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A Cultural Landscape Study of Key Heritage Areas in Guanacaste Province, Costa Rica

Abstract:

The central portion of the western corridor of Guanacaste has significant heritage areas to be identified. It is crucial to recognize the area's cultural resources in the face of rising international tourism. Cultural landscape studies such as this allow multiple interests and issues to be addressed and combine not only tangible evidence of an important historical event, but also speak to the intangible qualities of the time through the telling of the everyday life of the people involved. Identifying heritage areas is important for both academic research and the hopeful promise of contemporary heritage management. This investigation incorporates field research of the region, contextual research regarding the role of the built and manipulated landscape in the events for which they are significant, cursory oral histories, translations of traditional Guanacaste music, maps, and a photographic survey.

Introduction

The landscape approach in Cultural Resource Management (CRM) and archaeology is an increasingly important avenue for both academic research and contemporary heritage management. The need for heritage areas is both practical and social, including a desire for tourism, education, cultural heritage, or preservation of the landscape. Cultural landscape studies identify multiple interests and issues and combine not only tangible evidence of an important historical event, but also speak to the intangible qualities of the time through the telling of the everyday life of the people

involved. This investigation incorporates field research of the region, contextual research regarding the role of the built and manipulated landscape in the events for which they are significant, and documentation of oral history interviews. Maps and photographs will accompany written documentation of field surveys. This discussion is admittedly circumscribed in scope, relating principally to Guanacaste Province and, in particular, the canton of Santa Cruz and nearby Villareal and Tamarindo, to a lesser extent, the cantons of Culebra and Bagaces. As suggested by Gerald Takano (1996:16) in discussing preservation of Levuka, Fiji, recommendations will be made for areas where revitalization techniques such as tax abatements, prohibitions on demolition, or land reclamation will assist the efforts that emphasize the resource's historical significance. The vernacular settings, from homes to rural roads, will be as much a part of the study, as will buildings introduced by the colonizing Spanish administration or subsequent immigrants.

Around 1985 Costa Rica was hoping to finance its commitment to conservation through the slogan "Costa Rica es . . . natural" – it was their way of promoting tourism by tapping into the burgeoning ecological movement worldwide (Minca and Linda 2000:110). By 1996 the effects of their efforts could be seen in the increasing percentage of foreign currency it fostered, up from 14.5 percent to 23.4 percent. Martha Honey (1999:131), director of the Peace and Security Program at the Institute for Policy Studies in Washington, D. C., claims Costa Rica to be "ecotourism's poster child". From the 1940s through the 1960s, Costa Rica engaged in large-scale exploitation of their natural resources. In the 1970s, following extensive deforestation, the loss of the true wealth of their natural landscape became obvious and one-quarter of the country was preserved. The remaining rain forest is but a small fraction of what was an extensive resource. Ecotourism in Costa Rica is not principally sightseeing the rainforests, this is secondary to the development of tourism infrastructure along its Pacific and Atlantic coastlines (Evans 2000:138). Coastal resources can be the place where the interest to explore the rainforest is stimulated. A key coastal destination is Tamarindo in Guanacaste Province. Nearly non-existent prior to Euro-American tourism, it now boasts a host of attractive activities for tourists and is a source of jobs for the many native born locals (Ticos) living

in the neighboring towns of Villareal, 4KM to the east, and Santa Cruz, a 45 minute bus ride away.

Tourism can create jobs, encourage migration flows, and change the local social and cultural dynamics. And, as Claudio Minca and Marco Linda (2000: 103) argue, “tourism also introduces new forms of territorial organization with their accordant hierarchies, core-periphery logics and modalities of spatial segregation.” Pre-existing territorial activities can become marginalized in the wake of reorganizing a town through construction of infrastructure and facilities to accommodate the influx of tourists (Minca and Linda 2000:106). This theory will be applied to specific regions in the Guanacaste Province of Costa Rica in an effort to examine the state of local culture. This raises questions - Has tourism revitalized the local culture by supporting a new awareness and new representation of it? What are the conditions of the local social structure and normative code - are they stable and autonomous? For instance, a stable landmark in every pueblo is the plaza, in the new tourist town of Tamarindo there isn't one. Minca and Linda (2000:105) suggest that “such stability requires the consolidation of certain spatial practices and an adequate spatial structure.”

In studying the politics of public space and culture in the capital of Costa Rica, anthropologist Setha M. Low (2000) found the central plaza to be the forum where disagreements and conflicts become real for groups and where individuals remember their experiences and encounters, work and political activities, and the written and oral accounts that speak to the plaza's past and contemporary history. This public sphere evokes symbolic meaning through these associated mnemonic emotional engagements, its designed landscapes of spatial relations, and the shape of the built environment with its architectural and sociopolitical history. Observing the interactions that take place reveal norms and meaning being both produced and constructed through the “specifics of plaza time and space” (Low 2000:230). Low also argues that “spatial meanings are actively manipulated by the city and the state to represent diverse political and economic agendas” (2000:230). As she suggests, without the plaza social and cultural contentions would not be so readily seen nor individuals contribute to their resolve. A vital discourse develops in this culturally significant and politically important public arena full of meaning and function. Low concludes by calling for the preservation of plazas now faced

with the threat of privatization and “the power of computer communication technologies to replace sites of social interaction with Web sites and commercialization” (2000:240).

In the little pueblo of Santa Cruz in central Guanacaste, across from the town plaza with its Mayan-style accents, are the remains of a colonial church ruined by an earthquake that shook the town in 1950. Next to the ruins is a modern replacement designed with a star-shaped roof structure. Another plaza lies just four blocks north of the church; between the two plazas are a row of old wooden homes (construction date unknown). A fire swept through the area in 1993 devastating many dwellings and buildings (Baker 2001:567). Santa Cruz is a significant historical and contemporary canton in Guanacaste and preservation efforts would serve the community well. Because Santa Cruz is a well-established pueblo, residents may not fear encroachment or notice the daily toll on important cultural resources. In neighboring Tamarindo a newly formed Asociacion Pro Mejoras de Playa Tamarindo is attempting to meet the needs of that growing community. Santa Cruz resident Oscar Rosales Guterrez is the Executive Director and is responsible for organizing, directing, and implementing a Master Plan for the community of Tamarindo. According to the local Tamarindo newspaper Guterrez is “the Founding Director of the Federation of Agricultural Centers of Guanacaste, Director of the National Board of Forestal Campesina, Board member of the University of Costa Rica Experimental Farm in Santa Cruz, and a Representative for Sustainable Development on the regional and national levels.” This was reported two years ago and today development in Tamarindo is at a rapid pace and proper oversight is critical, but apparently rare.

A Tourist Development Project was planned for the Bay Of Culebra in the Gulf of Papagayo, which offers beaches, caves, primary forest and Pre - Columbian indigenous sites. Three different sectors were involved with the plan: The Costa Rican Government, through the Costa Rican Tourism Institute; the Private Sector, through the hotel establishment; and the Civilian Power, through community representatives. It is composed of two thousand hectares designed to be a tourist attraction in harmony with nature and respectful of cultural and archaeological environments. The Nacascolo Peninsula, where this tourist development is located, has yet to exhibit the intended

cultural and archaeological attractions for visitors, but it is proceeding with large scale resort development in the immediate vicinity.

Attention must be given to properly differentiate between the impacts of tourism and pre-existing boundaries and co-existing processes. If tourism dominates the economic and social possibilities of a region, it can jeopardize the autonomy of the system. This approach finds its method in a cultural landscape model, which is akin to the “territorial systems” model used by Minca and Linda (See also Italian geographers Vallega [1982 and 1995] and Turco [1984]), where a web of networks and nodes relate to diverse projects within the system. In the United States the National Park Service, under the auspices of the U.S. Department of the Interior, defines a cultural landscape as: “a geographic area, including both cultural and natural resources and the wildlife or domestic animals therein, associated with a historic event, activity, or person or exhibiting other cultural or aesthetic values.”

In Costa Rica, where the indigenous nation is a mere 1%, the tide of immigrants has never ceased since colonial times. New immigrants today seek safe haven in a country that has embraced development and environmental protections. This juxtaposition of values is tenuous because the pace of development is quicker than any effort to protect the land can manage, which results in a landscape reminiscent of the Wild West. However, there is a remarkable new opportunity for contemporary heritage management in Costa Rica. On September 14, 2002, President Abel Pacheco signed seven new constitutional articles for environmental protection. If approved by the Legislative Assembly, it would be the first time since 1949 that the nation’s Constitution has been changed. Although the difficulty will be with enforcement and backlogged complaints and, moreover, the emphasis is necessarily on, deforestation, carbon monoxide pollution, and contaminated water from pesticides. Furthermore, it is not clear what new allegiance has been put forward toward heritage management. But it is clear that preserving cultural resources can be lobbied as an integral component against environmental degradation. Preservation efforts would be greatly aided if land management agencies focused on the large scale inventory and planning efforts akin to the United States National Historic Preservation Act, Section 110. The message must be sent that contemporary heritage management can help to slow mindless development and

unjust environmental infractions, at the same time that it revitalizes neglected rural areas once integral to the cultural heritage of the region and nation.

Introducing the Location

The landmass of Costa Rica is approximately 5 million hectares. Guanacaste province, in the northwest corner of the country, accounts for about a sixth of the total land area. Guanacaste is 10,141 square kilometers and is bordered by the Pacific Ocean and the Gulf of Nicoya to the west, Nicaragua to the north, a continental divide of volcanic cordillera to the east, and Puntarenas province to the south. The Cordilleras traverses the state in a northwest and southeast direction, it is dotted with a series of high volcanoes. Orosi at 8,650 feet rises above northern Guanacaste Province and overlooks Lake Nicaragua. A series of terraces fall from the highest elevations offering unique climates for growing different crops – tierras frias with pines and oaks is the highest elevation; tierras templados falls between 5000 and 3000 feet; the areas between 3000 feet and sea level is the tierra caliente (Anonymous 1858:451). The mountains are inundated with short, rapid rivers. The largest is the River Tempisque, its headwaters flowing from the Volcano of Orosi in southeast direction into the Gulf of Nicoya.

According to the Ecological Map of Costa Rica by Joseph A. Tosi, Jr. (1969), the central portion of the western flank of Guanacaste, in the coastal zone surrounding Tamarindo, is classified as “tropical dry forest, moist province transition”. This zone extends to roughly 15 kilometers to the east of Tamarindo and 50 kilometers to the north and 50 kilometers to the south. This area is adjacent to a long, narrow zone classified as “premontane moist forest, basal belt transition”. The canton of Santa Cruz sits on a northerly transition area in this zone that is next to a more interior and larger zone of tropical dry forest, moist province transition. To the south of Santa Cruz, within a few kilometers, is a large zone of “tropical moist forest” with a few scattered pockets of “premontane wet forest”. There are twelve distinct ecological life zones in Costa Rica. G. S. Hartshorn (1983: 118-123) describes the tropical dry forest as “centered on the lower Rio Tempisque, this Life Zone is barely dry. . . ringed by a variable band of cool-wet transitional forest . . . Edaphic associations occur south of Liberia on soils derived from rhyolitic ash and on the black montmorillonite clay soils in the Tempisque basin. . . is a

low, semideciduous forest with only two strata of trees. . . the ground layer is sparse except in openings. Woody vines are common. . . Epiphytes are occasional, with bromeliads the most conspicuous.” The tropical premontane moist forest is, as Hartshorn explains, “a two-layered, semideciduous, seasonal forest of medium height . . . The ground layer is sparse. Epiphytes are rare. Tough, supple, thin-stemmed woody vines are abundant.”

To the north of Tamarindo and Santa Cruz, in the Northwest part of the Guanacaste province of dry tropical forest, is a central area of large cattle haciendas, a relic of the colonial period, and surrounding areas of mixed farming, colonized during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries (Hall 1985:291). To the Spanish, the natural resources of the area never were considered a desirable commodity, only an impediment to agricultural production. The indigenous economy was unable to support large populations, but was successful at living a sustainable lifestyle from the natural environment permitting forests to regenerate, until European settlement changed patterns of land use.

