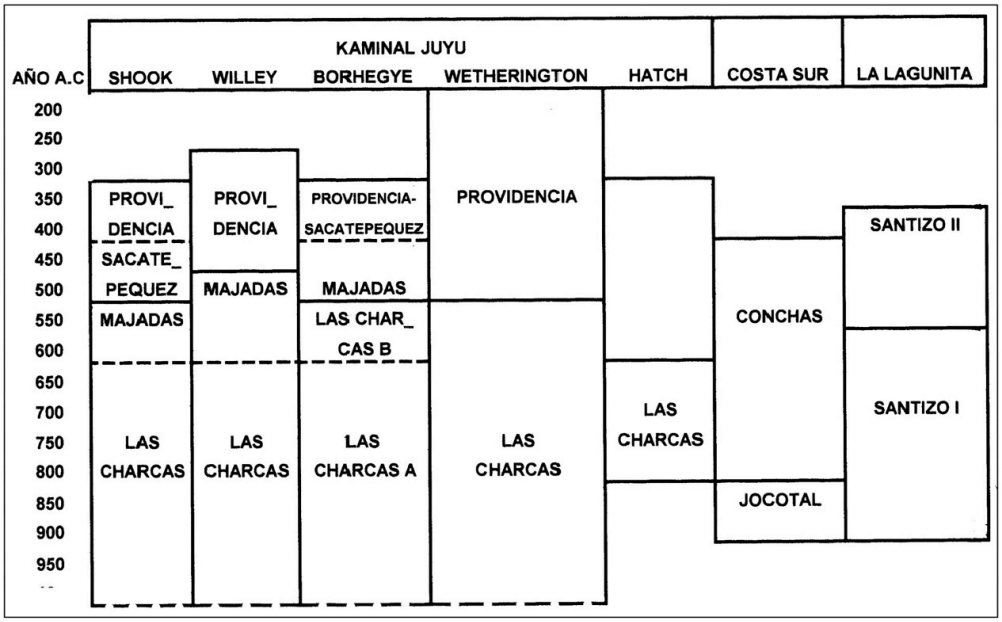


Figure 8. Ceramic Phases of Kaminaljuyu (Shook and Hatch 1999)

There are some mounds that were intensely researched (as part of rescue projects), and some mounds that stay preserved, since the urban expansion is still pushing to dismantle the mounds and construct streets and houses over the area. The scholarly best-known mounds of KJ are Quitasombrero, El Chay, Mounds A and B, and Mound E-III-3, which are described below.

The first mound investigated at Kaminaljuyu was the so-called "Quita Sombrero" (Removed Hat) or Mound D-III-6. During the early twentieth century, in 1927, Manuel Gamio and Antonio Villacorta explored and collected ceramic artifacts while conducting excavations, thereby exposing the clay architecture of platforms and stairways. Villacorta reported these newfangled findings along with their context, in the *Annals of the Academy of Geography and History*, including a sculpture of a snakehead located between the Mounds E-III-5 and D-III-2.

However, he did not mention other information related to the excavation's findings (Villacorta and Villacorta 1927:50).

The Mound D-III-1, better known as "El Chay," about 50 meters south from Mound E-III-5, deserves consideration as well. Decoration of these buildings represents some of the best artistic expressions at Kaminaljuyu. Obsidian-encrusted and beautiful masks made from clay, probably representing deities, decorate the facade of this building (figure 9). Guatemalans and US archaeologists excavated this mound in the 60´s. However, similar to the case of Gustavo Espinoza at the Acropolis of KJ, limited information has been published about these excavations.

The mounds A and B were located on the southern boundary of the center of KJ. These mounds were of special interest due to strong indication of interaction with Teotihuacan, as evidenced in the vessels and artifacts excavated (figure 10). These excavations expanded knowledge of Late Classic period at the site (Kidder 1946 and Brasswell 2003).

Figure 9. "El Chay" mound, façade showing masks and obsidians as part of its decoration.

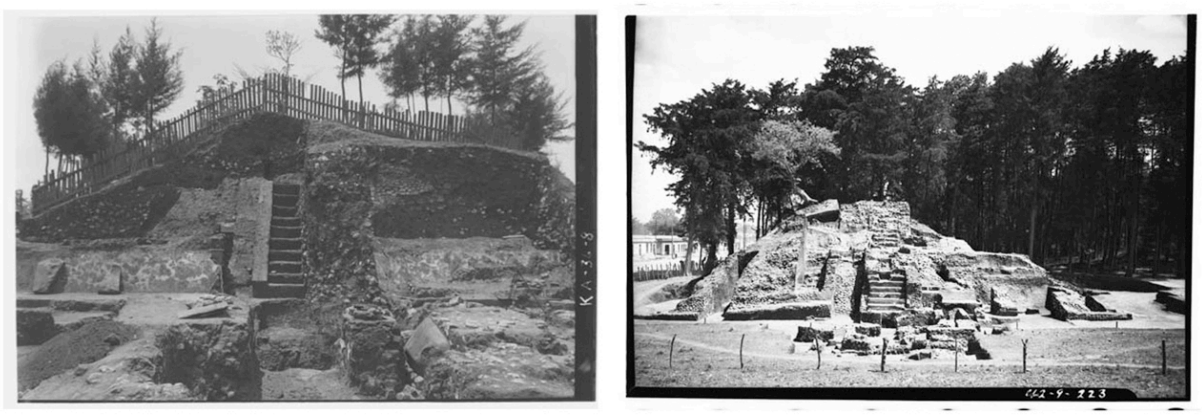


Figure 10. Mounds A and B of KJ, photos from 1945 (Kidder 1946).

The case of Mound E-III-3 is one of the most contradictory at Kaminaljuyu. It was the largest in the city, at more than 20 m height and 70 by 90 m in the base. Found by accident when workmen extracted soils to manufacture bricks, it is one of the most impressive findings in the area. When the superintendent of the brick factory decided to report some unusual findings to the local government, the Carnegie Institution went to the scene and conducted archaeological salvage excavations in 1947 led by Shook and Kidder (1952) that documented and revealed architectural stages in the mound and identified two great tombs of important people, buried at the center of the fifth and sixth sub-structures. These bodies were placed in a chamber made from a series of rectangles of decreasing size, with four posts supporting a wooden litter upon which their bodies were laid. These burials contained hundreds of mortuary offerings, such as ceramic vessels, stone objects, shells and bone ornaments. These artifacts were essential in dating this mound in the late Pre-classic period. This ancient building comprises seven different construction phases overlying each other. The mound no longer exits. It was completely

destroyed during the 1950´s due to a pronounced demand for bricks needed to construct modern houses, and the release of the property from restrictions on building at the site in order to build a hospital in the area (Shook and Kidder 1952:41, 56-57).

Although Kaminaljuyu was the greatest of cities in the central valley of Guatemala, and undoubtedly well know throughout much of Mesoamerica, there are several other contemporaneous and even earlier sites in the area, which modern urbanization destroyed either partially or totally (i.e. Bran, Rosario-Naranjo, Aeropuerto, Guacamaya, Aycinena, and Naranjo) (Arroyo 2010). Contextualizing all of the information that we know about KJ, in next section I am briefly describing, chronologically, research that has been done in the area.

D. GENEALOGY OF ARCHAEOLOGICAL RESEARCH IN KJ

In order to place this study within the chronology of scholarly research of KJ, I summarize the main features that are forming the history of the whole site. The archaeological exploration and research at KJ involved many people, so that I am mentioning the principal projects in chronological order.

Alfred Maudslay was the first explorer interested in KJ (Maudslay 1889). As mentioned in the introduction, Maudslay travelled in the area during the 1890´s with other explorers, including Morley, Spinden, Lothrop, Saville, and Holmes. He was the first person to draw a plan of the archaeological mounds, thereby documenting the boundaries of the farms existing at that time. Manuel Gamio conducted the first stratigraphic excavation tests at KJ during 1925-1927 at Finca Miraflores. These tests dated the site for the first time, classifying it with a vague nomenclature of "archaic" (Kidder et al 1946:6) to reference the ancient material they were finding. In 1926, Samuel Lothrop studied sculptures found on these farms sites. A year later,

Villacorta and Villacorta conducted the first Guatemalan excavations and researched the mound known as “Quita Sombrero” at Finca La Providencia (Villacorta and Villacorta 1927).

The Carnegie Project conducted archaeological surveys between 1935 and 1950, and several U.S. archaeologists such as Kidder, Shook, Jennings, Ricketson, and Robert Wauchope, amongst others, conducted excavations at the famous Mounds A and B beside Carlos Villacorta at Finca La Esperanza, also at Mound E-III-3, at Finca La Providencia, and Finca Miraflores (Kidder et.al 1946; Shook and Kidder 1952). The Carnegie Project archaeological survey provided, for the first time, a complete chronological sequence for KJ, with considerations for the chronological interrelationship’s impact on other Mesoamerican cities, such as Teotihuacan (Michels 1979:7,8). Nearly a decade later, the Pennsylvania State University Kaminaljuyu Project came into being and studied the area from 1968 to 1973. Michels and Sanders leaded the survey as a salvage archaeological project, clarifying and expanding the chronological sequence established by the Carnegie project. Moreover, they excavated residential areas looking for more information about the population (Michels 1979: 8, 273).

The Guatemalan projects occurred between 1952 and 1968 and from 1983 through the present. In the 1960´s, Gustavo Espinoza, Inspector of General Monuments of the Ministry of Culture, became infamous in that he published no report on his fieldwork and excavations at the Acropolis of KJ. However, his projects discovered a complex system of construction dating from the Late Pre-Classic period to the Late Classic, in an area that later symbolized KJ for decades. A few more surveys were conducted in other mounds outside the archaeological park as part of salvation projects during the urbanization between 1960´s to 1980´s. During 1960´s decade, the urban expansion was highly destructing the site, but the creation of the archaeological park preserved several mounds, which happened after the excavations on the Acropolis led by

Espinoza in 1968. Nonetheless, this represented just a minuscule part of the whole site. This had an impact on the perception of what KJ was and its real size, since most of neighbors and citizens think that the KJ scale was just what is preserved in the park. This lack of education does not allow connecting the rest of the mounds that remained outside the park limits to the larger ancient city.

During 1983 and 1984, under the direction of Marion Popenoe de Hatch and with the involvement of Guatemalan archaeologists, the "Proyecto San Jorge" revealed several hydraulic channels for agricultural fields at Finca San Jorge on the southern outskirts of the KJ site. These projects also revised the sequence of ceramics established by the Carnegie Project's work (Hatch 1997).

In 1994, the Universidad del Valle de Guatemala, under Matilde Ivic de Monterroso's direction, excavated the archaeological park for the first time since the Espinoza intervention. Although they were not allowed to excavate the mounds at the site, their other excavations documented stratigraphy of the Acropolis, and some burials in the area of the Palangana (Ivic 1994). There have been efforts to improve the facilities of the archaeological park (Carpio 1998) to attract more visitors and to teach the history of KJ, although the budget is never sufficient to cover all necessities that such a park demands, provoking carelessness by the authorities, and repercussion of indifference by citizens.

It was not until 2010 under the direction of Bárbara Arroyo's "Proyecto Zona Arqueológica Kaminaljuyu" that the archaeological park was revitalized. This particular project includes the archaeological park and the mounds outside it, which remained "isolated" and forgotten between neighborhoods, malls, and streets, bringing together the meaning of KJ city as a whole. This project included the recently built visitors center in the park, the renewal of the

roof that covers the Acropolis for better protection, consolidation of exposed buildings, and enhancement of services in the park[15]. Active research continues to this day, researching archaeological mounds not previously investigated and documenting important events that occurred in the Acropolis and the Palangana areas of Kaminaljuyu that were not well understood before. These efforts provided a model to step forward and continue reaching to citizens through public projects that involve education. This first was done in the *Villas de San Juan* Neighborhood in 2011, where Arroyo's project, of which I was a part, conducted one-month excavations in Mounds C-III-7, C-III-8 and C-III-9. A neighborhood committee was part of the process from the beginning, which allowed them to visit the excavations whenever they could, establishing communication with citizens who where interested and opening a door to the past for those who did not know about the mounds inside their neighborhood. At the end of this season, we invited all neighbors and presented the results of archaeological research to the community in one of their houses, which also integrated their ghost and spirits histories related to Kaminaljuyu (Linares and Mah 2011).

Furthermore, the project with the elementary students of Delia Luz represents the first community-focused project seeking the involvement of the nearby population with the park itself and the rest of the mounds in zone 7 and 11 of Guatemala City. The framework of this study that includes excavations at Mound E-III-5 is conducted as part of the *Proyecto Zona Arqueológica Kaminaljuyu*, as continuity for a public archaeology of Guatemala for Guatemalans. The various excavations and research efforts to produce archaeological knowledge in the zone of KJ attempts

[15] All of these achievements were able due to the commitment of Arroyo in searching funding outside the country. The Japan Embassy provided the economic support to build the visitors center in 2011.

to break down academic boundaries that often do not allow people to communicate information extracted from their environment.

E. THE DISCONNECTION: DEFINING THE PROBLEM

Today, in the name of protecting the past, direct contact and interaction with the remains of KJ has been regularly denied, especially those mounds that are demarked by streets and houses, like Mound E-III-5. I am framing the complexity of this problematic disconnection with the past, for the case of Mound E-III-5, in three layers for better comprehension as addressed in the following chapters. The first layer, created b y the state at a national level, is the existing law protecting archaeological remains, which does not allow construction, partially or totally, over the mound since the destruction has been disconcerting. The second is psychological, as access to the mound is denied to children with school authorities punishing any such attempt. The third privation of any interaction with the remains is a brick wall surrounding the mound at the school which, although designed to aid in preservation, also serves to prevent the children from any access to the mound. Therefore, the mound is isolated and completely disconnected from interaction with people and, most importantly, the daily education of the children. The area becomes useless, and without meaning to the people who daily watch it. Under these circumstances, the archaeological mound hinders space for the school without enough infrastructures, generating indifference to the past.

Archaeological sites, especially in Guatemala City, have become public parks for recreation and do not necessarily represent or educate the local population about their Mayan history, although the new visitor center at Kaminaljuyu has gone a long way in changing this. The sites have also become dangerous places due to criminal activity. The remains of

Kaminaljuyu, in what is now Guatemala City, are in the middle of neighborhoods, surrounded by commercial centers, or next to schools. Moreover, most of people in the area do not know that an ancient Maya city existed there, and think that these mounds are natural hills and places for recreation or potential space for the construction of houses and businesses.

More than eighty percent of the Kaminaljuyu ruins were destroyed during the 19th and 20th centuries (Arroyo 2010), and the few more completely intact remains stay within the archaeological park. One must therefore question modern Guatemalan policies intended to protect an ancient national heritage and cultural patrimony. These policies' failures continue to this day, jeopardizing the ability of the population to identity with their past. However, the new project that revitalizes the archaeological park is changing the picture. The new visitors center, which opened in 2012, gives another perspective on Kaminaljuyu and more information to the people who visit the park. Additionally, this small museum represents a space of identification for the neighbors.

This thesis' focus on "Mound E-III-5", which has never before been investigated, describes the interaction of students from "Delia Luz Gutiérrez de Castellanos" public school with the whole site of KJ and the larger community. In most cases, the students expressed a curiosity and interest in the archaeological research conducted at the site. However, many people's reaction to the archaeological work is negative due to a misperception that the site is solely a place for recreational activity rather than a place of historical significance and a learning experience. In fact, many members of the local population view archaeology as being useless and mistakenly think that archaeological investigations damage public spaces. After the Oxlajuj Baktun´s celebration on December 21st 2012, due to media coverage, a Maya theme for the site became "popular" as neighborhoods suddenly became interested in the "Mayas" as a significant

icon of an exotic past, though not one adequately related to the modern present and the indigenous descendants living in the city. This means that educational approaches, such as the one I am discussing throughout this study, need to go beyond one set of workshops with students. It needs a long-term commitment with the population.

ii. reconnection

The essential premise of activist scholarship is that people must use the knowledge academics produce. Academic knowledge has to be shared with those related to the area in which we work and especially with those who do not have the access to higher education. Breaking through inherent academic boundaries is merely the first step in a broader project of decolonization of the discipline of archaeology (Stottman 2010; Colwell-Chanthaphonh and Ferguson 2008; Castañeda and Mathews 2008; Hale 2001; Smith 1999).

The activist approach of this study takes into account two primary elements: Primary education in a public school and an archaeological mound from the ancient city of Kaminaljuyu, both located in Guatemala City. A combination of pedagogy and archaeology in this public school allowed me to get close to and work with a student community; this scenario opened the door so when students were exposed to archaeological excavations, they could gain deeper knowledge about history in this neighborhood of ancient Kaminaljuyu, a topic that is vaguely mentioned in text books and which is of great importance for developing community identity and historical knowledge.

According to this framework, our need to generate knowledge with the community and to communicate this knowledge broadly is fundamental to prevent the destruction of last KJ mounds. More importantly, it also requires giving a twist to the typical archaeological context by opening it up as a space of learning and identification, activating empowerment and conservation. Given its characteristics, the case of the public school and the archaeological mound sharing the same scenario is of great relevance to articulating the interaction among the community, archaeologists, and ancient remains. I found the educational workshops to be a

highly effective way to activate a connection between students, their imaginaries[16], and their daily context. This is what I am calling the "reconnection" of the remains of the past with their present.

Over six weeks in the summer of 2013, we conducted workshops with children from 4th, 5th, and 6th elementary grades at the public school "Delia Luz Gutierrez de Castellanos", in Guatemala City. Knowing that this type of project of involving the local community of children and their families with an archaeological program will imply double the effort, we took the challenge and merged these two approaches at this public school. As the principal researcher, everyday I had to supervise both excavations and educational workshops simultaneously, which demanded more awareness and energy than generally required to complete either task alone. We walked through this fascinating world of combining educational workshops with students during the archaeological field season at their school.

In this chapter I am focusing in three main themes: a. What is the content of national curricula and what type of information is given to students; b. The educational activities we conducted to share the knowledge we were producing with the workshops; and c. How students reacted and positioned themselves when they were exposed to archaeological excavations and how their teachers and parents responded to these activities. To illustrate the lack of knowledge about and lack of importance paid to the ancient past in Guatemala City, I want to illustrate the situation of Kaminaljuyu with some examples of giant shopping malls being built over the site, and discuss how appear to be are more valuable for people than the ruins as historical places of identity. But first, I briefly describe the history of Guatemalan public education to create the

16 For the Encyclopedia of Political Theory, an *imaginary* is the set of meanings, symbols, values, narratives, and representations of the world through which people imagine their existence (Bevir 2010: 685).

context for discussion of the level of preparedness of the students before I arrived at Delia Luz. In other words, I summarize the type of exposure that young Guatemalan students have to ancient and archaeological history in the following section. Then, I will describe the activities and discuss students 'response to them.

A. NATIONAL CURRICULA

If we look back on how education in Guatemala has been delivered since Colonial times until the era before the Liberal Reformation (1871), we can see that it has had radical transformations. Education was predominantly determined by the dominant class and wealthy people until reforms were made, driven in part by the growth of capitalistic production that required a qualified and instructed work force (Osorio 1995:150).

In the revolutionary period (1944 to 1954) education served the agenda of national integration, creating opening spaces for more democratic participation in modernization in all spheres. Nevertheless, after Árbenz Guzmáns' overthrow in 1954, the counterrevolutionary and counterinsurgency military period caused a set-back for education in both economic and ideological terms. The era of 1954 to 1958 damaged Guatemalan education, since because of the militarization of education, ideological repression, and the abolition of organizations stopped democratic involvement of students (Osorio 1995:123).

From 1959 to 1965 education received financial and technical cooperation from the United States and it is then when the system of national and sectorial educational planning was established. Nevertheless, quality in education had no improvements (Osorio 1995:120,123, 125,128). Also during this time there was the conscience creation of a Central American nationality within the educational system, which was related to agro-industry promoted by the

governments in support of the United States and their control upon revolutionary movements in Central America (Ibid). In the period from 1960 to 1980 the number of public schools in the republic increased, most financed by the AID (*Agencia Internacional para el Desarrollo*) and CARE (*Cooperación Americana de Remesas al Exterior*). Between 1969 and 1978 basic centers and experimental institutes were created, with orientation on agro-industry, industrial, commercial and support on teachers' formation for center of studies in high potential areas of production in the country (Ibid). This represents the enhancement and facilitation of a technical formation within the work force, since that was the principal interest of governments of those periods.

During Laugerud García´s government (1974 -1978), education was divided into two types: children in urban schools had the right to receive full primary education, while children in rural schools received an incomplete education, due to the fact that kids from age 10 up were viewed as capable to work and needed to be educated only to be "good workers" (Osorio 1995: 126). However when Lucas García assumed power (1978-1982), he endorsed full primary education in all schools. Nevertheless, the "strengthening of national identity" that was brought about by Rios Montt's military coup in 1982 witnessed a reduction of resources for education and education coverage, caused by the violence of his regime on the country, which caused thousands of people to die or flee from Guatemala; there was also the disappearance of and repression against teachers (Osorio 1995: 132). During Mejía Victores' (1983-1986) term, new private education schools were given and opening, which minimized the Guatemalan States's responsibility to bring quality education to all the people (Osorio 1995: 141,143).

Today, the quality of public education is not a priority for the government; instead it is security and the eradication of violence that gets more attention from the budget of the ruling

government. Deficiencies in public education areas are increasing; pedagogical supplies and teachers are not enough to deal with students' demands I say this based on my experience in the Delia Luz Gutiérrez de Castellanos School, where there is only one teacher for first and second grade students. Likewise, students from the fifth and sixth grade have no Natural Science and Social Studies textbooks, which are supposed to be distributed by the Minister of Education. Addressing the issue of carelessness from the State on educational matters is important to this study and, as I demonstrate, education like that undertaken during my archaeological project can be of great aid for the progress of the Guatemalan learning system, especially in the public sector.

Two years after the peace accords in Guatemala, the Educational Reform was promoted, demanding the creation of new politics to improve education for all the citizens. The National Education Council was created in 2008, with the goal of using politics to resolve the main educational problems in Guatemala. This guaranteed coverage, quality, management, bilingual education, an increase in educational investment, equity, and decentralization, among other things. This enhancement to the quality of education also included the suitable training and updating of teachers to achieve effective performances during the students' learning process. (Consejo Nacional de Educación, Políticas Educativas 2008: 6-8[17]).

The "Curriculo Nacional Base" (CNB) is the national curricula for education in elementary level that Guatemalan government promotes, allowing certain topics as part of the national discourse to teach in all elementary schools. It was presented the same year, 2008, with a multiethnic, multicultural, and multilingual vision[18]. The planning of this curriculum is given at

[17]http://www.mineduc.gob.gt/portal/contenido/menu_lateral/quienes_somos/politicas_educativas/pdf/Politicas_Educativas_CNE.PDF

[18](http://www.mineduc.gob.gt/portal/contenido/anuncios/centrosdeaprendizajedetecnologia2013/index.html)

three levels: national, regional, and local that are adapted to the sociolinguistic necessities of every area. The national level contains information drawn from various cultures of the country that "contribute to the building of a multiethnic, pluricultural, and multilingual national project" (CNB 4th grade page 36). That is, the national level is the general frame where the regional and local levels start. It contains "elements" from all cultures of the country in general terminology, giving autonomy to the educational centers and teachers to contextualize their local social, cultural, and linguistic characteristics (CNB 4th grade: 36). Similarly, the regional level is adapted to the sociolinguistic, economic, and cultural characteristics of every region. Moreover, the local level applies the national level guidelines to elaborate the program of the school, considering its characteristics, necessities, interests, and problems (CNB 4th grade: 37).

Organization of the elementary curricula is divided in two cycles. The first cycle (first, second, and third grades) is to adapt and integrate students into the learning process. The second cycle (fourth, fifth, and sixth grades) is to complement and strengthen the new knowledge obtained in the first cycle (CNB 4th grade: 41).

Educational topics for elementary grades are divided into various big areas, such as Communication and Language, Mathematics, Social and Natural Environment, Natural Sciences and Technology, Social Sciences, Artistic Expression, Physical Education, Citizen Formation, and Productivity and Development. Social Sciences is most pertinent to this thesis, as this was the subject area and portion of the class schedule that the principal of Delia Luz and its teachers allowed us to use to conduct the workshops and activities.

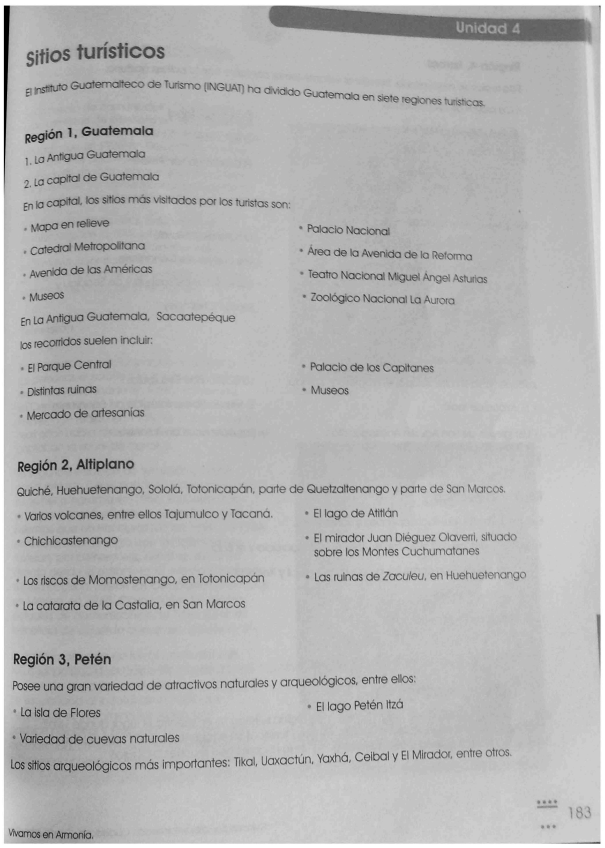
The fourth grade educational topics, defined by the national level, include Guatemala and Central America, the dynamics of interaction of geography with the different life forms, and political, economical, cultural, social, geographical, and historical characteristics (CNB 4th grade:

136-146). This latter has special interest for the workshops that we conducted with students of Delia Luz public school. During the evaluation at the beginning of the project I could observe little familiarity with the ancestral past and its cultural material remains of Guatemala, which did not reflect the level of knowledge that is described within the CNB. Likewise, the lessons of CNB for fourth grade are designed for description and identification of ancient peoples that inhabit Mesoamerica and Central America, peoples that actually continue to inhabit the same territory, and of "appreciation" of the material evidence as historical testimony (CNB 4th grade: 140-141). However, the emphasis is given to the history of "discovery, conquest, and colonization" (Ibid) of Guatemala and Central America.

Correspondingly, the lessons of CNB for fifth grade are broad in relation to the education of the ancient past, in a sense that they are linked to a description and identification of characteristics of different peoples from the continent of America and its continuation to the present "based on their origin and identity principles" (CNB 5th grade: 142). Similar to 4th grade, emphasis is on facts and historic processes that happened after the Spanish invasion. Also, the curriculum of CNB learning for sixth grade does not vary much compared to the previous years. This is in relation to the relevant historical processes at a world level (CNB 6th grade: 136). It is important, for this level, to underline that an emphasis is given to history as a science that connects us to the past. History then will serve to lay the foundation, to delve into, and to explain the historical processes of ancient civilizations of the Near East, India, China, and Europe, indeed with especial emphasis on the latter.

In short, the educational system of Guatemala is designed for a national discourse within and for an international frame (tourism purposes). Part of the content of their textbooks indicates that the *Instituto Guatemalteco de Turismo* has divided the country into different Regions (figure

11). It has, as I will discuss below, given emphasis to the history of other areas of the world, without significant attention to the local ancient history. This is linked to the second section of this chapter that is describing activities conducted at Delia Luz Gutierrez de Castellanos Public School. Through some of these activities I was able to observe if students' knowledge of the ancient past corresponded with the bases of the CNB.



Unidad 4

Sitios turísticos

El Instituto Guatemalteco de Turismo (INGUAT) ha dividido Guatemala en siete regiones turísticas.

Región 1, Guatemala

1. La Antigua Guatemala
2. La capital de Guatemala

En la capital, los sitios más visitados por los turistas son:

- Mapa en relieve
- Catedral Metropolitana
- Avenida de las Américas
- Museos
- Palacio Nacional
- Área de la Avenida de la Reforma
- Teatro Nacional Miguel Ángel Asturias
- Zoológico Nacional La Aurora

En La Antigua Guatemala, Sacaatepéque los recorridos suelen incluir:

- El Parque Central
- Distintas ruinas
- Mercado de artesanías
- Palacio de los Capitanes
- Museos

Región 2, Altiplano

Quiché, Huehuetenango, Sololá, Totonicapán, parte de Quetzaltenango y parte de San Marcos.

- Varios volcanes, entre ellos Tajumulco y Tacaná.
- Chichicastenango
- Los riscos de Momostenango, en Totonicapán
- La catarata de la Castalia, en San Marcos
- El lago de Atitlán
- El mirador Juan Diéguez Olaverri, situado sobre los Montes Cuchumatanes
- Las ruinas de *Zaculeu*, en Huehuetenango

Región 3, Petén

Posee una gran variedad de atractivos naturales y arqueológicos, entre ellos:

- La isla de Flores
- Variedad de cuevas naturales
- El lago Petén Itzá

Los sitios arqueológicos más importantes: Tikal, Uaxactún, Yaxhá, Ceibal y El Mirador, entre otros.

183

Vivamos en Armonía.

Figure 11: Page 183 of 4th grade textbook that list archaeological sites for tourism (CSFC4 2013)

To evaluate students' level of knowledge related to the archaeology and ancient history of Guatemala, I consulted the CNB and current 4th grade textbook as the frame to estimate it. Scholarly content for the fourth grade textbook is presented in four units with each one divided

into two sections. The general topics include: Ancient peoples (Unit 1), Colony (Unit 2), Independent Life (Unit 3), and Current Day Central America (Unit 4). The first part of Unit 1 is about prehistoric societies, and the main topics are: Prehistoric societies (Paleo-Indian and Archaic periods); Mesoamerica (Preclassic, Classic and Postclassic Periods, and Postclassic Cultures); The four peoples (Cosmovision and Guatemalan Linguist Map); Cultural manifestations, and Guatemalan Governmental Institutions (CSFC4: 2013[19]).

Presentation of this unit is a full-page photograph showing the three crests of ancient pyramids from Tikal emerging from the mantle of Petén jungle. In the upper right corner of the page the text reads: "The ancient peoples" (figure 12). On the next page, once again there are two pictures of the Temple of the Great Jaguar at Tikal, one from the late nineteenth century and the other a recent picture, with exercises related to their current community and the change over time. The text briefly defines prehistoric societies, mentioning only two areas with fossil Paleo-Indian evidence, when there are more examples in Guatemala. Although they define the concepts of hunters, fishermen, nomads and sedentary agriculture, they do not mention any example that explains the Archaic period, including only one theory of American population (Bering Strait) (CSFC4: 2013).

The "Introduction to Mesoamerica" theme begins with an explanation of maize as a common dietary element, explaining and relating the nomadic societies to wild corn. However, the text leaves a gap by not mentioning archaic societies, instead just saying that maize cultivation happened between "5,000 and 7,000 BC" (CSFC4 2013:15). Moreover, this reference of time creates confusion because the counting of the years "BC" is reversed (ie, the year 7000

[19] CSFC4 for Ciencias Sociales y Formación Ciudadana 4. Ministerio de Educación de Guatemala. Papeles Comerciales, S.A. 2013.

was 2000 years before the 5000 or the year after 7000 was the year 7,001). Also, there is a list of the features that Mesoamerica has in common, such as pyramids, agricultural societies based on corn, beans, squash and chili, the use of obsidian, ball games, etc. Description of the Preclassic period is based in a comparison of the Olmec and Maya and described as the period when the practice of writing starts. The text states that the Olmec civilization "disappeared during the Preclassic Period" (CSFC4 2013:17), and the Maya civilization “was born” during this one, 2000 BC (ibid).

