

OXFORD STUDIES IN THE HISTORY OF ARCHAEOLOGY

# RELIQS OF THE PAST

The Collecting and Study of Pre-Columbian  
Antiquities in Peru and Chile, 1837–1911



STEFANIE GÄNGER

OXFORD

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UNIVERSITY PRESS

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UNIVERSITY PRESS

Great Clarendon Street, Oxford, OX2 6DP,  
United Kingdom

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First Edition published in 2014

Impression: 1

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Published in the United States of America by Oxford University Press  
198 Madison Avenue, New York, NY 10016, United States of America

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data  
Data available

Library of Congress Control Number: 2013948418

ISBN 978-0-19-968769-5

As printed and bound by  
CPI Group (UK) Ltd, Croydon, CR0 4YY

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## *Acknowledgements*

I have researched, written, and rewritten my doctoral dissertation and the book that evolved from it over a period of more than five years, in different places and with the support of various funding bodies and employers. I am grateful to the German National Academic Foundation (*Studienstiftung des Deutschen Volkes*) for a maintenance grant and to the British Arts and Humanities Research Council for a tuition fees award during my three years as a PhD student at the University of Cambridge. The Chile Projects scheme, run by the Centre for Latin American Studies at Cambridge, funded my two research trips to Chile in 2008 and 2009. Darwin College provided funds for conference trips. As a visiting scholar at the University of Pennsylvania in Philadelphia, I received generous support from Henrika Kuklick and Ann Farnsworth. I also thank Lorraine Daston and Fernando Vidal at the Max Planck Institute for the History of Science in Berlin for providing me with a workspace and an inspiring atmosphere during my time as a visiting fellow there in the summer of 2010. I started rewriting this manuscript while I was holding a DAAD postdoctoral fellowship at the Institute for Latin American Studies in Berlin and finished revising it in Konstanz, where Jürgen Osterhammel and my colleagues—Martin Rempe, Jan Jansen, and Franz L. Fillafer—provided the best of all possible worlds for that process.

Many people have contributed to the development of this book. In Peru, I thank Donato Amado for his support in the Cuzco archives and for sharing his knowledge on the colonial Incas; David Garrett for his help with Incan genealogy; and Javier Flores for insights into the life of Justo Apu Sahuaraura Inca and Peruvian academia. In Chile, Rolf Foerster, José Bengoa, and Jorge Pavez have been so kind as to share ideas and readings with me. In England and France, Patience Shell, Joanna Crowe, and Pascal Riviale have been generous with information, contacts, and advice on archives. Back home in Germany, Beatrix Hoffmann, Ulrich Mücke, Karoline Noack, and Irina Podgorny have shared their knowledge and ideas about the history of Peru and archaeology and antiquarianism in the Americas. At Cambridge History Faculty, talking with Astrid Swenson and Chris Clark at first helped me to formulate and develop my ideas. I thank Simon



Schaffer for pointing me to the connection between authenticity and inferiority in ideas about indigeneity after the 1850s. I have had inspiring and important conversations with the other PhD students in and around the World History Group at the History Faculty. In particular, talking with Iris Montero, Jordana Blejmar, Andrea Acle, and Akhila Yechuri has helped me at various stages of my research. I am especially grateful to James Scorer, Emile Chabal, Carrie Gibson, Anne-Isabelle Richard, Joanna McGarry, Anne Friedrichs, Sina Rauschenbach, Miruna Achim, and Josh Berson for proofreading or commenting on earlier versions of chapters for this book.

I would like to thank the staff at the national archives in Lima and in the Cuzco regional archives. Emma Torres at the Archivo Regional de Tarapacá and Rodrigo Daniel Ruz Zagal at the Archivo Histórico Vicente Dagnino in Arica have been particularly generous with their time and contacts. Gabriela Polanco and Luis Alegría have been kind enough to help me tackle the National Archives in Chile. At the Ibero-American Institute in Berlin, Gregor Wolff and Gudrun Schumacher have been generous with their time and advice on archival material and literature. Several museums with pre-Columbian collections in Chile, Peru, Europe, and the United States have archives that reflect their dealings with private collectors and I would like to thank the staff at the archives of the Lima National Museum of Anthropology, Archaeology, and History; the Santiago National Historical Museum; the University of Pennsylvania Museum of Anthropology and Archaeology; the Louvre; and the American Museum of Natural History in New York. I am particularly grateful to Manuela Fischer at the Ethnological Museum in Berlin for her advice, for granting me access to the museum's archives, and for transcripts of Adolf Bastian's correspondence. Finally, I would like to thank the families of José Guevara Gil and of Carlos Morales Macedo for granting me access to their nineteenth-century ancestors' correspondence and manuscripts.