Researchers working on restoring a zone of tropical dry forest in the Guanacaste Conservation Area (in the Northwest) describe it as part of the magnificent 200,000 square mile Pacific coastal lowlands that spanned the length of Panama to Central Mexico five centuries ago (Moline 2002). The savannas are part of the human manipulated cultural landscape, the result of recurrent burning for shifting cultivation and pastures (Hall 1985:22 cites Barrantes Ferrero 1965). The logging, farming, and ranching that took place diminished this original international forest landscape to the point where only 0.1 percent of it remains (Moline cites Daniel Janzen). Native grasses dominated the post-Conquest savannas, prior to contact only small areas of “natural” savanna probably existed (Boucher et al. 1983: 72). Some argue that large areas of grassland existed before contact (Edelman 1992: 73). Annual burning helps maintain the savannas, retarding the growth of competing woody shrubs that, if left to become sufficiently mature in height, will block necessary light for the growth of the grasses. Although Hartshorn (1983: 125-126 cites Daubenmire 1972) argues that: “It is quite clear that no natural savannas exist in nonswamp areas of Guanacaste because of the necessity for burning the pastures annually to prevent woody encroachment and colonization.” He believes that the jaragua

grasslands derived from the pumice ash soils found in evergreen oak forests, with concurrent patches of three varieties of trees, one of which is associated with clay soil, the other two are reported to be fire-resistant, this exact environment can be found around Bagaces. In the Guanacaste the agricultural fields, cleared by burning unwanted vegetation, caused the establishment of pastures of mostly West African grasses, the most prominent being the extremely fire-resistant jaragua (*Hyparrhenia rufa*), which cattle feed on. This grass species tends to spread beyond pasture boundaries invading some 2 kilometers into the surrounding forestland. With management to protect or control against fire, “a forest can move several hundred meters into an old pasture in ten years, just as a result of seed dispersal” (Moline cites Whelan 1987). In the 1980s other grasses were introduced and, at the same time, introduction of forage legumes was also considered. Erosion, a natural occurrence, accelerated following deforestation by Hispanic-Americans. Erosion continues from strong winds and from overgrazing and the burning of pastureland. Protecting the watersheds of the Rio Sapoá and the Rio Tempisque that supply the drinking and irrigation water to local communities is an important impetus to the restoration of the Guanacaste Restoration Area.

This northwestern province is the only lowland region that has been continuously occupied by non-Indians since the colonial period (Hall 1985:27). As Hall explains (1985:11), the “largest area of flat land in the Pacific lowlands is the tectonic depression of the River Tempisque in the northwest, which contains deep alluvial sediments.” Costa Rica had a multicultural complexion historically and does so today. Initially Spanish colonizers were attracted to the dry climate, acclimating more easily to the weather than in the rain forest areas. But few Spanish chose to remain in the area after their induced decimation of the Indian population and the forced settlement of survivors onto one pueblo in Nicoya, which left little labor to exploit in the nearly empty Guanacaste terrain. During this time Talamancan Indians from the tropical forest regions of southeastern Costa Rica were also brought to the Nicoya pueblo. The Spanish saw the raising of semi-feral cattle as the only enterprise worth pursuing given the limited labor force at hand. Earlier on, in the later part of the sixteenth century, the Spanish expanded their labor force by importing African slaves, many from Panama, to Nicoya and the valley of Bagaces, where there was cattle raising and an Indigo plantation. Census records for Nicoya show

more than half the population as “mulattoes” or “zambos”, 10% mestizos, only 9 % Spanish, and the remainder Indians. Census data for the Bagaces region show quite similar numbers with the addition of a category listing 7% Negroes, pointing to the two different origins of African slave labor. Mulattoes or *casta*, the core of the labor force, worked as free laborers, few were considered slaves (Edelman 1992: 46-48). See the Appendix for songs that sing of these different ethnicities. Anthropologist Marc Edelman (1992: 49) explains the significance and continuity of this culture history in the hinterlands of Costa Rica: “The anomalous legal status of the castas, the discrimination they experienced, and the relative independence of cowboys on absentee-owned haciendas contributed to the formation of a distinct, cattle frontier culture.”

In Guanacaste state control was weak, landlords were few, and cowboys roamed free from one wage labor job to another dependent on hunting and subsistence farming to supplement their income. During early colonial times feral or semi-feral cattle was used solely for leather and tallow to trade, by the middle of the eighteenth century the cattle herd was virtually gone. In the wake of this catastrophe came the raising of cattle for live export to Nicaragua, El Salvador, and Guatamala, which lasted until the mid-nineteenth century. At the turn of the next century efforts were underway to introduce foreign stock into the herds, as the criollo cattle were often of inbred stock susceptible to disease, sterility, wild temperaments, early pregnancies, death with births, and weak newborns. The *sabaneros* or cowboys of Guanacaste were employed to find newborns and to disinfect them, among other duties. The criollo cattle did, however, make excellent oxen stock and faired well when foraging for greenery. Today you see the results of imported Indian brahman breeds which were better suited to the climate and overtime successfully adapted to the ecological conditions. Likewise the cowboys still have a strong presence and horsemanship competitions and bullfighting remain a most important tradition.

As central Costa Rica grew around a coffee export economy established by the British in the nineteenth century, so too did the national demand for beef. Guanacaste then became an important periphery support for the needs of the growing core region of the country, which quickly supplanted cattle pasture with coffee fields. Beginning in the 1880s wood became an important commodity as well as beef and agricultural products. Importantly, prosperity from coffee exportation was equitably spread amongst the society

because there were many smallholders of land in the *meseta central* (Edelman 1992: 54). The British commercial enterprise brought prosperity to the country, but some researchers (Gomez and Savage 1983: 3) claim the country was culturally more oriented toward the French. This argument is based on the origins and direction of the first natural history museum in San Jose and the first university. France, however, was an important commercial link in the coffee trade, and also vied for strategic authority during the later half of the nineteenth century, along with England and the United States, of the transport route linking the Atlantic and Pacific located in southern Nicaragua. There were attempts to have French colonists settle certain areas as well.

In continuing our introduction of the cultural landscape it is instructive to look at the nationality of the owners of large land holdings (over 10,000 hectares) in Guanacaste in the years between 1920-1935 (Edelman 1992:363). Only one of the property owners was a Spaniard with a total of 35,142 hectares in the cantons of Liberia, Santa Cruz, and Nicoya. There was only one British landowner with 86,000 hectares in the cantons of Canas and Nicoya. Also, there was only one Frenchman who owned 100,000 hectares around La Palma in Abangares. Two families from the United States acquired nearly 152,000 hectares, the vast majority of which was within the canton of Bagaces. There were four families of Costa Rican ancestry that owned close to 52,000 hectares around Canas and Liberia, and four families from Nicaragua that had a total of 162,845 hectares, most of which were located around Liberia, except for 28,573 hectares in Santa Cruz. The latifundio owners north of Liberia were notorious for harsh labor practices making it sometimes difficult to find a willing labor force. Many of those employed were Nicaraguan immigrants used to the practices and much more willing to tolerate the conditions.

In the mid-1930s, Nicaraguan cattle were smuggled into Guanacaste under the ruling authority of dictator Anastasio Somoza Garcia. A decade later small numbers of Nicaraguan exiles living in northern Guanacaste sought the overthrow of Somoza. This migration continued until massive movements took place in 1959 and 1960. At the same time, Somoza and his sons attempted to acquire land for personal and political gain. Soon several bases were established for guardsmen and the illegal smuggling of wood. The Costa Rican president, Teodoro Picado Michalski, was sympathetic to Somoza's cause as

were the Nicaraguan landowners already well established in Guanacaste. By 1966, the Somoza's owned 31,000 hectares in Guanacaste and did not hesitate to evict squatters by Nicaraguan National Guard forces from their land. Much of this activity occurred near areas of great historical significance for Costa Ricans. One site is where, in 1856, a pro slavery movement led by North American William Walker lost a fight to national forces. And it was there that Picado's followers were successfully defeated in 1955. The government of Costa Rica expropriated over 10,000 hectares of Somoza's land in 1970 for the Santa Rosa national park.

Today Nicaraguans makeup a large segment of the Guanacaste rural population, along with the Costa Rican Ticos. But in the recently established coastal communities Euro-Americans are predominate, residents originally from the United States, Canada, Italy, and Germany being the most in number. Many immigrants from neighboring Central and South American countries have come to reside in Costa Rica as well, most notably Jamaicans, Cubans, Argentineans, and Colombians. As early as 1861 German merchants were cutting cedar to export. In the early twentieth century, the Chinese community, not only helped to build the railroad with laborers from Jamaica, they were an important source of credit to small landholders unable to find it elsewhere, and a helpful outlet for what the landholders could produce (Edelman 1992: 163). Earlier, however, in 1892, the government prohibited Chinese immigration. In 1911, they alone were made to register their residency, as the anti-Chinese sentiment remained strong for decades. It wasn't until 1943 that the government lifted the immigration sanction. The Chinese have established roots as store and restaurant owners in several Guanacaste villages, such as Santa Cruz, Liberia, and Nicoya. Nicaraguans have been faced with discrimination as well. National and political borders predispose people to draw distinctions, as does migrations across borders, 500,000 Nicaraguans live in Costa Rica.

The deforestation that took place prior to the depression of the 1930s helped consolidate the various haciendas and was an essential step in the establishment of grazing lands. After 1950, as the beef export trade grew enormously; the lands suffered a much more devastating scale of deforestation. The tropical dry fertile soils are conducive to cattle ranching and the growing of "dry" rice, cotton, maize, sugar cane, sorghum, papaws, and cashews (Hall 1985:29). Since 1985 the national government has helped to

create irrigation canals for wet rice production. Prolonged dry spells in this area can be disastrous without irrigation; the typical precipitation range is less than 1,500 millimeters with six dry months. The guanacaste tree, (*Enterolobium cyclocarpum*), has an ear shaped fruit for which it is named. It is a large tree with a squat trunk and a canopy thick enough that the ground beneath remains cool even in the intense dry season and nearly dry in the rainy season. Consequently it was and is today a source of refuge where cattle drivers or passerbys linger. Beyond the reaches of the guanacaste tree's canopy, soils are exposed to somewhat extreme conditions. Evapotranspiration can, at times, exceed precipitation, causing water to move upwards through the soil with an accumulation of salts (Hall 1985:30). Soils may become parched and crack in the dry season decomposing organic material or they become sticky in the wet season - the result is soil with low humus content. Dry tropical vegetation is comprised largely of deciduous trees, which contributes little organic material to the soil. Leaves fall upon the dry earth for an entire season and then are quickly "mineralized" with the coming rains. The soils are quite sensitive to mismanagement. Shifting cultivation practiced by indigenous populations preserved the soils as land lay rejuvenating under the canopy of the forest. In contrast, Europeans deforested extensive tracts of poor quality soils exhausting agricultural yields and causing massive erosion. In the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century, livestock producers saw intensification of production become ten times more effective with the introduction of improved pasture grasses (Edelman 1992: 74). More head of cattle per *manzanas* (6.99 hectares) was beneficial for large cattle ranchers but much more damaging to competing agricultural land and water use by the peasant population. Edelman (1992: 76) calls the artificial pastures "in effect a kind of enclosure, even in the absence of barbed wire fences." More discussion on barbed-wire fences will follow.

The use of the land primarily for cattle production was a tradition and is today a modern reality, thus historical continuity is clearly evident. Even the elite class of cattle owners are descended from yesterday's larger landholders, so too foreign money continues to be a vital ingredient in the economy. Costa Rican beef from grass-fed cattle is an integral import commodity for the U. S. fast food and pet food markets, only Australia, New Zealand, and Canada supply more (Edelman 1992: 196). Elite endogamy undemocratically allowed ancestors to acquire the land at low prices during the late

nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (Edelman 1992: 24-25). Edelman (1992: 27) explains that during the earlier period's livestock management was closer to hunting than production. This initial phase was reliant more on extracting existing foliage and burned or rotting vegetation. Moreover, this method brought success and was a decidedly different mode of capitalistic accumulation of wealth than classical Latin American development.

This wealth was dependent on hacienda or lowland peasant labor which, especially post 1930, came to be an essential supplier of feeder calves. Some large landholders would allow their peasant labor population to live on their hacienda. But, without invitation, much of the rural populace has continuously insisted on living on lands for which someone else holds title. In the early twentieth century over half of Guancaste's population were peasants occupying private lands (Edelman 1992: 125). The typical squatter shack can be seen throughout the country, it is made of salvaged tin and debris known as a "rancho", but some squatters manage to construct cement homes with running water. There is a strong historical precedent for squatting through which the landless wage-labor class successfully accessed long-term land occupations on latifundios and limited the development of larger landholdings. Margaret Purser (2002) in "Casas y Ranchos: Impermanent Architecture and Criollo Identity in Pacific Guatemala" argues that the ubiquitous presence of squatter housing is made possible through the intentional portability of the materials used in the construction. In this way socialization of resistant practices were developed and codified in these social spaces. Purser explains that a distinct "'*criollo*', or local, identity amongst the predominately ladino population of laborers" was established. The strategy this population chose to express to counter "environmental hazards, economic instability, and uncertainty of land tenure for any but the ruling elite" was through a local architectural style marked by its "relative intentions of permanence or impermanence". This mode of land occupation in Pacific Guatemala was vital to accessing resources and land that laborers and their kin-based families and developing communities felt justified in claiming, largely because they had occupied it in the past. In Costa Rica, squatters who had settled lands prior to the purchase of a latifundio demanded to stay, others would erect ranchos on the edges of properties, and in some instances massive land invasions would occur. The largest land holding in

Guanacaste, the North American owned Hacienda Miravalles situated in highland Bagaces, was overtaken by a group of peasants from Canas in the mid-1950s (Edelman 1992: 264). The capital, San Jose, has a “squatter” suburb, Los Guidos, which has 20,000 people now residing there.