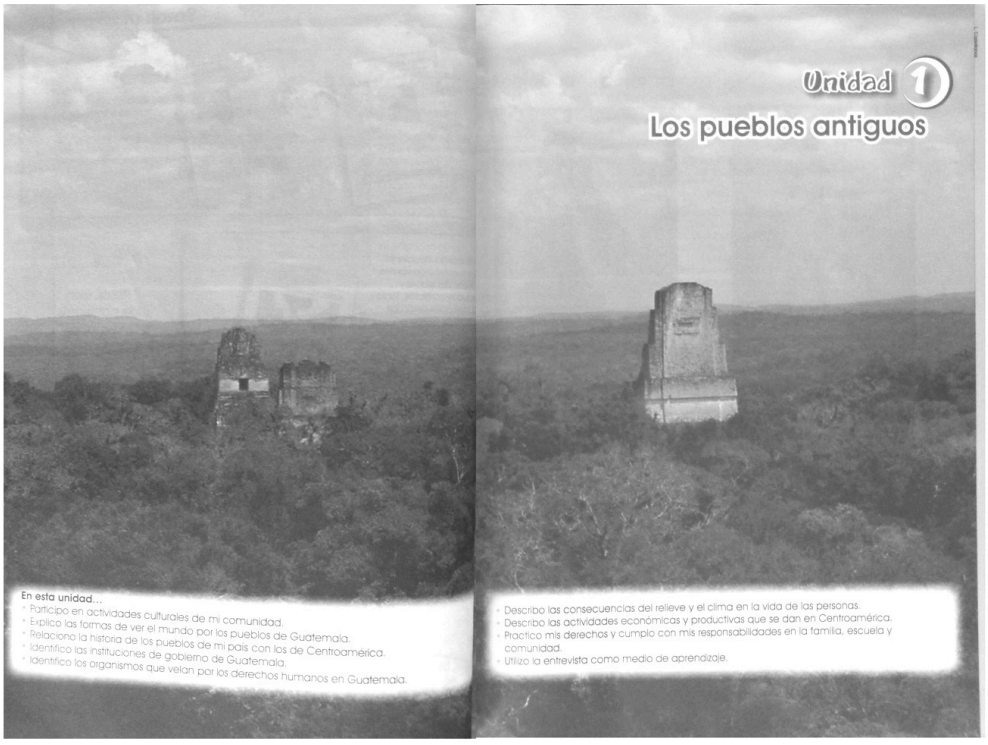


Figure 12: Cover of Social Sciences 4th grade textbook (CSFC4 2013).

It points out that during this Preclassic period the “first pyramids were built with a sort of adobe" (Ibid), but this practice happened during all periods, especially in the central highlands of Guatemala. In fact, in the Maya lowlands and the Pacific coast, the architectural materials were

different from the highlands. When the text made reference to Kaminaljuyu, it was related with the current zones 7 and 11 of Guatemala City, and defined by the main trade characteristics of jade and obsidian. Regarding the Classic Period the text says: "this is the stage when the culture reached its maximum development in all areas, but also marks the fall of this civilization" (CSFC4 2013:18). Following there is a list of the most relevant features, such as the emergence of city-states, their linguistic composition, social stratification, economic systems based on agriculture and commerce. This section also addresses the development of an astronomical calendar, describing it as "very accurate" and then goes on to mention mathematics, writing, architectural arts, and stelae (CSFC4 2013:18, 19). Concerning the Postclassic Period, the book explains it as the epoch "after the abandonment of the great Maya cities, and continuing until what is known as the Maya collapse." It continues by saying that "different towns developed in the area of the highlands, which descended from the Mayans and were influenced by other cultures, such as Toltec and Aztec. This period ended with the Spaniards arrival in 1524" (CSFC4 2013:19). The typical cultural features of this period are listed, such as the ritual of "palo volador", construction of defensive cities, conflicts between peoples, "continued building of pyramids, but of a lower height", codices with script, the use of gold, a decrease in the quality of ceramics, and the practice of human sacrifices (CSFC4 2013:20).

The information of this textbook is not updated, despite the fact that there are plenty of recent materials that could enhance its content and improve its quality. This lack of quality could be due to the fact that most of publications are in English or that the results of archaeological research stays in the frame of technical reports archived at the Ministry of Culture. While the text says that there was a development after the "collapse", we can see that certain key words are used (such as termination, disappearance, fall, drop, etc.) that are negative and that influence

students' misunderstanding of the relationship between the ancient inhabitants of Mesoamerica and modern ones. Following only this text, it would be easy to fall into dubious assumptions, such as assuming that the Maya collapse was equal to their extinction.

Additionally, uses of AC and DC abbreviations are not explained in the book, neither is there a clarification of the account of the years according to the Gregorian system, in spite of the fact that this is an important detail for understanding time´s relationship of the past with the present. One last thing I want to underline is a "note of interest" written in a small box, which refers to Stela E of Quirigua as the "biggest of the Maya world" (CSFC4 2013:19), which reminded me of the existing constant competition among contemporary archaeologists about who has discovered the world's largest Mayan pyramid, the oldest architectural group, or the most spectacular tomb, making the ancient past more exotic. The educational content in the "pre-Columbian" section emphasizes the Classic period, developing more concepts and providing more examples. Compared with the other periods, the quality and quantity of information is better.

The 4th grade textbook briefly mentions the Preclassic ancient cities of Takalik Abaj, El Baul, or Monte Alto in reference to the Pacific coast area and only Kaminaljuyu for the highlands; meanwhile, when talking about the Maya lowlands, it displays several sites such as Quirigua, Uaxactun, Tikal, Piedras Negras, Cancuén, and Mirador. The book partially relates the modern city of Guatemala with Kaminaljuyu by indicating that the location of the ruins is in zones 7 and 11. After the postclassic topic, the postclassic cultures are described referring to K´iche´, Kaqchikel, Itza, Lacandon, Mam, Poqoman, Poqomchi´, Q´eqchi´, and Tz´utijil peoples; even Chorotega, Lenca, Nicarao, and Pipil peoples from Central America are mentioned (CSFC4 2013:21-24), as it was promoted in 1998 in the era of Central American economic integration.

To finish the first part of Unit 1, the book makes reference to the "four peoples" of Guatemala: Garifuna, Maya, Ladina and Xinca, and then moves to description of government institutions (CSFC4 2013:25-31).

There was no possibility to look 5th and 6th grade textbooks, since the Minister of Education did not provide enough books for the students. They have not been using any textbook for Social Science class since 2013. However, reviewing the 4th grade textbook was very useful in order to evaluate the content and how much ancient history is presented, at least for one grade in elementary school. That is more than 4,000 years of history of ancient occupation in Mesoamerica and Guatemala summarized in four pages.

The next section of this chapter describes educational activities we had with the students so that I could observe their reactions and interest on the ancient history of Guatemala and their neighborhood, which also allowed me to explore how efficient the educational system of Guatemala is in the public sector, particularly in Delia Luz.

B. EXPERIENCING HISTORY ON MY LITTLE HILL: EDUCATIONAL ACTIVITIES

As I have mentioned before, Mound E-III-5 is located inside the public school, and is one of the few left from Kaminaljuyu city, making it the perfect scenario to incorporate archaeological work with public education and to begin to repair deficiencies from primary curriculum and text books that little girls use to learn. This process integrated teachers, students and the School Principal, through workshops that explained all the research phases and simultaneously shared their results. Students form this school have never had a similar experience and had no previous knowledge of what the "Cerrito" or mound, which has always been in the game area during the school's entire existence, represented. To perform this

archaeological-educational connection program on a primary level, it was necessary to resort to a pedagogical setting that would allow me to present the information and for the students to digest it. H. Pluckrose (1996) discusses that the importance of teaching falls on how it's given and that it must be adapted to suit children's ages, and which serves as a platform for better learning throughout their adult life. The author shares excellent activities to teach history to kids, which I used as the basis to teach the history of the school's "Cerrito".

In order to evaluate students´ knowledge about the ancient past, and to introduce the topic beforehand, the workshops began one week previous to the excavations. Then, while the workshops were being conducted, the archaeological excavations were also happening at the E-III-5 mound. With a tight schedule, we were able to lead workshops for one hour, once a week, with every grade. Furthermore, throughout the workshops, students interacted with visiting teachers and archaeologists. They had formal classes related to archaeology, where the educational content was part of their social studies course, which had been previously approved by the principal. Activities outside the classroom let them interact with the work that archaeologists were doing. Workshops concluded one week after excavations finished, which allowed us to present the final results of the archaeological excavations to all students, parents, teachers, and the principal at a closing session. Students also presented activities that they participated in. The workshops included several other activities that I will explain below.

Pluckrose (1996: 67, 68) indicates that the "spiral curriculum" is a prudent and effective way for the young student to acquire a structure in learning. That method is based on the repetition of basic ideas until the student understands them, starting from "the simple" (where they can be capable of understanding it) and then moving along towards "the complex" (to conceptualize it). Exercises about time that they performed while considering their time-line,

activities involving history association, where the students acted in the roles of principal actors from the past, as well as participant observation of my excavations, are some examples that I used with the school's students that built on Pluckrose's premises: repetition of the same information while using different media (visuals, sensorial, auditory, etc.) to create a setting for efficient learning.

When we get into education areas to involve public school students with archaeological research, it is of great importance to hold in consideration data presentation, since it is crucial for holding the interest of the student, and for enabling them to travel through the past, to experiment and to own that knowledge. Pluckrose (1996) points out that the information must be carefully presented so the student will be able to identify the techniques and concrete concepts of the study of history and archaeology. He also suggests that in order for the kids to understand history, it is necessary that "access to the past… be done from any place and site" (1996: 19). He also argues that using a personal or familiar experience can allow them to position themselves in that time and create a reference point; subsequently, they will be able to address "history" itself as a particular academic discipline, which implies the connection with other events on a broader level, events such as community and nations' history, also developing their identity and beliefs associated with their upbringing area, and widening their knowledge when enjoying their heritage (Ibid 1996:20).

The content of classes for the workshops that I organized was scheduled based on a list of topics that included basic information about the ancient Maya past, what archaeology is, and how this discipline uses buried things to reconstruct the past. In short, the topics embraced the overall history of the Mayas in Mesoamerica: migrations throughout time, demystification of the myth of the Maya collapse, and current uses of the Maya calendar and rituals. Likewise, students

learned what archaeology research is about, why archaeologists look for buried things, and how we can use this information to learn about the past. During the time the students were visiting excavations at the mound, they were learning about techniques and methods for archaeology, so that afterwards, they could understand how we know about the history of Kaminaljuyu.

Meanwhile, educational activities for students were based on making their own field notebooks, worksheets, drawings to map their community, a group newspaper, designing and painting a mural, interaction with archaeological materials, a photographic exposition, scheduled visits to excavations, visits to other archaeological mounds within their community, visits to private and national museums, and to the Kaminaljuyu archaeological park. The main activities conducted with the students over the six weeks were the following:

1. Field notebooks. Every student crafted their own journal as a field notebook, using paper, folders, recycled paper, and paintings. The main goal of this activity was to develop their participant observation by taking notes of everything they observed in relation to the excavations, workshops, and visits. Additionally, I would be able to use their notes to explore their personal reactions to the excavations and workshops (figure 13).

2. Interaction with archaeological cultural materials. Part of the main purpose for this project was to let the students interact with archaeologists and workers through scheduled visits to excavations, so that they could see, touch, and ask about what we were digging up and the cultural material coming from excavations (figure 14). Also, within the excavation area and the classroom, students experienced how and what archaeological work is all about. We drew up two small squares with a cord, simulating the archaeologists' methodology for excavations, so that children could excavate inside it and find the modern pottery fragments, which we previously bought at the market and buried for them (figure 15). The activity focused on teaching the

concept of archaeological context. During excavations they had to collect all fragments in a plastic bag that also had a label and a number, so that they would be able to reconstruct the vessel in their classrooms (figure 16). There, they used worksheets related to the topic as a complementary activity that enhanced the experience they had with the archaeological materials and their contexts (figures 17 and 18).

Figure 13: Photograph of 4th grade students holding their journals.

Figure 14: Interaction with archaeological cultural materials at the excavations.

Figure 15: Their own excavation next to the mound.

Figure 16: Reconstruction of what they excavated: a modern ceramic vessel.

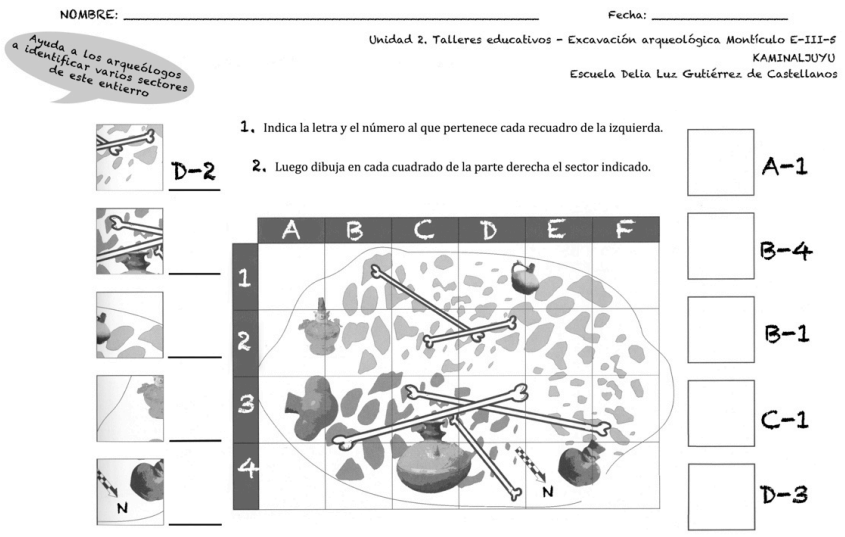


Figure 17: Worksheet for archaeological context.

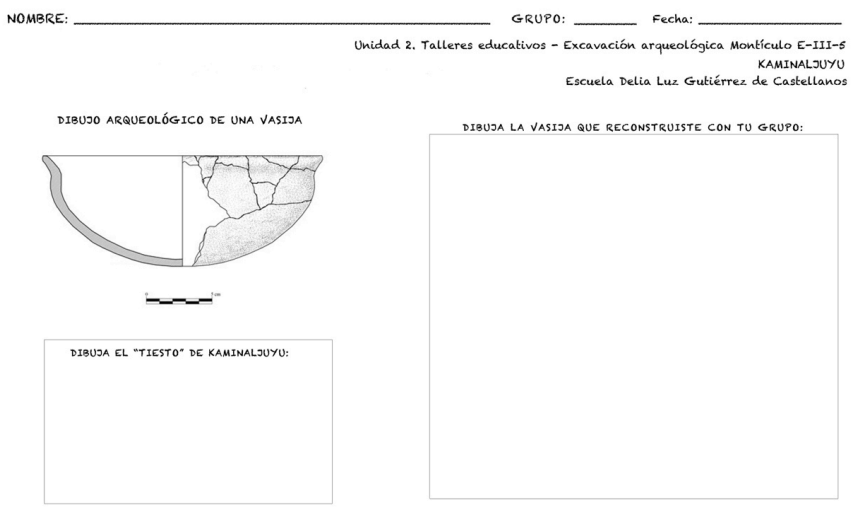


Figure 18: Worksheet for archaeological materials: vessels.

3. Mapping their community. I conducted two mapping activities to explore their understandings of their environment, identity, knowledge of their environment and history. (a) Children from 5th grade were asked to draw a map of their neighborhood, highlighting routes to get to their house and school, in order to explain it to someone who wants to know the area but is not from Guatemala nor related to their context (figure 19) When they completed their own maps, they shared experiences and compared drawings, with several recognizing particular features of their neighborhood in each others´ maps. (b) The same group of students was asked to draw a map of the ancient city of Kaminaljuyu, which was constructed 2,000 years ago in the same area where they live today. They went to the museum specifically for this project, taking visual elements to build their own drawing of Kaminaljuyu that they could later paint on their school´s wall. At the museum, they were asked to pay attention to all things they thought were

relevant in order to include them for their personal drawing (figure 20). Back in the classroom, and based on their notes, everyone made a map of Kaminaljuyu. Next, the class was divided into 6 groups of 4 children each. Each group drew a different map, based on their individual drawings. The final draft for the mural design was selected by vote within the class (figure 21).

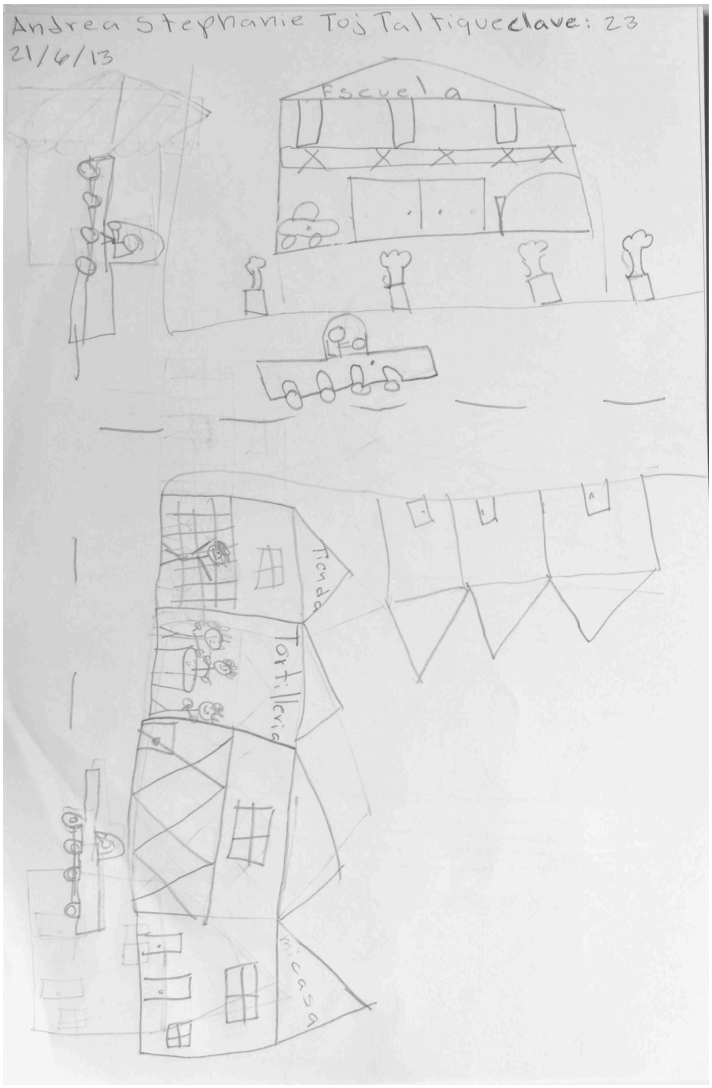


Figure 19: Map representing their neighborhood.

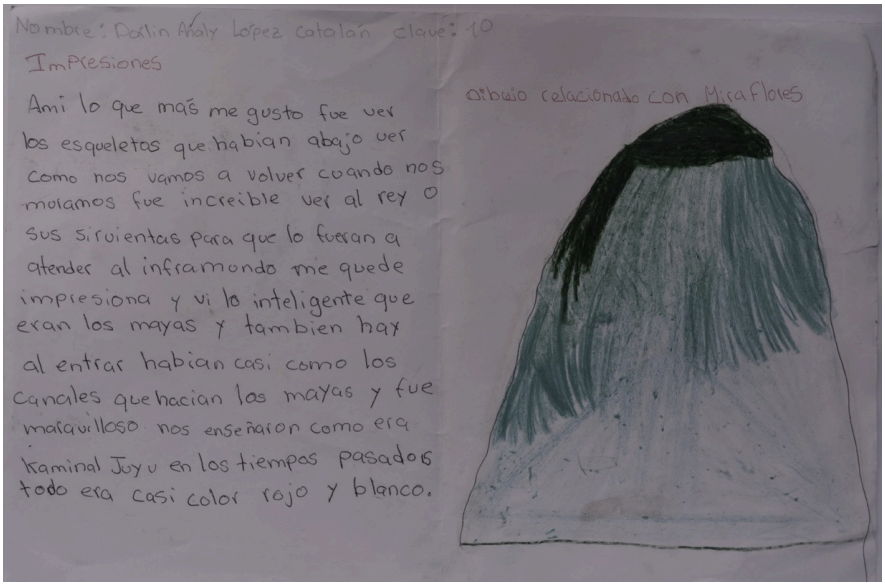


Figure 20: Drawing made after the visit to *Museo Miraflores*.

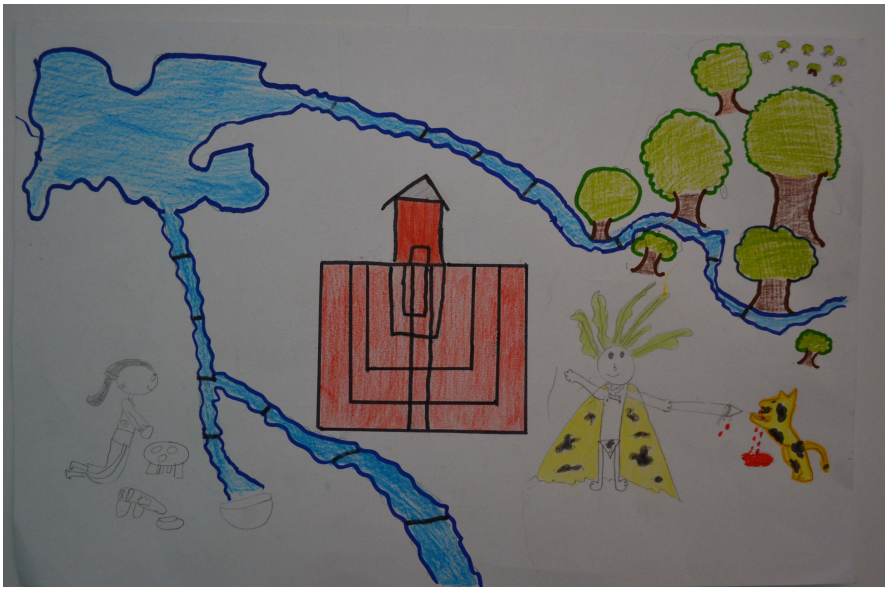


Figure 21: Mural design by 5th grade students.

4. Mural. The painting of a mural on the perimeter wall that contains the mound, which was one of the students´ favorite activities, had the designs proposed by two grades. 4th grade´s students (figure 22) decided to paint an episode from the Popol Wuj (specifically when Jun Batz and Jun Chowen were converted to monkeys). The design of the 5th grade class was a map of Kaminaljuyu that included several symbolic elements of the ancient city, as mentioned above (figure 23).

Figure 22: Hermelindo Mux and Fernando Poyon guiding the drawing mural design of 4th grade.

5. Newspaper. Students gathered in groups to prepare this project (figure 24). They were working on different topics by grade such as the Popol Wuj, the city of Kaminaljuyu, and the relationship between different indigenous peoples and the ancient Mayas. They interviewed

parents, teachers, principal and classmates about the subject, and then posted their interviews on the wall of the school, creating a giant informational collage (figure 25).

Figure 23: Process of painting the mural by 5th grade students.

6. Visits to other archaeological mounds within their community and museums. Students went to visit Mound D-III-1 (figure 26), which is one block away from the school, best known as El Chay. People cannot access this mound normally; several years ago it was locked in order to protect the clay masks that are currently exposed. Talking with the family that lives there allowed us to get inside. The student reactions were of amazement when recognizing the architectural components of the "ancient house" such as the stairs, the corners, the decorations,

etc, and comparing them with the findings of the mound at their school. They also went to the Kaminaljuyu archaeological park, the National Museum of Archaeology and Ethnography of Guatemala, and Miraflores museum (figure 27).

7. Closing session. The entire school and all parents were invited to attend one last session in order to present the final results of the archaeological research at the school. I invited Barbara Arroyo, as the director of the *Proyecto Zona Arqueológica Kaminaljuyu*, to participate and give general information about the site (figure 28). Additionally, we set out an exposition of newspaper and photographs of the workshops for parents.

Figure 24: Making newspaper, 5th grade students.

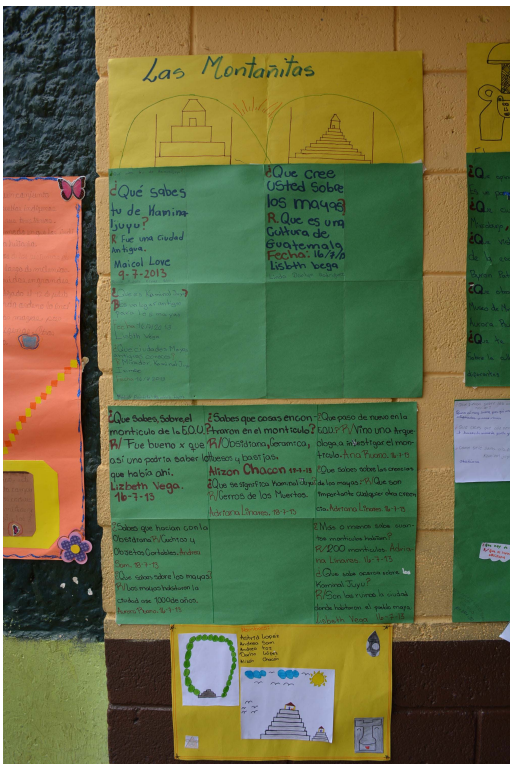


Figure 25: Photograph of 5th grade Newspaper presented at the last day of classes.

Figure 26: Visit to "El Chay" mound, one block from their school.

Figure 27: Photograph of visit to *Museo Miraflores*

Figure 28: Photograph of lecture by Bárbara Arroyo during the closing session.

Throughout all of these activities, I was able to be part of their community. As a participant, I could observe closely the dynamics of teaching and learning within the classroom and school, especially, the focus and attention of students, teachers, and the principal (figure 29). Additionally, through the workshops, I opened the door that allowed me to observe their responses when they were exposed to archaeological experiences at a common space, as is their school. Through interaction and close experience with the mound´s history they connected and activated the past with the present, knowing that the little hill contains plenty of history from Kaminaljuyu and that it is not just an accumulation of earth left in their school playground.

I consider all of this an example of how archaeological work can influence directly the community. Within the objectives of this research, the reaction of the community toward archaeological work and their answer to educational programs that communicate what has been discovered on the excavations is being analyzed.

Pluckrose (1996) asks many questions about the importance of the primary curriculum, fitted to each school's particularities to deliver better learning and develop students' abilities. Following the same line of questioning that Pluckrose (1996:12,13) raises about primary curriculum, then found I important to my work to pose the following questions: What has been the impact of knowledge production from the Guatemalan ancient past, especially concerning archaeological information, in primary and high school curriculum? What are the most significant publications about education and archaeology in Guatemala, or the places where research is presented? Is there an effective integration of history, archaeology, and anthropology in the Guatemalan curriculum? Is archaeological information adequately incorporated? In order for historical knowledge to be presented effectively, as pointed out by Pluckrose, it must include information such as basic facts, places and dates, but also strive for comprehension (of facts

studied in relation to other facts, for instance) (1996:69). Being part of the "here and now" is an appropriate way to the study of the past, and to learn from the present. According to Pluckrose, questions like "Who am I? Who are my parents?" are essentially "historical questions" (1996:71), which will lead the students to think about their place in time and space. This opens the door to the experience and reproduction offacts from the past and, in the case of my own project, provided a way for the little girls to explore the past from their own perspective.

Figure 29: Photograph of participants of the closing session.

The activities that we did in the classroom for consideration and comprehension of the concept of historical sequence were based upon the creation of a personal time-line that allowed them to find themselves in space and time. Furthermore, I could explore children´s imaginaries of their neighborhood through mapping their environment, looking for its different

representations and perceptions of their school, its connections with archaeological imaginaries, and the meaning of public spaces as I discuss below.

C. IMAGINARIES AND CHILDREN´S RESPONSE

To answer how students position themselves when they are exposed to archaeological excavations, I look into their journals and artistic pieces that they created during workshops. Therefore, to contextualize my project, first I discuss how the misperception of Maya Collapse is connected to an exoticized and marketed Maya culture that, in fact, served as the first hand source of knowledge about the ancient Mayas (merely as artistic elements for decoration). This is because citizens look these icons every day on the street, in restaurants, and at commercial centers. Secondly, I explore children's response and transformations they experienced through this activist approach.

Within the workshops with fifth grade students, we conducted an activity of mapping their community. I asked them to draw a map or sketch that shows the main characteristics from their neighborhood to someone who is not familiar with it. The focus of this activity was to explore how they perceive their environment through map drawings. Certainly, if students are asked to represent their neighborhood through visual elements, they will draw the most common characteristics that first come to their mind during the moment of the activity. By mapping their community, students could creatively abstract their common physical environment to depict how they conceive their world. Together, participants conceptualized their material space as their own at the moment when they were comparing maps. Topics of identity, representation, and knowledge of history could be taken from these drawings. In order to not interfere with their mental understanding of space, I did not show them any map before the activity began. The

students created a total of 22 maps, which I later used to explore these topics and relate them to the workshops and what they were learning from the archaeological excavations at their little hill belonging to the ancient city Kaminaljuyu. Common material elements were present in all maps: streets, traffic lights, signs, private and public schools, restaurants, their houses, churches, the cemetery, stores, trees, and in some drawings/maps, people. The composition of the maps suggests the importance students give to their houses and/or school as related to each other (appendix A1 to A9), related to their environment (appendix A2, A3, A10 to A17). The map of appendix A4 has an interesting component that no other map has. This student was unwilling to participate in groups, so she decided to stay working by herself. Instead of drawing a map of her community, she made a representation of a museum, as she wrote the word "Museum" as the title. This museum seems very similar to her school, so I inferred that she imagined being in a museum due to the fact that there was a mound inside the school. At the bottom of this drawing, she drew the archaeological mound with artifacts inside it and a path that connects the building with the mound, very similar to the Delia Luz Gutierrez School. This is a depiction of how she identifies everything coming out the mound through excavations as things that are relevant parts of museums and at the same time inside their school.

Moreover, the maps conceptualized the main elements of their school (appendix A1-A2, A18). In these maps, students included the archaeological mound, their little hill, with considerable proportions within the drawing. There is one map that deserves close attention (appendix A5). This student decided to take most of the space to represent her school, with its population classified by colors, and most of school's characteristics, such as the teachers' and principal´s cars, parked in their playground. This map also shows with detail the archaeological dig at the mound, the workers at the top, and the ladder to access the excavations. At the bottom-

right, drawn at a smaller scale, her house and the rest of her community are located. At the top of the mound she wrote “Mural” as a depiction of the connection of the ancient site of Kaminaljuyu to their school through the mural they designed and painted on the wall.

This mural represented their medium for developing and conceptualizing their perception of the ancient city (figures 23 and 30) they built through the workshops, leaving a visual representation of the main elements that made up the history of Kaminaljuyu. Similar is the case of newspapers students finished writing at the end of the project. Through interviews and a small amount of research, students learned from others, acting as participant observers, and positioning themselves as part of a project, which included more students, parents, teachers, workers, volunteers, and archaeologists. The activist approach allowed them to imagine and visually recreate the lifestyle of ancestors that lived in the same area 2,000 years ago.