Special thanks are owed to Oxford University Press: to the anonymous reviewer for helpful comments and to Hilary O'Shea and her team for their kind assistance. My appreciation also goes to Chile's National Library, the Special Collections of the Latin American Library at Tulane University, the Berlin Ethnological Museum, and José Guevara Gil for giving me permission to use some of the images in this book.

I thank the examiners of my doctoral dissertation, Rebecca Earle and Margarita Díaz-Andreu, for their insightful comments. Tim

Harper has been a kind adviser, and his support and encouragement, as well as his familiarity with the Cambridge system, have guided me through my postgraduate years. I thank Natalia Majluf for being a generous and sharp external and voluntary adviser: her own research and her comments on mine have centrally influenced my thinking on the cultural history of nineteenth-century Peru. Gabriela Ramos has been a wonderfully wise and thoughtful supervisor. Her ideas, support, and criticism have been essential—not only to this dissertation but also to the academic and person I have become during my years at Cambridge.

Finally, I would like to thank my good friends in Germany, in the UK, in Peru, and in Chile for distracting me from the process of writing this book, my parents for loving me regardless of it, and Arne, for accompanying me always.



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## Introduction

### *Antiquities in Peru and Chile*

In the decades following the Wars of Independence, many cities in Peru and Chile became home to lively communities of antiquities collectors. Travellers who visited Peru's southern highlands or its capital Lima, or Chile's urban centres, noted that several members of the elite owned a collection or at least some scattered 'antiquities'; things they associated with the time before the Spanish conquest. The landed gentry, the clergy, and an urban bourgeoisie of surgeons, engineers, and military officials put antiquities on display in their private mansions or bestowed them upon the public museums that were being formed by municipalities and governments in Santiago de Chile, Cuzco, or Lima. Men, and some few women, gathered antiquities on their journeys 'inland' and during sociable weekend excursions, but also on quotidian commercial voyages or in military campaigns. They bartered antiquities with their fellow collectors or haggled about their price on the antiquities market. In their hours of leisure, they marvelled at them, wrote about them, and disputed over their meaning, age, and interest, in learned societies and informal gatherings, and at meetings in universities and public museums. They made and sustained networks over their debates, conversations, and bargains; within Lima, Santiago, or Cuzco but also across the Americas and the Atlantic, with museums and scholars in Europe and North America.

While the role of foreign travellers and scholars dedicated to the study of South America's pre-Columbian past is well documented, historians have largely overlooked the knowledge gained and the collections formed among collectors of antiquities, antiquaries, and





Fig. 0.1. Map of South America in the nineteenth century.

archaeologists born or living in South America in the nineteenth century. These men and women have been largely invisible, not only because historiography in both the Americas and Europe has focused on heroic discoverers and celebrated expeditions from Europe and North America, but also because it has limited its scope to state-based institutions and to the methods and discourses associated today with the discipline of archaeology. Moving beyond Eurocentric and official narratives, this book tells the story of a hitherto largely unknown world of antiquarian and archaeological collecting and learning in Peru and Chile: in Cuzco among the Creole and Incan elite; within Lima's bourgeois circles; in Santiago and the settlements in the Araucanian territories during their conquest by the Chilean state; and, in the context of tense disputes between scholars from Peru and Chile, as the War of the Pacific (1879–83) divided the two countries over territorial claims (see Figure 0.1).

## COLLECTING AND STUDYING ANTIQUITIES

This book affords neither a chronological history nor an exhaustive analysis of antiquities collecting in Peru and Chile. Rather, it tells the story of collecting, antiquarianism, and archaeology in Cuzco, Lima, over the Araucanian territories, and during the War of the Pacific, through 'trial trenches'—to use the language of the archaeologist: through the biographies of particular 'things' and the knowledge and the relationships woven into them.<sup>1</sup> Scholars have argued for some time now that objects have the capacity to communicate complex

<sup>1</sup> In its focus on antiquities, this book owes much to historians of science working on the 'coming into being of scientific objects' and on 'things that talk'. Lorraine Daston (2000), 'Introduction: The Coming into Being of Scientific Objects', in Daston, Lorraine (ed.), *Biographies of Scientific Objects* (London/Chicago: The University of Chicago Press); Lorraine Daston (2004), 'Introduction: Speechless', in Daston, Lorraine (ed.), *Things That Talk. Object Lessons from Art and Science* (New York: Zone Books). The term 'biography' is taken from Kopytoff, who, in the context of his study on the 'production of commodities', suggested 'doing a biography of things'. See Igor Kopytoff (1986), 'The Cultural Biography of Things: Commoditization as Process', in Appadurai, Arjun (ed.), *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press). For innovative approaches to ethnographic collecting and the artefacts' previous identities, see, for instance, Michael O'Hanlon (2000), 'Introduction', in O'Hanlon, Michael, and Welsch, Robert L. (eds.), *Hunting the Gatherers: Ethnographic Collectors, Agents and Agency in Melanesia* (Methodology & History in Anthropology; New York/Oxford: Berghahn Books).