Another ubiquitous feature of the land is barbed wire fencing, which has been in continuous use by landlords to enclose and secure their holdings since its quick diffusion from the U.S. post 1870s. Even small landholders used it to fence in their pastures and crop fields. The peasants co-opted it to resist against encroachment of landlord livestock. The main impediment to its use was the cost of investment relative to profit returns in agriculture and livestock raising, as well as the existence of peasant resistance through theft or destruction (Edelman 1992:81-83). For those who couldn't afford barbed wire or were reluctant to invest, the alternative fences were predominately thorny succulents used to enclose small plots of maize, beans, and rice. Corrals were made of wood, small stone walls were sometimes erected. The government's help with the fencing conflicts was marginal, although in 1904 it allowed importation of barbed wire tax free, in 1909 the government proclaimed Guanacaste a livestock zone, thus placing the burden of enclosure costs was placed upon agriculturists in need of protecting their crops. When land remained unfenced it became the catalyst for many conflicts. Smaller landholding peasants had fields, for mostly subsistence, necessary to protect from being trampled by the cattle, while the responsible large hacendados next to them argued against the cost of fencing thousands of hectares. Through the first three decades of the 1900s, many communities, such as Liberia, Canas, and Bagaces, implored the government, without success, to recognize their area as an agricultural zone. By the end of the 1930s, enough livestock owners fenced their holdings concomitant with their efforts to improve their cattle and as the enactment of the government's protectionists measures increased market prices. Soon hacendados increased their consumption of the commodity to secure their cattle from straying, which reduced labor costs, and as a means to refuse access to peasants. Opposition occurred for more reasons than barbed fencing and access to lands. According to Edelman (1992:417) “In 1982 residents of Santa Cruz canton rolled large logs onto airstrips used by fumigation planes, to protest the frequent spraying of populated areas with poisonous agricultural chemicals.”

Local level politics and national forces influence all land use, land tenure, and production just as much as international factors. A dynamic process and changing social networks occurring in a spectrum of enterprise types most closely characterizes the large estates or *latifundismos* in Costa Rica. Today 60 percent of Costa Rica's corn and most of the countries red and black beans and rice are grown in Guanacaste and Puntarenas to the south. Sugar cane is also a common crop in contemporary Guanacaste, as a result of the United States decision to reassign import quotes from Cuba in the 1960s. However, today the most extensive use of the land in this region is devoted to pasture for cattle. Edelman (1992: 17) argues that underdeveloped *latifundismos* will continue to be the normal land use pattern in Guanacaste because of the connections to the past that persist in this modern age. Edelman (1992: 26) explains that the colonial presence in Costa Rica was comparatively weak next to other Latin American countries, which made for a unique culture and polity. Unlike the banana plantations owned by transnational corporations, cattle ranches were and are owned by nationals. Edelman (1992: 27-28) argues that "the large estate became indisputably dominant in regions such as the northwest . . . with a land tenure program resembling that of the rest of Central America's Pacific lowlands. . . inserted in a state with a national history very different from that of its neighbors."

Twentieth Century Migration and Development Plans

A 1970 regional development study conducted by the Instituto de Fomento y Asesoría Municipal (IFAM) of Nicoya peninsula was incorporated into the first regional development plan of the Oficina de Planificación (OFIPLAN) in 1975 (Hall 1985:289). Agriculture and tourism were identified as a part of the region's economy that would potentially convert "Guanacaste from a region of net emigration to one of net immigration" (Hall 1985:289). Specific projects that were proposed included irrigation in the Tempisque Valley and the development of a tourist center in Bahía Culebra.

In the early 1970s, a bilateral development proposal between Costa Rica and Nicaragua for the roughly 30,000 square kilometer San Juan Basin, was accepted by the Secretaría Permanente del Tratado General de Integración Económica Centroamericana.

The nations would cooperate in establishing the area as an “international growth pole in the Central American Common Market,” half of which is Costa Rican territory (Hall 1985:290). As of 1985, none of the proposed projects for hydroelectricity production, agriculture development, irrigation works, construction of a railway, and the development of processing plants for agriculture and forest products had been undertaken.

Today there is a tropical dry forest restoration campaign in the Guanacaste Conservation Area located in the far northwest corner of the Province. It is an ongoing effort to connect islands of the habitat in a vast region of pastureland by restoring a native dry forest and to involve the local population in preserving their part of the country. This work offers vital insights into understanding the archaeological record in the area. As environmental archaeologist Dena F. Dincaze (2000: 499-500) argues, “the study of human impacts on environments is a more productive research orientation at local scales and for archaeological techniques than is the study of environmental impacts on human communities.”

The first statistics tracking migration patterns were compiled in 1950; at the time the peripheries of Guanacaste recorded net immigration. The central portion of the province, where settlements are older, registered net emigration. Cattle ranching, still extensive, offered few opportunities for rural employment. It was the first since the eighteenth century that the population living in peripheral regions had declined (Hall 1985:108). Writing in 1958 cultural geographer Philip Wagner estimated the population of native Nicoyans to be 50,000. The Nicoya Peninsula began to change with the influx of immigrants known as “cartagos”. Corrugated iron and aluminum replaced many of the characteristic thatch roofs and barbed wire fences replaced traditional fences of thorny succulent plants, farm equipment became increasingly visible as well. In the mid fifties the most frequented road in the peninsula ran from Philadelphia in the north through Santa Cruz, Santa Barbara, Nicoya, and La Mansion, to Puerto Jesus (Wagner 1958: 208). Santa Cruz and Philadelphia were said to have several non-farm families, not nearly as many as the town of Nicoya, but the remaining settlements along the road were simple aggregates of houses whose occupants worked the fields. A rectangular grid pattern of one or more central plazas was the typical layout for all settlements in 1950. The following is how Wagner (1958: 208) described the local settlement pattern:

Many villages have a grid of dirt streets and several blocks of houses, from four to ten to a block, each with its fenced dooryard, a garden or poultry yard, and sheds and grain bins, shaded by tall trees. Near the plaza are the choicest locations with plank-walled and sometimes tile-roofed houses and large gardens or dooryards. The occupants of these plank houses are usually the families who own good farmland. Toward the edges of the village the houses are simpler, with pole walls and thatch, and little space around them. The poorest, least educated, and most “Indian” families live on the outskirts of the village where the rectangular street pattern gives way to winding paths and roads which often follow the banks of streams. The poorest houses perch on the stream bank. . . .

Santa Cruz is approximately as large as Nicoya and has many frame houses, many commercial establishments, and a lively trade. There is electricity but no running water in Santa Cruz and also in Filadelfia.

He found the homes to be single family dwellings of one story generally of frame construction with local materials of poles and planks. The construction method begins with poles placed in pits sunk in the ground. The roof is then made with poles resting on crossbeams and secured to a ridgepole with lianas, this supports palm leaves or grass, then sheets of broad leaves or metal are used to finish the roof. The walls are made of vertical rows of poles or canes set in a trench and placed an inch apart for ventilation. Walls may be covered with mud, palm leaves, bark, or be reinforced with planks. Windows are often a simple opening without glass, with boards that are brought down at night to close the space (Wagner 1958:233) According to Wagner (1958:233) “Adobe brick construction is altogether absent in Nicoya, except for a few old buildings of the colonial or early republican period.” Many of these homes appear to be extant or new ones are constructed in a similar fashion. But today, in the year 2002, housing is routinely made of cement blocks stacked vertically one upon the other with two or more rebar posts through a center hole.

R. Paul Shaw (1976) tested the theory that “rural-urban migrants behave in an ‘economically rational’ way or as ‘want satisfiers’ in their pursuit of higher urban wages, better employment opportunities, and greater amenities.” He looked at empirical results in Latin American countries with statistics from 1950 through 1964. In Costa Rica, the highest rate of out migration was in Guanacaste province and Limon with 30-40 percent of their farms in minifundios (a farm holding of less than 7 hectares). Furthermore, the minifundios in these areas had the least use of fertilizers or irrigation methods (Shaw

1976:95-96). According to Shaw this implied that these regions lacked the “means for improving income-earning possibilities” (1976:96). During the time of this study, Guanacaste’s rural-urban salary differential was the highest in the country, the urban-rural unemployment differential the lowest, the literacy rate for the rural sectors among the highest, it had greater electrification to urban homes, more water facilities in homes, and more housing space (Shaw 1976:96).

Guanacaste seems to have proven that it is not the provincial system of land tenure combined with increased population growth that influences, to a degree, rural-urban migration patterns. This is also supported by the close correlation between population and arable land. This observation is not surprising as latifundios (farm holding larger than 700 hectares) were not, at the time, dominating the organization of agricultural land use. The distribution of land to labor resources is more equitable in Costa Rica than in other Latin American countries in this empirical study, namely Chile, Peru, and Columbia (Shaw 1976:100). The cross-country analysis of the structure of agriculture indicates that Costa Rica has the lowest rural out migration and the largest average size for minifundios by at least a factor of two. Moreover, latifundios do not generally employ many laborers given their scale of operations and the total landless employee class. In the middle of the twentieth century, Shaw found that middle-sized farms holding 59 percent of the land was available for roughly 68 percent of the Costa Rica’s landless rural labor force.

The most contemporary and thorough investigation into this subject available, pertinent to Guanacaste, appears to be Marc Edelman’s (1992) *The Logic of the Latifundio – The Large Estates of Northwestern Costa Rica Since the Late Nineteenth Century*. It is necessary to consider the historical antecedents of land use to understand migration patterns and development plans for the later part of the twentieth century. Edelman describes Guanacaste, a century ago, as being an “underpopulated, forested frontier zone with few roads”. Essentially it was the hinterlands where imported cattle from Nicaragua grazed to full stature before being brought to the central highlands. Once agrarian capitalism and world market forces were allowed a presence cattle began to be exported. But the typical power relations were absent, as the idea of wage labor was quickly accepted and manipulated by native squatters and hacienda laborers. The

remarkable power of the peasant population to control wage advances, the access to long-term land occupations on latifundios, and to limit the development of larger landholdings did not wane until 1930 (Edelman 1992: 3-4). Further discrepancies in the typical capitalistic system were evident in the lack of intensification in productivity and technology, instead timber and semi-feral cattle were predominately exploited. After 1950 the hegemony of this variety of latifundio landlords grew considerably as part of a modern economy, and with their acceptance of technological developments and changes in production methods. But, at the same time the estates were underutilized and stagnant.

The characteristic of continuing underinvestment of large-scale land-holdings occurring in Latin America has been the subject of inquiry by economists (Edelman 1992:8-11 cites Hunt 1975; de Janvry 1981); economic anthropologists (Schneider 1974; Schultz 1964); and social anthropologists (Edelman 1992:6-9 cites Wolf and Mintz 1957; Elman Service 1955; Marvin Harris 1964; Duncan and Rutledge 1977; Grindle 1986; and Sequiera 1985) since 1950s. Edelman's historical sensitivity, necessary for proper analysis, makes his research astutely significant. Prior studies have had the tendency of being economically deterministic or geographically deterministic, the latter being a matter of circumscribing haciendas to the highlands and plantations to the lowlands. Edelman (1992:5) argues that "stagnation and the persistence of seemingly traditional haciendas are in large part the result of a conjunction of international market conditions and of regional and national political forces that permitted an influential landlord class to maintain itself in power and to shape policies in its favor."

Landowner behavior, large-estate social relations, and concomitant development policies have been and are today influenced by culture, demographics, politics, economy, and historical antecedents. Although new technology or an increase in a commodity's market price can raise profits and assist hacendados in expanding their holdings, many estates were acquired without significant capital outlay and in some distant past, which complicates the accurate measure of profits. Consequently, it is Edelman's (1992: 10-11) contention that "the character and timing of the appropriation of the soil become critical variables in explaining their present economic behavior (and more generally, their vision of possible productive alternatives)." Many estates that remain untransformed into

intensively cultivated plantations characterize Guanacaste province, which points to outside forces beyond purely economic considerations.