Figure 30: Mural painted by 4th and 5th grade students.

Other activities for students included simulated excavations to help them understand the value of archaeological context in recovering ancient history piece by piece. Students experimented excavations in groups by conducting a small-scale modern excavation on an area of the mound, and through visits to the real excavations. This allowed them to think about the past and understand the process of earth deposition when a building or house is abandoned. They wrote in their journals how impressed they were to know all the things that happened thousands years ago in the same area where they live and study. This is a transformation of their perception of a past they did not previously know, opening a window to link themselves and their families with the past. Eagerness to participate was constant throughout the workshops, opposed to what I observed during a celebration for the teachers' day. Next I will briefly mention the activities that students organized in celebration for the teachers' day to depict student-teachers social relations at the school.

Every June 25th, in honor of all teachers' efforts, most schools celebrate with acts or performances followed by food and dances in each classroom. In Delia Luz Gutierrez de Castellanos School, 6th grade students organized a surprise for their teachers. They prepared for this event for more than 10 days in advance, taking considerable time from their regular schedule of classes to prepare the performances. The 6th grade students decided what the performance or act was going to be for each grade: "Limbo" or "Lovumba"[20] , songs for dancing.

I will describe the scene that day: The celebration is about to start, the teachers are seated at the corridor facing the playground, in front of them all students sat directly on the floor, leaving a square space for the dancers. The student leader of the 6th grade is coordinating the

[20] These are reggaeton songs from the well-known musician Daddy Yankee, which have strong sexual content and female objectification, and are very popular among children and youth.

whole activity; as the moderator she started: "*como primer punto, tenemos a las niñas de primer grado con la canción del Limbo dedicada para las maestras*" (for the first activity, we have girls from first grade dedicating the Limbo song to the teachers). Dancers were dressed similarly, in blue-jeans shorts, or short skirt, and white or black sleeveless shirt. The music started for them to dance, the teachers and principal were still seated and watching them with no significant expressions on their faces. It seems that neither the highly sexual lyrics of these songs, nor the movements their students were doing captured their attention at all. Furthermore, they were very proud of how well some kids were dancing: "*tan chulas las patojas que bien bailan"* (it is so cool that the girls dance very well), as one teacher commented during lunch. All grades, except 5th, prepared a performance of this type of dance and music. It is not my intention to explore contemporary music and its influence on children nowadays, regardless of the highly sexual content many songs may have. I mention it only because the event took considerable time and attention from the children during their classes and during the time that I was running my workshops. During several activities, especially with 6th grade, some students were not focused on the workshops, instead chatting about boyfriends, writing names of boys, or drawing hearts on their notebooks and writing love letters. This group of students ruled the classroom, and most of the time did not attend or participate in class. However, there were students who were present and interested in all activities I led, who showed growth of knowledge about KJ history, and who also closely observed the archaeological excavations and workshops at their school (see section b. in this chapter).

I think this type of dynamics happens in small or large groups anywhere, with some children deeply engaged and others not. However, I was startled by how the teacher´s

celebration day transpired in contrast with other workshops. This seems worth mentioning in order to better contextualize my experience within this school.

On the other hand, fifth grade participation in the teacher's day celebration was a performance of how they perceived education; they represented a normal day of class. One student was acting as their teacher; meanwhile, students were seated at their desks as usually they do. The performance lasted close to four minutes, but it was enough to depict the deficiencies of the educational system and the lack of interest of some teachers in teaching, sharing knowledge, and helping students in this process. Based on my observations, representation of the 5th grade teacher was accurate to their reality. Their teacher seems not to be connected with the group, she gives instructions in a loud and very imperative and strong voice, and sometimes she fell asleep while I and other visiting scholars were conducting the workshops. The depiction of their day-to-day reality was dramatized in the following narrative.

The teacher asked one student: "Tell me what is the multiplication of nine by nine?" The student does not respond and starts laughing. Then, she moves to another student and asks once again: "what is the multiplication of seven by seven?" In mocking tone the student responded "149" and the whole audience kept the teasing going. The teacher went back to the first student and just asked: "4 x 4?" and the student remained indifferent, looking in another direction. The teacher started getting mad and said: "and you tell me why you are listening to music?!" to which the student responded: "Because I want it!" Then, a phone ring sounded, and one student answered, despite the teacher calling for her attention. The student did not care.

This depiction seems close to reality, where, in my opinion, the teacher is a repressive agent for a pass-fail system, constantly asking what they know by memory and not considering the development of critical analysis for their students. Therefore, students depict themselves as

rebels and disrespectful, laughing at every question their teacher said and making fun in every response. It seems that they are not taking seriously going to school, as a project for their future. Meanwhile, most of the audience and some teachers were laughing and notoriously the principal and 5th grade teacher remained bothered by the response of the public.

I describe this section in detail because I think it provides the context for my workshops, which asked the students to think about new things, imagine how it related to them, and create projects that synthesized the information. This is very different from most of the class activities that require only memorization. Below, I move from the workshops to the students' immediate environment in Guatemala City, in order to contextualize their workshop experience and link it to their surroundings. This is a challenge to the students because they are, in my opinion, not taught the skills necessary to deconstruct or think critically about how indigenous heritages are incorporated (or ignored) in the national discourses that surround them. I will argue, in the following section, how public and commercial imaginaries are based on national discourses, and what role public modern spaces play in shaping national identity using the cases of the Tikal Futura and Miraflores commercial centers. Moving from the workshops to their immediate environment in Guatemala City, I am contextualizing their experience through analysis of the material they produced in the workshops and topics related with the perception of the Mayas in Guatemala.

Imagining the Maya

In contextualizing my project, I am discussing the misperception of Maya Collapse and this is connected to an exoticized Maya culture that marketed to Guatemalans and international tourists. Also, I think that this problematic influences misinformation about the past by

exploiting ancient Maya art merely based on its esthetics and not its meaning. In most cases these meanings are very sacred, because people look at these icons every day adorning the street, restaurants, or commercial centers.

In the 1990´s the boom in commercial activity throughout zones 7 and 11 of Guatemala City sparked development of more trade centers and new neighborhoods. Consequently, streets, walls, homes, and shopping centers destroyed several mounds at the site of Kaminaljuyu. However, the efforts of scholars and authorities rescued some specific ancient buildings from total destruction. These are now protected under the Law for Protection of National Cultural Heritage of the Ministry of Culture and Sports of Guatemala, passed in 1998.

It is of considerable importance to mention the issue of the proliferation of shopping malls in this sector. These public spaces have become quite popular and have played an important role in the citizens' imaginaries, in part because the malls themselves are laden with symbols with meanings that envision a particular "Guatemala." As *Tikal Futura* means a space for recreation and consumerism, it also is classified as the first giant shopping mall, a sign for modernity in the outskirts of Guatemala City (figure 31). In fact, this commercial center became a safe place for people to have fun or relax, since the area is becoming more violent. In other words, people changed the uses of free spaces of their neighborhoods, due to increment of violence, for recreation within the commercial centers since those large international corporations offered security as well as business, fashion, and modernity. These empty spaces are replacing open public areas with this modern and safe alternative for entertainment that significantly shifts people´s imaginaries.

Figure 31: Photograph of Tikal Futura Hotel and Commercial Center in zone 7, Guatemala.

Shopping centers are strategically located close to major highways connecting the city center to western portions of the city. These public spaces imposed themselves over the remains of Kaminaljuyu and became tangible symbols of an aspiring consumerist modernity, thereby giving to the past a different significance. International corporations appropriated "visual" elements of their sites, used in ancient times as sacred symbols, and employed them to market designs and decorative aesthetics. This practice extends beyond the large-scale malls, however, and also includes restaurants and franchises in the vicinity. For instance, the McDonald's franchise[21] has one restaurant in the area of the former Finca Miraflores, where nowadays lies a monumental mall which keeps the same name – the Miraflores commercial center. The

[21] As well Skillets, La Palace, Pizza Hut, Kentucky Fried Chicken, Dunking Donuts, among others.

restaurant is located immediately alongside Kaminaljuyu Mound A-VI-1 (figure 32); the scenario depicts a paradox of modernity imposed over the ancient cultural remains of Kaminaljuyu. The picture gets even more ironic when entering the restaurant. The place is decorated with several frames showing photographs of famous pottery vessels, censers, and stelae fragments from Kaminaljuyu (figures 33 and 34) and reproductions of polychrome vessels and stone sculpture based on ancient Maya lowland art (figure 35). Similar is the case of an older McDonald's restaurant in the same area, built in the 1980´s, where all its decoration are Maya designs taken from pottery vessels, censers, stelae, and codices (figure 36) that feature the artistic production from ancient cities from the Maya lowlands of Peten and Yucatan. This McDonald´s restaurant was the first one in the area, and keeps the same aesthetics remembering Classic Maya art from Peten. Moreover, the irony is the appropriation that this company is making with Maya ancient art for their profit. Furthermore, since these images are not local, the idea of an imposed national discourse is prevalent within this environment. The McDonald´s cases illustrate how the company uses "Maya" icons in its facilities, as its central theme for marketing. However, ironically, rather than using an image from Kaminaljuyu for their Guatemala City restaurant they are using one from more than 250 km away. Yet, there are thousands of local images that could have been taken from Kaminaljuyu art, such as the ceramic vessels buried in Mounds A and B or Mound E-III-3, or the great stelae that portray ancient people who lived in KJ or their deities. The "atmosphere" in this restaurant provides a "souvenir" of ancient and glorious epochs composed of great works of art that are now solely a part of the folkloric Guatemalan national market. Instead of rescuing the memory of what was, in a local or regional sense, it promotes the label of national identity ruled by the demands of consumerism within the international market, giving a fake and exotic idea of national identity.

Figure 32: McDonalds restaurant next to the Kaminaljuyu Mound A-VI-1

Similarly, Grand Tikal Futura Hotel international corporation and shopping center (built during 1996–1997) uses building architecture designs and interior decoration based on Maya art from the lowlands, which celebrates the ancient site of Tikal instead of the local history, architecture, and art of Kaminaljuyu. This commercial center represents, in my opinion, a success of the modern present over an ancient and destroyed past. But it also represents a nationalized modern present that passes over the local past; it is a vision of Tikal Futura instead of Kaminaljuyu. The irony of using the label of Tikal over Kaminaljuyu is tremendous; the national idea of the great Maya past existing in the Maya lowlands, is being imposed over the local history of Kaminaljuyu, which corresponds here in this location of Guatemala City. Kaminaljuyu functioned as a huge center of commerce over Mesoamerica, as I have mentioned before; given this, it would have made more sense to use the symbols and imagery of

Kaminaljuyu in these Guatemala City commercial centers, which are the modern successors to the ancient commercial city. The material culture that people from Kaminaljuyu produced is as vast as the materials from Tikal, in all senses (artistic, cultural, social). Therefore, my first thinking is that these business are using ancient designs with an entrepreneurial vision: the exotic and disappeared Classic Maya culture of the vast and wild jungle, this is what sells the most and attract clients. I recognize that it might be possible that they are not deliberately promoting "national" culture, but nevertheless they are using this nationalized cultural image, based on the Peten, to promote their businesses. Hence, this visual consumption of Classic Maya Art designs in public spaces such as malls or junk food restaurants enhances the idea of it as a product, as pretty folkloric objects just for decoration, rather than as an opportunity to celebrate – and even educate – local populations about the rich antiquity of the ancient past within their midst.

Figure 33: Photographs of famous pottery vessels, censers, and stelae fragments from Kaminaljuyu inside the restaurant

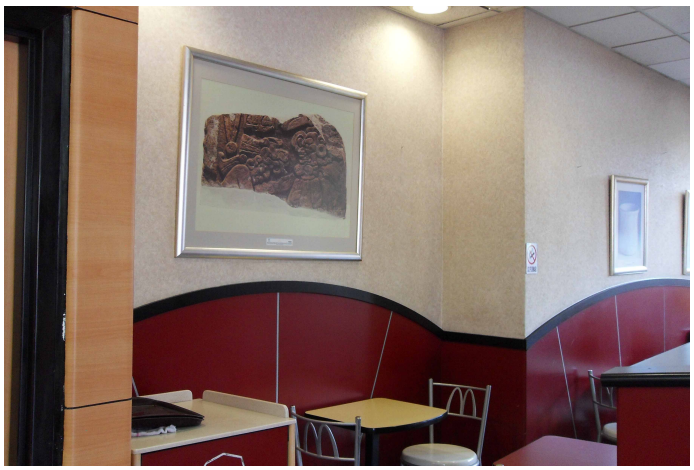


Figure 34: Photographs of famous pottery vessels, censers, and stelae fragments from Kaminaljuyu displayed inside the restaurant.

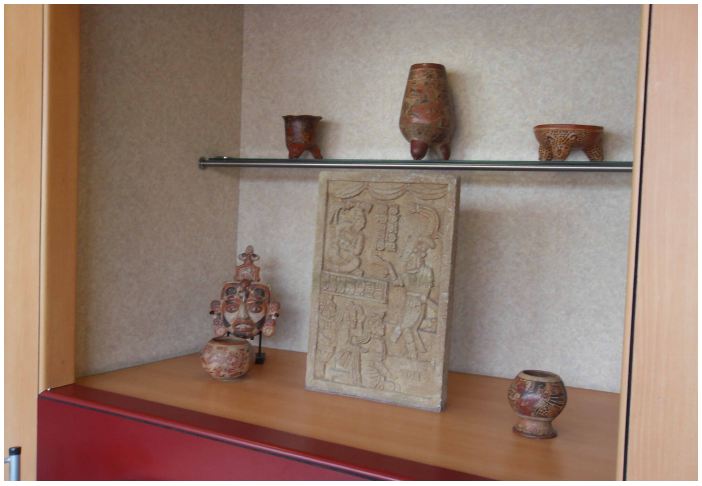


Figure 35: Photographs of reproductions of polychrome vessels and stone sculpture based on ancient Maya lowlands art displayed inside the restaurant.

Using Kaminaljuyu symbols in the area where this site existed could be the trampoline to exalt and disseminate the local history and develop social imaginaries among people who live nearby, and which are based on the "local" history rather than one transported in from 250 km away. One can imagine that, if people were excited about their local history, they might be

inclined to recognize its value and preserve it. Unfortunately, however, those corporations are using the "Gran Jaguar" pyramid elements and Tikal name, which represent a stereotypical "Peten" style notion of the past, as part of a bigger national picture that has no room for other traditions like those that developed in the Guatemalan Highlands.

Figure 36: Photograph of McDonalds restaurant of Utatlán neighborhood, zone 11, Guatemala.

Why use Tikal as the national icon for Guatemalan identity? Archaeological sites play an important role in the promotion of tourism in the country, adapting created landscapes that sensationalize and exoticize the mysterious ancient Maya (Magnoni et.al 2007:363). Understanding Tikal, a lowland ancient Maya city located at the center of the Peten, is also important to understanding Kaminaljuyu. The discovery and archaeological research of Tikal is strongly important to understanding how it became the national icon for Guatemalan past. Tikal became a national park in 1955, and the following year the government invested and participated

for the first time in the *Proyecto Nacional Tikal* at a big scale in order to open it for tourism, following the model from Mexico; moreover, due to the intense research and restoration, the site acquired "World Heritage Site" status by the UNESCO in 1979 (Seguin 2009:107-109 and Chinchilla 1998: 112). This is strongly related to the income that tourism generates, especially with regards to the international consumption of spirituality (i.e. new age movement) and the 13 Baktun[22] celebration that marked the end of a major calendric cycle for the Maya, and which was celebrated in December of 2012. Interestingly, however, is the fact KJ had six times more visitors registered than Tikal for the Baktun celebration, and the government utilized it to attract more tourism for the country, giving concerts with special renowned artists with their shows at the central plaza of Tikal (Prensa Libre 2012).

The Mundo Maya (which includes Mexico, Guatemala, and Belize) markets a millenarian Maya culture that falls into essentialism. While continuity with the ancient past is marketed, and fed through exoticized by western fantasies (for tourism), this rhetoric does not acknowledge the complex historical and cultural processes through time of "poverty and repression" that contributed to the maintenance of traditions, specially in the case of Yucatán peninsula (Magnoni et.al 2007: 366, 374). In other words, this rhetoric labels what is, in reality, a lack of social and economic opportunity as "continuity with the past." National archaeology needs to be engaged with these problems. By national archaeology, I mean all the archaeological data compiled either by foreign or national academics. National archaeology also refers "to policies adopted by the state that make use of archaeologist and their data for nation-building purposes… it is involved in the creation and elaboration of national identities" (Kohl 1998:226) However, in truth, the production of archaeological knowledge in Guatemala is non well integrated with important

[22] Occurred in December 21st 2012, as the last day of one cycle of Maya Calendar.

contemporary issues such as these, leaving the scholarly practice in a bubble in that only focuses in the past, but not its connections with the present or its contribution to a national identity. I would argue that this is convenient for the nation-building project of modernization in Guatemala, that just glances at the past, exalting the greatness of the "ancient" generic Maya, but does not connect them to the present. Neither does it explain the resilience that native peoples have demonstrated in the fact of the Spanish encounter of the 16th century.

Hence, going back to the *Tikal Futura* mall, why name it *Tikal* when in reality its location does not correspond to this name at all? This could well suggest that the Maya past is conceived and promoted as homogeneous, especially when employed for marketing. A "Tikal Futura" refers to exotic Mayans that thousands of years ago lived in the jungle and used jade, pyramidal forms, and animal motifs in their buildings, which long ago disappeared. Besides combining international business chains with native artistic motifs, the intention is not to educate the people who are buying or visiting, but merely to adorn the space. This may represent some attempt to create a sense of identification for Modern Mayans who shop or visit the place, in which certainly they will recognize the Maya art (from the lowlands) since it has been used for decoration. If citizens recognized Kaminaljuyu history and its main characteristics, then the scenario would be different. However, the problem of the disconnection of knowledge of the past provokes appropriation of non-local elements for superficial uses, such as the examples of restaurants in these commercial centers, and people believing that Mayans from the lowlands also lived in the Central valley. As I've discussed below, I believe that this problem is tied to the curricula and the lack of interest by the government in providing a good quality education.

Furthermore, Miraflores is one of the most complete commercial centers in the area[23]. During its construction, it preserved some archaeological remains, which are featured in the *Museo Miraflores* that is located within the shopping mall (figure 37). The marketing for this business promotes it saying that they are the only commercial center of the country with an archaeological museum "that gives the opportunity to know about our ancestors' cultural inheritance" (Spectrum 2012)[24]. However, the case is still controversial since it was built over an archaeological area (figure 38). Moreover, one exhibition is from private collections (not obtained from scientific excavation) and is presenting artifacts from the Peten. This exhibition is confusing since it combines objects from Kaminaljuyu and cultural material from Peten in the same room, at the end of a large tunnel that passes across the museum mound. It is representing an old chamber that preserves an elaborate burial from Mound E-III-3 from Kaminaljuyu at the center, and several vessels and artifacts from private collections that came from the Maya lowlands. Unless people are experts, they would not make the distinction between the art of Mayas from lowlands and Mayas from the Central highlands. In other words, after visiting this exhibition, most people will think that Mayas from the lowlands lived in Kaminaljuyu City. When we visited this museum, students from 5th grade kept asking me if those huge censers, the delicate clay figurines, and jade masks were found at Kaminaljuyu, pointing to the displayed private collection objects that were obtained in the Maya Lowlands and then misleadingly added to this "reconstruction" of a burial.

Putting this in local vocabulary, it would be as if the national identity were imposed on the US with no unique regional variation, like Texan culture, or West coast or southern identity

[23] Besides the restaurants mentioned before, this big building is the home for more restaurants that are part of international chains like IHop, Burger King, Pizza Hut etc.
[24] http://spectrum.com.gt/startpage/miraflores/#miraflores

Figure 37: Photograph Mound A-VI-1 within commercial center from Museo Miraflores

Figure 38: Mound B-V-3 inside the Miraflores Museum (see parking building to the right).

over the whole nation. In other words, it is like imposing the Texas Longhorns' emblem or the Big Apple designs over public institutions all over the United States, with complete disregard for the specificities of local histories and identities.

This problem is not unique to Guatemala and, in fact, one can see the same sorts of dynamics in modern Mexico. For example, the National Museum of Anthropology of Mexico is quite a good example of this focus, and it exalts a very specific national identity in a sense of historical cultural unity, in celebration of mestizaje (Luck 2009:36). The biggest room of this enormous museum has the Mexica (or Aztec) exhibition located at the bottom and center of the building. The organization of its collection depicts the idea of the importance that Mexico gives to the Aztecs, their cultural remains and history. Exhibitions of the other cultures from Mexico and Mesoamerica surround the main room and are considerably smaller in size, as if only "leading up" to the great Aztec empire. Luck argues that the organization and presentation of the museum forges a homogenous national identity based on a common indigenous heritage, and that it depicts an idealized pre Columbian past and cultural continuity by representing "grand narratives" to connect modernity (Ibid).

While the ideas that I have outlined above are worthy of lengthy discussion, I bring them up in order to contextualize my own work, and the work produced by the children as a result of my workshops. In the following section, I explore the children´s archaeological? imaginaries, or how they understood the idea of archaeology and the past before the workshops and excavations at their school, and how this changed throughout the time I was at the school, also, based on their journals and pieces of art I am discussing how was their transformation in their way of thinking about the past and how they connected to the ancient past.

How children imagine archaeology

With this activist approach I am exploring children's response to all activities, also I address a discussion of what students knew about their past. As an evaluation of their knowledge prior to the first day of workshops, on June 6th 2013, I invited students to divide into two groups and each draw a map of Guatemala on the board and on a large paper. Both groups did not know how to draw the Guatemalan map until they checked their textbooks. The activity also consisted in pointing out three archaeological sites within the Republic. Responses were similar among all grades. They confused the meaning of "archaeological sites" with the provinces or departments of Guatemala. Some students could name just one or two archaeological sites, pointing out "Serritos" (a student´s mis-spelling referring to the little hills or mounds); others were not able to even name the neighboring countries. This shows the partial knowledge of ancient remains over the area they live, and also reflects that classes and textbooks are not good support for their general knowledge. Within 5th and 6th grades, the activity was similar, and students pointed out "Caminaljuyu", "Amatitlán", "Tikal of Gran Jaguar" and "Castillo Lara" (the name of their neighborhood) in reference to archaeological sites in Guatemala (figure 39). Naming Castillo Lara as another site indicates that they perceived all the nearby mounds separately from those mounds that are in the Kaminaljuyu Archaeological Park. In other words, the knowledge that should correspond to the second cycle of CNB is not depicted on what they pointed out on the maps, and the students were unaware that the mound they have inside their school is part of KJ. The ancient history of Guatemala is part of 3rd and 4th grades´ content of CNB. However, of the well known sites in Guatemala, including Takalik Abaj, El Baul, Monte Alto, Quirigua, Uaxactun, Piedras Negras, Cancuén, Mirador, Saculew, Iximche, Q´umarkaj, Mixco Viejo, Tayasal, and Chinautla which are mentioned in their textbooks (CSFC4 2013: 17-22), students

were able to point out just Tikal and "Caminaljuyu". Based on this curriculum, students are supposed to be able to identify key elements of "the national" past, but in my experience, they were unable to do so. I do not want to get deep into a discussion of the Guatemalan educational system, but it is clear that the problem is within the educational system and the inability of teachers and students to fulfil the goals of the CNB guidelines.

Figure 39: Students participating in an evaluation activity

Regarding the archaeological experience students had through the workshops, it is important to underline their learning through interaction with materials outside the classroom. Through this successful activity they were able to excavate modern cultural materials, which I buried before, in order to create a "mock" excavation and explain how archaeologists find old things and reconstruct the past with that evidence. When students were visiting the excavations they started to understand how things ended up inside the ground; after doing this digging

simulation and reconstructing what they found, they were able to understand the value of cultural remains underneath (figure 16).

The volunteer archaeologists that were helping with the workshops helped to explain the technical system of excavations and the children imitated them very carefully, including uses of brush, trowel, and hammer, digging layer by layer and keeping the fragments within a plastic bag with a name from its context. Also, they took measurements of the area of excavation and wrote them down in their notebooks. Due to scarce space, we divided students into four groups. When two of the groups were digging the modern vessels I buried, the other two groups were observing the excavations, asking Luis Mendez, Edgar Patzan, or Don Chepe what were they finding, and taking notes of what they saw to be important. Previously, they had an explanation of why the mound ended up with it actual shape and what ancient remains the earth was covering up.

Teaching archaeology in public schools provides an important mechanism for students to recognize that there are different ways to know the history and culture of the world around them. Students learn by observation, but also by directly engaging with and experiencing their surroundings. As Pluckrose (1996: 21, 30) states, the act of first-hand, personal experience is of the utmost importance for learning history and comprehending concepts. In other words, Pluckrose's statement was perfectly illustrated in my experience: after observing how the mound was excavated and after listening to the interpretation of the material features that were found, the little girls developed a basic understanding about the meaning of archaeology and how to know buried past. Nevertheless, it wasn't until they told the same story as if they were the principal actor, and as if they had experienced it, that they fully grasped the concepts.

Pluckrose (1996:30, 31) indicates that historical reflection that involves personal engagement can contribute to a child's ability to understand key concepts about the past, since

it's not enough to only deliver a series of dates, diagrams, drawings and stories. Teachers need to be invited to let their students develop as reflexive individuals by various activities where students make knowledge their own. When making this knowledge "ours", a personal relation is created, making it meaningful (1996:31). As Pluckrose (1996: 48) states, the exercise of reconstructing the past requires that the student "places himself in the place of the other" (1996:48), thereby enabling a superior level of recognition and understanding. These next fragments are extracts from stories that the girls from "6to primaria" wrote on their books, and which confirm, in my opinion, the wisdom of Pluckrose's words:

"*En el montículo en el año 200 AC vivio mi familia en Kaminal Juyu en esos tiempos para mi familia eera una tradición quebrar platos y quemarlos como celebración de aver construido su casas y que toda su familia esta unida mi Familia tenia sus integrantes por ejemplo mamá papá etc. En esos tiempos avian muy pocas casas y pues depues de mi familia estuvieron mis demás parientes ocea los hijos de los hijos etc y construyeron la segunda casa y la volvieron a construir y en estos tiempos en nuestro sector solo hay 10 monticulos y el montículo ubicado en mi escuela es donde quedaron los restos de las cosas de mi Familia Antigua*." Josselin Seleni Ochoa

The thoughts and learning of the children were also featured in a "newspaper" that they designed as a giant informational collage during the closing session of the workshops; the newspaper was designed to depict general knowledge and interest about Kaminaljuyu (figure 40). They were asked to interview parents, teachers, principal or classmates to expose information related to various topics about the project. Their newspaper showed interviews they

made after the workshops, which depicted a broad understanding of topics that we covered during the workshops. However, it also showed the limited knowledge of the history of the past on the part of the teachers and principal. All questions for interviews were developed and asked during the last week of workshops, so that they could expose, at the closing session of the project, what had been learned during the project. Although these questions are naïve representations of the principal and teachers' interest, this activity allowed students to explore different reactions when asking other people about the ancient site of Kaminaljuyu and to recognize some key informational points of Kaminaljuyu history.

I also wanted to observe what conversations were being had about the topic of archaeology and what the reactions and transformations of students, teachers, and other community members were when they were exposed to archaeological excavations at their little hill. This discussion is developed in the following section.

Figure 40: Elaboration of newspaper. Depiction of mounds and an ancient building inside them.

Identity and Empowerment

In the previous section, I was able to explore the students' knowledge and their relationship with the past. In this section, I frame the transformation of their understandings and positioning connected to the ancient past. I could observe the lack of knowledge of archaeological sites from the first day of workshops at 6th grade during the activity of pointing out archaeological sites on the Guatemalan map. With this grade group there was a little discussion of the relations of contemporary indigenous peoples to the past. There were two groups with different thinking. Some girls commented that indigenous peoples are the descendants of ancient Mayas, but others and the teacher argued the contrary: the Mayas disappeared and contemporary indigenous groups are not related in any sense to the ancient past. While we were talking about this, there was a Ladina student who pointed to an indigenous student saying "ella es Maya" (she is Mayan). When the indigenous student told us she was from Uspantan, Quiche, the rest of students remained quiet and she seemed shy and nervous. Then, the teacher began to offer her own doubts, stating that the Mayas had disappeared a long time ago. Incredibly, the teacher did not engage with this student by commenting anything that allows students to interact while addressing racial bias openly. I believe this is based mostly on the national training curriculum that honors the history of Guatemala as independent kingdom from Spain. This narrative exalts Guatemala with several historical details of the so called "conquest," that in fact diminish the importance of the rich history happening in Mesoamerica before the Spanish contact.

On the other hand, based on my observations during the workshops, it was unusual when students carefully paid attention during classes for more than 10 minutes, so the activities were changing depending on the level of their attention and reactions. There were specific activities

where students were 100% aware and receptive to all the information we were sharing, however, there were some cases when students were not able to participate due to boredom and disinterest in the activity. There were several cases when students did not understand the directions until I wrote them down on the board. I realize that this bad habit of copying and repeating what the teachers tell them to do actually comes from their textbook, a practice that is atrophying their creativity and capacity of analysis. Moreover, I noticed that during normal classes, their teachers were not immersed in a fluid dynamic of teaching – learning and interaction between teachers and students are based on bad grading threats and not on the assumption that knowledge will provide more tools to learn. The result was that students were following rules that they did not even clearly understand. This represented a challenge for all of us who were part of the workshops scenario, which by that time we were re-adapting to follow the flow of activities. Again, I realize that these statements are just my reactions and observations, and not based on sustained, objective study of the educational environment in Delia Luz. Hence, I think that it is important to clearly state my sense of the school's general atmosphere, as it factors into my conclusions about the students' and faculty's understanding and perceptions of the past and how it changed (or didn't) as a result of my project.

Part of the main activities I asked the students to do as homework was to carry their journal and write in it whatever thing they think was interesting related to the workshops and the excavations, and also to annotate the process and changes of the aspect of the mound, and what they observed during the visits to excavations. In fact, they carried their notebook-journal everywhere, and they did take some notes, but most of them were very simple. The comments in those journals were superficial and very general, and they were excessively superfluous when writing about the activities in different locations (the mound, museum or classroom) and used

just a few words such as “genioso” (a misspelled word for genial or brilliant), “genial”, “nos divertimos mucho”, “fue divertido”. They were not making any effort to be creative or analytical in writing what they learned or experienced at the excavations´ mound, and I think this may be related to the “automatic” responses and copying activities that they are used to, and which do not allow for much creativity or self expression. However, from the first day to the end of the workshops they expressed intense enthusiasm in all activities, especially those outside the classroom. Moreover, teachers´ participation when we were conducting the workshops was scarce. Most of the time they were absent from the activities, taking breaks outside the classroom; this depicted their vague interest to improve the quality of classes or to support the workshops we were conducting.

Furthermore, I could observe the transformation of their thinking about the past, for example, during the 5th grade field trip to the Miraflores Museum the students were able to connect the ancient past with their common daily life experienced in their houses. In this visit, children observed the main focus of the exhibition that is a natural scale diorama of women on their knees grinding corn on a *piedra de moler* (grinding stone), making *tortillas* with the *nixtamal,* and cooking them on the *comal* (figure 41). When students saw this representation they started to comment with each other surprised that this common objects and activities for them were part of a museum exhibition. I took this opportunity to ask for they attention asking them to raise their hand if someone in their family have or had one of these grindstone stones and who keeps making tortillas. Almost all of the students raised their hand, looking at each other amazed that they share this legacy and impressed by the antiquity of this practice. They were very excited and this is what they wanted to highlight in their mural. Actually, most of children, in

response to this visit, drawn on their journals the *comal* with *tortillas* on it and next the grindstone.