Pre-Columbian Occupation of the Land

Geographer Carolyn Hall wrote, in 1985, that stone projectile points found in Guanacaste are among the earliest evidence of human occupation (Hall 1985:33). She cites the work of Bosch-Gimpera (1959); Snarskis (1976, 1977, 1981); and Swauger and Mayer-Oakes (1952), which discovered North American style fluted Clovis points, and South American style “fishtail points” that date from 12,000-7,000 BC. On the Pacific watershed remains dating to 300 BC have been discovered in limestone caves northeast of Nicoya in Barra Honda National Park (Baker 2001:561). The prehistoric archaeology of the northwestern Costa Rica is commonly considered to be part of the Intermediate Area, the Mesoamerican Frontier, the Southeast Maya Periphery, or Lower Central America that makes up the area between Guatemala and Columbia (Sanchez 1996:124). The Formative period, with little or no domestication of animals and simple cultivation techniques, continued until the arrival of Spanish colonists. Hall (1985:33) explains that “Communally occupied lands around villages and hamlets were cleared and cultivated with stone and wooden tools.” Communities were located next to rivers and along the coast. Chiefly societies replaced a less ranked social organization, but are believed to never have developed into state-level societies. The earliest evidence of permanent settlement is a circular oven with a radiocarbon date of 800 BC found near Culebra (Hall 1985:35 cites Snarskis 1981). As John W. Hoopes argues “utilization of both near- shore and offshore coastal resources are likely to have made a critical contribution to in situ population growth.” Furthermore, his research done in the southern coast of Costa Rica suggests that sites such as Culebra could have drawn a variety of communities into reciprocal relationships based on complementing resource needs. Hoopes hypothesized that “the maintenance of this system is an important impetus to the emergence of social complexity in southern Costa Rica.”

There was a rise in population in the Nicoya Peninsula between 800 and 1200 AD, the result of a natural increase in the population as well as from immigration of two

groups of Mexican Indians, the Chorotega and the Nicarao. This is known as the Mid-Polychrome period. As Hall explains it, “The large number of sites discovered in the Tempisque Valley and along the coast suggests that this period may have seen the maximum pre-Columbian population in Nicoya” (Hall 1985:37). The Nicoya Peninsula of Guanacaste was part of a larger cultural area that extended into Nicaragua. This region experienced the Early Polychrome period from about 300 to 800 AD. Costa Rica’s population first increased along the Atlantic watershed somewhere around 300 – 500 AD (Sanchez 1996:125). Maise, bean, and cacao cultivation was predominate with the pre-Columbian people in this area, elsewhere the indigenous groups would depend on tubers as their food staple. The later productive system was not able to support neither as large nor as complex a population as the former.

The Nicoya Polychrome Tradition has the predominate distinction of having produced fully three-dimensional large-scale stone sculptures, it was not part of the Maya tradition to sculpt in the round. The florescence of polychrome vessels may be limited to domestic rather than ritual sites, suggesting an adaptation to local needs. The period between 800 and 1200 AD is known as the Mid-Polychrome period. The Nicarao introduced the cultivation of cocoa, which became an exchange item. The Mid-Polychrome sites have an abundance of shell middens, one of which comes from a mollusk *Murex* prized for dyeing cotton textiles purple. According to Hall (1985:37) “this mollusk was an important item of trade in a commercial network linking Nicoya with a wide area stretching from the highlands of Guatemala in the north to the Disquis region in the south.” The Late Polychrome period, according to Hall began around 1200 AD, Sanchez suggests the later date of 1350, both agree that the period came to a close around 1500 AD. The period was marked by a redistribution of the population from inland to coastal locations. This is especially evident in the Sapoa Valley, close to the contemporary border of Nicaragua, where there are an extensive number of sites and an increase in consumption of wild nuts and shellfish. This may indicate a growing need to exploit fish and shellfish (Hall 1985: 37 cites Baudez 1967; Baudez and Coe 1962; Lange 1971b, 1976, 1977). It is important to note that increase attention is being paid to documenting “how certain animals can accumulate and deposit marine or estuarian faunal remains to archaeological sites” (Moss and Erlandson 2002:367; see also Fitch 1969:63,

1972:105). The end of the Polychrome Periods came at the hands of the Spanish through conquest and disease, which decimated the Native American cultures.

The conquistadores were impressed with the hoe cultivation of maize, squash, and beans practiced by the Chorotega and Nicarao. There is no question that native grasses existed in the post-Conquest savannas, however, there is debate as to whether the pre-contact period had only small areas of “natural” savanna (Boucher et al. 1983: 72) or large areas of grassland existed (Edelman 1992: 73), evidence appears to suggest the later. According to archaeologists Kirchoff (1966), the Meso-American sphere of seed agriculture was thought to have extended into Nicoya, which is corroborated with sixteenth century ethnohistorical data. Storage units were used for the grain production. If we consider some explanations for the rise of cultural complexity in native California, we find it likely that burning was employed for proto-agricultural and agricultural reasons. Some researchers (See Blackburn and Anderson et al 1993; Bicknell et al 1993) argue that burning grasslands and shrublands was the most significant environmental manipulation undertaken by the Indian population. Such activity done routinely would stimulate the growth of acorns, pinenuts, agave, mesquite, and wild tobacco. Lowell Bean and Harry Lawton (1993: 47) hypothesize, “that the plant succession was probably of less interest to California Indians than the first stage in that succession—the native grasses.” As one of their (Bean and Lawton 1993: 51) footnote’s suggest, “burning and harvesting practices of California Indians may have resulted in semi-domesticated grasses less able to resist the invasion into California of wild European species.” Moreover, they (Bean and Lawton 1993: 54) argue, “California stands out as perhaps exemplary of many hunting and gathering regions which were later occupied or transformed by agricultural systems.” Henry T. Lewis is cited by many researchers of this subject, he contends (1993: 59 & 64) that fire is crucial to the ecology of nature and the maintenance of its homeostasis. When fire is intentionally set, as done by the California Indians, it reduces brush cover to expose beneficial grasses, lessens the damage wrought by wildfire, increases plant and animal productivity, and aids in the flow of spring water. Furthermore, Lewis (1993: 111) corroborates the argument saying, “It is undoubtedly the case that when populations declined and the Indians finally disappeared that fuel conditions rapidly increased and the increases and invasions of less fire tolerant species

occurred.” Today Ticos commonly use fire to clear fields as they did in the past and as we presume the Indians of Guanacaste did as well.

Pre contact Chorotega settled the western region of the Nicoya Peninsula from the Bay of Fonseca to the southern end, excluding the area around Leon and the western edge of Lake Nicaragua. Manufactured goods for sale included textiles and pottery, which could be sold at the local market. Large villages had markets surrounding a plaza, as well as temples and political meetinghouses. The social structure was much like the feudal system with stratified classes of nobles who received tribute, the commoner who paid the tribute, and slaves (Hall 1985:38 cites Chapman 1974; Ferrero 1975, 111-123). The Chorotega territory was subdivided into four groups: the Mangue to the north of the Plain of Leon, the Dirian who occupied this area to its south, Nicoyan on the peninsula, and the Orotinan on the opposite coast. Linguistic association with the Chorotega has been identified as far north as Chiapas. A chief or “Cacique” by the name of “Nambi” ruled over the Chorotegeans. According to archaeologist Jorge A. Lines (1964:3) this population is thought to be of an “Otomi-Tlapanec ascendancy”. Lines also claims that their ceramic remains show close affiliation with the Mayan, however, Sanchez states that “Recent analysis suggests that polychrome ceramics developed out of a long indigenous bichrome tradition, rather than as the result of Maya influence” (1996:125). The polychrome ceramic artifacts are perhaps the most studied of all the Chorotegan objects. Modern day descendents continue traditional pottery styles in the small village of Guaitil, 12 kilometers east of Santa Cruz, but the red clay is scarce. Early Chorotegans also did basketry, stonework, woodworking, and weaving with a simple loom (Wagner 1958:205).

Chorotega stonework is renown for its excellence. Their tripodal mealing stones (metates) are considered, by Lines, to be “superior to stones similarly used in the rest of the American continent” (1964: 19). As for their amulets (chalchihuites) carved out of semi-precious stone, he claims them to be “some of the noblest works of art of the Chorotegas” (1964: 21). The semi-precious stonework comes from two different non-indigenous sources of blue-green jade and jadeite, another artifact demonstrative of an interactive zone with the north, according to a recent discovery of a matching jade source in the vicinity of Antigua, Guatemala (*The Press Democrat* June 6, 2002 cites Russell

Seitz, Karl Taube, and Jeremy Sabloff; see also the Director of Mining in Guatemala Phillip Juarez). The Olmecs, who lived in Mexico from 1000 to 400 BC valued this stone. The Chorotega also sculpted mace-heads out of this material with equally impressive carvings of intricate design. About this mineral archaeologist J. Alden Mason (1945:200) cites Hartman (1907:85): “On the whole mainland of Costa Rica objects of jade are very rare. In all my excavations on the highlands I only came across a few small beads of this mineral. But some fine specimens of jade amulets have been found sporadically in graves on the slopes of Irazu, and even on the Atlantic coast at Mercedes, and near two other places. All these finds however, have been of Nicoyan origin.”

The Nicarao occupied the area to the west of Lake Nicaragua, and spoke Nahuatl a language stock identical to that spoken by the Aztecs (Joyce 1971:7). There were Nicarao settlements in Bagaces, Nicoya, and in the Telorio Valley. According to Joyce, the Nicarao claim to have emigrated from Ticomega Emaguatega. Lines (1964:2) describes a small settlement around Bagaces to have been occupied by “southeastward bound Aztec migrations.” He suggests that these settlers were “tax collectors for the Mexican Empire of Matecuhzoma the Second.” The Nicarao are said to have brought with them, sometime in the eleventh century, “the typical Mexican calendar and religion, together with the practice of human sacrifice by tearing out the heart of the victim” (Joyce: 1971:8). There are islands in Lake Nicaragua with archaeological evidence to suggest that they were occupied first by the Chorotega and later the Nicarao.

The Indigenous groups from Nicoya-Guanacaste and Nicaragua were nearly completely eliminated within the first 30 years of Spanish colonization in the 1520s. According to Marc Edelman (1992: 38) this occurred because of the large-scale shipment of Indian slaves from all of Spanish America “to aid in the conquest of Peru and in the portage of Peru-bound cargo across the Isthmus of Panama . . . Nicoya-Nicaragua was the most devastated region.” In 1549 slavery was outlawed, but by then there was only one Indian pueblo and a tiny number of scattered settlements. Most of the Spanish soon retreated to more exploitable areas be it the mountains of Costa Rica, or Granada to the north in Nicaragua, or to Peru or Panama to the south. During the 1600s central Costa Rica grew only marginally as the mineral deposits desired by the Spanish were not to be found, at the same time the Nicoya-Guanacaste region was mostly empty space. At the

one pueblo in Nicoya, the Indians became subjects of a tribute system that included floggings for one hundred years before they revolted in the years between 1721-1753. The Spanish that remained took up cattle raising, as the extractive undertaking took place the cattle would feed on the Indians' crops, this only exacerbated the decline of the Indian population. The Spanish exploited Indian and African slave labor to work on the cattle ranches and for a short but successful time indigo plantations.

Colonization and the Early Independent Period

There were three primary reasons why the Spanish did not choose to inhabit the Northwest region of Costa Rica during the colonial period. Guanacaste was too dry an environment, it lacked a potential labor force due to the decimation of the Indians, and the region was remote from the center of political power in the interior. For much of this time the Nicoya Peninsula and areas to the north were politically separate and not administered by Costa Rica or Nicaragua. Until sometime around 1620 the few Indians that remained were part of an *encomienda* system of labor, afterwards there came to be a different obligatory tribute system and legal mandate of land ownership without Indians. As Edelman (1992: 41-42) explains it was a "Castilian tradition that pastures and watering holes were to be held in common". Similarly town councils made grants of grazing rights known as *sitios*, (open range) which turned into haciendas when *de facto* land occupations coupled with the payment of fees were accepted by the Crown. Facsimiles of both were present into the early twentieth century.