Figure 41: Diorama of women making tortillas at Miraflores Museum

Being in the museum, the girls were able to touch some stone sculptures while the guide explained to them their shape and what they represented. The archaeological remains were not behind a glass counter, so touching them was what the most commented fact that the girls wrote in journals. Walking over the mound, playing on top of it and knowing they were above an old Kaminaljuyu house, was also transcendent for their learning, and was one of the most drawn

images in their journals. When they visited the Museum, the girls freely expressed their feelings, and because of the tour they wrote poetry associated with Kaminaljuyu, drew maps of the ancient city and of the artifacts, sculptures, and burial displayed in the museum, and brief comments on how happy they were to spend the entire day at the site.

Several of them described their feelings when they saw the burial of Mound E-III-3 (it was the closest to the mound we excavated and now, as I mentioned in first chapter, is completely destroyed), which was moved from *Museo Nacional de Arqueología y Etnología* when *Museo Miraflores* opened its exhibition. The displayed of this burial allow people to step over a resistant thick glass that covers it. The burial of this important person of the ancient Kaminaljuyu have all the offerings positioned as archaeologists found in 1950´s. Several vessels, quartz, jade, obsidian, and other offerings are display with this skeleton. Students were highly impressed by watching this "archaeological finding". One girl commented on her journal that it was the first time she watched human bones and how impressed she was when thinking: "how we will see when we die". Through looking this ancient remains, she transformed her perception of life and dead, embracing the essence of people as humans that born and die without distinctions, nowadays and 2,000 years back.

On the other hand, during conversations with student´s parents about the workshops, a mother of 4th grade student highlighted the changes of her daughter by active participation at the school during the workshops. She addressed that her daughter was highly interested to explore the past in her school, but also questioning why beneath her house was constructed the ancient Maya city. Everyday, this student commented to her mother more information gathered from the workshops, transforming also the thinking of her family. I noticed it when this woman started mentioning the presence of "things that our ancestors left buried in the ground" in relation to her

interest for excavations at the school so that we will know more about the ancestors, clarifying that we should respect these places since they were from their ancestors and consequently sacred. Moreover, she pointed out that her daughter wants to be a professional that study the buried past, like other students wrote on their journals. Their impressions on the archaeological findings at mound E-III-5 and their connections to the ancient past are reflected on their enthusiasm to explore and know more information of the past that is absent in their textbooks and normal classes. Moreover, mostly every day, students brought an anecdote relevant to the topic they were learning in the workshops by telling stories that their grandparents told them in relation to archaeological findings at their houses.

To conclude this section, I am narrating my experience when Professor Julia Guernsey of the University of Texas and Professor Michael Love, a Mesoamerican archaeologist from California State University Northridge, visited the school. Also I could observe teacher´s reaction, which was opposed to what the students showed throughout all workshops. Professor Love presented a short lecture about the archaeology of the South Coast of Guatemala to 4th, 5th, and 6th grades, teachers, and the principal. Their visit demonstrates how the children positioned themselves in their environment when exposed to different activities and interaction with other "foreign" people. On July 9th, archaeological experts Julia Guernsey and Michael Love visited the school in order to give a presentation about the archaeological site La Blanca and give general information related to early sites in the Maya area (figure 42). Their participation in this project revealed an important aspect of community perceptions toward archaeological practice. At the beginning all students were excited and paying attention, but by the end some students started acting anxious and bored. This is the result of the lack of incentives within the educational system for alternative tools to teach, so students are not completely involved in

Figure 42: Michael Love and Julia Guernsey at the moment of lecture in Delia Luz Gutierrez School

activities. Nonetheless, the majority was listening to Love and showed interest through the questions they asked him. Particular students were amazed by the findings and histories of the ancient past. The presence of Guernsey and Love, who had been introduced as from the United States, in their classroom let them to consider the demanding archaeological market in their country and who works in it. A 6th grade student showed such a critical analysis of the whole scenario of archaeological practice in Guatemala when she asked: "¿Cómo pueden trabajar en Guatemala?" as if inquiring "*How are you foreign archaeologists able to work in my country?* (figure 43). This question concerns who is allowed to excavate in Guatemala, who is prepared to do it, and who has the right to practice archaeology in her country. Her question allowed me to see her positionality in relation to experts excavating in foreign lands. With her comment, this student took ownership of the past; her question also demonstrated that this study had achieved

one of the main objectives. It became apparent that her curiosity was piqued when she saw "gringo" archaeologists coming to her school, as one of the girls reported when she saw them. They were speaking Spanish with an accent and talking English in informal conversations, archaeologists with different color eyes and wearing different clothes.

Following this first question, there were others related to the archaeological profession such as: "How did you get interested in studying this profession?" or "How much time have you been working as an archaeologist?", which demonstrates their curiosity about this career. Beyond how exotic archaeology may be seen, they were amazed to see a woman archaeologist from Guatemala – me – working on their playground and interacting with them, and also engaged in professional conversation with foreign archaeologists. Moreover, there were several other questions very similar to those they asked me during the workshops. They asked Love if they had found "dead people" (burials) in the excavations or if there were hydraulic canals at the archaeological site of La Blanca, indicating that they were comparing KJ information with other sites, and connecting the information to a larger picture of ancient Guatemalan history.

However, the majority of inquiries were broad, following topics they were assigned for the mural newspaper and the mural drawing, such as: "What do you think about Kaminaljuyu?". This also exposed a vague interest in these new things they discovered; before the workshops they had poor knowledge of the remains of Kaminaljuyu and almost did not know what the Popol Wuj represents in Maya cosmovision and history. My inferences are based on their poor quality of education: this naiveté is the result of the current system of public education that they have received. This could be due to the curriculum not including these significant topics related to archaeology, or because the students do not pay attention during their classes. This could also be the product of their training to listen, repeat, copy and memorize temporarily, resulting in a

lack of ability to analyze and develop their critical thinking over the years. Moreover, teachers significantly influence the process. I do not pretend to judge the methods teachers use; however, it seemed obvious to me that they did not care about the quality of their classes; they skipped the workshops and classes if able, and employed bad habits such as copying what is written on the board or memorizing the book lesson only for exams.

Only after Guernsey and Love visited the school did the teachers and the principal show interest for the first time in the information on Kaminaljuyu ancient history. Unlike the students, the teachers and the principal had not previously cared about the topic nor the findings and they never went to visit the excavation, although their students did so constantly. The principal and the teachers started to show interest in the excavations and ancient Maya history only after more than one month of workshops and excavations, and only when Guernsey and Love came. This sudden change in attitude and new interest made me realize that I represented the first Guatemalan young woman archaeologist that they have met and that I was not being taken seriously as a professional, as I suspected from the beginning. It took me by surprise that they needed foreign scholars to validate the knowledge I was sharing with the students several weeks earlier. After that moment, the principal and the teachers started to treat me as the expert on KJ history. But, sadly, it demonstrated to me that they needed outside approval to validate the importance of history and what the mound inside their school represents. Incredibly, the principal changed her mind on preserving the mound after hearing Guernsey and Love´s opinions about the importance of Kaminaljuyu. Despite my constant efforts, since the beginning of the season, trying to persuade her to consider thinking of the cultural and historical value of the mound, the principal was more interested in getting rid of the mound to gain more physical space to build more classrooms. This only changed once my own work was “externally

validated" through the visit of foreign archaeologists. Nonetheless, and in spite of the shifting attitude of the teachers and principal, the students showed genuine interest and amazement all the time within the workshops, and we built a relationship based on respect, confidence, and credibility throughout the whole process.

Figure 43: 6th grade students inquiring after lecturing.

CONCLUSIONS

One of the goals of this project was to inform the students of what a "Cerrito" in the school means, and by approaching this as a learning exercise that also educated about history and integrated the girls into the experience, we were able to engage in a study that went well beyond a simple archaeological investigation. We began with a local study that was like a fragment, but placed it within a greater historical frame (Pluckrose 1996:95). This process helped us to

effectively make reference to distant sites from the same time period. I also resulted in the girls posing important self-reflexive questions, such as who and why was this house built? Why is it burried? This enabled us to talk about Kaminaljuyu as a city and afterward place it within a broader Mesoamerican context. The drawing of maps of their neighborhood was a favorable exercise that allowed us to visualize their community imaginary and merge it with everyday-historical elements.

According to Pluckrose, a "visual conscience" can be obtained through visits to places of historical importance, which enables children can become visual detectives (Pluckrose 1996). This was at the heart of the method I used in this study. To discover that the mound they call "Cerrito" is one of the few remains left from Kaminaljuyu city, it triggered the students to start wondering about where their school was built, what happened to the rest of ancient mounds-buildings, who built them, etc. This, I believe, helped provide them with "knowledge and comprehension of the site as history of the landscape" (Pluckrose 1996:84), and built off of the recognition that that "el Cerrito" was already a part of their everyday life, to which they could then add new knowledge. Transformations happened also within their family, since children everyday brought new experiences and knowledge to their houses. Some parents mentioned the value of researching in the mounds to get more information of the past since they wanted to know more about their ancestors.

Another great value tool for students to assimilate new information is achieved by field trips to historical sites. One of the greatest advantages we have in the school is the archaeological mound's location inside the premises of the school. This enabled the students to constantly visit and be able to touch, observe, ask and know all the process. Visits to excavations and archaeological museums were another educational tool of great value:

"A mi lo que más me gusto fue ver los esqueletos que habían abajo, ver como nos vamos a volver cuando nos muramos fue incredible, ver al rey para que los fueran a atender al inframundo me quede impresionada y vi lo inteligente que eran los mayas…fue maravilloso…" Darlin López.

Field notebooks where they wrote and drew their thoughts reflected their interest and amazement about the past that they received via visual experiences to the museums and excavation sites. Touching and seeing ancient artifacts that were recovered directly from this excavations made them question how those objects got buried there, to think about time-space and to observe from an "archaeological" lens the study of the ancient past and the people who lived there. One girl commented about the excavations visits on the little school:

"… luego subimos más arriba y alli ya abian escabado, los ayudantes habian escabado mucho y abia mucha ceramica y abia un relleno y presia como un edificio y nos enseñaron seramica y la podiamos tocar." Clarisa Torres

Importance of history and archaeology relies on its ability to provide facts and evidence to connect the past with the present, in which children were constantly jumping from imaging the ancient past and looking themselves in the present. I believe that they transformed their thinking of the past at this young age, questioning their identities, precedence, and daily context within school and home. Also, workshops enhanced the connection with ancient past of Kaminaljuyu and the rest of sites in Guatemala, which in fact, the students did superficially known before this project. Through all workshops I could observe their positionality and transformations towards

the past. During lectures and workshops students expressed empowerment for their past, strongly addressing their positionality linked, first to the mound E-III-5 and then, to other archaeological sites in Guatemala. The case of one student asking Dr. Love why they are able to work in Guatemala as foreign is perfect to depict a strong understanding of what archaeology means, and also, the importance of who is researching the ancient past of Guatemala, she clearly expressed her positionality as Guatemalan who is interested to develop and know more about the ancient past. Furthermore, it is important that educational-activist approach I framed within this work not merely served as dissemination of knowledge in my critique to the educational system, but also it aimed to transform children understanding of the past, which will serve as a platform to deeply understand our ancient past and our nation problems based on racism. It is important to underline that for future research, these topics worth to address other analysis such as gender, class, and racial within archaeology and its practice in Guatemala.

iii. action

The discipline of archeology in Guatemala, at its founding, was conducted by foreign academics who responded to the recovery of an exotic past that, for nationalistic purposes, needed to be recognized and preserved. However, the archeology that began as the collection of antiquities in the 19th century, and which enlarged large private collections around the world, became a social science. Rather than delve into how this discipline originated, I will discuss how archeology, in the twenty-first century, still reproduces the system of colonial exploitation that extracts information from archaeological sites[25] to benefit the "expertise" of academics, feeds foreign publications, and collects antiquities (under the name of "archaeological artifacts") to increase national museum collections. Nevertheless, objects obtained through excavations are no longer allowed to leave the country, as part of existing Cultural Patrimony laws. All the artifacts extracted from archaeological research belong to a national collection that continues growing. Unfortunately, there are archeological pieces that travel outside Guatemalan borders, but they are part of a black market that keeps destroying Guatemalan patrimony.

In this chapter, I will refer to foreign and national archaeological research projects, currently being implemented in Guatemala, to argue that the conventional approach needs a shift to generate knowledge in the service of the community. The challenge is to employ an "activist archeology"[26] in order to integrate it under the research process. Thus, it begins a decolonization of the discipline, emphasizing an ethical commitment as part of this change, a model that has

[25] Although this is a European category, I will continue using the term "archaeological sites" in reference to the vestiges of ancient indigenous peoples.

[26] I want to clarify that I am labeling activist archeology in reference to all those practices where knowledge produced is useful to the community. There are different denominations such as Indigenous archeology, Public, Activist, Community, or Collaborative, which common purpose is to decolonize the academy on behalf of social justice, and looking for more ethically and politically-committed archaeological practices.

been effective in other parts of the world. Moreover, I will narrate the archaeological information that we obtained from the excavations made at Mound E-III-5, the "little hill" at the *Delia Luz Gutierrez de Castellanos* public school, as a pilot-model planned to be used in the future at other archaeological projects in Guatemala City. This example serves as a depiction of how to start breaking down academic boundaries that do not allow broad and clear communication of the information to citizens and people who live close by. The name of this chapter is in reference to "putting in practice what you are critiquing", so that I can depict the needed action that goes beyond discussing the theoretical approaches for activist archaeology in this wave for social justice.

THE CASE OF CONVENTIONAL ARCHAEOLOGY IN GUATEMALA

In Guatemala, foreign and national archaeologists are implementing archaeological research. Different foreign universities execute large research fieldwork projects continuously, year after year. They operate using their own research questions, but hire Guatemalan archaeologists to collect data, and they only include local communities when hiring a work force for excavations. Some of these projects continue reproducing hierarchies of power and inequality. I say this not to discredit efforts that over the years have enriched our knowledge of the Mayan past, but rather, my attention is focused on the direct benefits that communities are not receiving. Generally, the information extracted from excavations remains, to some degree, the intellectual property of the sponsoring university, and then it is extracted from the country and, often, published in English only. IDAEH only requires the presentation of a mere technical report in Spanish, which is archived and difficult to consult, since reports easily get lost. Fortunately, efforts in maintaining

the *Simposio de Investigaciones Arqueológicas en Guatemala*[27] allow a space for academics to present the results of current research, besides publishing its proceedings every year, which constitutes a large collection of the last 26 years of archaeological research in Guatemala.

Guatemalan archaeologists were trained in foreign projects that work in the country and some of them went abroad to obtain graduate and doctoral degrees; others have trained in Guatemalan universities and now work for foreign projects. However, Guatemalan archaeologists have made great efforts to gain spaces for academic recognition. Considering the great potential for archaeological research in Guatemala, relatively few projects have been state-sponsored. Therefore, there is a need for local projects to develop Guatemalan research of the past, due to the increased demand of youth interested in archeology over the past years. The challenge is enormous since the government does not support financially all the research. There are just three national projects of archaeological research at the moment (Tikal, Quirigua and Takalik Abaj) that have funding to excavate (Mineduc 2013). A good example of professional commitment is the KJ archaeological project, as mentioned in the introduction. It is coordinated by Barbara Arroyo, who every year has to search for funding and donations in order to able to excavate the site. With the opening of the new visitor center, students constantly visit the park, and educational outreach represents a viable model for enabling good community and archaeology interaction.

From my perspective, activist archaeology is an adequate point of departure because it allows us to open a dialogue among the academics while including the community in the research process or/and in its dissemination. In both the cases of foreign and national

[27] The Simposio was created by Juan Pedro Laporte and Dora Guerra in 1987 and is currently organized by a committee led by Barbara Arroyo. This *Simposio* is conducted every July, is open to the public, and also advertised through national TV.

archaeologists, conventional methodology governs the overall dynamics in which the archaeologist rigorously prepares a work plan based on his or her own research interests, and promotes fieldwork without any community dialogue. The system is intended for the government to authorize archaeological research in any area of the republic. Because no section, space, or line of state law[28] encourages collaboration and consultation with communities where archaeologists work, the only requirement is a legal agreement signed and sealed by government authorities[29]. With this, I argue that by not consulting the population and local authorities, researchers are breaking an essential connection within archaeological research itself: its processes and outcomes. This practice continues playing out colonial imposition, which does not consider nor integrate the locals' interests.

What would have happened, in the case of Delia Luz, if archaeologists merely conducted the excavations within a month and never integrated the nearest community (the students) nor conducted educational approaches of what was investigated?

Archaeological research would have been more technical and the children would have not empowered themselves with their *Cerrito*. We would not have constructed a community project with the archaeological crew and children. Harmonious human relationships were extremely important for development of this project, which included art as another tool for knowledge and for expressing their empowerment. In other words, this project was beyond being "my own" work for the sake of a master's thesis, instead, it was a community project that many archaeologists and students were really committed to, and believed it was worth the changes it could bring about.

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[28] "Ley para la Protección del Patrimonio Cultural de la Nación"

[29] of the Departamento de Monumentos Prehispánicos y Coloniales del Instituto de Antropología e Historia.

The challenge for our newest generation of archaeologists is to create and implement a new trend in archaeology for the public who can benefit from it. Our project is based on sharing the information we produce, directly socializing it in the community in and, in this specific case, around the public school Delia Luz Gutierrez de Castellanos.

OUR LITTLE HILL: 2,000 YEARS OF HISTORY IN MY SCHOOL

The archaeological mound E-III-5 is better known as "Cerrito" (Little Hill) by students of Delia Luz Gutierrez de Castellanos School. Our presence at the school was expected: last January 2013, we discussed the possibilities of conducting a program of educational workshops integrated with a project of excavations at the mound that is on the school playground. The mound was never been excavated before and the only knowledge that school´s community had about it was that national laws protected it because it was somehow related to the Mayans. *What Mayans? Those that lived 2,000 years ago in the Peten jungle and disappeared mysteriously*, as is commonly thought.

The principal of the school, Lizbeth Vega Romero, and teachers of 4th, 5th, and 6th grades, agreed to include this project as part of their social studies course. The content focused on archaeology and Kaminaljuyu´s history, so that children could participate in the activities as part of their education. Most of the information given to children was focused on generalities of archaeology, which is pointed out in the next section, and the information that we were digging up in their little hill.

In January 2013, Barbara Arroyo and I visited Lizbeth Vega Romero and had initial conversations on conducting this project. She expressed interest, explaining to us that for many years they had wanted to know what was beneath their little hill. Surprisingly, her interest to

know what was inside the archaeological mound was because they wanted to get rid of it, in order to get more space so that they would be able to build more classrooms or an auditorium for special events at the school. I have to confess that my first thought was a sort of astonishment combined with a paternalistic impression, thinking that the challenge was going to persuade her to change her mind after our project was finished. This thinking went beyond trying to convince someone. It was clear that my purpose was to start building bridges to communicate the history of Kaminaljuyu at this school, so that they knew "the importance" and the reasons why that mound was conserved and is protected by law. Obviously, this shift is not going to happen from one day to another; it is a challenge that needs long-term commitment.

During the spring semester principal Lizbeth Vega Romero and I kept communicating and planning activities with the children; her help and enthusiasm were elemental to activate this project. This is how we started working together and incorporated a public school into an archaeological project in Guatemala City.

Part of my self-critique is that we, as archaeologists, are excessively technical when presenting the information from our research. Conventional archaeology had taught us to be strictly academic, and separate ourselves from any personal bias so that we would not affect the final results. This kept us from socializing the information to the community because the language we used was incomprehensible for people who are not academics. Plus, the overall "socialization" process happened within the academic sphere, and we kept reproducing this without noticing it. The language that we use is strongly academic, and the people we want to approach are non-academic. The challenge was to get rid of our privileged vocabulary to narrate the history of Kaminaljuyu. Noticing and accepting this challenge was a very rewarding beginning. Following my motivation to share the archaeological information with children and

teachers, I am taking up the challenge to narrate it in the most digestible form possible. My goal for the public is to start breaking academic boundaries, building bridges for communication and using them towards the people and not just to academics. Reaching this point means a double-effort, because first, we have to elaborate a technical scheme and then later translate it into a common language for everyone to understand. This is the established, traditional methodology that is currently practiced in Guatemala and we will have to evaluate if the activist scholarship can make this shift without diminishing the discipline (as mentioned in the introduction).

In this wave and spirit of shifting privileges it is valid to ask once again: for whom are we writing? My self-reflection is: to both the academic and general public, especially the latter, the local people who live next to the archaeological sites and that do not understand the language presented in our reports/publications. An example can be seen in appendix B about the current final report submitted from the project to the Ministerio de Cultura y Deportes. However, I will not address this dynamic here, and in this chapter, I will focus instead on the results of the archaeological excavations conducted at the little hill or mound E-III-5 (figure 44). It is my belief that a project such as this is an example of how we can start challenging traditional academics by opening doors through educational approaches for the nearby community, and help with the educational activities throughout the work season.

DIGGING THE PAST

Archaeological excavations´ design for mound E-III-5, or "the little hill", was revised and approved as part of the Proyecto Zona Arqueológica Kaminaljuyu, which is under direction of the archaeologist Dr. Bárbara Arroyo. Within this project and with me as a representative of the University of Texas at Austin and the Teresa Lozano Long Institute of Latin American Studies,

we were able to conduct summer research thanks to their economic, logistic, and academic support.

Figure 44: Mound E-III-5 and 6th grade students at Delia Luz School

Conducting archaeological excavations was possible throughout three excavations groups, with workers from San Juan Sacatepéquez who have abundant knowledge of the archaeological area, and who can easily recognize what kind of materials were used in the past to construct houses, and the diverse material culture remains that they might find during the excavations. This excavation´s groups were formed by one *excavador* and one *ayudante*, as follows: Carlos Patzan (excavador), Elvis Saban (ayudante), Juan Carlos Morales (excavador), Cesar Soc (ayudante), José Domingo Pirir (excavador), and Byron Patzan (ayudante) (figure 45). Moreover, Luis Méndez Salinas, an archaeology student conducting his fieldwork practicum,

took on supervision of excavation units 1, 4, and 5. The rest of units and general supervision were under my direction. Conducting these excavations lasted 5 weeks, from June 10th to July 12th 2013.

Figure 45: Archaeological crew inside the mound at 3 meters in depth.

With the goal of recognizing the building construction sequences and recovering as much cultural material as possible, we drew the excavation area at the top of the mound, oriented north-south and connected to a specific point of the school building for possible future excavations. Thereafter, we initiated stratigraphic and arbitrary excavations, which were controlled by numeral and alphabetic tags. All the recovered cultural materials were placed in

labeled plastic bags by lot in order to not lose their contextual information and to be able to analyze it for posterity at the laboratory.

The principal objectives for our excavations were focused on defining the mound´s occupation sequence through documentation of architectural features, defining the shape of the building and its subsequent occupation stages, documenting its ritual activities, recovering cultural material to date diverse occupational stages, and finding sterile soil, where the first building began to be constructed. The methodology contemplated several excavation units at the center of the mound and one trench at its base. Except unit KJEIII5-3, all units were oriented north-south. After removing plant cover, we marked rectangular 3 x 2 meters and 2 x 1 meters units of excavation at the top of the mound, and a 4 x 1 m trench at the base of the mound. As I mentioned before, excavation went through arbitrary levels of 0.20 m and 0.40 m depth, with some exceptions when discovering diverse architectural features, which helped us to better understand the Structure´s 1 shape and orientation [30].

Interpretation of the findings is complicated, due to the high degree of mutilation that the mound has suffered in modern times. Moreover, the perimeter wall that nowadays surrounds the mound has radically altered its original shape, making it difficult to obtain enough information to know an accurate reconstruction of the structure. However, archaeological research carried out on the mound E-III-5 allowed us to document the building sequence of occupation, its construction, modifications, and abandonment, and the mutilation that it has suffered in contemporary times. Cultural materials and strata we found during excavations provide

[30] I am using the term "Structure" in reference of an ancient building where Kaminaljuyu inhabitants lived, either for public or domestic purposes.

important data about key stages during the use of the building in ancient times, and uses of the mound in modern times, which are listed below through chronological order.

THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL DATA

During excavations we recognized that the sterile soil level was at a depth of 5.40 m from the surface. This layer is composed of several thin layers of sands of different characteristics (figure 46, figure 47 see stratum No. 10, and figure 48), similar to those found in the excavations of Kaminaljuyu Mounds A and B (figure 10), and documented in other excavations at the site (Alvarado 2004, Shook 1952). The barren (sterile) soil of this area is formed with abundant mica, pumice sands, and its consistency is loose, soft and wet (figure 48). There were no cultural materials associated with this stratum, therefore we concluded that the people who built it leveled these sands to start erecting the foundation of Structure 1 during the begging of Late Preclassic Period. The basement holding this structure consists of a ground elevation of 0.70 m of very dark brown clay, pasty, compact, and hard, combined also with quartz grains (figure 46 see stratum No. 8). At the top of this layer we found evidence of a burning activity, registered in unit KJEIII5-1 and KJEIII5-2, which helped to compact the ground, and allowed them to begin the structure´s construction (figure 46 see stratum No. 7 and 6). Materials used in this building were a variety of clays mainly from the surrounding area. Most of them are composed of sand, quartz, and *talpetate*, others have ground stones and other minerals. We documented diverse colors and compositions of soils and clays in the structure´s fill, the knowledge of those combinations being fundamental to obtain the degree of hardness, strength, permeability, or impermeability needed.

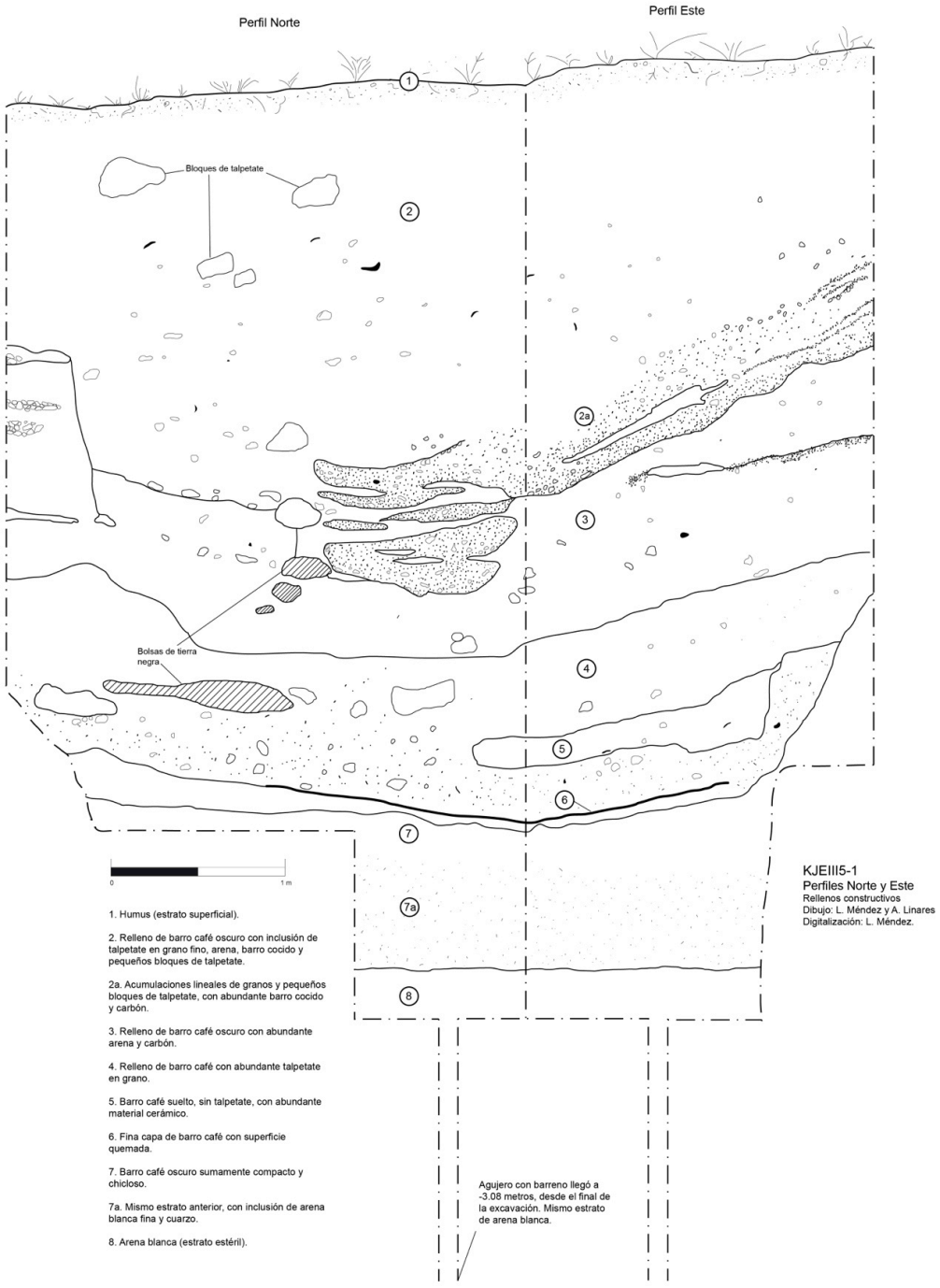

Figure 46: Drawing of North and East profiles from excavation unit KJEIII5-1

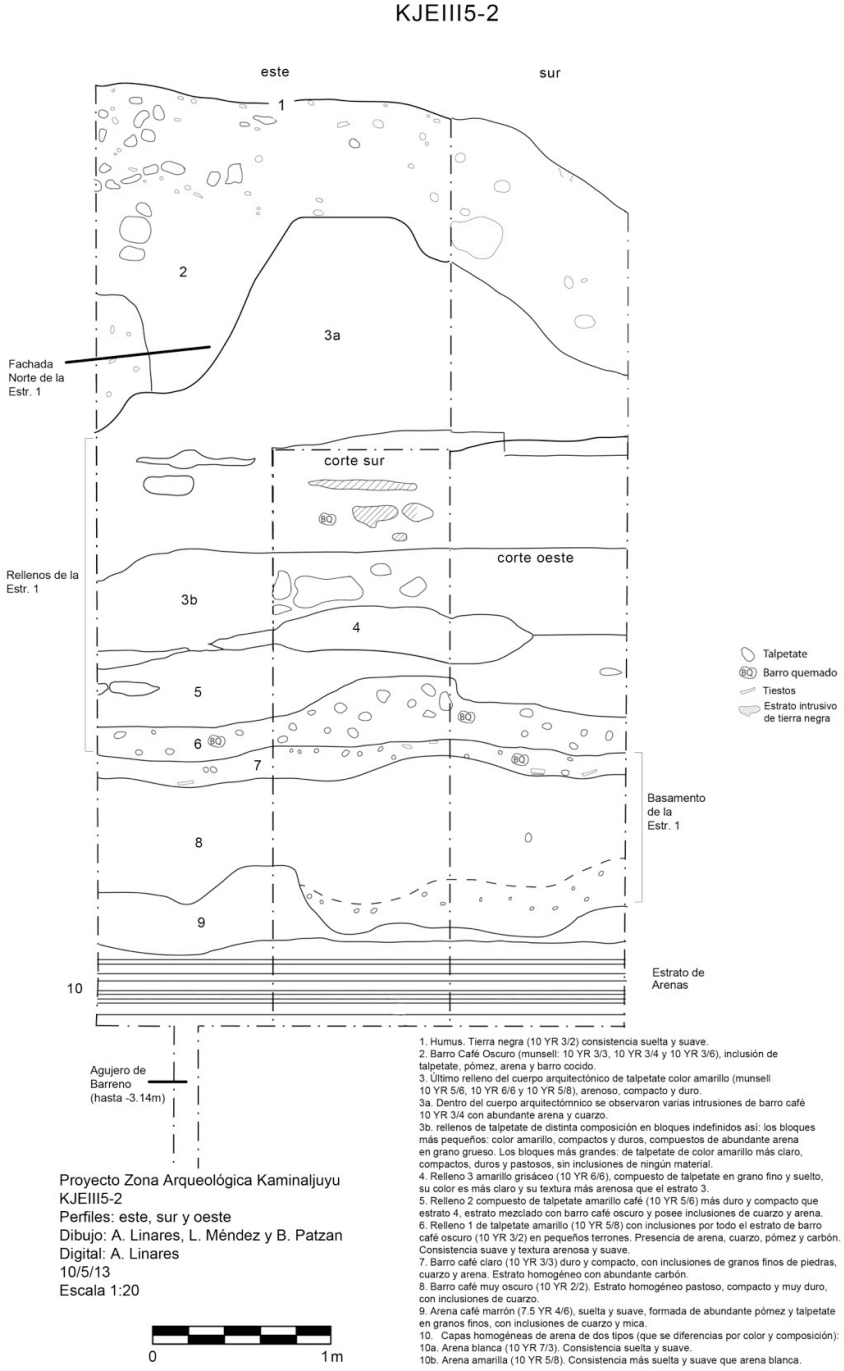

Figure 47: Drawing of East and South profiles from excavation unit KJEIII5-2

Figure 48: Photograph showing sterile soil found during excavations at 5.70 meters in depth of excavation unit KJEIII5-2-22

The Structure 1 main façade consists of three steps (figures 49 and 50), followed by a short slope (called “talud”) that provides access to the top of the building, and a detached feature used as a long bench (whose consistency and color were significantly different) that tops off with the upper body of the building, and also served as the east corner of the building (main feature of unit KJEIII5-4, figures 51 and 52). This facade, which is assumed to be the main one, is oriented 292 degrees, facing the northeast. Over this “talud” ancient people carved a posthole that probably served to hold a perishable roof that would cover the area of the stairs and the top of the building, leaving out the attached bench and the “talud” (figure 53).

Figure 49: Photograph of Structure 1, excavated at mound E-III-5, showing the steps in the west profile (at the right side of picture).

The final use of Structure 1 is represented with the evidence of a "termination ritual" over the third step. Based on the findings of artifacts, as well as plenty of charcoal and ashes, we believe that the people who used the building would have to prepare an area to place the offerings, such as ceramics, obsidian, clay, and bones in a ritual that included fire (figure 54 and 55). These cultural materials were deposited in cavity of 0.90 m x 0.55 m (figures 56 and 57), and in its surrounding area. Based on results of calibrated radiocarbon dating analysis of charcoal found in this cavity, we can determine that this ritual happened between 50 BC and 70 AD, or Late Preclassic (appendixes C and D). Considering the ritual nature of these findings, it is also likely that dances, music, and banquets occurred in a ceremony that celebrated the end of an era and the beginning of another, with the construction of a new structure above it (Figure 50).

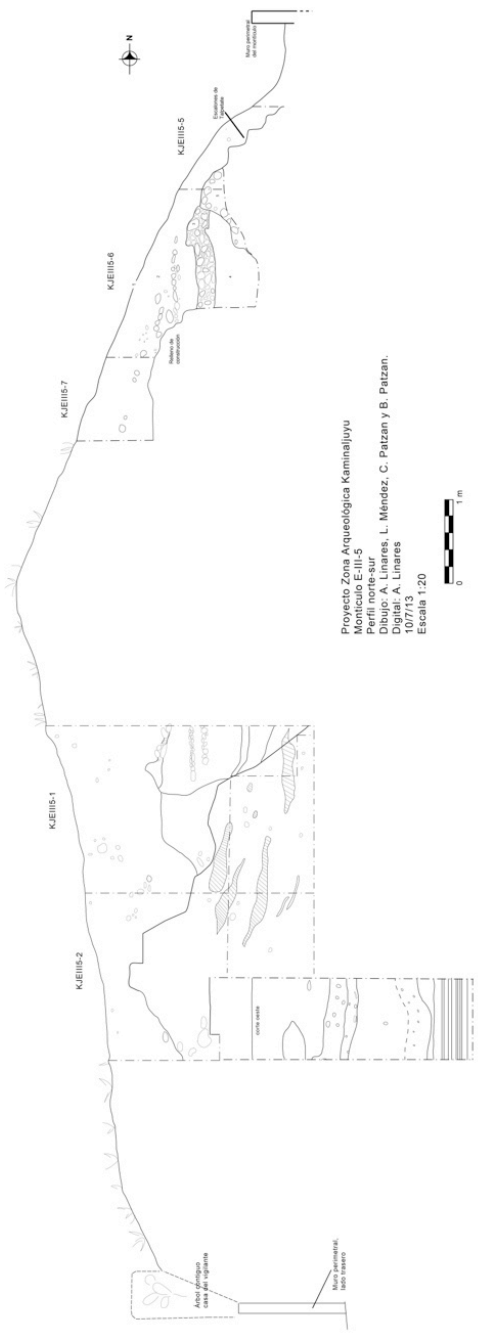

Figure 50: Drawing of the excavations´ profile, showing the main features.

Figure 51: Main feature of KJEIII5-4, before excavation.

Figure 52: Main feature of KJEIII5-4, bench attached to the main steps of Structure 1, after excavation.

Figure 53: Posthole made on Structure 1.

Figure 54: Photograph of the “termination ritual" found over third step of the Structure 1, excavation unit EIII5-3-5.

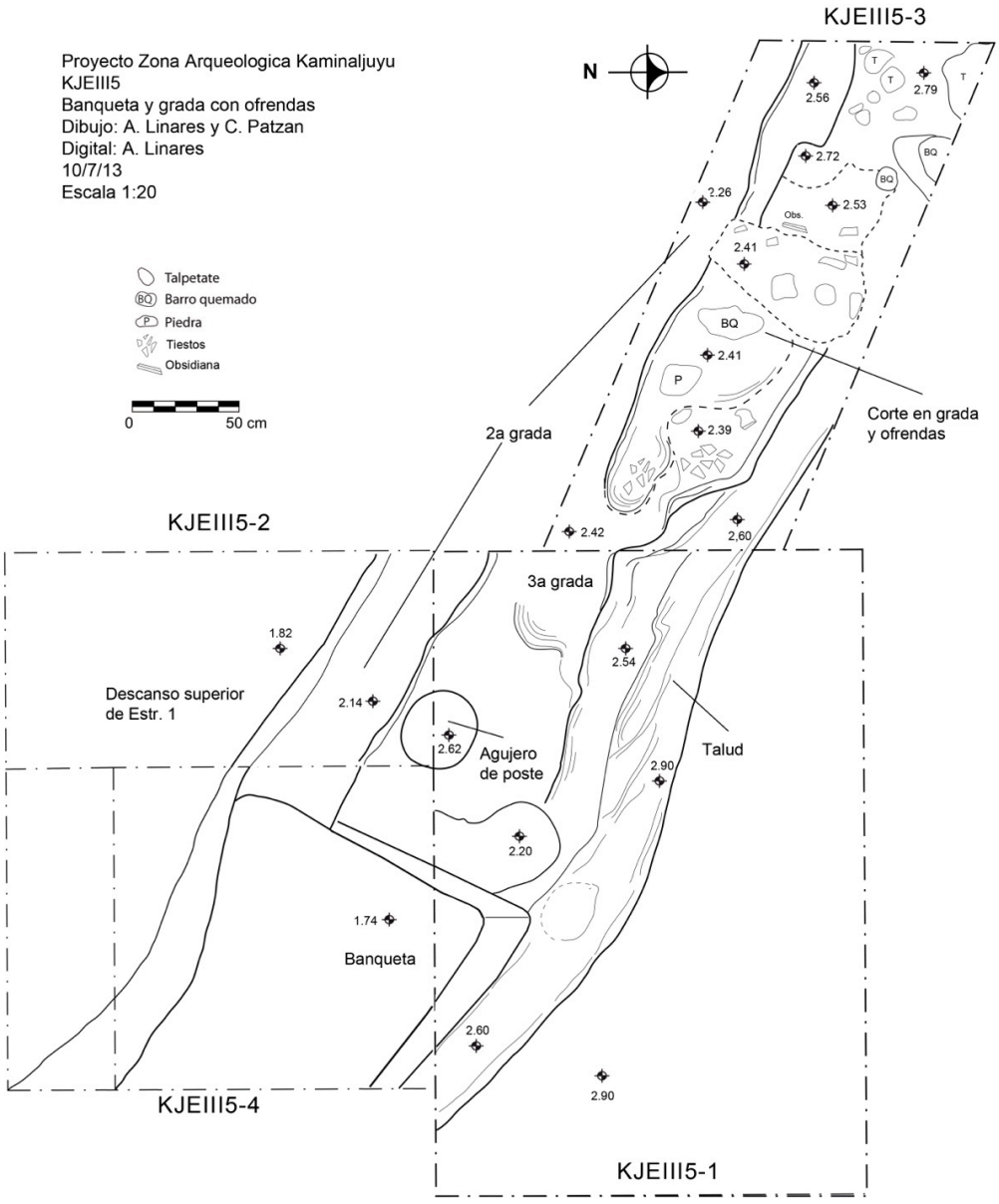

Figure 55: Drawing of the main archaeological finding: “termination ritual" in KJEIII5-3-5 during the excavation.

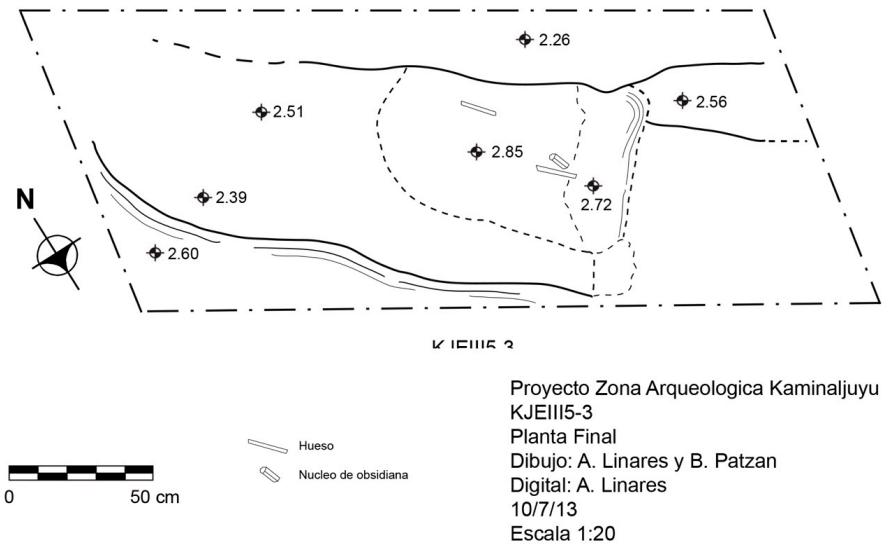

Figure 56: Drawing of the main archaeological finding: “termination ritual" in KJEIII5-3-5 after excavation.

Immediately following this termination ritual, different construction fills of clay were placed over Structure 1, covering it completely. This information was documented at the top of Mound E-III-5 during the initial phase of excavations, where we detected the extensive architectural fills that massively coated Structure 1 and served as the foundation for Structure 2. The architectural evidence of Structure 2 was found in both areas of excavations. At the top of the mound, a short wall (0.32 m wide and 0.90 m high) was found that was constructed by thick blocks of *talpetate* oriented 298 degrees (figure 58 and 59). This wall was built above the area where the third step of Structure 1 was built (0.80m higher), suggesting that people who constructed it also wanted to preserve the memory of the previous building, creating a new architectural stage with similar characteristics.

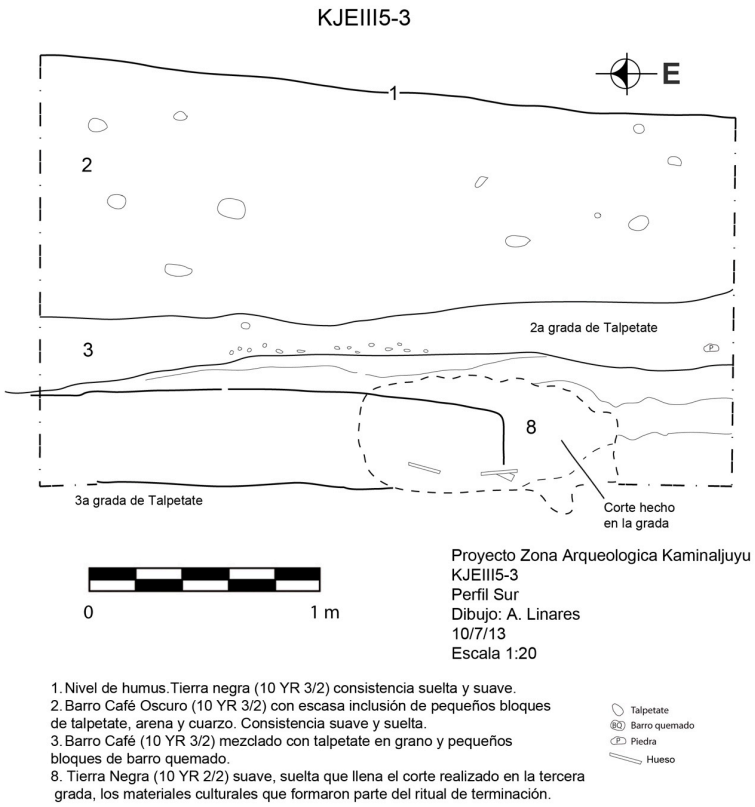

Figure 57: Profile drawing of the “termination ritual" in KJEIII5-3-5 after excavation.

At the base of the mound there was little evidence of the facade of Structure 2. The trench we excavated (figure 60) revealed some remains of the *talpetate* steps that were oriented toward the north; these stairs were mutilated in modern times, so that we were able merely to document their filling. The above demonstrates the considerable labor investment in the surface preparation when the building was erected and during its two successive occupancies. Abandonment of Structure 2 must have happened during the last part of Late Preclassic Period; moreover, we did

not find any material from latter periods. This abandonment led vegetation to grow over hundreds of years, and the old building became the archaeological mound seen now (called E-III-5 by archaeologists).

After the first half of the twentieth century, urbanization invaded this area. The modern urban layout of streets and neighborhoods framed the mounds into secluded grounds (properties), causing partial or total destruction for many of them. In the 1960s, the Castillo Lara neighborhood was built, and three decades later the public School No. 70 Delia Gutierrez Luz de Castellanos began operating in front of the mound E-III-5. The mound remained as part of the school´s playground, protected by Guatemalan law. Nevertheless, in the 1990s, the mound continued being mutilated by the construction of a perimeter wall.

It is unfortunate that due to the conditions of the few remains of Kaminaljuyu, structures like this are practically dismantled, although it is a circumstance quite understandable given the growing needs of the population which currently resides in the archaeological area.

Research on mound E-III-5 does not indicate any relationship with the mound D-III-1, best know as “el Chay” and located only a block away (figures 9, 26 and 61). The time that both were built and used do not correspond to each other; in addition, the façades of both buildings are on opposite sides. Thus, the possibility of any relationship between these two buildings has been discarded, although it was initially thought, based on the map of Mausdlay (1889), that the three buildings E-III-5, E-III-6 and D-III-1 were supported by a wide platform and grouped around. However, it could be possible that some relationship between Mounds E-III-3 and E-III-5 existed, based on their proximity and contemporaneity, although their façades were not aligned to each other. Finally, it is necessary to conduct future research on mound E-III-6 to know possible links between these areas.

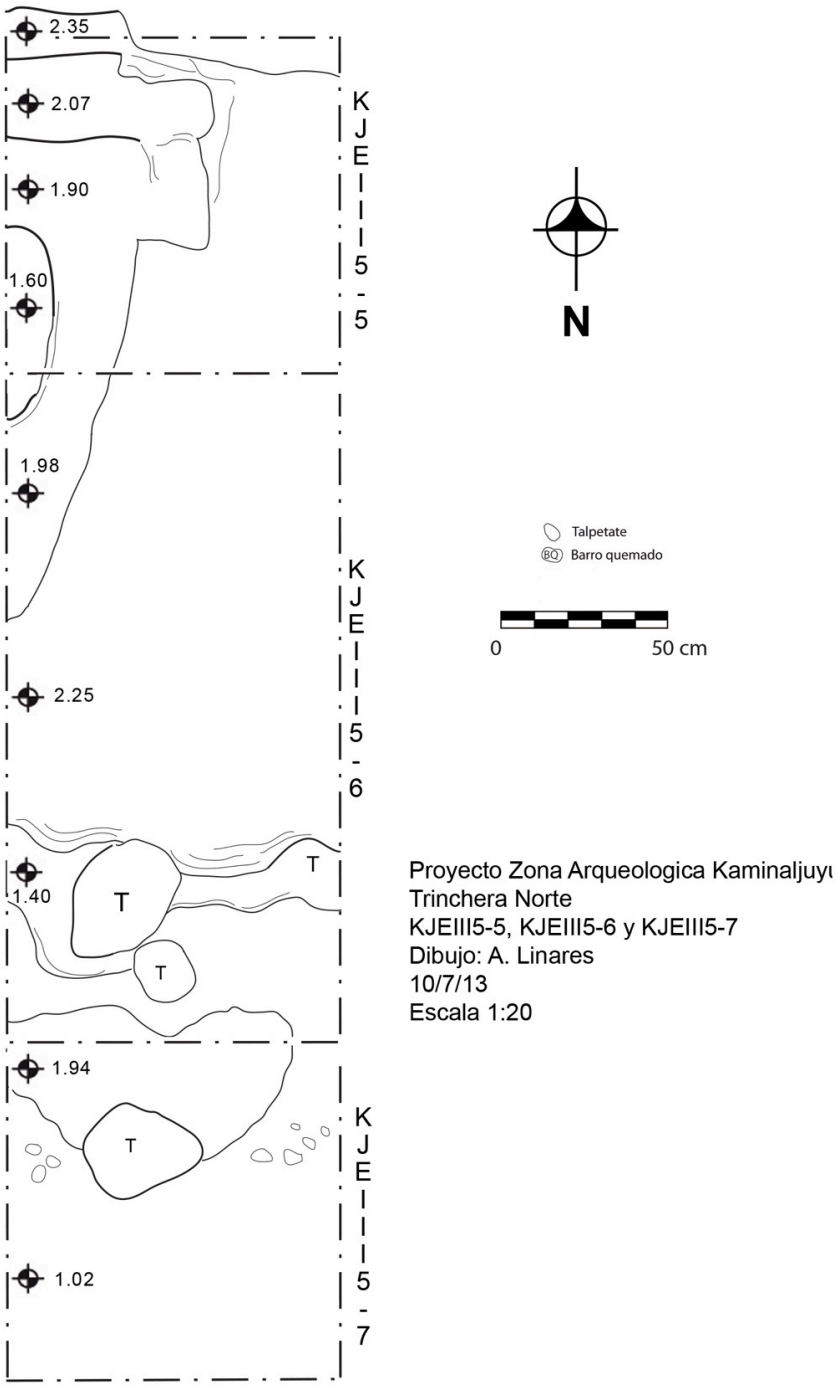

Figure 58: Drawing of few remains of the Structure 2 found at the mound, North Trench.

Figure 59: Photograph of few remains of the Structure 2, North Trench.

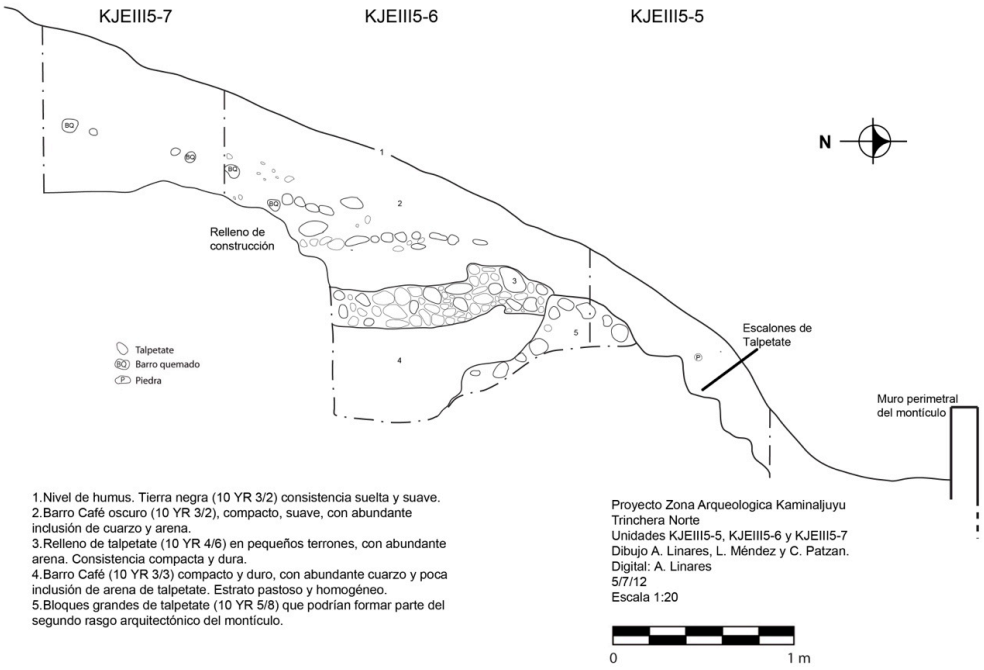

Figure 60: Drawing of North Trench. See steps made from *Talpetate* documented for Structure 2.

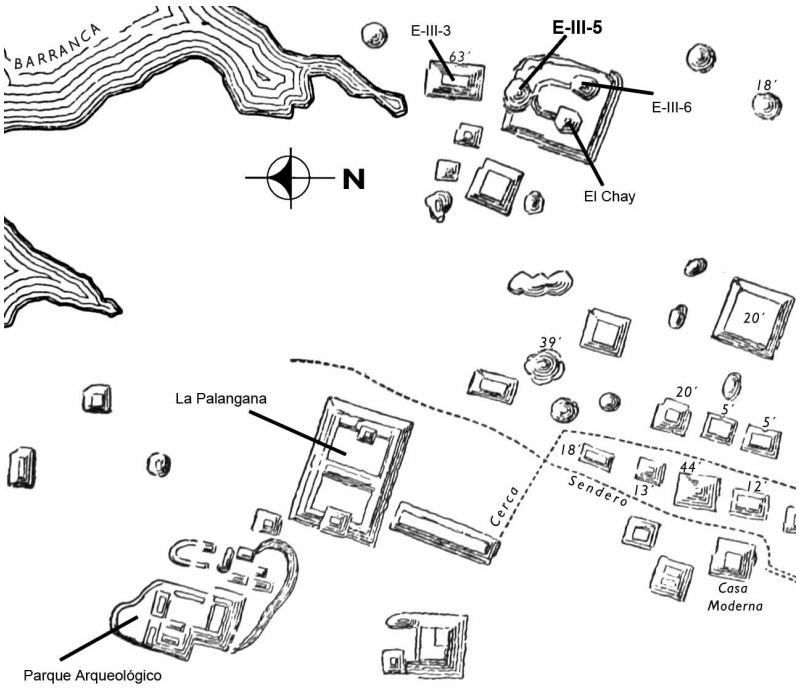

Figure 61: Map of Kaminaljuyu by Maudslay pointing the closest mounds to E-III-5.

Ceramic analyses are still ongoing, however, during field observations we identified important diagnostic materials from transitional phases of the Late Middle Preclassic (500-400 BC) and Early Late Preclassic (400-300 BC) periods, such as Usulutan, Navarro, Engobe Naranja, Engobe Rojo, and Verbena types, indicating the period of the mound´s occupation (figures 62 and 63).

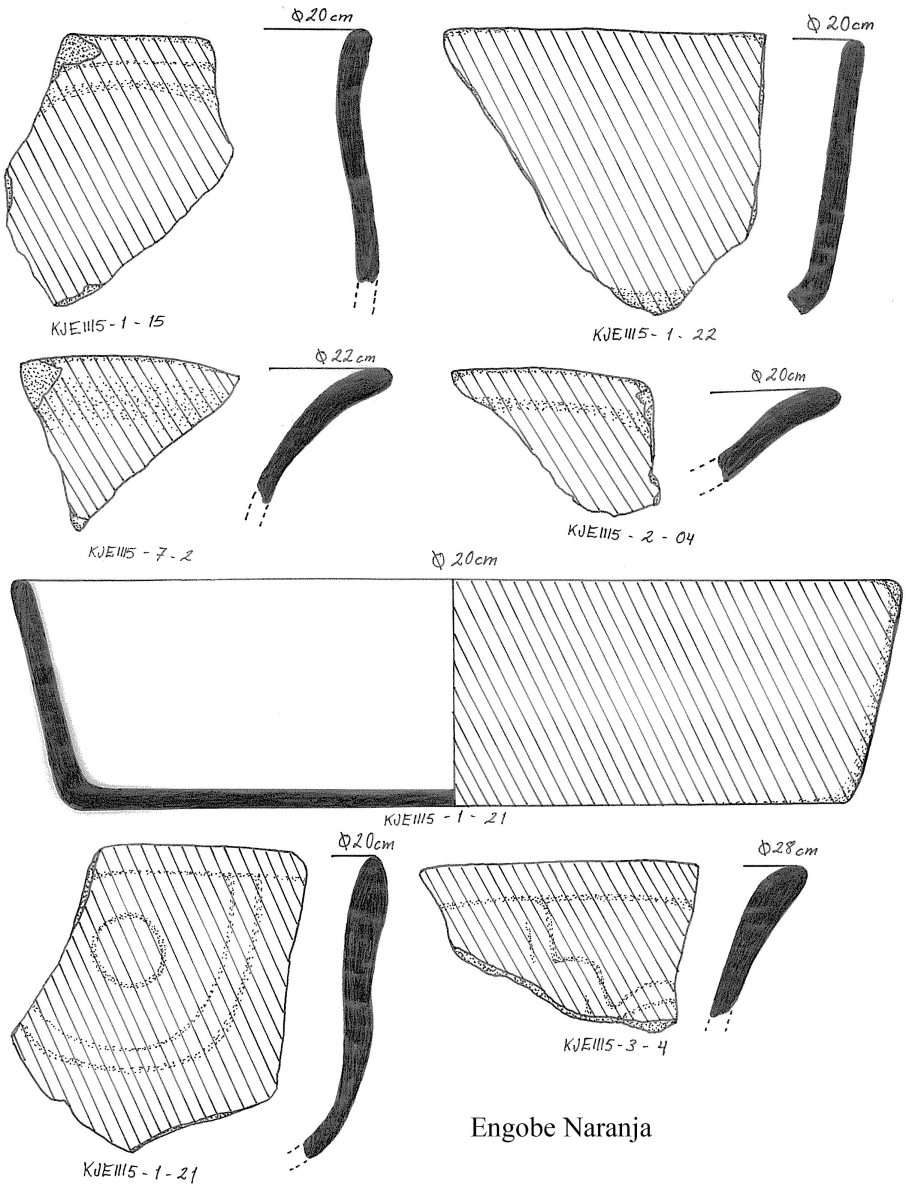

Figure 62: Drawings of ceramics recovered from excavations, predominantly for Late Preclassic period (by Javier Estrada 2013)

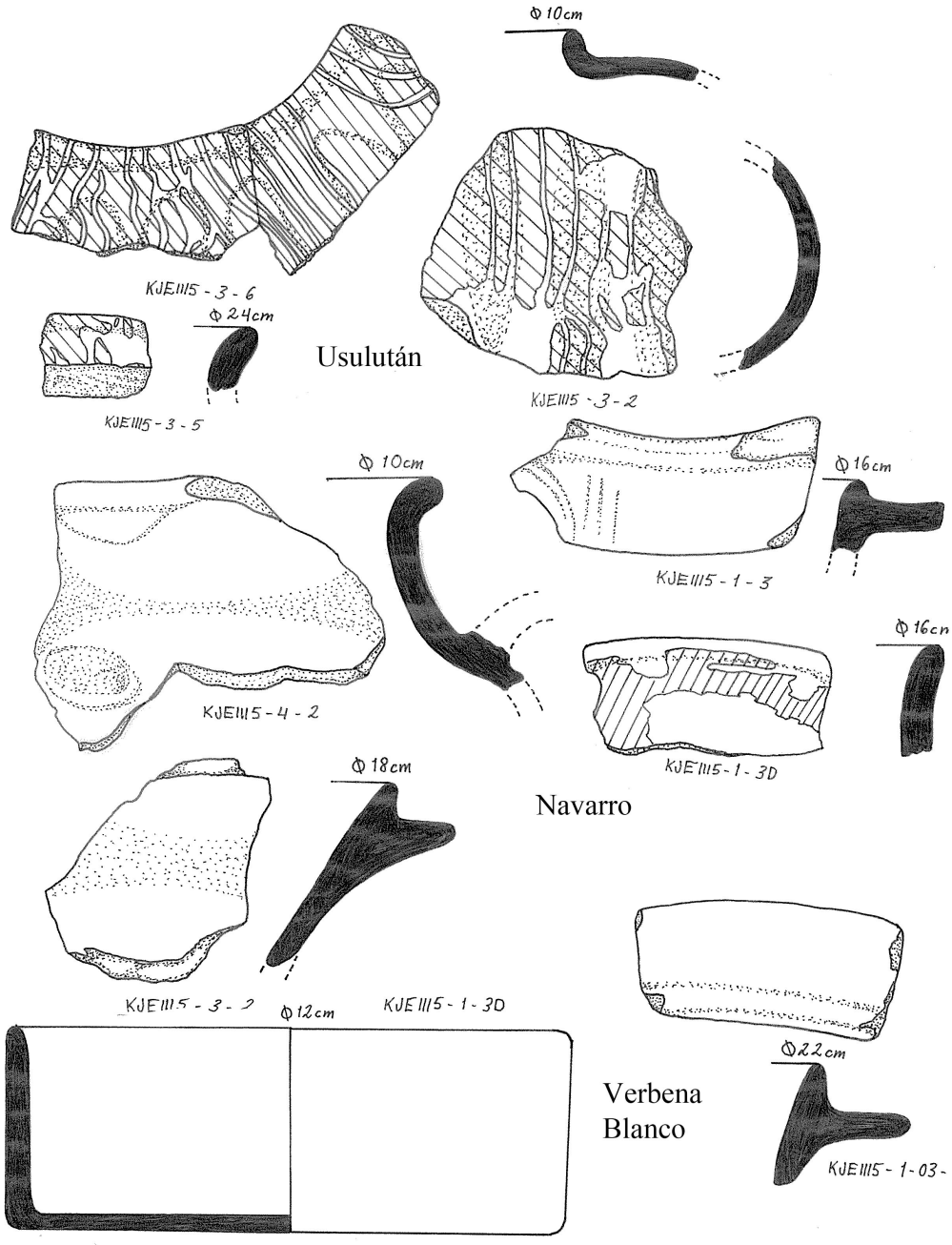

Figure 63: Drawings of ceramics recovered from excavations, predominantly for Late Preclassic period (by Javier Estrada 2013)

BEYOND THE HARD ARCHAEOLOGICAL DATA

Archaeological data in Guatemala is generally presented as I did in last section; however, the language used is not proper for a general audience that is not used to archaeological jargon. In the case of children, it should be described even more simply. For this reason, in this section I present the results of archaeological research at Mound E-III-5 in narrative form.