According to Edelman (1992:42-45) Franciscan priests, in the early colonial period, established the system of saints' cults or *confradias* around the *pueblo de indios*. Land and cattle herds would be acquired "in order to use the profits to maintain churches and to provision festivals honoring their patrons." These land holdings could be quite large, for example, the hacienda Jesus of Nazareth, measured in 1928, was found to be 3,204 hectares. Local residents would use *confradias* to cultivate cotton, cacao, plantains, and maize. Edelman describes the area around the present location of the American

School outside Brasilito as being part of this type of land use. “Much of the area south of Bahia de la Culebra and Sardinal, north of Tempate and Belen, and west of the Tempisque appears to have belonged to an entity termed ‘the Community of the Indians of Nicoya’ and to the Cofradia of San Blas and was essentially open, unappropriated land available to local peasants” (Edelman footnotes). This type of land appropriation coincided with the transmutation of sitio grazing rights into hacienda tenure rights. This mix of land use resulted in a “significant smallholding sector and another dominated by latifundios.”

The hacienda tenure pattern became important in the eighteenth century after Nicaragua established cattle herds on the land. In the middle part of the century local officials began to receive 2% of the value of titled property, thus the incentive to stake out boundaries was clearly established. In this region natural boundaries of creeks and small hills were employed more than the stone markers used elsewhere when establishing a claim. This resulted in a lack of clear identification of property lines, inciting many more conflicts than occurred in other areas. By the end of the eighteenth century, most of the cattle, some 18,000 out of a total 20,800 head, roamed the area around Bagaces on land with 17 absentee owners (Edelman cites Gudmundson 1978b: 88). These haciendas saw the early insistence of wage labor, coins were rare and payment was mostly with clothing or cacao beans, but in 1794 mule drivers from Bagaces demanded twenty silver pesos (Edelman 1992: 94 cites MacLeod 1973: 340; Creedman 1977: 24). Males were the essential peon laborers and skilled *sabaneros* working the latifundios, but there were female cooks and housekeepers employed as well. Until 1824 Guanacaste was part of Nicaragua. At the time, it was an area sparsely settled with perhaps only 500 occupants, but in all probability it was extensively deforested for cattle and lumber enterprises.

With the advent of coffee production in the first decades of the nineteenth century Costa Rica became a leading exporter for the commodity. L. D. Gomez and J. M. Savage (1983: 2-3) point to the 1843 landing of an English merchant’s vessel, the *Monarch*, as the beginning of the coffee industry in Costa Rica. The entire country’s shipment left port at Puntarenas. The ship docked at the port of Caldera, just across from the Gulf of Nicoya and the Nicoya Peninsula in southern Guanacaste. The *Monarch* would return to England with a hull full of coffee and then come back to Costa Rica with people and such goods

as cotton fabric. In their words, “The cash flow turned a dilapidated region into a prosperous one, changing many things as the criollos became able to barter for cultural goods as well.” Coffee was the link of diplomacy between Costa Rica and England and France. Such activity triggered the growth of agriculture, migration patterns, and the opening of roads and railways. Examination of this history of immigration associated with the growing coffee fleet reveals some similarities to the American West, as do many other aspects of Guanacaste history. However, for the time being the scope of this paper does not allow for such comparative explorations.

The small Bay of Salinas on the pacific coast of Guanacaste, with its many commercial facilities attracted attention as an ideal location for the terminus of the proposed inter-oceanic canal on the Pacific. The principal product for export, up to the year 1829, was Brazil wood. But, this changed with the introduction of coffee, which transformed Costa Rica from the poorest to the richest country in Central America (Anonymous 1858:454). Agriculture was primarily for subsistence farming. The port of Punta Arenas, in the Gulf of Nicoya, was established in 1847, and remained the only “authorized” port in Costa Rica at least through the 1850s. It became the commercial center following the closing of the port of Caldera, which was abandoned for health reasons. The 75 mile road from Punta Arenas to the capital of San Jose, was the only respectable road suitable for carts. A tram-road eight miles long was built from the port to the foothills for \$70,000 (Anonymous 1858:460). At this time, rich mines of gold were described as existing in the districts bordering on New Granada; some of the information was said to have come from the Indian mines of Tisingal. Europeans operated gold mines in the mountains of Aguacate, and at a point called Cuesta de Jocote (Anonymous 1858:457). Indians living along the Nicoya Pensinsula engaged in pearl-fishing, the shell was an item of export. England, the United States, New Granada and Costa Rica had the most vessels coming into the port in the years between 1850 and 1855. The exports of Costa Rica for 1852 are given below (Anonymous 1858:471):

67,776 quintals of coffee, at an average value of \$9 . . .	\$609,984
5,000 quintals of sugar, at \$4	\$20,000
\$5,000 hides, at \$1.25	6,250
800 pounds of tortoise shell, at \$4	3,200

200 quintals of sarsaparilla, at \$16	3,200
Provisions exported to various parts	10,000
	<hr/>
Total of exports	\$652,634

The route between the cantons of Nicoya and Filadelfia was according to Edelman (1992:59) “the traditional access of the peasantry to cofradia lands, as well as the greater agricultural potential of the alluvial soils.” Santa Cruz is located midway along this route, which was during colonial times and thereafter a densely settled corridor with relatively less concentration of landholdings. The canton of Santa Cruz was established December 7, 1848. Liberal reforms in the third and fourth decade of the nineteenth century sought to sell church and cofradia properties, this outraged locals everywhere who had accessed these lands. In Santa Cruz the resistance to the takeover was successful in blocking the transfer for thirty years. Some areas did not see the lands change hands until the 1890’s. Filadelfia residents fought to have the Hacienda de Nuestro Ano donated as common property and finally were victorious in 1920. At the time, there was a legislative measure in effect (1885 Fiscal Code and an 1888 Civil Code), which gave squatters the right to remain on property they had occupied with the belief that it was state owned, given the private owners did not object within three months (Edelman 1992:61).

Meanwhile, the hacendados actively pursued land monopolization under two legal measures that allowed acres to be added to their claim through “rectification of measurements” and by gaining title to unclaimed public lands. Most of the cattle raising occurred in the zone between Canas and Liberia, which was owned by descendents of colonial Nicaraguan elite. These families owned well over 10,000 hectares each, while members of five other Nicaraguan families owned claims less than 10,000 hectares each. Nicaraguan’s owned all the private lands in this paper’s focused study area. Specifically, Alfonso Salazar had title to all the properties around Santa Cruz, Tamarindo, Filadelfia, and Nicoya, with the exception of lands around Bagaces, which was owned by the North American, George Wilson.

An anonymous primary text from 1858 entitled *The States of Central America* (New York) based on “Mr. Squier’s ‘Notes on Central America, etc.,’” published in 1855, elaborated upon his compilation of geographical, political, and general data of Central America. The original work by Squier was considered authoritative and translated for European audiences. Illustrating the region’s resources, commerce, and infrastructure for inter-oceanic communication was a primary concern. At the time Costa Rica’s population was the smallest in all of Central America, this was obvious despite the census data, which was argued to be merely an approximation. Indians and “the ignorant masses” were said to avoid participation in the process because they feared “military conscription or taxation”. The rough estimate of the population of Costa Rica in 1850 was 100,174, “including 5000 savages, in the proportion of 90,000 whites and Ladinos to 10,000 Indians” (Anonymous 1858:49). The birth to death ratio was 47 to 17, with 4767 births and 1786 deaths. Guanacaste Province’s total population was listed in the census as 9,112. Nicaragua’s 1846 census recorded a total population, exclusive of the Guanacaste Province, of 257,000 (Anonymous 1858:46-50). The Guanacaste census of 1864 made note of the sex ratios, which recorded more women in the smallholding cantons of Santa Cruz and Nicoya, while the larger landholding areas around Bagaces and Liberia had a male-biased sex ratio (Edelman 1992: 101). Perhaps this differential speaks to the eventual occurrence in the early twentieth century of Santa Cruz and Nicoya as the primary center for dairy operations, for which the labor needs could most likely be met by employing women.

The southern boundary of Costa Rica was settled by treaty with the Republic of New Granada on Jun 11, 1856. During this time the northern boundary was in dispute with Nicaragua. The claim of Costa Rica was based upon an act of the Federal Congress of Central America, dated December 9, 1826, which stated that until the boundaries are fixed, the “Department of Nicoya [Guanacaste or Liberia] shall be separated from Nicaragua and attached to Costa Rica” (Anonymous 1858:446). The region of Guanacaste was then called Liberia, and had the central towns of Guanacaste, Bagaces, Santa Cruz, and Nicoya. The proportion of militia in Guanacaste numbered 800. The author cites *Letters from Costa Rica* by a British Consul in 1854 where jealousy between the provinces was said to exist, except in the case of Guanacaste because it was “so far

removed from the centre that it seems to be a supernumerary member, and has little to say in home politics.”

Independent sovereignty of the nation came in 1844 and was then ruled under the dictatorship of Don Braulio Carillo. After his death in 1845, the state was proclaimed an independent and sovereign republic. A president, elected every six years, and a Congress of twelve deputies, half elected every six years and half every three years, comprised the government. In 1851, there were in existence 79 primary schools, and a university in San Jose. Native-born Don Crisanto Medina made an attempt at colonization after he received a large land grant at the foot of Mirivalles volcano. The lands were on a 2,500-foot terrace half way between Lake Nicaragua and the Gulf of Nicoya. The author explains the inducements colonists received were “ten acres of land to each family, a temporary dwelling, provisions for six months, and the use of a cow and ox for one year – all for \$80, to be paid in ten years in equal annual installments” (Anonymous 1858:476). In 1852 thirty-seven Germans arrived in this area, but whether they remained or abandoned the site is unknown. The native people did not look favorably on immigration. However, the law allowed foreigners to purchase and retain title to real property given the right of preemption had been acquired. The seller was mandated by law to disclose the sale to his immediate neighbors and giving them the option of taking it at the asking price (Anonymous 1858:478). This could be circumvented by adding something to the purchase price that only the purchaser possessed. A full survey and boundary marks were necessary for application processing as was a description of the land. An annual fee was then established and a four- percent yearly interest accrued.

Between 1883-92 the population of Guanacaste nearly doubled (Edelman 1992: 127). In the 1880s, as Guanacaste helped to supply the needs of the nation and beyond with beef and wood, gold was discovered in the mountain of nearby Tilaran and Abangares. The ore deposits were located in an area of mostly state owned land, this caused a rush of claims for property titles and lead to the establishment of more latifundios. Migrants also came to work as miners, and others came in the hopes of gaining permanent access on open lands. The immigrants were mostly from central Costa Rica or Nicaraguans from the southern area of Rivas who were escaping frequent wars. In the 1890s, coffee exports alone accounted for 91 percent of export earnings for the

nation; much of the labor on the smallholdings was from family members (Larrain 2001:40).

Wealth was accumulating in Guanacaste from beef exportation and also from expansion into dairies and the wood exportation. This activity, especially during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century until the depression of the 1930s, further defined property lines (Edelman 1992:54-55). The region was booming and North American Minor Keith had a contract to build a railroad to the Atlantic. The project was completed by Jamaican and Chinese immigrant labor. Keith was compensated by the national government with 800 acres of land (Edelman 1992: 58), to which he put to use growing bananas for export to Boston via Limon province on the East coast. After the depression of the 1930s banana production, with the assistance of the government, he moved his operation to the pacific coast. Minor Keith was also a large user of barbed wire fencing as he enclosed most of his Guanacaste holdings by the 1920s (Edelman 1992: 81). As early as 1890 Alejandro and Alfonso Salazar had used barbed wire to enclose their hacienda in El Viejo, near the canton of Santa Cruz, while extensively deforesting for wood export. After harvesting the timber, they proceeded to convert a road into pasture and enclose it with barbed wire, which cut off a traditional route accessed by the public on their way to the port town of Ballena on the Tempisque River (Edelman 1992: 81 cites ANCR Gob. 87-1898: 4-7). At the time it was legal to engage in logging on state and private lands for a small fee, but many of the Guanacastecan elite who took part in the enterprise did not bother to secure the obligatory permission, let alone consider the needs of the local population. After 1907 it was permissible to purchase national lands, which sparked a flurry of new efforts in deforestation, dairies were becoming a growing industry. In 1909, 154 out of 192 dairies producing cheese and milk were located in the cantons of Santa Cruz and Nicoya (Edelman 1992: 71). The city of Santa Cruz was chartered on August 31, 1917 (Creedman 1991:250).