One of the biggest challenges in implementing the educational workshops while excavations were carried out was to explain the findings in a simple manner. It was after the visit of the first group of students to the excavations that Luis Méndez pointed out how we use academic language on the children. I was taught to use this academic language to explain findings during archaeological excavations. His observation was key to developing a more appropriate and understandable language towards the girls. Consequently, we started to name findings differently: the Structures as *houses*, the pottery as *old ancient trash*, the *Talpetate* as *yellow earth*, the Obsidian as *old knives*. The proper presentation of historical facts is a key element for the students to get involved in past exploration. An appropriate narrative for their age is ideal for their motivation when searching for knowledge. From that point on, little girls can experience the meaning of time while asking themselves, what was there before the school was built? This enables them to gradually move from present to recent past to reach a more remote past, when KJ city was built. When doing the excavations on the "Cerrito" of the school, educational workshops were conducted, thanks to the aid of volunteers and teachers (mentioned at the beginning of this chapter). The contents of these workshops was focused on the mounds' history and, while it was being excavated, the little girls where learning about an archaeological line of work, the history of the past and of Kaminaljuyu. This was mixed with several field trips to the excavation site across from the school, where the processes of excavation and their

findings were described in a less technical way than the one used in academia. The little girls wrote their remarks and impressions in their journal or field notebook with drawings, comments, interpretations and data. On the classroom the results of last weeks' excavations were described, along with their interpretations. The complete story was told when the workshops ended.

There was a general call for parents, teachers, and students to have a final meeting, during the closing of the field season, in order to present the results of the archaeological research conducted in the mound and to describe and comment on all the activities done with the students within two months. Helped by digital images in a power point presentation, I narrated to them the story of their *little hill* in chronological order as follows:

More than two thousand years ago, near the year 400 bC, during the era archaeologists call the "Late Pre-classic", Kaminaljuyu' first families where looking to build houses and buildings around the now extinct Miraflores Lake, to have a better place to live and rule. Most of these houses were built using different kinds of clay and soil, which were mixed with natural resources such as sand, and little fragments of quartz and pumice stone to make them stronger.

To build, first it was necessary to prepare the land where the houses were going to be placed, level the ground for the house to be stable, and then begin to build a strong base that would hold the future household. This base is called "platform" and was made out of very dark clay that was humidity and weight resistant. To prevent the surface from wear due to rain and heat from the sun, the family put fire over the clay to harden it, making it impermeable and long-lasting, just as is done today with ceramic vessels and tiles for the roofs of houses.

During the archaeological excavations we found the remains of two houses, one built on top of the other; we will call them House 1 and House 2. House 1 was made out of yellow

colored clay, representative for the area and known as "talpetate" by us archaeologists. This house's base had a rectangular shape and was elevated above the ground. It had three stairs and a little inclined wall we call "talud". Walls from this house were built with stalks and thin sticks that were attached to the base with a little water and sand. These were also heated with fire to harden them and this also prevented them from being dislodged by wind.

It is hard to find roofs and walls in archaeology, because they were built with perishable materials, like leafs and branches from trees, which cannot survive the will of time and when they decompose they became dirt.

In the case of the "Cerrito" from the school, we can be sure that the house we found had a roof, because José Pirir, better known as Don Chepe, found a circular "post hole" during the excavations. Usually, these holes were used to lay down the wooden post, which supported the roof of the house. House 1's main façade was facing northeast, and it is probable that it may have been connected with other houses around it. This was a big neighborhood that got as far as "El Trebol", on the southeast. The shape of the back façade could not be determined because the mound was seriously destroyed when the Castillo Lara neighborhood began to grow, approximately 40 years ago.

The family that built this house had many sons and daughters and they decided to refurbish it to make the house taller and wider. Then, they did an "ending ritual" to celebrate the foundation of their house and family, and also to give thanks to their parents by allowing them to renovate it and to continue living in it. These rituals were religious ceremonies that celebrated important dates and events. In the case of the ceremony done in House 1, it was specifically to celebrate a cycle of use, their inhabitants and the beginning of another cycle with new family members, rejoicing in that way a moment of historical importance for this family and

the Kaminaljuyu neighborhood. The family members dug a little hole inside the stairs, where they offered pots, plates and vases that they used for many years, throwing them in this hole. They set fire to these fragments as part of the ritual and offered more artifacts that they would not use anymore, including their obsidian knives and grinding stones for their food. Along with the party's fire there was also food and dances that were also part of those celebrations.

Currently, in the town of Nebaj, in the Guatemalan Highlands, this type of ceremony is still celebrated, and it brings together all of the community members with special drinks, food and dances dedicated to the "Virgen de la Asunción". Once a year, during their patron saint´s fair, the "cofradía" and the community gather together to practice this ritual. They prepare in order to break ceramic plates as an offering; each person must walk in front of the Virgin to break a ceramic plate while the community watches the amount of fragments that result from the broken plate.

Given this example, it is easy to imagine how the ritual from the ancient house in Kaminaljuyu happened, where the family broke ceramic pots and plates as an offering to give thanks to their ancestors, and to their parents and grandparents who began the construction of the house that was going to be inhabited by the new generation. After the "ending ceremony" in House 1, the family members took down the roof and walls to begin the renovation. The base of House 1 was totally covered by light brown and yellow sand and this is how they began to build the new house, which we call House 2, where their successors would live, their sons and grandsons, keeping alive the memory of their ancestors.

In *ancient times, inhabitants of Kaminaljuyu were used to constantly refurbishing their houses, according to changes in their family or political system. For example, one must imagine how many people where necessary to carry that big amount of dirt, or wonder how many people*

were needed to build just one house? That way one can have an idea of the great amount of inhabitants that lived in that area, so many years ago.

Usually, the ruling family had their own house or building built and that required a lot of people to do it. When the ruling family passed on power to their offspring, the offspring ordered a new house built on top in order to not only keep their parents' memory alive, but to also be recognized as the new authority in front of the other families. House 2's occupation must have been during the last part of the "Late Preclassic", between the years 200 bC and 250 aD. For archaeologists it is very difficult to get exact dates, which is why we refer to them as eras. House 2 was found very much destroyed and it was not possible for us to recognize its shape, but we were able to establish the date of its abandonment since we didn't find the presence of cultural remains from previous periods. Kaminaljuyu city continued its development during the Classic era (300 to 600 aD), but this house had already been abandoned by then. The families from the ancient city decided to build houses in the south sector of the site, where the Miraflores and Tikal Futura malls are located. When this house was abandoned, weeds started to grow on top of it and hundreds of years later it was totally covered with dirt, creating the Escuela Delia Luz Gutiérrez de Castellanos "Cerrito", described by the archaeologists as archaeological mound E-III-5.

During the end of the 1800's and the first half of the 1900´s, the land where these mounds were located was privatized and became cattle and coffee farms. Many of the mounds were used to extract dirt and clay to produce adobe to build modern houses, so many were totally destroyed this way. Most of the mounds were destroyed during the 1950's, when this area began to be urbanized, and these neighborhoods (Castillo Lara, Landivar, Quinta Samayoa, Kaminaljuyu) became inhabited. Some 30 years ago, the area where the Delia Luz Gutiérrez de Castellanos

School is now was an abandoned site, where the "Cerrito" from the school remained as one of the few witnesses of the great city called Kaminaljuyu. The school was built at the beginning of the decade of the 1990s, and the mound was left in the middle of the playground. It was not until 2013 when two archaeologists (Dr. Bárbara Arroyo and Lic. Adriana Linares Palma) spoke to the director of the school (Lizbeth Vega) about the possibility of excavating the mound and performing workshops with the students, in order to involve them in the process of learning the history buried under the mound.

With the authorization of the Ministerio de Cultura y Deportes and thanks to the support of the Proyecto Zona Arqueológica Kaminaljuyu, the Teresa Lozano Long Institute of Latin American Studies of the University of Texas at Austin, Dr. Julia Guernsey and the D.J. Sibley Family endowment, excavations and workshops for the girls were done between June and July 2013. Thanks to the work of José Domingo Pirir, Carlos Patzan, Juan Carlos Morales, Cesar Soc, Byron Patzan y Elvis Saban, and the student Luis Méndez, the excavations were done as planned. Activities included visits to excavations to observe the remains of ancient families left buried thousands of years ago, history that is told here.

WHAT DOES KAMINALJUYU MEAN FOR THE FUTURE?

Kaminaljuyu is one of the most important sites taught in university curricula for archaeology in Guatemala, because it represents great social development based on its strategic location and on its exchange network among different cities in Mesoamerica. Although most of the city nowadays is destroyed, there are some few remains that can tell important information about the ancient city. Neighbors are beginning to explore this (accumulated and isolated) knowledge in books that mostly were written in different languages and remain in libraries

outside of Guatemala. It is my belief that people´s identification of archaeological mounds of Kaminaljuyu, outside the archaeological park, as important historical remains, is essential. I also believe that education about this history is critical to their self-empowerment, as it will enable them to identify and connect their knowledge of ancient KJ history to their day-to-day environment and life.

The continuous visits that the girls did to the mound during its excavation were essential for them to observe. In addition to learning the processes of archaeological research, they also saw how materials that other generations left behind were discovered inside the antique buildings, and how the buildings themselves were abandoned and buried during time. They were able to observe how there's now, in the area of their school, only one material witness (for the students: "el Cerrito", for the archaeologist: the mound) of a city that existed many generations ago. They also learned about how our modern city was built over the top of the ancient mound, destroying much of its remains. These observations led them to understand that their school is placed besides the "Cerrito", which represents the house of a family that lived many years before them in that same place and their school's place.

I was also able to see how this process triggered questions about their identity and community sense. "What was this before I was here?" became an important question. By asking this question at the beginning of the workshops, it allowed the students to explore the past from each girl's point of view, and in relationship to her own identity. Yet, at the same time, the same process also generated a sense of community; they all share the same school.

Pluckrose (1996:134) considers that this type of experience is the most effective way for kids to include their sensations while learning about the past, or any other topic of study. Visits to sites or museums are central to experiencing sensations that are not delivered by books, and

that are only produced when being in the very scene where the actual events took place. Through observations and exercises like the ones we employed, they were able to better understand the site's changes over time, and to understand their position in relationship to this chronology, thereby more fully developing their comprehension of the concept of "time":

"Hace mas de 2014 años yo Andrea Sam vivíamos con mi familia en el montículo e35. Vivimos mucho tiempo, luego con permiso de mis padres construimos otra casa ensima de la anterior pero antes tiramos cuchillos platos varas piedras de moler y luego habitamos la segunda casa donde luego de varios años para muchos años después vinieran finqueros y después construllon [construyeron] calles casas colonias y vivieron muchas personas más." Andrea Sam

"More than 2014 years ago I, Andrea Sam, lived with my family on the mound e-3-5. We lived a long time, then with permission of my parents we built another house on top of the prior one but before that we threw away knives, plates, sticks, grinding stones, and then we lived in the second house where, after several years and for many years after that came the farmers and after that they built streets, houses, colonies and inhabited many more people." Andrea Sam

"Hace 2000 años Yo y mi familia vivíamos en el cerrito de la Quinta Samayoa nuestra casa era algo pequeña tenia techo, y cuando se murió alguien importante nosotros hicimos una ofrenda dando gracias por su vida. Después fuimos creciendo y hicimos otra casa un poquito más grande encima de la casa que hisieron mis papás en recuerdo de ellos." Dulce López

"2000 years ago my family and I lived on the Quinta Samayoa´s Cerrito. Our house was a tad small but had a roof, and when someone important passed away we made offerings giving

thanks for his life. Then we grew up and built another house a bit bigger on top on the house that my parents built in remembrance of them." Dulce López

This exercise allowed the little girls to take a leap into the past, imagine it, understand it and know it. By doing these sorts of reconstructions, I think the girls also came to understand the importance of these learning techniques to any field of study, beyond archaeology. On the other hand, despite the variety of activities that can be done with the students, direct contact with places of historical significance is the best tool to understand the past (Pluckrose 1996:51). The "escuelita" case is exceptional due to the fact that the archaeological mound is located on their playground. Nevertheless, this can also represent a risk when it's not taken seriously and viewed only as a common, everyday element about which no data nor historical relevance is known.

Conclusions

My experiences on both foreign and domestic projects made me reflect on basic and ethical elements of my profession. For what audience do archaeologists write? If academics are the only ones who benefit from archaeological information, then we need to decolonize our practices and reflect on the usefulness of our work. Critical reflection towards action for justice is very important and not outside of the responsibility of archaeologists. A worthy start is to question the purpose of science, who produces it, and for whom such knowledge is useful. Nowadays, it is urgent that archaeological practice be constantly problematized by the very academics who practice it; our guild needs a new twist that includes dialogues with the greater community in order to discuss the effectiveness of the conventional methodologies that we have been taught, and that we are now reproducing and transmitting to future generations. Importantly, we must be aware of the implications of excavating the past that arises in the communities in which we work, and we must avoid producing archaeological knowledge that does not benefit the community but only enriches the state or the academy.

In this context, traditional archeology is facing the need for a change, an activist approach that will generate a space in which we address the problems that arise between academia and the community, and contemplate the positive outcomes that are possible through just such an exchange. I believe that it is prudent to articulate a fair and balanced communication between the community and archaeologists from the very beginning of research planning until its

conclusion, always striving for a goal that achieves a foundation for a democratic practice. Decolonizing archeology means struggling to build bridges and develop tools to build a more tolerant society that allows different epistemologies to exist and to play a role. If, together, the community and archaeologists in collaboration reflect critically, the tools, concepts and epistemologies will achieve a transformation. This will have impact on the current needs of communities, indigenous peoples, citizens, students, and the general public.

Results of the specific study presented in this thesis can be framed in four general sections. First, including the community in archaeological practice as part of the shift needed for Guatemalan archaeology, results in positive outcomes, which constitutes the platform to enhance Guatemalan activist archaeology. Second, the conduction of workshops as the media to communicate the knowledge we were digging at the students' *Cerrito*, allowed a variety of activities with the children that permitted them, as well, to explore their reactions. Also, dissemination of archaeological information within the community represented the bridge to the community in making the knowledge accessible for all. Third, workshops produced transformations within the community, children develop their understanding of the past and its relation to their current environment. Fourth, this work also depicts the action of doing archaeology that aims at social change, despite the challenges that activist archaeology faces in my country. It also represents my own transformation as a professional actively engaged in redistributing the benefits that community must have from the academy.

In short, this research represent a democratic model for future activist projects in social sciences, which I address as a question since archaeologists keep discussing what is the best way to reach the public and include them in the process of research.

The activist archaeology I addressed in my study opens the door for a viable approach to reach and to work with the general public. Our work at Mound E-III5 allowed us to be aware of the implications of our presence in the school while doing archaeological research and workshops. This approach also made it possible to reach the students differently, beyond the task of merely conducting archaeological research that happened to be situated in a schoolyard: educational workshops opened another path of communication, especially with the students, through a nonhierarchical dynamic of sharing the knowledge we were uncovering from their *Cerrito*. I represented not their usual teacher, but the young female Guatemalan archaeologist who came to their school from outside the classroom to get dirty hands in the excavations, to learn through playing and visits to historical places closely related to their *Cerrito,* and to touch ancient artifacts during visits to excavations and museums. This allowed me to be part of their environment, but also to be able to include participant observation methodologies during the workshops. Children benefited by letting themselves experiment new approaches to learn the past, connect it to their environment, and appropriate it.

Through this activist-educational approach, we made the information we were excavating accessible, and involved the students directly with the archaeological staff in the "act" of doing archaeology, so that they could understand the meanings of the past, the connections with the present, the value of this profession and its importance for the history of Guatemala, which is nearly absent in their textbooks. It was not about injecting the knowledge as if the community were in a sort of laboratory, but rather, this project was about making the knowledge accessible to the people who are constantly interacting with their own cultural patrimony, and who do not have much, if any, information related to it. This corresponds to one viable solution based on my own critical reflection and recognition that the knowledge we created throughout the excavations

needed to be shared directly with the community. It also constituted an essential part of their social studies course content, since 4th and 5th grades do not have textbook, due to the insufficient budget from the government for public schools´ education.

The case of the little school of Delia Luz Gutiérrez is exceptional, since it has inside its premises an archaeological mound that belongs to the ancient city of Kaminaljuyu. As I have demonstrated, a feeling of ownership and appreciation of the ancient past can be achieved through fairly simple curriculum enhancement and field trips. These tasks also inspire the sharing and gathering of local stories, which are also part of the history of the local community and broader nation, and central to creating a connection between the ancient past and the modern present.

Educational workshops allowed children to understand the connections between the past and the present. They understood, through this process, that their own histories are framed within a larger picture of ancient history, and started to recognize their family origins and observe their different identities, bonding them to the ancient past. During the first weeks of workshops, some students and teachers showed a superficial misperception of the ancient past, which prevails in the average citizens of Guatemala. They believed the exotic Mayas had mysteriously disappeared at the end of the Classic period. I want to point this out as a call for academics. We need to evaluate the implications of uses of archaeological terminology, such as the popular "Maya Collapse" in reference to the political and environmental changes that several cities had around the year 900 AD, which most of the general public misunderstands. Consequently, non-academics believe that the Maya Collapse was "the end" and signifies the "total disappearance" of the great Maya civilization. The Guatemalan educational system is intrinsically implicated in this false idea of the Maya collapse. How is it that, in the midst of 21st century, most of the

Guatemalan population believes that we are direct descendants of the Spaniards and that Mayas disappeared long before the Spaniards' invasion? How can this nation be proud of a Spanish ancestry only, at the expense of its indigenous one? The problem can be traced, at least in part, directly to the educational system, much like other current problems in Guatemala. Liberal governments have used a national discourse that makes reference to an exotic past of old Mayan culture, but as a static point in the past that is completely disconnected to the present indigenous peoples. This national ideology proclaims homogeneity, hiding indigenous transculturation resistance that persists today.

Through workshops at Delia Luz Gutiérrez, students were able to recognize another face of archaeology, the rich history that we have in Guatemala that is barely presented in their textbooks. They were eager to learn about the ancient past, recognizing their own neighborhood as part of the Kaminaljuyu ancient site, and connecting other archaeological areas in the country with cultures of the past. Students also linked their parents to their personal experiences during workshops, especially when they were interviewing their relatives for the newspaper project. Parents and friends also were involved in this project. During the beginning of the workshops they were participating indirectly, helping the students with their homework. At the end of the season, they were participating in a general meeting that communicated the results of this research to them. Most of the parents showed interest in the intellectual development of their children, and they expressed enthusiasm for the workshops, as Jessica´s mother pointed out when she said: "Mis hijas me dicen: aquí mama hay edificio abajo donde vivimos… y como es eso, me dicen, por qué vivimos encima de los edificios de Mayas. Como les digo yo a ellas… es importante saber de que aquí abajo vivimos en los edificios de nuestros abuelos antepasados." (Personal communication 2013). Through all of this, the results of the educational workshops

went beyond the students´ community; it reached boundaries outside the school, involving the students' relatives in the sharing of knowledge of Kaminaljuyu.

A useful tool that enabled us to evaluate the effectiveness of the workshops was the making of a mural, which also empowered the girls through the creation of their local history, which they displayed on the school walls. Moreover, they kept journals, in which they wrote their expectations and information from excavations, activities, and visits to historical places that they considered important. Inspired by Pluckrose´s statement that learning is also more efficient if imaginations are stimulated (1996:180), I invited students to write within their journals, which represented a very successful part of the workshops. The girls were able to use this notebook as their personal journal. There, they wrote their impressions, observations, included newspaper articles, drawings, "facts" and data that they thought important, feelings about the classroom, recorded museums visits, trips to archaeological sites, the content of the workshops, etc. I hope that they will save this artistic and documentary archive in their own houses so that it can also serve as a future reference. This field notebook can also be used as an evaluation tool, where drawings and texts can be analyzed, exploring, for example, both their imaginaries as well as the elements they took from the new information that was given to them, and which they gleaned from their experiences during the visits to excavations, archaeological sites and museums.

The challenges of the activist approach go beyond presenting the results as mere technical reports to IDAEH: it demands an ethical-professional commitment for a long-term engagement with the community to strengthen the bridges between this social discipline and the needs of the general public, or the community. This thesis depicts just a small section of a larger picture of transformation that requires more involvement, continuous efforts, and a commitment to work with the community. Notice my emphasis here on the use of "WITH" and not "IN" the

community, marking a huge difference between this approach and the way knowledge was produced in the past. However, this direction needs a strategic plan that assures an accurate long-term project to follow-up the educational workshops, also assuring their continuity. It is fundamental to keep in mind that changes are not immediate; only constant work with the community will activate change.

Additionally, it is important to consider, as part of the long-term commitment, the establishment of links with museums and libraries for public schools. A more efficient and regular access to libraries, archives, museums, sites, etc., will make a difference, for children at schools like Delia Luz Gutiérrez, but also for those that do not have an archaeological mound in their playground. Even if schools do not have textbooks because the *Ministerio de Educación* never sent them, visiting local sites and bringing experiential components to the study of the ancient past and local archaeology in particular can have a dramatic effect. The appropriate use of resources will further open the door for students to explore their past and build their identity.

The archaeological interpretation of Kaminaljuyu helps counter the myth of the Maya collapse by providing more archaeological background information, but especially by opening the door for girls to get involved in the process, and to let them question the myth of the Maya collapse by exploring and understanding the continuity of the indigenous peoples in Mesoamerica. For instance, during the workshops and visits to museums, I observed how students reacted when they recognized that several artifacts on display at the museums, or found at excavations, were the same as those they have in their homes, which their grandmothers and mothers still use every day, such as grinding stones and *comales*. With great excitement, they recognized the antiquity of those artifacts, directly connecting their daily practices with the past.

Scholars have argued that archaeological sites in Guatemala are used to promote a national identity, one that also promotes tourism by relying on the romantic idea of exotic ancient Mayas that are totally disconnected from contemporary indigenous peoples (Gutierrez 1996; Castillo 2011). Dominant narratives are similarly used to market the past around the world (Silberman 2008). I encountered comparable results in my own study, focused on elementary school children and the context of Mound E-III-5 in Kaminaljuyu. I evaluated the relationship between the production of knowledge by academics and the general population, as represented in my sample of elementary school children who are educated on a daily basis quite literally on top of an ancient archaeological mound. My goal of exploring and clarifying the need for the creation of an educational program that links archaeological museums, the new Kaminaljuyu Visitors´ Center, schools, and the local population of Guatemala City was achieved through the fieldwork of excavations and workshops at Delia Luz Gutierrez de Castellanos. I believe that my model provides the first systematic study that involved a local community, an educational facility, and a large group of schoolchildren, and I am also confident that it can serve as a platform for increased activist archaeology in Guatemala, which basically looks to involve with the community and transform it for their benefit.

Appendix A: Students maps

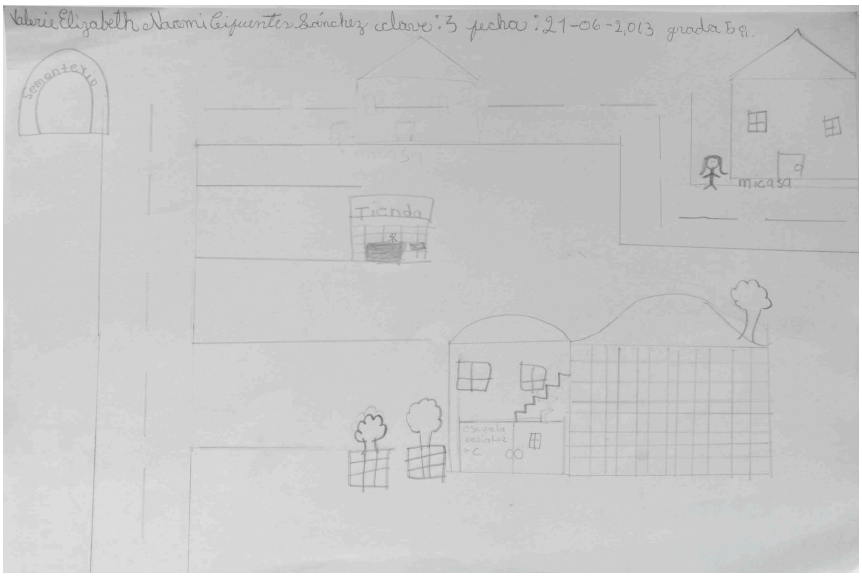

Figure A1

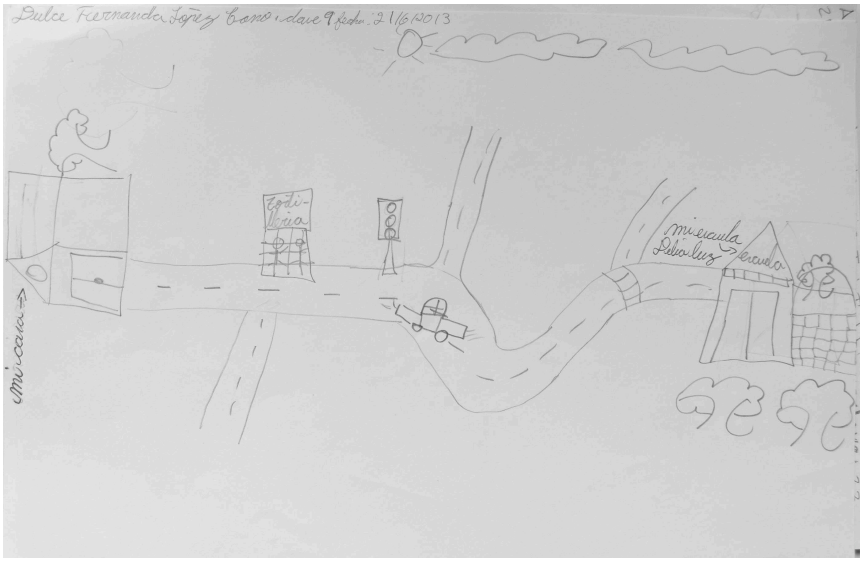

Figure A2

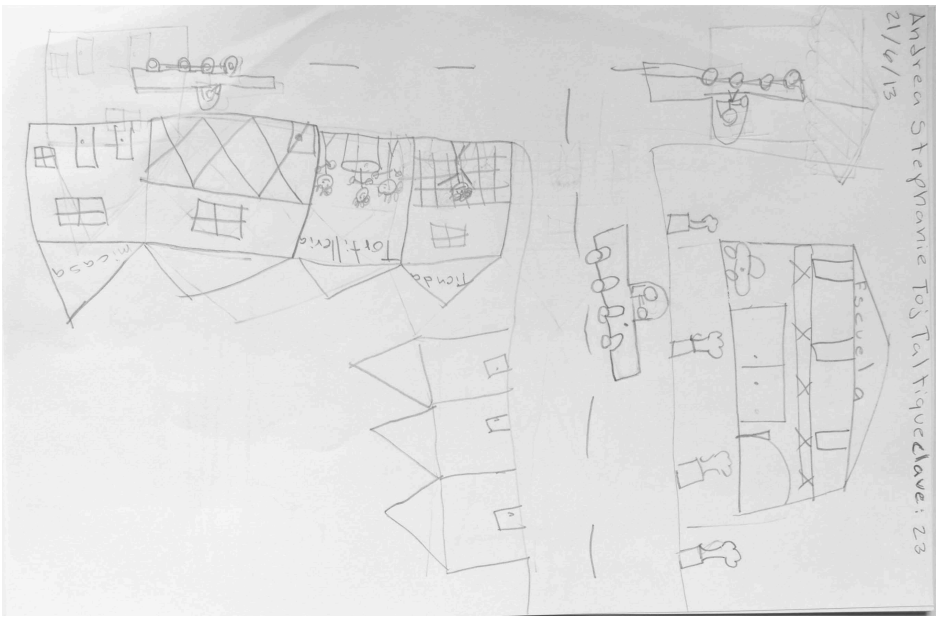

Figure A3

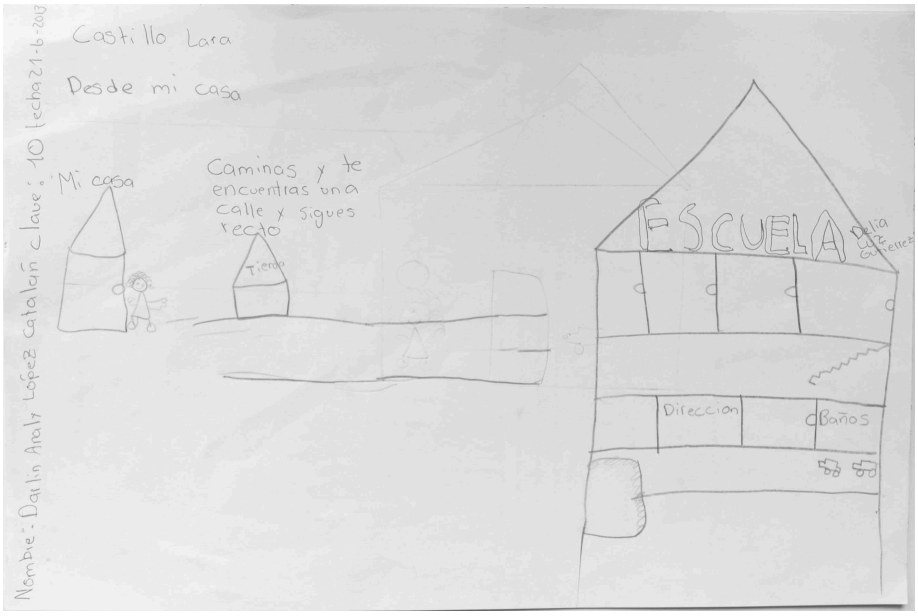
Castillo Lara
Desde mi casa
Mi casa
Caminas y te encuentras una calle y sigues recto
Tienda
ESCUELA
Direccion
Baños
Nombre: Darlin Analy Lopez Catalan clave: 10 fecha 21-6-20