Santa Cruz continues to be a vital cultural center for Guanacaste folklore, agriculture, and cattle ranching. Guanacaste Province is where most of Costa Rica's traditional music originates. The history and beliefs of the local population can be understood more clearly when folklore is examined. However, unlike the Mexican folksongs that tell of the difficulties and wrongdoings associated with border crossings or

at the hands of their white bosses, these Guanacaste folksongs are, for the most part, apolitical, rather ethnicity is quite often the subject of a non-derogatory song. The translations of thirty-four traditional Guanacaste songs are made available in the appendix. The songs are from *Antologia de las Musica* by Jorge Luis Acevedo and were translated by Eva Harling (personal communication, 2002). Some of the songs in the collection speak of the tired Indian's cries for freedom, a harvest, or a happy dance with a Negro. Many are songs of lost love, or longing for a beautiful Negro, Chorotega, or brown skinned woman. A few reflect the devotion to the Negro patron saint of Santa Cruz and the associated feastday fiesta. There are a number of songs that sing of love for a horse, or the life and skill of the horseman who breaks bulls and the like, or the farmers from the hacienda. The environment is quite often mentioned, be it celebrating rain or a river, or lamenting the mid-day sun, or telling a tale about cattle or other animals or birds. The spirit of Guanacaste is the subject of one song, and it is described as being born from calves, mom, horses, cows, a wife, a ranch, and the pampa grass (in that order), and the desire for love, dancing, and drinking at a bar. These traditions live on in everyday life.

Discussion and Conclusions

If we are to have visitors to Guanacaste understand how world market forces and the availability of alternative production systems has done little to change the cultural landscape dominated as it is with large, underutilized latifundios, then we must be comprehensive in our historical analysis. The entire story includes historically specific geomorphology, ecology, demographics, social-cultural persistence, agrarian social classes, economics and market forces, and state and international policies and politics. Coexistence of latifundios with smaller landholdings and squatter resistance continues because, as Edelman (1992: 355) explains, tradition and modern enterprises have evolved in complimentary fashion together with economic security within the same haciendas. He argues, because of fiscal policies that benefit latifundios e.g. subsidized credit, and because of the land use risks associated with draught prone areas like Guanacaste along with the persistence of family inherited properties, contemporary extensive land use will continue.

Marc Edelman (1992: 358-360) has done an extraordinary job in analyzing the cultural landscape of Guanacaste and it would be foolhardy for me to not include his summary of history and present conditions. Like the American West during early statehood, Guanacaste was removed from the center of power and was allowed to consolidate huge land holdings. It was isolated from any significant infrastructure, it was ecologically challenging and large spaces were necessary for grazing, and it was subject to resistant measures by the proletariat. The land was acquired at nominal prices by elite endogamy and it appreciated substantially in the wake of extracting profits from low cost feral cattle and timber. Although, these benefits were tempered by the presence of squatters, which was a deterrent and a devaluation in the eyes of potential buyers or landowners wanting to intensify production. The peasant population was strong not only in their successful access to the lands but also to the early appropriation of wage labor, and even the advancement of wages before work was complete. This dynamic weakened some with the advent of enclosures with barbed wire, new markets for wood, improved cattle breeds, and improvements with infrastructure. Protectionist and credit policies and agrarian reforms helped some smaller landholding cattle breeders come closer to leveling the playing field of land ownership, power politics, and wealth accumulation. Large parcels of land were excluded from purchase by the private sector as the state used them for agroindustries, irrigation projects, and national parks and conservation areas; beyond this other parcels were subject to speculation or military bases by the Somozas and United States involvement. Following an economic collapse in the 1980s the cattle sector remained in crisis and unable to pull out of debt or convert to more profitable plantations. In conclusion Edelman makes the important point that is quite pertinent to this papers focus: "It is precisely under these circumstances, when the social welfare apparatus can no longer expand at a pace that meets people's minimal necessities, that the issues of creating rural employment, elevating production, and bringing about more equitable distributions of income and wealth take on pressing urgency."

An authentic narrative for Guanacaste is obviously complex and diverse and must represent, as Shackel (2002: 157-164) suggests, all classes and time periods. It is important that it be intelligent but easily comprehensible to the public. Adrian Praetzellis (2002: 51-58) argues that interpretations are essential components of archaeology, which

ought to have themes designed by the descendent community, and where archaeologists act merely as consultants on technical matters. Praetzellis urges all archaeological consultants to routinely outline public involvement in any memoranda of agreement and treatment plan, and to include it as a line item in any budget. Key to the interests of developers in Costa Rica are coastal resources, therefore, underwater archaeology is a crucial area for the preservation forces. Submerged sites are not, as Lynn Harris (2002:60) argues, only for historical research, with proper management they can be preserved for public recreation, heritage tourism, and local watersport businesses.

Part of the data is pluralistic storytelling that merges science and humanism to tell the past, narration that links, as Roger G. Kennedy (2002: xiv) puts it, one place with another. Barbara Little (2002: 3) explains that this approach to archaeology, with the involvement of the public, can be a useful means of support for “education, community cohesion, entertainment, and economic development.” It becomes a vibrant mechanism in which the modern world becomes more easily understood and the future more likely to predict. What emerges is a sense of a shared human heritage fueled by a spirit driven by basic behavioral needs. Little (2002:4) quotes author Jean Auel (1991) in elaborating the shared qualities of compassion, curiosity, art, and invention. It would behoove archaeologists to further elaborate the qualities by remembering the late anthropologist Ashley Montagu’s work *Growing Young* in which he identifies 27 behavior needs:

- | | |
|--------------------|--------------------------------|
| 1. Love | 15. Flexibility |
| 2. Friendship | 16. Experimental-Mindedness |
| 3. Sensitivity | 17. Explorativeness |
| 4. Think Soundly | 18. Resiliency |
| 5. To Know | 19. Enthusiasm |
| 6. To Learn | 20. Sense of Humor |
| 7. Work | 21. Joyfulness |
| 8. Organization | 22. Laughter and Tears |
| 9. Curiosity | 23. Optimism |
| 10. Wonder | 24. Honesty and Trust |
| 11. Playfulness | 25. Compassionate Intelligence |
| 12. Imagination | 26. Song |
| 13. Creativity | 27. Dance |
| 14. Openmindedness | |

There is no denying archaeology is a political tool, which is all the more reason to bear in mind Montagu’s scientific contributions to anthropology, which always had at its core a humanistic approach. It is necessary, then, that archaeology is politically relevant,

through public art, for example, as Terry Goddard (2002: 208) recommends, or with the aid of interpretive specialists familiar with the archaeological process (professional writers, video producers, and educators). These are viable expressions where we can show a genuine confluence of the two major paradigms. Barbara Little (2002: 16) reminds us that we have vital allies in this effort, as she says: “Planners and citizens find that archaeology can contribute to a sustainable community where cultural heritage is valued and nurtured.”

Appendix

Translations of traditional Guanacaste songs taken from *Antología de las Música* by Jorge Luis Acevedo and translated by Eva Harling (personal communication, 2002).

Dictionary of common terms followed by a series of individual songs:

el zapote - fruit of Costa Rica

la negra, la negrita - black woman (of Latin-America)

el huerto - garden with vegetables

la morena, la morenita - brown woman (of Latin-America)

Indio - Red Indian

el confín - end, border (here: horizon)

el ambiente - environment (here: atmosphere)

El Negro/ El Negrito (de Esquipulas) - a saint (patron of Santa Cruz)

es señor - mister (here: god)

la Bajureña/ bajurencita - girl/ woman from the low plain

jaragual - jaragua is a mountain, jaragual is whole region around it

guacalitos - dishes, made of the fruits of a tree (in german: Kalebasse, in spanish: guacal)

El Negro de Arado - a saint

la coyunda - special belt of the cowboys of Guanacaste

callejera - person who hangs around in the streets, also: streetsong/ streetdance

parrandear - hanging around in bars

(parrandera = bar songs/ songs of the drunk people)

Individual songs:

1. Indio Indio

Indio, lloras en silencio Indio, you cry in silence,

lágrimas de cuchillo, tears of knife (sense? maybe: tears who cut like a knife?)

Indio, como tu amuleto de tu pecho Indio, like your charm at your breast,

libre debes ser. you shall be free.

2. Retahilas Verses (or something similar)

De tanto que te querría As much as I wanted you,

no hallaba donde ponerte I did not find where to put you.

te puse tras de la puerta I put you behind the door

y llegó una chancha a morderte. and there came a pig to bite you.

El novillo cimarrón The new ...

con solo el viento orejea with only the wind listening

asi le pasa a mi negra this happens to my negra

cuando otro la coquetea. when another one flirts with her.

En el patio de mi casa In the court of my house

hay un palo de romero there's a rosemary tree

para el hombre sin vergüenza that the man without shame

que enamore sin dinero. can fall in love without any money.

San Pedro tenía una novia San Pedro had a girlfriend,

San Pablo se la quitó San Pablo stole her,

si los santos quitan novia when the saints are stealing girlfriends,

porqué no la quito yo. why don't I do so.

Una cosa si te digo One thing I tell you

que no te hagas de ilusiones that you don't have any illusions

mi mamá no quiere yernos my mom doesn't like sons-in-law
 que anden flojos de calzones. ...
 No se moleste en venir ...
 donde no le han conviado ...
 cuando me acuesto a dormir when I go to sleep,
 tengo mi honor enllavao (enllavado). I have my honor locked up.

3. Campesino Farmer

Por el camino va el campesino Along the road walks the farmer,
 tuyo es el trillo, tuyo es el sudor yours is the flail, yours is the sweat
 allá en la pampa el campesino. there in the pampa, the farmer.
 Con su cuchillo en mano jicara al cinto With his knife in hand, cup at the belt
 tienes sed de justicia y de amor you are thirsty for justice and love
 siempre tiene un camino, el del patrón. you always have a way, the one of the patron.
 Va por el campo cantando con llanto con fe y con amor Walks through the fields, singing with tears, with
 faith and with love

4. Canto Indio Song of the Indios

Indio, dónde está tu amuleto, Indio, where is your charm,
 dónde está tu ocarina a..., where is your ...
 Sibú es mi dios, Indio, dios, Sibú es mi dios. Sibú is my god, Indio, god, Sibú is my god.
 Tu debes ser la semilla de tu ser, Indio You shall be the semen of your being, Indio.

5. Indio enamorado Indio in love

Aytimin, Di Quinda qua. (without translation, latin?)
 De Jesús, Mari, José, San Bartolo, Maca seño, San Rafé. Of Jesus, Maria, Josef,

Eso tu findo (lindo?) zoquito. ...

Tu (tus) labito(s) son rosao (rosados) Your lips are pink

lo parece boca la mico seems to be a mouth of a little monkey

con mi zapote colorao (colorado) with my coloured zapote

Eso tu cinturita. This your waist,

Lo (los) corpito(s) son bonito(s) The bodies are beautiful,

lo parece mi calabazo seems to be my gaol

con su coyunda amarrao (amarrado). with your belt tight up.

6. Arrullo Lullaby

Arrorró niño lavar tus pañales Sleep, little boy, wash your diapers

que tengo que hacer: What do I have to do:

sentarme a coser. sit down to sew.

La virgen lavaba San José tendía The virgin washed San Jose, prepared the bed,

el niño lloraba, Raquel lo mecía. the little boy was crying, Rachel rocked it,

Señora Santa Ana porque llora el niño, Misses Saint Anna, why cries the little boy,

por una manzana que se le ha perdido. about an apple he lost.

No llores por eso, que aquí tengo dos, Don't cry about this, here I have two,

una para el niño, otra para voz. one for the little boy, another for you.

7. Callejera Callejera

Yo quiero ser sabanero I want to be cowboy

para ver al torito correr (2x), to see the little bull run.

yo quiero ser marimbero I want to be a Marimba player

para hacer a las teclas llorar (2x), to make the keys cry.

quiero ser la bajura quiero ser I want to be the low plain, I want to be

de la pampa y del sol (2x), from the pampa and from the sun,

quiero ser buen pescador I want to be a good fisherman

con mi barca pescar lo mejor (2x). fishing the best with my boat.

Quiero cantar quiero soñar, I want to sing, I want to dream,

con la marimba bailar (2x), dance with my Marimba,

quiero vivir, quiero cantar, I want to live, I want to sing,
 con mi torito soñar (2x). dream with my little bull.

8. Indios Promesanos ... Indios

Promesanos de Esquipulas ...

ya llegó el Negrito de Arado already arrived the Black of Arado

en su nicho de encajes dorados in it's niche of golden lace

Esquipulas viene cansado. Esquipulas comes tired

Vamos a pedirle por nuestra cosecha, Let's request for our harvest

vamos a bailar al negro Esquipulas, let's dance for the Negro Esquipulas,

promesanos, bailad juntos a El este baile de la Redención. ..., dance together for him the dance of deliverance.