Figure A4

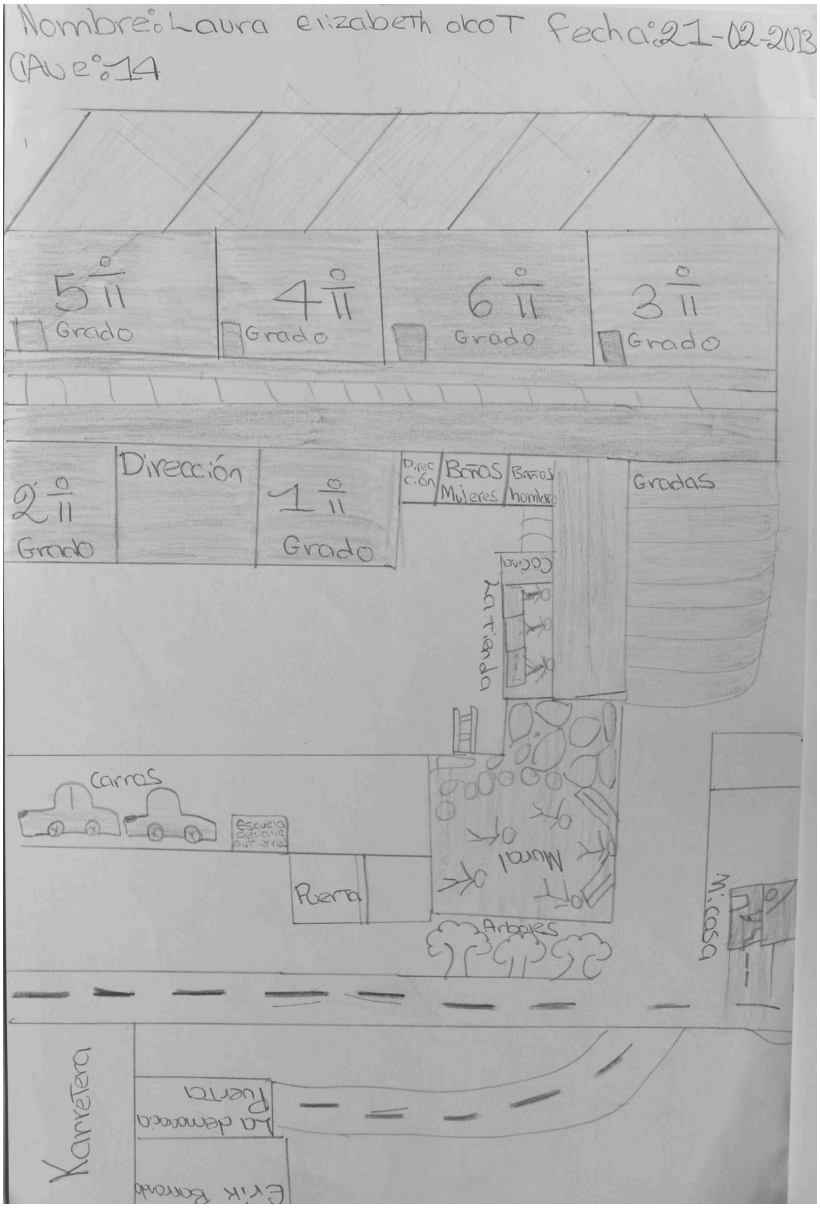
Nombre: Laura elizabeth okoT Fecha: 21-02-2013
CLAVE: 14
5° 11 Grado
4° 11 Grado
6° 11 Grado
3° 11 Grado
2° 11 Grado
Dirección
1° 11 Grado
Baños Mujeres
Baños hombres
Gradas
Cocina
La tienda
Carros
Puerta
Mural
Arboles
Mi casa
Carretera
La democracia
Erik Bonnard

Figure A5


Nombre: Melany Sofía Ostuma Nicolás.
Grado: 5to primario.
Fecha: 21-junio-2013.
Delia Luz Gutierrez de Castellano. No. 70 de Niñas.
Zapatería
Panadería
Tienda

Figure A6

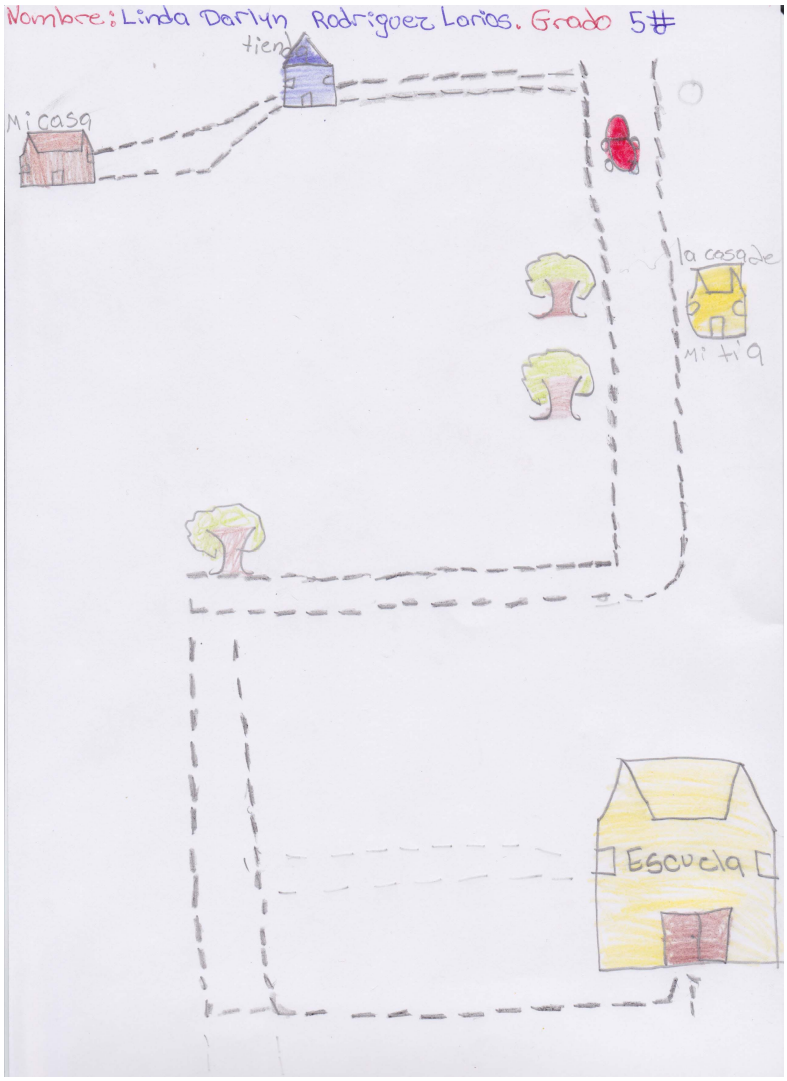
Nombre: Linda Darlyn Rodriguez Lorios. Grado 5#
tien
Mi casa
la casa de
mi tio
Escuela

Figure A7

Figure A8

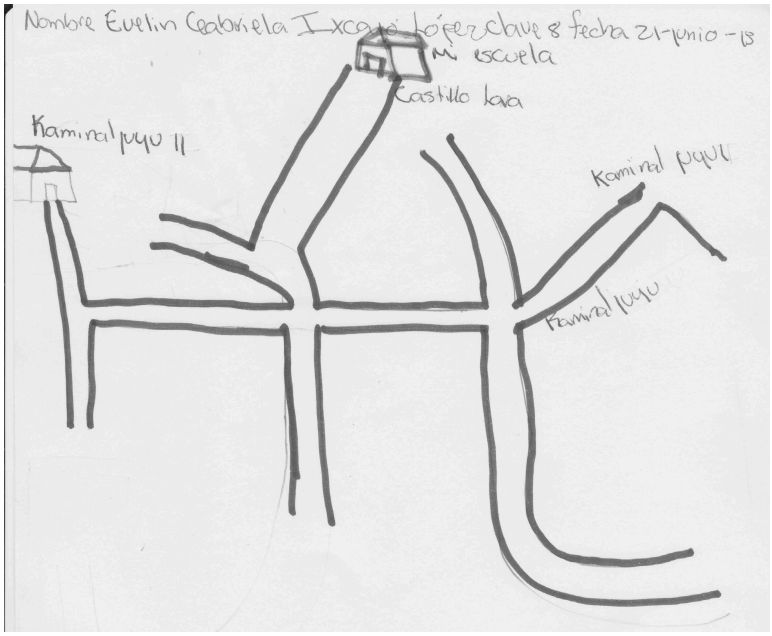

Figure A9

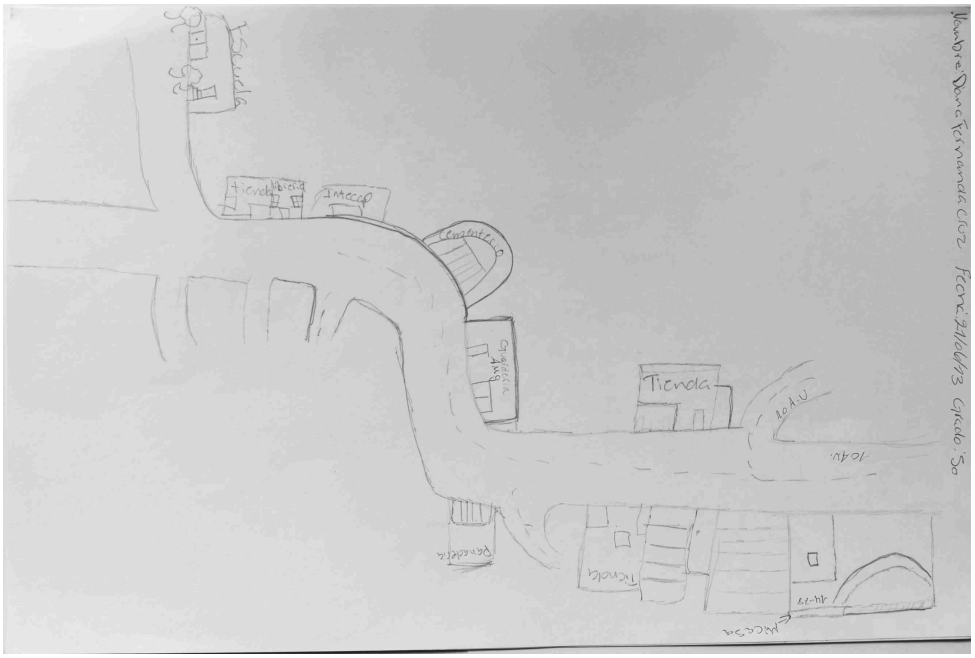

Figure A10

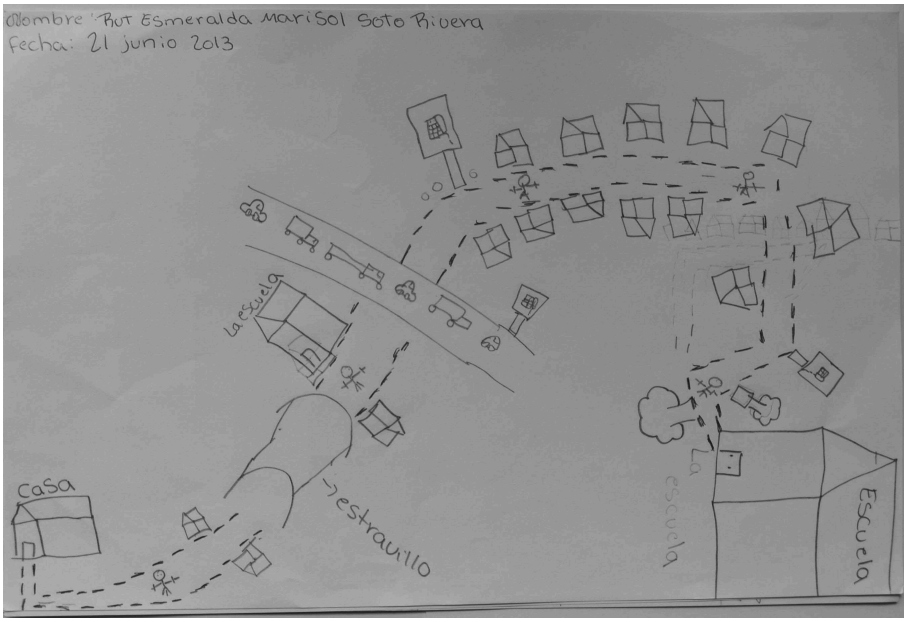

Figure A11

Figure A12

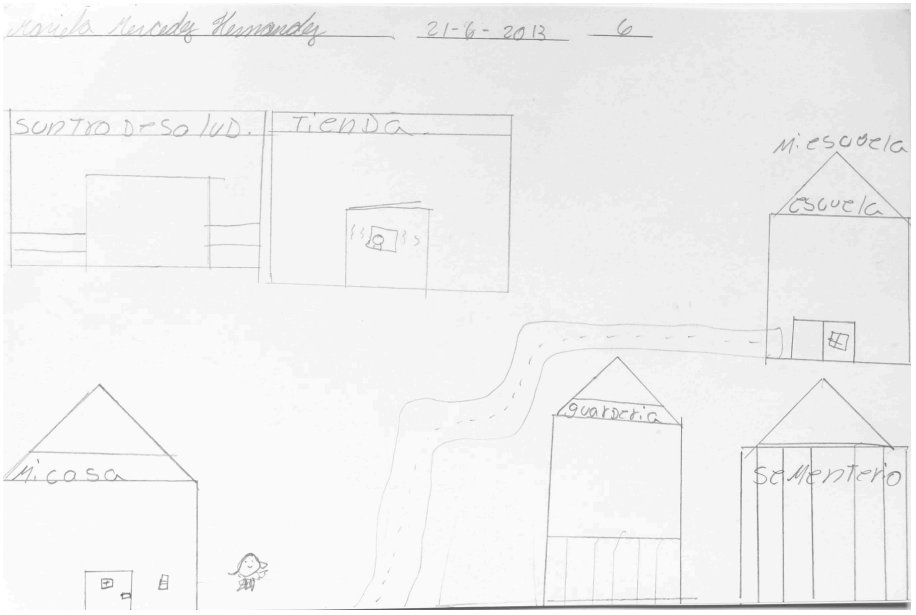

Figure A13

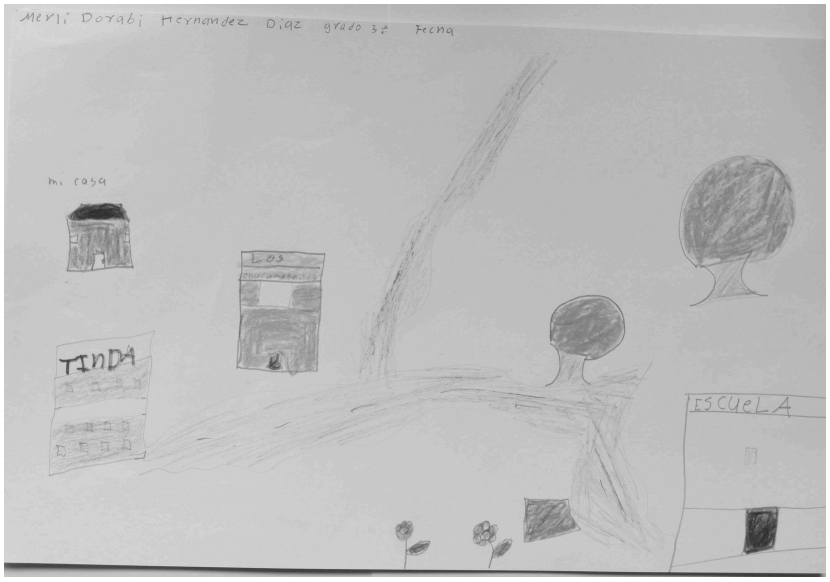

Figure A14

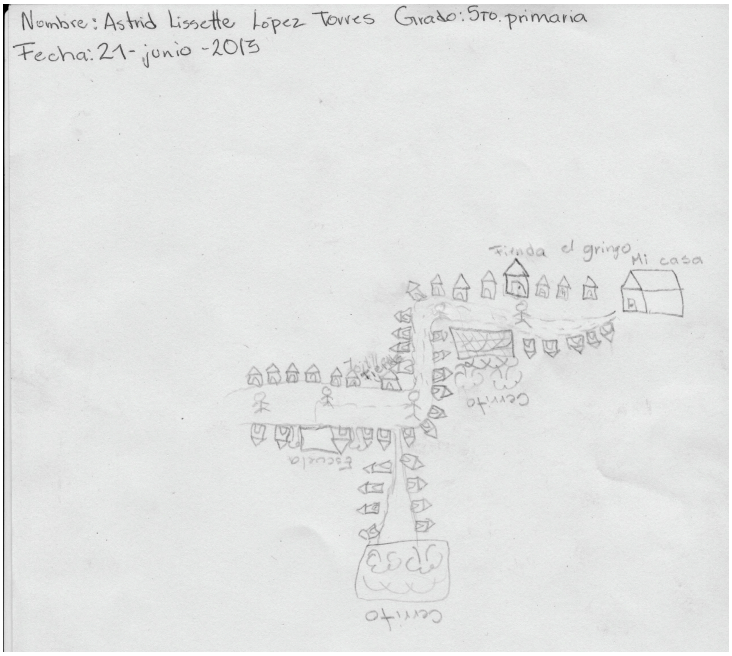

Figure A15

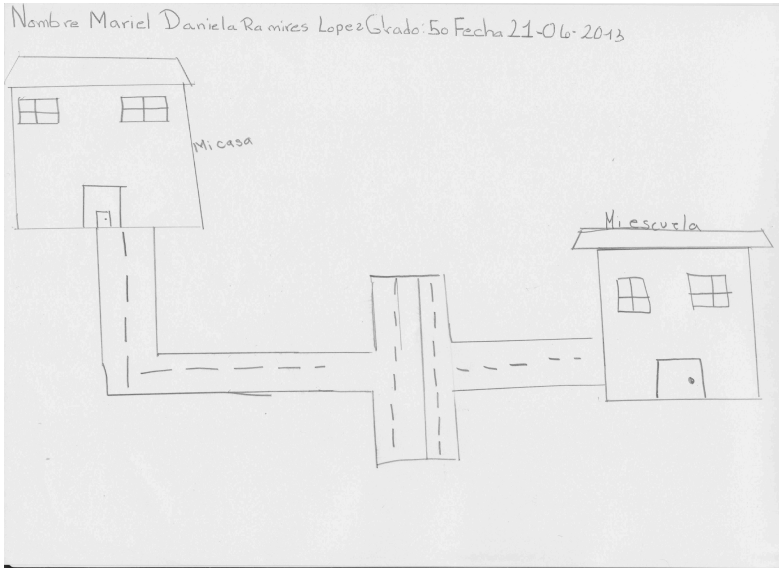

Figure A16

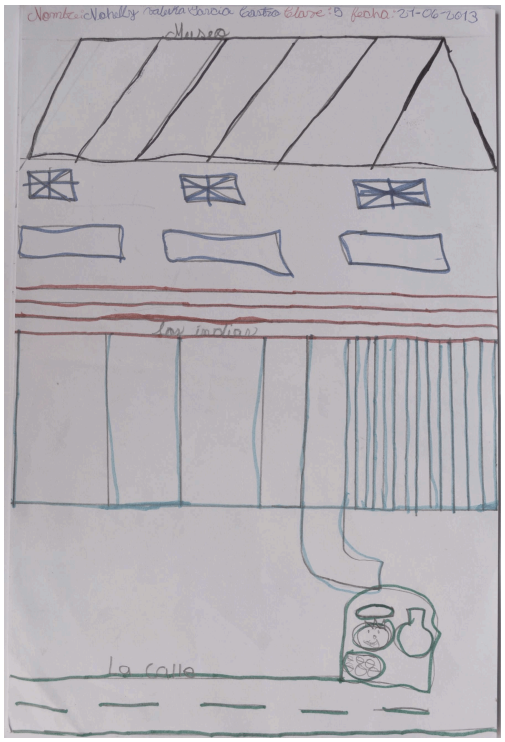

Figure A17

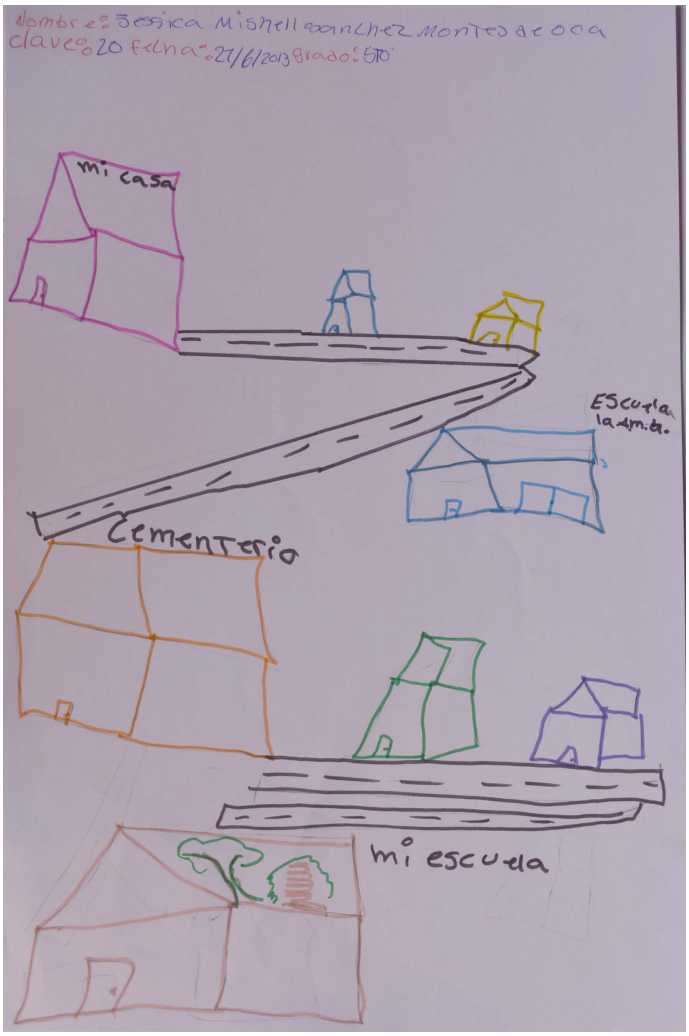
Nombre: Jessica Mishell Sanchez Montes de Oca
clave: 20 Fecha: 21/6/2013 Grado: 5to
mi casa
Escuela
Cementerio
mi escuela

Figure A18

Appendix B: Report presented to IDAEH

DESCRIPCION DE UNIDADES EN EL CENTRO DEL MONTÍCULO

Las unidades excavadas al centro del montículo fueron KJEIII5-1, KJEIII5-2, KJEIII5-3 y KJEIII5-4, las cuales se describen a continuación.

UNIDAD DE EXCAVACION KJEIII5-1

Esta unidad de excavación se ubicó en la parte más alta, al centro del Montículo E-III-5, con la finalidad de identificar la secuencia constructiva de la estructura, documentar sus rellenos e identificar (mediante el análisis de los materiales recuperados en cada etapa de construcción) la secuencia ocupacional de la estructura.

Arqueólogo:	Luis Méndez Salinas y Adriana Linares
Excavadores:	Carlos Patzán, José Pirir y Juan Carlos Morales (excavadores) y Elvis Sabán, Byron Patzán y César Soc (ayudantes)
Fecha de inicio:	10 de junio de 2013
Fecha de cierre:	28 de junio de 2013
Dimensiones:	3 x 2 m
Orientación:	Este - Oeste
Ubicación:	Al centro del Montículo E-III-5.
Datum:	Esquina SE (-0.06 m)
Número de lotes:	26
Profundidad máxima:	-5.70 m (-1 m adicional de prueba con barreno).
Objetivos:	Definir la secuencia ocupacional del montículo mediante el registro de rasgos arquitectónicos y rellenos, hasta localizar el suelo estéril; ubicar elementos de arquitectura que permitan definir la forma de la estructura en sus etapas sucesivas de ocupación; y recuperar materiales culturales para fechar las diversas etapas ocupacionales.
Metodología:	Luego de remover la cobertura vegetal presente en la superficie superior del montículo, se trazó un pozo rectangular de 3 x 2 m (orientado E-O su lado más largo). La excavación se llevó a cabo en niveles arbitrarios de 0.20 m de grosor, con escasas excepciones al encontrar diversos rasgos arquitectónicos que fueron respetados para interpretar de manera adecuada su forma y orientación. En los lotes inferiores de la unidad, se excavó únicamente la porción Norte, debido a la presencia de un rasgo arquitectónico claramente identificado (talud de *talpetate*, Estructura 1).
Descripción:	En esta unidad se detectaron 6 estratos claramente diferenciados:

1. Nivel de humus: tierra negra superficial (10 YR 3/2) de consistencia suelta y suave. Con abundante material orgánico, raicillas, piedras pequeñas y arena. Capa bastante delgada, de unos 0.05 m de grosor. Cerca de la superficie se encontraron algunos materiales culturales modernos, como fragmentos de ladrillo, así como escasos bloques pequeños de *talpetate* y fragmentos de barro quemado (bajareque). El material cerámico y lítico es escaso.
2. Relleno de barro café oscuro (10 YR 3/4, 10 YR 3/6), detectado en todas unidades de la parte superior del montículo. Incluye abundante talpetate en grano, pómez, arena y barro cocido en pequeños bloques. Escaso material cultural asociado, aunque en algunos lotes el mismo se incrementa. Su composición es bastante homogénea, pese a que en sectores específicos de la unidad (porción SO, esquina NE) se encontraron dentro del mismo alineaciones y acumulaciones de bloques grandes de talpetate amarillo y duro. Abarca los lotes del 1 al 5, alcanzando una profundidad máxima aproximada de -1.20 m.
3. Capa de relleno con mayor proporción de talpetate suelto, arenoso y de color amarillo claro (10 YR 5/6, 7.5 YR 3/3). Incluye abundantes bloques y terrones medianos de talpetate. El material cerámico y lítico fue muy escaso. En todo este estrato se detectaron diversas inclusiones de arena suelta y bolsas de tierra de colores levemente más oscuros, principalmente evidenciados en los perfiles de la unidad. Abarca de los lotes del 6 al 9, con una profundidad máxima aproximada de -2.0 m. Al finalizar este estrato de relleno, luego de detectar varias bolsas o inclusiones de tierra suelta de color negro, se encontró una capa sumamente compacta de talpetate con inclusión de barro quemado y fragmentos pequeños de carbón. En los perfiles, esta capa se aprecia como una serie de líneas ondulantes de talpetate amarillo intercaladas con tierra negra y talpetate en grano fino (entre -2.0 y -2.20 m de profundidad, lote 10).
4. A partir del lote 11 se excavó únicamente la porción Norte de la Unidad, debido a la presencia de un rasgo de talpetate en talud en toda la porción Sur. El relleno excavado en la porción norte, directamente sobre los rasgos arquitectónicos, está conformado por una matriz bastante homogénea de tierra suelta de color café oscuro (10 YR 3/3) con abundantes y diminutas inclusiones de talpetate en grano fino, pequeños fragmentos de barro quemado, pómez, arena suelta y carbón. La cantidad de materiales cerámicos y líticos crece considerablemente en este estrato, que se extiende hasta -4.60 m de profundidad, abarcando los lotes del 11 al 23. La mayor cantidad de artefactos cerámicos se encontró en este estrato de relleno, especialmente entre los lotes 17 y 22.
5. Estrato bastante homogéneo de barro café muy oscuro (10 YR 2/2), de consistencia pastosa, compacto y sumamente duro. Se distingue abruptamente del estrato de relleno de los lotes superiores, y los rasgos arquitectónicos de talpetate en talud fueron ubicados justo encima de él. Incluye pequeñas partículas de cuarzo, arena y pómez, así como pequeños granos de talpetate. La cantidad de materiales recuperados desciende abruptamente. Abarca los lotes del 23 al 26, con un grosor aproximado de 80 cm, terminando a una profundidad de -5.40 m.
6. Estrato de arena blanca suelta, suave y húmeda, detectado justo debajo del barro café muy oscuro. Nivel completamente estéril en cuanto a la presencia de materiales culturales. La excavación concluyó en el lote 26 a una profundidad de -5.70 m, y se exploró 1 m adicional mediante barreno, arrojando exactamente el mismo tipo de suelo estéril.

Hallazgos especiales:

1. A -0.80 del datum, se encontraron alineaciones y acumulaciones de bloques grandes de talpetate amarillo compacto, directamente colocadas dentro del grueso relleno de barro café que abarcó los lotes superiores de la unidad. Pese a que no se asociaron directamente con ningún rasgo arquitectónico, pudieron haber funcionado como encajonados para dar consistencia y solidez al relleno de la Estructura 2 del montículo (que no pudo ser detectada debido a modificaciones modernas del mismo).
2. Uno de los rasgos arquitectónicos más sobresalientes detectados en la unidad es la esquina de un cuerpo constructivo, de barro café compacto (con inclusión de talpetate blanco) detectada en el perfil Sur, a una profundidad de -1.68 m. Dicho rasgo fue colocado directamente sobre una serie de taludes de talpetate que corren en una orientación aproximada Este – Oeste (a una profundidad de entre -2.20 y -4.40 m, abarcando los lotes del 11 al 22). Estos restos arquitectónicos forman parte de la estructura más antigua del montículo, puesto que en lotes inferiores de las unidades circundantes no se detectó ningún rasgo a mayor profundidad. De tal cuenta, el relleno superior formó parte de una estructura más tardía que fue mutilada y no pudo detectarse en las excavaciones al centro del Montículo E-III-5.
3. En el lote 3B se detectó un agujero hecho directamente en el talud de talpetate, con un diámetro de 35 cm y unos 30 cm de profundidad. Dentro de él se encontró escaso material cerámico y tierra oscura y suelta.
4. La excavación reveló una nivelación considerablemente compleja con la que se preparó el terreno para la construcción sucesiva del montículo. Dicha nivelación constó de una gruesa capa de barro café sumamente compacta y dura, directamente colocada sobre el terreno natural de arena blanca. Gracias a ella pudo erigirse una construcción de grandes dimensiones que, de acuerdo a los resultados de la excavación, tuvo al menos dos etapas constructivas consecutivas.

Materiales recuperados:
Casi todos los lotes excavados en la Unidad 1 arrojaron una buena cantidad de materiales culturales de diversa índole. Destaca la notable presencia de fragmentos de bajareque y barro quemado (algunos de ellos pertenecieron a una escalinata –lote 3D–, y los restantes formaron parte de paredes y acabados arquitectónicos de las estructuras).

Una buena muestra de material cerámico se recuperó en los rellenos que cubrieron la primera estructura del montículo. De acuerdo a un análisis preliminar, todos corresponden al inicio del Preclásico Tardío. La cantidad de materiales líticos, principalmente de obsidiana, fue mucho menor y consta principalmente de navajas prismáticas fragmentadas.

Materiales especiales:
KJEIII5-1-2: fragmento de piedra incisa.
KJEIII5-1-3: fragmento de piedra de moler.
KJEIII5-1-3D: fragmento de piedra de moler, varios fragmentos de barro quemado con acabado de color blanco y fragmentos de escalinatas).
KJEIII5-1-4: fragmento de pedernal y extremidad de figurilla.
KJEIII5-1-6: lascas de mica.

KJEIII5-1-20: tres esferas huecas de tierra compacta, vacías, con una protuberancia y una perforación en su superficie.
KJEIII5-1-21: una esfera de tierra igual a las del lote superior.

Muestras tomadas:
KJEIII5-1-3D: carbón a -3.30 m.
KJEIII5-1-6: carbón a -1.36 m.
KJEIII5-1-7: carbón a -1.49 m.
KJEIII5-1-9: carbón a -1.92 y a -1.97 m.
KJEIII5-1-14: carbón a -2.87 m.
KJEIII5-1-21: carbón, fragmento de piedra caliza y fragmento de hueso a -4.10 m.
KJEIII5-1-22: carbón a -4.30 m.

Dibujos:
Perfiles Norte, Sur, Este y Oeste
Plantas finales del lote KJEIII5-1-7

Interpretación:
Las excavaciones en la unidad KJEIII5-1 permitieron documentar una serie de rasgos importantes dentro de la secuencia constructiva del montículo, que pueden sintetizarse de la siguiente forma, en orden cronológico:

1. En los lotes más profundos de la unidad se pudo detectar un estrato bastante homogéneo de arena cubierto por una sólida capa de barro oscuro que fue preparado para sustentar la construcción del montículo.
2. Una primera estructura de forma indefinida fue directamente colocada sobre la capa de preparación. La excavación de esta unidad logró detectar un extenso talud de talpetate compacto y una banqueta de barro café grisáceo que formaron parte de la fachada Norte de dicha estructura.

Sobre estos rasgos arquitectónicos claramente diferenciados, en los lotes superiores de la unidad, sólo se detectó una serie de rellenos constructivos a gran escala, que cubrieron totalmente la primera versión de la estructura para soportar un edificio de mucho mayor volumen que desafortunadamente no se conserva por modificaciones recientes al montículo.

UNIDAD DE EXCAVACIONES KJEIII5-2

Arqueóloga:	Adriana Linares Palma
Fecha de inicio:	11 de Junio de 2013
Fecha de cierre:	27 de junio de 2013
Excavadores:	José Pirir (excavador) y Byron Patzan (ayudante)
Dimensiones:	1 x 2 m
Orientación:	Norte - Sur
Ubicación:	Al sur de KJEIII5-1, en el parte más alta del montículo.