Dios bendigamos todos con ternura y con amor We all bless god with tenderness and love

Vivan los celebrantes que viva nuestro señor, long live the celebrating people, long live our lord,

bailan los promesanos con sus bastones dance the ... with their sticks

y guacalitos y sombreros adornados con flores de amapola and guacalitos and hats decorated with
 cornpuppy.

Es su velo secreto de amor. It's his secret veil of love.

Muy alegre bailan los viejos Very happy dance the old ones

frente al santo que es su patrón, in front of the saint who is their patron.

bailan, bailan, con alegría frente al Santo Cristo Esquipulas Dance, dance, with happiness in front
 of the Saint Cristo Esquipulas.

Con donaire bailan esta danza, With grace they dance this dance,

mueven la cintura con ritmo y con gracia. move their waist with rythm and grace.

Promesanos, bailad junto a el este baile de la redención. ... , dance together for him the dance of deliverance.

9. Amor de temporada Love of the season

Morena de mi vida, te vengo a contar mis penas Morena of my life, I come to you to tell you about my
 pain

a recordarte el día en que viste al alma mía. to remind you of the day when you looked at my soul.

En esta amargada vida de angustias y de penas In this bitter life of fear and pain

que dicha solo tengo tu imagen en mi memoria. what a luck that I only have your picture in my mind.

Aquí empieza la historia Here begins the story

allá en las Playas del Coco there at Playas del Coco

en un día de verano que irradia entusiasmo loco in a summer day which radiates crazy enthusiasm

tocaban las guitarras, soñaban las marimbas, guitars were playing, Marimbas sounded,

los botes se mecían asidos a sus amarras. the boats were moving ... at their cables.

En la ondulada playa de un mar azul At the wavy beach of a blue sea

estabas tu cantando cuando te ví you were singing when I saw you

la luna ya salía allá en el confín. the moon already rised, there at the horizon

Estabas tu a mi lado y yo al lado de ti You were at my side and I was at yours

en esa hermosa noche clara de abril in that wonderful clear april night,

la luna por testigo allá en el confín, the moon for witness there at the horizon,

sonó luego el latido de dos corazones, sounded then the beat of two hearts,

en un ardiente beso mi amor te dí. in an ardent kiss I gave you my love.

Feliz pasaba el tiempo, terminó la temporada. Happy (I) passed (the) time, ended the season.

De regreso a mi pueblo noté algo extraño en tu mirada, Back in my town I recognized something

strange in your look/ sight

tenías allá otro novio que era el hombre que amabas, you've had there another boyfriend who was the
man you loved,

a mí no me querías, que triste amor, el de temporada. you did not love me, how sad, my love of

the season.

Cogí luego mi caballo y despues de mi caballo Later I took my horse and besides the horse

solo la luna me acompañaba, only the moon was accompanying me,

morena de mi vida aquí termina la historia, morena of my life, here ends the story

dejando a mi alma herida, tristes recuerdos en mi memoria. leaving my soul hurt, sad memories in my

mind.

10. Aquel Arroyito This Brooklet

Augel arroyito que va presuroso This brooklet which flows hasty
 cruzando mi huerta crossing my bed
 regando mi siembra y dando la vida, pouring my crops and giving life
 le amé cuando chico I loved you when I was a little boy
 como lo amo ahora how much do I love you now,
 pues en el bañaba mi fiel caballito so, in it was bathing my true little horse
 que ya se murió. who died already.
 Arroyito, arroyito, hoy que vuelo a ti otra vez Brooklet, brooklet, today when I fly to you once more,
 quiero verte tan alegre I like to see you as happy
 como el día que me fui, as the day I left
 y ahora en tus aguas quiero dejar el dolor and I want to leave the pain in your waters
 que la vida y los años han dejado en mi ser. which left life and the years in me.
 Yo quiero estar contento I want to be happy,
 como en los días de ayer. as in the days of yesterday.

11. El Conejo The Rabbit

Viene saltando el conejo Comes jumping the rabbit
 ballo en medio jaragual verde. light-grey in the middle of the green jaragual
 Los perros le van sigiendo, the dogs are following him
 salta, y se lo quieren comer. jump, they want to eat you.
 El conejito asustado The small rabbit is scared
 salta muy presuroso en el campo verde, jumps hasty in the green fields
 busca afanoso su nido, looks ambitious for his nest,
 salta, para poder de salvar. jump, for the power for rescue.
 El conejo llegó The rabbit arrived
 con su cuerpo temblando with his body shivering
 y los perros burló he made fun of the dogs

con su astucía y agilidad. with his slyness and agility.

Una vez el descansado Once when he's relaxed

busca a su conejita balla balla looks for his girlfriend, light-grey,

para contarle el gran susto to tell her about this great fright

que al pobre acaban de dar. they just gave to the poor.

12. Fiesta en Santa Cruz Fiesta in Santa Cruz

Santa Cruz la ciudad floreciente Santa Cruz, the blooming city

donde todos sonrien felices where everybody is smiling happily

más la gente ensalsa el ambiente especially the people enflavour the atmosphere

de este pueblo gallardo y gentil. of this stately/ portly and gentle town.

En los días de fiesta de enero During the days of fiesta in january

todo aquello es gran emoción all this is great emotion,

cuando allá se ven los inspirados when you can see the inspired people

zapateando al compás del buen son. stamping to the rythm of the good sound.

La corrida de toros empieza The bullfight starts,

se prepara el jinete a montar the rider prepares himself to get on,

se ven dos baqueteros dispuestos you can see the two toreros ready

a sacarle la suerte al puntal viene. to try their luck at the post.

Viene el barroso con gesto de agredir, Comes the muddy guy with gesture of attack

levantar o matar. get up or kill.

Cuando va a expirar ya la fiesta When the fiesta comes to it's end

y cada uno desfila a su hogar and everybody walks back home

y comentan que alegre fué ésta and talks about how funny was this one

y el otro año vamos a estar and next year we'll be there

y el otro año vamos a estar. and next year we'll be there.

13. La Soncoyeña The Soncoyeña

Soy de soncoyo aunque no lo quieran I am from Soncoyo, even if you don't like it
 lo garantizo aquí donde quiera I guarantee this here wherever you want
 sé que no hay lugar mas bello y hermoso I know there is no place more beautiful and wonderful,
 donde los congos gritan cantos melodiosos. where the black monkeys cry melodious songs.
 Es el jardín y el zapatillo It's the garden and the shoe
 potreros son de pastar ganado foals pasture, cattle ..
 salen puntales buenos al brinquillo
 que siempre hacen los festejos de este pueblo. which always make the fiestas of this town.
 A Santa Cruz ya voy pensando en ti, mi bien, In Santa Cruz I'm already thinking of you, my dear,
 que si te vas de mi, queda ya en mi un vaivén. if you leave me there'll stay an up and down inside of me
 Veintisiete de Abril es pueblo mio Veintisiete de Abril is my town,
 me das tu amor negrita linda en mi bohío. you give me your love beautiful negrita in my ...
 Aquí también hay mujeres bellas Also here are beautiful women
 que hacen sufrir muchos corazones who make a lot of hearts suffer
 y que al vestir parecen donellas when dressed up they seem to be lady's maids
 de las que roban muchos besos y apretones. of those who steal a lot of kisses and hugs.
 Hombres valientes a la sogá abundan Abundant brave men at the rope
 para soguear la mujer trigueña to tie up the brown woman
 que danza así así como zumba who dances like a sweetie
 el ritmo alegre de la danza soncoyena. the funny rhythm of the dance of Soncoyo.

14. Nandayureña Nandayureña

Es Nandayure cantón alegre Nandayure is a funny canton,
 que en Guanacaste ubicado está which is located in Guanacaste
 sangre güetar y de chorotega ... blood of ... (special kind of blood of the chorotega locals)
 sus habitantes la llevan ya. (2x) their habitants already have it inside.
 Nandayureña la jovencita Nandayureña is the young girl
 de este terruño de mi corazón of this my beloved area

que siempre hechices con tus miradas you always charm with your glances
y traigas gente a este cantón. (2x) and bring people to this canton.

15. Caminito de mi huerto Little Path in my garden

Caminito de mi huerto Little path in my garden
con tu sol de medio día with your midday-sun
yo te guardo en los recuerdos I keep you in my memories
yo te guardo en los recuerdos I keep you in my memories
de mis sueños y alegrías. of my dreams and happinesses.
Caminito que te alejas Little path, you go away
alumbrado por auroras lightened by the early morning sun
yo te siento en las tristezas I feel you in my sadnesses
yo te siento en las tristezas I feel you in my sadnesses
que se pierden en las sombras. which loose themselves in the shadows.

Caminito que despiertas Little path, wake up
entre valles y colinas between valleys and hills,
iluminas nuestra senda, light up our way
iluminas nuestras sendas light up our ways
con la luz de tus pupilas. with the light of your pupils.

Caminito de mi huerto Little path of my garden
con tu sol de mediodía with your midday-sun
yo te guardo en los recuerdos I keep you in my memories
de mis sueños y alegrías. of my dreams and happinesses.

16. El negrito de Esquipulas

El negrito de Esquipulas, patrono de Santa Cruz, The Negrito de Esquipulas, patron of Santa Cruz,
hoy, día quince de enero te alaban con amor. Today, fifteenth of january they praise you with love.
Vamos a pedirte todos en una gran oración We'll ask you for everything with a great prayer
por cumplir estas promesas que un día se pidió. to fullfill the promises which we made one day.

En los días catorce de enero Around the fourteenth of January
viene gente de todo lugar come people from everywhere
a la procesión del Santo El Negrito, su patrón. to the procession of Saint El Negrito, their patron.
Vamos a cantarte con gran alegría Let's sing for you with great happiness
por esta promesa que al fin ya cumplí for this promise I finally already fulfilled
con amor y satisfacción with love and satisfaction.
Este día dedicado a ti con honor y satisfacción, This day dedicated to you with honor and satisfaction,
este día dedicado a ti. this day dedicated to you.

17. Los dos jinetes The two riders

Han pasado por Liberia They have passed by Liberia
sumida en su blanco sueño. ...
Prado azul de margaritas Blue meadow of margaritas
que se mueven sus finos pétalos. which move their fine blossoms.
Atraviézan los jinetes la llanura The riders cross the plain
y el silencio entre floridos aromas and the silence between flowered smells
y espinosos cornisuelos. and thorny ...(kind of flowers).
La noche cae encima de la llanura sin termino The night falls down onto the plain without end
cruzada por dos jinetes a trote largo y grocero crossed by the two riders with large and big steps
cruzada por dos jinetes a trote largo y grocero. crossed by the two riders with large and big steps
Cuando la aurora derrama rosas de luz When the dawn pours roses of light
en el cielo en el diría verán estos dos Santa Cruzeños. in the sky ... (could be the place in Santa Cruz
where they do the dances a.s.o.)you'll see those two men of Santa Cruz.
Al romper el manso curso Breaking the silent watercourse
de las aguas sin tropezar without stumbling
agua que si alguien las bebe water, which, if somebody drinks it
se quedará en aquél pueblo. he will stay in that town.
A Santa Cruz han llegado In Santa Cruz have arrived

estos pobres jinetes these poor riders
 su altives sobre las bestias their arrogance over the beast
 y el corazón en su pueblo. and the heart in their town.

18. Despedida Goodbye

En mi caballo voy galopando por la llanura On my horse I ride galloping through the plain
 con mis cantares y un sol radiante con rayos de oro with my songs and a burning sun with golden rays
 tiñe los montes con esplendores. (covers?) the mountains with brightness.

Miro el ganado pastando alegre I watch the cattle pasturing happily
 en los potreros del patroncito in the corrals (?) of the patron
 y un toro brama por el riachuelo. and a bull bellows over the brook.

Las garzas vuelan a la laguna The herons fly to the lagoon
 con sus figuras interrogantes, with their interrogating figures,
 garzas muy blancas, garzas morenas, very white herons, dark herons,
 garzas que vuelan sin una pena herons which fly without any pain,
 penas que la despedida. pains like the Gooby.

Penas que matan, penas del alma, Pains which kill, pains of the soul,
 penas de amores por una ingrata Pains of love for an ungrateful woman
 que me ha dejado muy triste y solo. who left me sad and alone.

19. Bagaceñita Bagaceñita

Desde la Hacienda siempre vengo galopando From the Hacienda I always come galloping
 con mi cantar en mi caballo with my songs, on my horse
 devorando la distancia para llegar devouring the distance to arrive
 y a la luz de las estrellas and under the light of the stars
 siente mi alma una inspiración my soul feels an inspiration,
 más porque en las noches muy bellas more, because in the very beautiful nights

mi novia me espera con ansias de amar. my girlfriend is waiting for me with longing for love.

La luna se retrata an ti, The moon portaits itself in you

bagaceñita de ojos negros que soñé bagaceñita, with black eyes of which I dreamed

porque hay ensoñación de amor en sus pupilas why is there of love in your pupils

que jamás olvidaré. which I never will forget.

Te llevaré donde el querer I'll bring you where love

es un encanto de ternura e inspiración is a magic of tenderness and inspiration

y allí al calor de mis besos te adoraré and there I'll adore you with the heat of my kisses

y mi corazón será un santuario donde vivirás. and my heart will be a temple where you'll live.

20. Junto al Tempisque Together at the Tempisque

Junto al Tempisque oigo los cantos Together at the Tempisque I hear the songs

cuando se baña mi morenita. when my morenita takes a bath.

Oh bajureña, dame tu amor y tus besitos serán, Oh bajureña, give me your love and your kisses will be,

morena, toda la ilusión que yo tanto soñé. morena, all the hope I dreamed so much of.

Soy sabanero de la bajura I am a farmer of the low plain

dispuesto siempre a enamorarme always ready to fall in love

de las muchachas de mi lugar, with the girls of my place,

porque son guapas, lindas y bellas because they are pretty and beautiful

y saben querer con amor sin igual. and know how to love uncomparably.

Morena guapa, mi bajureña, Pretty morena, my bajureña,

oye mi canto de amor listen to my lovesong

y en sueño en mi caballo and dreaming on my horse

quiero llevarte allá en la Hacienda para vivir. I want to bring you there to the hacienda to live.

Tendrás la dicha de mi cariño You'll have the luck to have my tenderness

y amor inmenso con toda mi alma. and immense love with all my mind.

Bajureñita – „Garza Morena“ Bajureñita – black heron,

junto al Tempisque supe amar. together at the Tempisque I knew how to love.

21. Espíritu guanacasteco Spirit of Guanacaste

Mi espíritu nunca muere My spirit never dies
 porque ha nacido junto un corral because it was born ...
 babeado por los terneros driveled by the calfs
 y al calor de mi buena mamá. and with the heat of my good mom.
 Mi enpeño son los caballos, My ... are the horses,
 las vacas todas y mi mujer, all the cows and my wife (watch the succession!)
 mi rancho y los chacalines my ranch and the ...
 y esta pampa que no olvidaré. and this pampa which I never will forget.
 Yo soy yo el que soy I am what I am
 y no tengo comparación and I don't have any comparation
 y al cantarte mujer and when I sing for you, woman
 se hace tiras mi corazón. my heart is jumping.
 Ay, amor veme bien Ay, my love, look at me well
 que mis besos son para vos that my kisses are for you
 y si vos me olvidás, esta noche de luna and if you forget about me, this night of moon
 borracho me iré a enamorar drunk I'll go to fall in love
 venga un trago y a parrandear come for a drink and to hang around in the bars
 mis amigos quieren bailar my friends like to dance
 y yo quiero así complacer. and I want so to please.

22. Canto a Cañas Song to Cañas

Cañas, tierra donde nací, Cañas, earth where I was born,
 retazo de pampa mia, piece of my pampa,
 tribu que el Corobici defendió su rebeldia ...
 y el Atabal muy sonoro repercutió bullangero ...
 dió valor y dió decoro indígena altanero. ...

Cañas, tierra de amor y armonía Cañas, earth of love and harmony
 donde el tenorio gigante where the giant Don Juan
 inspira esta trovamia son sentimiento vibrante inspires this my poem with vibrating emotions
 Pamperos que por el llano corren tras el cimarrón Pamperos (people from the pampa)who run behind the ...
 y llevan la sogá en mano como una interrogación. and carry the rope in their hands like an interrogation.

23. Bienvenido y el Barroso Welcome and the muddy

Ey! Barroso toro Ey, muddy bull

temido en la bajura y el aromal. feared in the low plain and the ...

Te llevo en pelo, I take you at your hair,

Toro bandido sin mas testigo que este corral. without any witness except this corral.

Ey! Barroso toro Ey, muddy bull,

temido, en pura arruga te sé llevar. feared, in the pure wrinkle I know how to take you.

Este es el grito de bienvenido This is the shout of welcome

que es todo un hombre para montar. which is totally a man to ride (ride).

No quiero suerte que me enderece I don't like luck to set up

ni vaquetero presta a llamar no torero to call

quiero la espuela para romperte I want the spur to break you

y hacer colochos contra tu ijar (ijada). and to make curls into your flank.

24. No des la vuelta como pendejo Don't run around like an asshole

batítea saltos como querrás ...

no veas zanjones en lo parejo

tantía tus fuerzas y me quitás.

Que se lo apea que no lo apea That he's gonna fell, that he's not gonna fell

apuesta solo de espectador. bets only of the audience.

Partón, mayáte de cara fea patron, ... of an ugly face

que el gran susto toma color That great shock gets color

y entre los tintes de tarde rojo and between the colours of a red afternoon

la alegre lidia tiene su fin the funny bullfight comes to it's end

sin otro saldo que honda congoja ...

del patroncito don será...?

Los cachos (Arschbacken?) chiman bramadero berridos

se oye del animal mientras los falsos se van ligero

y en la lucha fiera se va el puntal.

25. La lluvia The rain

Bajo la lluvia cantando con suave voz de cristal Under the rain, singing with a soft cristal voice,

besa las plantas y dice: „Brotad, flores, brotad, salid“. kisses the plants and says: „grow, flowers, grow, come out“.

Como princesas dormían las semillas del jardín like princesses were sleeping the semens of the garden,

vino la lluvia, la lluvia, y les dijo: „salid amigas“. came the rain, the rain, and told them: come out, friends“

Cantan las aves al río The birds sing to the river

la campiña y la flor to the field and to the flower

la gran fiesta de la lluvia and the great fiesta of the rain

que le ha dado su verdor. who has given them their verdure.

26. El Burro e'Chilo The donkey ...

Quiero dejar en tu alma con letra descomunal I want to leave in your soul with monstrous letters

mi pobre nombre grabado como la hoja en el tamal my poor name signed like the leave in the ...

una vez que quede impreso mi nombre en tu corazón. once that is printed my name in your heart.

Quiero yo morir tranquilo I want to die in silence

como el burro echilo sin más ilusión. like the donkey ... without any illusion

Hay! Morena mia, sabanero soy Hay, my morena, I'm the farmer

de tu gran hacienda de campos en flor. of your great hacienda with fields of flowers.

Porque en esta vida que todo es dolor Because in this life where everything is pain

solamente vivo por tu gran amor I only lived for your great love.

27. Quijonguito Quijonguito

Todas las tardes junto a mi rancho Every afternoon together at my ranch

yo toco el punto con mi quijongo I play the point with my quijongo

la parrandera, la callejera, the parrandera, la callejera,

también yo toco mi quijongo. I also play my quijongo.

Quijonguito, quijonguito, Quijonguito, quijonguito,

dile a la luna y al mar tell the moon and the sea

que la espero en la playa I wait for them at the beach

para reír y cantar. to laugh and to sing.

28. Los amanezqueros ...

Los amanezqueros cantaban, The ... were singing,

bailaban en la alegre fiesta del Negro Esquipulas. dancing at the funny fiesta of the Negro Esquipulas

Es quince de enero, hora de la Diana, It's the fifteenth of january, hour of Diana,

los amanezqueros cantaban, bailaban. The ... were singing, dancing.

Son costeños también, They are people from the coast also

sabaneros muy alegres, cantaban, bailaban de San Juan very happy farmers, were singing, dancing for San Juan

también el Arado de guaitil y de Bernabe. an also for the Arado of Guaitil and Bernabe

Al son de la banda To the sound of the band,

cantaban, bailaban los amanezqueros una callejera were singing, dancing the streetdance

en honor al negro Cristo Esquipulas to the honor of Negro Cristo Esquipulas

que estaban velando toavía (todavía) hato viejo. who were still watching the old small herd.

29. Serenata Serenade

Vengo a despertarte vida mia I come to wake you up, my life

con una canción ardiente y sensual. with a passionate and sensitive song.

Es una canción suave y sencilla it's a soft and simple song,

que me sale del corazón. which comes from my heart.

Despierta mi querer Wake up, my dear,

vengo a contarte con la luna I come to tell you with the moon

al suave estremecer with a slight shivering

que en esta noche trae la bruma. that this night brings mist.

Oye, mi dulce bien, Listen, my sweet love.

lo que yo quiero al despedirme, what I want to wake me up

quiero que siempre en nuestro amor brille la luz is that the light always shines in our love

que anida en nuestro corazón. that it nests in our heart.

30. Mi Morena My Morena

La morena que yo quiero es de mi pueblo The Morena I love is from my town

nacida bajo un mismo cielo azul, born under the same blue sky

la veía cuando era una chiquitina I saw her when she was a little girl

pavonearse cual si fuera una mujer. posing as if she was a woman.

Los vecinos le admiraban su vivacidad The neighbours admired her liveliness

desde entonces le admiraba yo algo más since that I admired her a little more

sin pensar que le admiraba la belleza without thinking I admired her beauty

que más tarde me robaba el corazón. which later stole my heart.

Mi morena es de mi pueblo My morena is from my town

yo le admira como ayer su belleza I admire her beauty like yesterday

sin rival yo la quiero y no la cambio without any rival I love her and I don't change her,

ni por la mejor mujer de otro lugar. not even for the best woman from anywhere.

31. Río Tempisque River Tempisque

En las aguas cristalinas del Tempisque In the crystal waters of the Tempisque

se refleja el inmenso suelo azul reflects the immense blue ground

y en la noche es un espejo de la luna and in the night it is a mirror of the moon

que romanticamente se ve. how romantic it looks like.

Las caricias en sus aguas son un beso The tenderness in it's waters are a kiss

que reciben los bañistas al nadar which receive the bathing people while swimming

y sus playas que en las noches hacen sueños and it's beaches which in the nights cause dreams

muchas veces ha visto llorar a una Morena que baña a lot of times you have seen them crying at a
Morena taking a bath

la luna rumiando un reproche de loca pasión the moon is ruminating a reproach of crazy passion.

extraño, sobre esta arena yo quiero morir. It's strange, in this sand I want to die.

32. En silencio In silence

En silencio te digo te estoy queriendo, In silence I tell you that I love you

convencido, yo siento que estoy muriendo convinced, I feel that I'm dying

ya no tengo esperanzas, ni una sola ilusión, I already have no hopes, not a single illusion,

todo se ha ido con sus besos de ayer. everything has gone with your kisses of yesterday.

Si supieras te digo te estoy sufriendo tanto If you knew, I tell you, that I'm suffering so much

por la ausencia y el olvido en que me echas for your absence and the oblivion in which you put me

yo te pido que le des consuelo a mi alma I ask you to give absolution to my soul,

convencido a que después me haz de olvidar. convinced that afterwards you'll forget about me.

33. Bajo la lluvia Under the rain

En una noche fría de setiembre In a cold september night,

noche que nunca jamás olvidaré, night, I never ever will forget

yertos de frío bajo una ilusión copiosa freezed because of the cold, under abundant illusion

en un beso feliz me dió su amor in a happy kiss you gave me your love

y hoy que ella ha olvidado aquel idilio and now when she had forgot about that romance

por que no quiso el amor que la ofrecí because she did not like the love I offerd

hoy le pido que respete la lluvia al jurar, today I'm asking to respect the rain to swear

por que esa agua viene del creador bendiciendo ese amor. because this water comes from the creator blessing this love.

34. Marimba Diría Marimba Diría

Marimba que en las noches Marimba, which in the nights

despiertas a mi amada con tus notas piadosas wakes up my loved one with it's kind notes

que la hacen suspirar which makes her sigh

parece que quisieras hablarle a mi amada seems as if you want to talk to my love

y contarle mis penas que ella sabrá escuchar. and tell her about my pains which she knows to listen to.

Despierta amada mia de ese sueño profundo Wake up my love of this deep dream

que en esta quieta noche because in this quiet night

yo vengo a interrumpir al son de mi Marimba, I come to interrupt with the sound of my marimba,

amiga inseparable, inseparable friend ,

vengo a espresarte en notas lo que sufro por ti. I come to express in notes how much I suffer for you.

Y cuando mi Marimba lanza al viento su armonía And when my marimba throws it's harmony into the wind

repunta allá en el cielo la luna en su compañía ... there in the sky the moon in it's company

se oye el sonoro bajo y latenué melodía you hear the silent sound and (latent?) melody

de mi mejor amiga, Marimba Diría, la Marimba Diría. of my best friend, marimba Diría, the marimba Diría.

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