Datum:	Lotes 1 al 13: esquina NE de ésta unidad (-0.04 m). Lotes 14 al 23: esquina SE de la Unidad 1 (-0.06 m).
Numero de lotes:	23
Profundidad máxima:	-5.70 m (más la profundidad del barreno: 3 m)
Objetivos:	Encontrar evidencia cultural que ayude a la datación del montículo y encontrar rasgos arquitectónicos que determinen la forma del edificio y sus etapas constructivas.
Metodología:	Se trazó un rectángulo orientado de norte a sur, localizado al sur de la unidad 1 en el punto más alto y al centro del montículo. La excavación se controló por medio de lotes de 20 cm y por estratos naturales según los hallazgos
Descripción:	Esta unidad consta de 10 estratos descritos a continuación:

1. Nivel de humus. Tierra negra (10 YR 3/2) consistencia suelta y suave, con arena, muchas raíces pequeñas, pequeñas piedras, cuarzo y poca basura moderna (plásticos, ladrillos modernos, lápices, monedas). Estrato de 0.05 m de grosor, abarca el lote 1, con poco material cerámico antiguo asociado.
2. Barro Café Oscuro (los colores munsell varían entre: 10 YR 3/3, 10 YR 3/4 y 10 YR 3/6), con inclusión de talpetate, pómez, arena, barro cocido en granos y pequeños bloques. Estrato homogéneo con bastantes raíces. Escaso material cerámico antiguo asociado. Estrato de 1.60 m de grosor, abarca los lotes del 1 al 8.
3. Último relleno del cuerpo arquitectónico se compone de talpetate color amarillo (los colores munsell varían entre 10 YR 5/6, 10 YR 6/6 y 10 YR 5/8) arenoso, compacto y duro. Este estrato incluye bloques de talpetates más duros y "puros". El estrato fue preparado de varias maneras: es homogéneo solamente al inicio, y en el final se observaron combinaciones de dos distintos tipos de bloques de talpetate (descritos en 3b). Estrato de 2.16 m de grosor, comprende los lotes del 9 al 15.

   3a. Dentro del cuerpo arquitectónico se observaron varias intrusiones de barro café 10 YR 3/4 con abundante arena y cuarzo, estos rasgos sugieren ser los restos de raíces de árboles antiguos que crecieron encima del montículo después de su abandono y que penetraron hasta este nivel.

   3b. Al finalizar este nivel constructivo se encontraron dos tipos de rellenos de talpetate de distinta composición en bloques indefinidos: los bloques más pequeños son de color amarillo, son compactos y duros, compuestos de abundante arena en grano grueso; los bloques más grandes son de talpetate de color amarillo más claro, compactos, duros y pastosos, éstos sin inclusiones de ningún material.
4. Relleno 3 compuesto de talpetate en grano fino y suelto, su color es más claro y su textura más arenosa que el estrato 3. Color amarillo grisáceo (10 YR 6/6), contiene cuantiosa inclusión de piedras pómez de aproximadamente 0.02 m de diámetro. Ningún otro estrato tiene éstas características. Estrato de 0.34 m de grosor, abarca los lotes 15 y 16.
5. Relleno 2 compuesto de talpetate amarillo café (10 YR 5/6) más duro y compacto que estrato 4, estrato mezclado con barro café oscuro y posee inclusiones de cuarzo y arena. Estrato de 0.42 m, abarca el lote 16.
6. Relleno 1 de talpetate amarillo (10 YR 5/8) con inclusiones por todo el estrato de barro café oscuro (10 YR 3/2) en pequeños terrones. Presencia de arena, cuarzo, pómez y carbón. Consistencia suave y

textura arenosa y suave. Al finalizar el estrato, en el área Suroeste de la unidad, se encontraron fragmentos de barro quemado revuelto que mostraron una cara plana y abundante carbón asociado. Estrato de 0.37 m de grosor, comprende el lote 17, donde si se observo material cultural asociado a épocas tempranas de preclásico.

7. Estrato homogéneo de barro café claro (10 YR 3/3) duro y compacto, con inclusiones de granos finos de piedras, cuarzo y arena. Estrato homogéneo que contiene abundante carbón en toda su área. Al inicio del estrato hay inclusiones de talpetate en pequeños granos. En el área Suroeste de la unidad continua la presencia de los fragmentos de barro quemado revuelto que se encontraron en el estrato anterior, los cuales tienen una cara plana y abundante carbón asociado. En este estrato se encontró cerámica. Estrato de 0.19 m de grosor, abarca el lote 18. Este estrato cubre un estrato mayor que se compone de barro café muy oscuro en donde se empezó a construir la estructura (1?).
8. Barro café muy oscuro (10 YR 2/2). Estrato homogéneo pastoso, compacto y muy duro, con inclusiones de cuarzo. Fue mezclado con barro café e inclusiones de talpetate en granos finos y carbón. Al finalizar se mezcla con arena. Estrato de 0.70 m de grosor, comprende los lotes 19 y 20. Únicamente se encontró una lasca de obsidiana al medio del estrato.
9. Arena café marrón (7.5 YR 4/6), suelta y suave, formada de abundante pómez y talpetate en granos finos, con inclusiones de cuarzo y mica. Estrato de 0.34 m de grosor, contiene los lotes 21 y 22. No se encontró material cultural asociado.
10. Capas homogéneas de arena de dos tipos (que se diferencias por color y composición):
    10a. Arena blanca (10 YR 7/3). Consistencia suelta y suave, compuesta de abundante pómez y mica.
    10b. Arena amarilla (10 YR 5/8). Consistencia más suelta y suave que arena blanca descrita en 10a, compuesta de abundante cuarzo, pómez, mica y pequeñas piedras. Estrato de 0.48 m de grosor, abarca el lote 23. No se encontró material cultural asociado. Señalar que se utilizó el barreno desde -5.70 m hasta -9.00 m. Los estratos obtenidos con las muestras del barreno fueron de arenas con similares características a descritas anteriormente. La última muestra de arena café claro, suave, arenosa y muy húmeda se obtuvo a -9.00 m. No se encontró ningún material cultural asociado a estos niveles por lo que dejamos de utilizar el barreno.

Hallazgos especiales:

1. Rasgos arquitectónicos compuestos de talpetate que conforman la huella del último escalón y contrahuella en talud de la primera etapa constructiva de la estructura 1.
2. Diferentes rellenos constructivos de la estructura 1 y estructura 2.
3. Preparación del suelo estéril en donde se fundó y empezó la construcción de la estructura 1.

Materiales especiales:
KJ5III5-2-4: una lasca de pizarra

Muestras tomadas:
4 muestras de carbón:
KJ5III5-2-6 (a -1.80 m)
KJ5III5-2-7 (a -1.40 m)

KJ5III5-2-15 (a -2.65 m)
KJ5III5-2-18 (a -4.30 m)

10 Muestras de suelos y arenas:
KJ5III5-2-18 (a -4.20 m)
KJ5III5-2-20 (a -4.68 m)
KJ5III5-2-20 (a -4.88 m)
KJ5III5-2-21 (a -5.10 m)
KJ5III5-2-22 (a -5.30 m)
KJ5III5-2-23 (a -5.60 m)
KJ5III5-2-23 (barreno 1 a -6.27 m)
KJ5III5-2-23 (barreno 2 a -6.37 m)
KJ5III5-2-23 (barreno 3 a -8.02 m)
KJ5III5-2-23 (barreno 4 a -9.00 m)

Dibujos:
Perfiles Norte, Este, Oeste y Sur
Planta de los lotes: KJEIII5-6 y KJEIII5-7

Interpretación:
Las excavaciones de la unidad KJEIII5-2 permitieron encontrar seis rasgos de importancia para narrar la historia arquitectónica del montículo E-III-5. A continuación se describen en orden cronológico:

1. Los niveles del suelo estéril en donde se observaron distintas arenas y barros que fueron acomodados para iniciar con la construcción de la estructura 1. Estratos 9 y 10.
   Las personas que construyeron la estructura 1 del montículo E-III-5 prepararon el terreno arenoso natural, modificándolo con varias inclusiones de barro y cuarzo, que sirvieron para nivelar y colocar el basamento del edificio.
2. Nivelación del terreno y primer asentamiento de la estructura 1 (con mucho carbón como una quema dedicatoria al edificio por construirse). Estratos 8 y 7.
   Dicho basamento se compone por una capa gruesa de barro negro, muy compacto, resistente y pastoso, el cual elevó el terreno. Por encima de esta oscuro estrato, se asienta uno más delgado de color café claro, registrado como Estrato 7 (una delgada capa de barro café con inclusiones de cuarzo, arena, piedras, fragmentos de barro quemado[31] y abundante carbón mezclado). Por sus características, se sugiere que este basamento fue sellado por una actividad ritual, que quizás estuviera marcando una dedicación para la construcción del nuevo edificio.
3. Rellenos de la Estructura 1 (descritos en los estratos 3, 4, 5 y 6)
   La edificación tuvo distintos tipos de rellenos constructivos. Sobre el estrato café del basamento se asientan cuatro diferentes tipos de relleno compuestos principalmente por talpetate en bloques de formas y tamaños irregulares.
4. La forma final de la Estructura 1.

[31] Todos éstos fragmentos de barro quemado tienen una cara plana. Estos fueron reutilizados como relleno de la plataforma, posiblemente éstos formaron parte de algún piso que luego fue destruido.

Las principales características de la Estructura 1 son los escalones y un talud encontrados en la fachada noroeste. El cuerpo arquitectónico de esta estructura tiene tres escalones que están alineados de sureste a noroeste (orientación de 292 grados). La fachada del edificio da hacia el noreste y en ella se localizaron estas gradas que llevan a un descanso en la parte mas alta del edificio. La altura máxima de este primera estructura fue de 2.20 m.

5. Rellenos que cubren la Estructura 1 (Estrato 2)
   Estos se componen de barro café oscuro con varias inclusiones que resguardan la primera estructura y acomodan el área para construir un segundo edificio.
6. Estructura 2.

Existe la posibilidad de que hubo una segunda estructura encima de la Estructura 1, la cual fue mutilada cerca de 1940´s por la urbanización del área y por la construcción de la escuela. Se sugiere la existencia de un segundo edificio por los tipos de rellenos colocados encima de la Estructura 1, y por la evidencia material que se encontró en la trinchera excavada en la base norte del montículo.

UNIDAD DE EXCAVACIONES KJEIII5-3

Arqueóloga:	Adriana Linares Palma
Fecha de inicio:	28 de Junio de 2013
Fecha de cierre:	10 de Julio de 2013
Excavadores:	José Pirir (excavador) y Byron Patzan (ayudante)
Dimensiones:	1 x 2.50 m
Orientación:	292 grados (dirección Noroeste)
Ubicación:	Al oeste de KJEIII5-1, en el parte más alta del montículo.
Datum:	Esquina SE de Unidad 1 (-0.06 m).
Numero de lotes:	06
Profundidad máxima:	-2.51 m
Objetivos:	Determinar el límite oeste del tercer escalón de talpetate encontrado en unidades 1 y 2 que continua hacia el noroeste. Registrar la evidencia cultural relacionada.
Metodología:	Se trazó un rectángulo orientado de sureste a noroeste, localizado al oeste de la unidad 1 en el punto más alto y al centro del montículo. La excavación se controló por medio de lotes que siguieron los estratos naturales.
Descripción:	Esta unidad consta de ocho estratos descritos a continuación:

1. Nivel de humus. Tierra negra (10 YR 3/2) consistencia suelta y suave, con arena, abundantes raíces pequeñas, pequeñas piedras, cuarzo y escasa basura moderna (plásticos, ladrillos modernos, lápices, monedas). Poco material cerámico antiguo asociado. Estrato de 0.05 m de grosor. Todo el estrato abarca el lote 1, se encontró poco material cerámico antiguo asociado al mismo.
2. Barro Café Oscuro (10 YR 3/2) con escasa inclusión de pequeños bloques de talpetate, arena y cuarzo. Consistencia suave y suelta. Estrato de 0.60 m de grosor, abarca todo el lote 1.
3. Barro Café (10 YR 3/2) mezclado con talpetate en grano y pequeños bloques de barro quemado. Estrato de 1.30 m de grosor, comprende los lotes 1, 2 y 6. Abundante material cultural asociado.

4. Estrato compuesto por varias capas delgadas y ondulantes de Talpetate claro (10 YR 5/8) en grano y barro café (10 YR 5/6) con inclusión de arena, barro quemado y carbón. Estas capas se encuentran intercaladas. Estrato de 0.70 m de grosor. Lotes 1 y 2. Se encontró abundante material cultural asociado.
5. Barro Café (10 YR 3/4) con abundante arena, consistencia suelta y textura suave. Estrato de 0.25 m de grosor. Este estrato abarcan todo el lote 3 y parte del lote 4, con poco material cultural asociado.
6. Barro Café claro (10 YR 4/4) con inclusión de pómez, arena y carbón. Consistencia dura y compacta. El estrato tiene 0.40 m de grosor y comprende solamente el lote 4. Hubo escaso material asociado.
7. Barro Café oscuro (10 YR 3/2), arenoso, pastoso, con inclusión de talpetate en granos finos y presencia de carbón. Estrato de 0.44 m de grosor que abarca todo el lote 4. Poco material cultural asociado.
8. Tierra Negra (10 YR 2/2) suave, suelta. Esta llena el corte realizado en la tercera grada, los materiales culturales que formaron parte del ritual de terminación (que se explica más adelante) se encontraron con esta tierra. Estrato de 0.50 m de profundidad y 0.90 m de ancho. Abarca todo el lote 5, con abundante material cultural asociado.

Hallazgos especiales:
KJEIII5-3-5:
1. Corte en la tercera grada de talpetate (profundidad 30 cm)
2. Depósito cerámico dentro de este corte con abundante evidencia de quema (carbón y ceniza)
3. Abundantes fragmentos de barro cocido y bajareque, en bloques grandes, como ofrenda que se encontró dentro del corte de la grada, mezclado con ceniza y carbón.

Materiales especiales:
1. KJEIII5-3-5: tres restos óseos (uno humano: posible vertebra lumbar y los otros dos posiblemente de aves)
2. KJEIII5-3-5A: un núcleo de obsidiana encontrado debajo del hueso 1.

Muestras tomadas:
KJEIII5-3-5: ceniza a -2.68 m
KJEIII5-3-5: carbón a -2.80 m

Dibujos:
Perfiles Norte, Oeste y Sur
Planta del depósito cerámico, con corte en tercera grada de talpetate
Planta final de la unidad

Interpretación:
El corte hecho en la tercera grada de la estructura 1 y los restos culturales encontrados dentro de éste, representan la última actividad de carácter ceremonial que se asume fueron dedicados a sellar la ocupación del edificio. Debido a la abundante evidencia de quema (carbón y ceniza), ésta actividad se

puede leer como un ritual de terminación en donde los ocupantes le ofrendan fragmentos de cerámica, barro cocido, obsidiana y óseos junto al fuego sagrado.

Enseguida de esta actividad ceremonial se encuentran los rellenos que cubren en su totalidad la estructura 1 y así iniciar con la construcción de la estructura 2, la cual ya no alcanzamos a registrar debido a la mutilación que sufrió el montículo durante la urbanización del área en épocas modernas.

UNIDAD DE EXCAVACIÓN KJEIII5-4

Esta unidad de excavación se ubicó en la parte más alta del Montículo E-III-5, directamente al Sur de la unidad KJEIII5-1 y al Este de KJEIII5-2, con el objetivo de definir con mayor claridad características formales de los rasgos arquitectónicos de detectados en anteriores pozos de excavación (talpetate en talud y esquina de barro café compacto).

Arqueólogo:	Luis Méndez Salinas
Excavadores:	Carlos Patzán (excavador) y Elvis Sabán (ayudante)
Fecha de inicio:	1 de julio de 2013
Fecha de cierre:	2 de julio de 2013
Dimensiones:	1.5 x 1.5 m
Orientación:	Norte – Sur
Ubicación:	Al Sur de KJEIII5-1 y al Este de KJEIII5-2
Datum:	Esquina SE de la Unidad KJEIII5-1 (-0.06 m)
Número de lotes:	2 (más una ampliación de 0.60 x 1.5 m, orientada Este – Oeste, directamente al Sur de la unidad).
Profundidad máxima:	-2.21 m (en esquina NO de la unidad).
Objetivos:	Definir con mayor claridad los rasgos arquitectónicos de talpetate en talud y la esquina de barro café compacto detectados en los perfiles de las unidades anteriores.
Metodología:	Se trazó un pozo cuadrado de 1.5 x 1.5 m, directamente al Sur de la unidad 1 y al Este de la unidad 2. Se excavaron dos lotes de profundidades irregulares para remover el estrato superficial y el relleno constructivo encontrado sobre los rasgos arquitectónicos. La unidad se detuvo al encontrar dichos rasgos (Figuras 14 y 15).
Descripción:	En esta unidad se detectaron dos estratos claramente diferenciados:

1. Nivel de humus: tierra negra superficial (10 YR 3/2) de consistencia suelta y suave. Con abundante material orgánico, raicillas, piedras pequeñas y arena. Capa bastante delgada, de unos 0.05 m de grosor, y se une progresivamente al estrato inferior.
2. Relleno de barro café oscuro (10 YR 3/4, 10 YR 3/6), detectado en todas unidades de la parte superior del montículo. Incluye abundante talpetate en grano, pómez, arena y barro cocido en pequeños

bloques. Escaso material cultural asociado. Fue colocado directamente sobre los rasgos arquitectónicos que se describen a continuación.

Hallazgos especiales:
La esquina del cuerpo constructivo de barro café compacto (con inclusión de talpetate blanco) detectada en el perfil sur de la Unidad 1, se encuentra presente en casi todo el área de la Unidad 4, a una profundidad de -1.68 m. Dicho rasgo fue colocado directamente sobre una serie de taludes de talpetate que corren en una orientación aproximada Este – Oeste. Estos restos arquitectónicos forman parte de la estructura más antigua del montículo, puesto que en lotes inferiores de las unidades circundantes no se detectó ningún rasgo arquitectónico a mayor profundidad. De tal cuenta, el relleno superior formó parte de una estructura más tardía que fue mutilada y no pudo detectarse en las excavaciones al centro del Montículo E-III-5.
Materiales recuperados: Escaso material cerámico y lítico (obsidiana) en los lotes de la unidad.

Dibujos: Planta final de la Unidad KJEIII5-4.

Interpretación:
Los resultados de la unidad KJEIII5-4 revelaron la continuidad de los rasgos arquitectónicos detectados en las unidades vecinas, de acuerdo a la siguiente síntesis:

1. La excavación se detuvo al detectar los remanentes del cuerpo constructivo de la primera versión de la estructura, el cual está elaborado en barro café grisáceo compacto y se encuentra directamente sobre el talud de talpetate que conforma el resto de la edificación. La continuidad de estos rasgos hacia el Sur de la unidad KJEIII5-1 indican que la fachada detectada en esa unidad corresponde a la porción norte del edificio.
2. Los lotes superiores de esta unidad se efectuaron en la matriz de rellenos que cubrieron la versión más temprana de la estructura, y que actualmente se encuentran muy cerca de la superficie del montículo, debido a mutilaciones recientes.

TRINCHERA EN LA BASE NORTE DEL MONTÍCULO
A continuación se incluyen los datos generales de las unidades KJEIII5-5, KJEIII5-6 y KJEIII5-7 las cuales conformaron esta trinchera. Únicamente se hará una sola descripción de los estratos que la conforman, debido a que las unidades se encuentran contiguas.

UNIDAD DE EXCAVACIONES KJEIII5-5

Arqueóloga:	Adriana Linares Palma y Luis Méndez
Fecha de inicio:	2 de Julio de 2013
Fecha de cierre:	2 de julio de 2013
Excavadores:	Carlos Patzan (excavador) y Juan Carlos Morales (ayudante)
Dimensiones:	1 x 1 m
Orientación:	Norte - Sur

Ubicación:	Base Norte del montículo EIII5-1
Datum:	Esquina SO de ésta unidad (-0.10 m).
Numero de lotes:	1
Profundidad máxima:	-1.20 m
Objetivos:	Encontrar evidencia cultural que ayude a la datación del montículo y encontrar rasgos arquitectónicos que determinen la forma del edificio y sus etapas constructivas para relacionarlo con los hallazgos encontrados en las unidades KJEII5-1 y 2.
Metodología:	Se trazo una trinchera con orientación norte-sur desde la falda norte hacia el centro del montículo, y se excavaron unidades de 1 x 1m y 1 x 2 m. La excavación se controló por medio de lotes por estratos naturales según los hallazgos.

UNIDAD DE EXCAVACIONES KJEIII5-6

Arqueóloga:	Adriana Linares Palma y Luis Méndez
Fecha de inicio:	3 de Julio de 2013
Fecha de cierre:	9 de julio de 2013
Excavadores:	Carlos Patzan (excavador) y Juan Carlos Morales (ayudante)
Dimensiones:	2 x 1 m
Orientación:	Norte - Sur
Ubicación:	Al Sur de la unidad EIII5-5
Datum:	Esquina SO de ésta unidad (-0.06 m, +0.96 m en relación al Datum de KJEIII-5).
Numero de lotes:	3
Profundidad máxima:	-1.85 m
Objetivos:	Encontrar evidencia cultural que ayude a la datación del montículo y encontrar rasgos arquitectónicos que determinen la forma del edificio y sus etapas constructivas para relacionarlo con los hallazgos encontrados en la unidad KJEII5-5.
Metodología:	Se trazó una trinchera con orientación norte-sur desde la falda norte hacia el centro del montículo, y se excavaron unidades de 1 x 1m y 1 x 2 m. La excavación se controló por medio de lotes de 40 cm y por estratos naturales según los hallazgos.

UNIDAD DE EXCAVACIONES KJEIII5-7

Arqueóloga:	Adriana Linares Palma
Fecha de inicio:	9 de Julio de 2013
Fecha de cierre:	10 de julio de 2013
Excavadores:	Carlos Patzan (excavador) y Juan Carlos Morales (ayudante)
Dimensiones:	1 x 1 m
Orientación:	Norte - Sur

Ubicación:	Al Sur de la unidad EIII5-6
Datum:	Esquina SO de ésta unidad (-0.10 m, +0.46 m en relación al Datum de KJEIII-6).
Numero de lotes:	2
Profundidad máxima:	-1.04 m
Objetivos:	Encontrar evidencia cultural que ayude a la datación del montículo y encontrar rasgos arquitectónicos que determinen la forma del edificio y sus etapas constructivas para relacionarlo con los hallazgos encontrados en la unidad KJEII5-6.
Metodología:	Se trazo una trinchera con orientación norte-sur desde la falda norte hacia el centro del montículo, y se excavaron unidades de 1 x 1m y 1 x 2 m. La excavación se controló por medio de lotes por estratos naturales.

ESTRATOS DE LAS UNIDADES KJEIII5-5, KJEIII5-6 y KJEIII5-7

Las tres unidades de esta trinchera constan de cinco estratos descritos a continuación:

1. Nivel de humus. Tierra negra (10 YR 3/2) consistencia suelta y suave, con arena, muchas raíces pequeñas, piedras pequeñas y cuarzo. Estrato de 0.05 m, en donde se encuentra el lote 1, de las tres unidades, con poco material cerámico antiguo asociado, huesos de ganado y basura moderna (entre ésta plásticos, ladrillos modernos, lápices, monedas, esferas de vidrio).
2. Barro Café oscuro (10 YR 3/2), compacto, suave, con abundante inclusión de cuarzo y arena. Hay presencia de raíces pequeñas. Al finalizar el estrato se observan mezclas de talpetate en terrones diminutos y de arena. Estrato de 0.87 m, en donde se encuentra el lote 1, de las tres unidades, y lote 2 de las unidades KJEIII5-6 y KJEIII5-7. Abundante material cerámico antiguo asociado característico del período preclásico tardío.
3. Relleno de talpetate (10 YR 4/6) en pequeños terrones, con abundante arena. Consistencia compacta y dura. Escaso material cultural asociado. Estrato de 0.26 m en donde se encuentra el lote 2 de la unidad KJEIII5-6.
4. Barro Café (10 YR 3/3) compacto y duro, con abundante cuarzo y poca inclusión de arena de talpetate. Estrato pastoso y homogéneo. Estrato de 0.52 m en donde se encuentra el lote 3 de la unidad KJEIII5-6.
5. Bloques grandes de talpetate (10 YR 5/8) que podrían formar parte del segundo rasgo arquitectónico del montículo. Por falta de tiempo, la excavación finalizó en este estrato.

Hallazgos especiales:

1. A -0.35 m del datum de KJEIII5-5 se detecto un rasgo de talpetate que se extiende desde la esquina suroeste hacia el resto de la unidad. Aparentemente conjunto de 4 gradas que bajan hacia el norte.

2. Concentración de bloques mayores de talpetate que sugieren son parte del cuerpo de la estructura 2, sin embargo por lo deteriorado del montículo no se logró vincular con las gradas encontradas en KJEIII5-5.
3. Rellenos constructivos de la estructura 2.

Materiales especiales:
KJ5III5-6-1: un fragmento de figurilla lasca de pizarra
KJ5III5-7-2: un núcleo de obsidiana.

Dibujos:
Perfil Norte – Sur de la trinchera completa
Planta final general de la trinchera completa

Interpretación:
Las excavaciones de las unidades KJEIII5-5, KJEIII5-6 y KJEIII5-7 permitieron encontrar dos rasgos de importancia para describir algunos rasgos que pertenecen a la segunda estructura.
1. El tipo de relleno de la estructura 2
2. El tipo de arquitectura de la estructura 2, las gradas de talpetate en mínimos rasgos

Appendix C: Radiocarbon results

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REPORT OF RADIOCARBON DATING ANALYSES

Dr. Barbara Arroyo de Pieters

Report Date: 10/28/2013

Sample Data	Measured Radiocarbon Age	13C/12C Ratio	Conventional Radiocarbon Age(*)
Beta - 361802 SAMPLE : KJPAL14-J12-4 ANALYSIS : AMS-Standard delivery MATERIAL/PRETREATMENT : (charred material): acid/alkali/acid 2 SIGMA CALIBRATION : Cal AD 80 to 240 (Cal BP 1870 to 1720)	1860 +/- 30 BP	-25.1 o/oo	1860 +/- 30 BP
Beta - 361803 SAMPLE : KJEIII5-3-5 ANALYSIS : AMS-Standard delivery MATERIAL/PRETREATMENT : (charred material): acid/alkali/acid 2 SIGMA CALIBRATION : Cal BC 50 Cal AD 70 (Cal BP 2000 to 1880)	2000 +/- 30 BP	-25.5 o/oo	1990 +/- 30 BP
Beta - 361804 SAMPLE : KJPC2a-2 ANALYSIS : AMS-Standard delivery MATERIAL/PRETREATMENT : (charred material): acid/alkali/acid 2 SIGMA CALIBRATION : Cal AD 730 to 740 (Cal BP 1220 to 1210) AND Cal AD 770 to 900 (Cal BP 1180 to 1060) Cal AD 920 to 940 (Cal BP 1030 to 1010)	1190 +/- 30 BP	-25.1 o/oo	1190 +/- 30 BP

Dates are reported as RCYBP (radiocarbon years before present, "present" = AD 1950). By international convention, the modern reference standard was 95% the 14C activity of the National Institute of Standards and Technology (NIST) Oxalic Acid (SRM 4990C) and calculated using the Libby 14C half-life (5568 years). Quoted errors represent 1 relative standard deviation statistics (68% probability) counting errors based on the combined measurements of the sample, background, and modern reference standards. Measured 13C/12C ratios (delta 13C) were calculated relative to the PDB-1 standard.

The Conventional Radiocarbon Age represents the Measured Radiocarbon Age corrected for isotopic fractionation, calculated using the delta 13C. On rare occasion where the Conventional Radiocarbon Age was calculated using an assumed delta 13C, the ratio and the Conventional Radiocarbon Age will be followed by "*". The Conventional Radiocarbon Age is not calendar calibrated. When available, the Calendar Calibrated result is calculated from the Conventional Radiocarbon Age and is listed as the "Two Sigma Calibrated Result" for each sample.

Radiocarbon analysis of sample KJEIII5-3-5: Age between 50 BC and 70 AD. That is during Late Preclassic (Proyecto Zona Arqueológica Kaminaljuyu, 2014).

Appendix D: Calibration of radiocarbon results

CALIBRATION OF RADIOCARBON AGE TO CALENDAR YEARS

(Variables: C13/C12=-25.5:lab. mult=1)

Laboratory number: **Beta-361803**

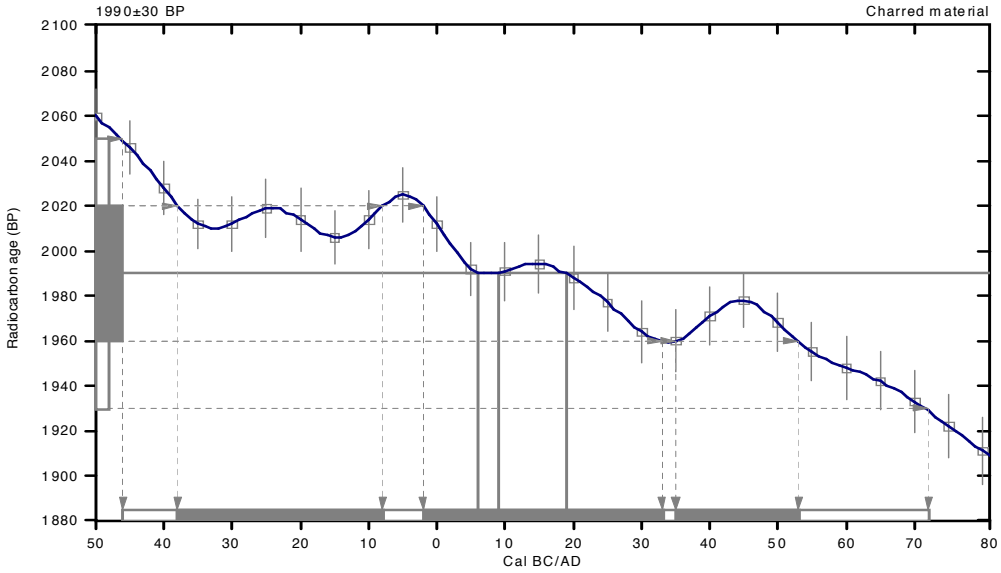
Conventional radiocarbon age: **1990±30 BP**

2 Sigma calibrated result: (95% probability) **Cal BC 50 Cal AD 70 (Cal BP 2000 to 1880)**

Intercept data

Intercepts of radiocarbon age with calibration curve: Cal AD 10 (Cal BP 1940) and
Cal AD 10 (Cal BP 1940) and
Cal AD 20 (Cal BP 1930)

1 Sigma calibrated results: (68% probability) Cal BC 40 to 10 (Cal BP 1990 to 1960) and
Cal BC 0 Cal AD 30 (Cal BP 1950 to 1920) and
Cal AD 40 to 50 (Cal BP 1920 to 1900)



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Database used

INTCAL09

References to INTCAL09 database

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Mathematics used for calibration scenario

A Simplified Approach to Calibrating C14 Dates
Talma, A. S., Vogel, J. C., 1993, Radiocarbon 35(2):317-322

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Calibration of radiocarbon, sample KJEIII5-3-5: Age between Cal 50 BC and 70 AD, during the Late Preclassic (Proyecto Zona Arqueológica Kaminaljuyu, 2014).

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