histories,<sup>2</sup> and that ‘we have to follow the things themselves, for their meanings are inscribed in their forms, their uses, their trajectories’.<sup>3</sup> This book traces the movement of four human and material objects through time and space—an Incan *mascapaycha*, a *kipu*, an Araucanian Indian, and Valdivia pottery bearing both Incan and Araucanian ornaments. Though the focus of each chapter rests on the objects’ sojourn in the antiquarian and archaeological collections of Cuzco, Lima, and Chile’s towns and settlements, each of the chapters opens with a look back at the objects’ origins, their making or use before they entered the collection, and closes with a look into their future—their loss, demise, or final abode. Along with the objects’ physical journey, the book traces their shifting cultural, social, and economic meanings as one of a kind; as an object type. The things’ trajectories, as they gather up the ‘experiences of a range of people in different places along the way’,<sup>4</sup> set the stage for the book’s narrative; its scope, extension, and sense. The objects’ lives urge for a strangely self-willed account, one that lingers in dusty cabinets as well as in national museums, that comprehends after-dinner conversations and stately conferences, disciplinary institutionalization processes and a market in antiquities alike. They urge for a story that centres on Peru’s and Chile’s antiquarian circles, but one that also moves across land and oceans, into the museums and universities of Europe and North America, and into the rural areas of the Andes and Araucanía, beyond the social sphere that usually owns and gathers together collections.

A study of antiquarianism, antiquities collecting, and archaeology in the second half of the nineteenth century lends itself to—almost begs for—an object-biographical approach. Scholars of the pre-Columbian past allocated a central role to artefacts at the time—both in Europe and across the Americas—and the practices of locating, gathering together, and exhibiting objects grounded their endeavours.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>2</sup> As regards Andean antiquities, the approach adopted in this book follows in the wake of Natalia Majluf’s reflections on the contextualization of Andean objects. Natalia Majluf (2007), ‘Working from Objects: Andean Studies, Museums, and Research’, *RES* 52: 65.

<sup>3</sup> Arjun Appadurai (1986), ‘Introduction: Commodities and the Politics of Value’, in Appadurai (ed.), *The Social Life of Things* 5.

<sup>4</sup> Chris Gosden and Frances Larson (2007), *Knowing Things: Exploring the Collections at the Pitt Rivers Museum 1884–1945* (Oxford: Oxford University Press), 1.

<sup>5</sup> Anthropology more broadly up to the ascendancy of functionalism in the 1920s, across the Americas and the Atlantic, allocated a central role to artefacts as data. George W. Stocking (1985), ‘Philanthropoids and Vanishing Cultures: Rockefeller

Distinct ‘ways of knowing’, a range of diverse and changing methods and interests were available to Peru’s and Chile’s learned circles for their study of the antiquities.<sup>6</sup> Many collectors in Cuzco, Lima, and in Chile’s towns and settlements resorted to typically antiquarian practices to understand the function and meaning of the antiquities in their collections: like Americanists in Europe at the time, they focused their reflections on individual artefacts, with close attention to iconographic detail, comparative analysis, and typological classification.<sup>7</sup> In continuity with an Iberian and Creole antiquarian tradition reaching back to the eighteenth century, they resorted to their knowledge of the indigenous languages, to ancient manuscripts and observations of men and women they called ‘Indians’.<sup>8</sup> At the same time, however, they sought

Funding and the End of the Museum Era in Anglo-American Anthropology’, in Stocking, George W. (ed.), *Objects and Others. Essays on Museums and Material Culture* (Madison/London: University of Wisconsin Press): 114.

<sup>6</sup> For the concept ‘ways of knowing’, see John V. Pickstone (2000), *Ways of Knowing: A New History of Science, Technology and Medicine* (Manchester/New York: Manchester University Press). Philippa Levine warned us to see in scholarly practices of the past ‘no more than the nascent germs of our own thinking’. Philippa Levine (1986), *The Amateur and the Professional: Antiquarians, Historians and Archaeologists in Victorian England, 1838–1886* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press): 5.

<sup>7</sup> On the transition from antiquarianism to archaeology, see Alain Schnapp (1993), *The Discovery of the Past. The Origins of Archaeology* (Paris: British Museum Press); Alain Schnapp (2008), ‘Between Antiquarians and Archaeologists—Continuities and Ruptures’, in Murray, Tim, and Evans, Christopher (eds.), *Histories of Archaeology. A Reader in the History of Archaeology* (Oxford: Oxford University Press). On the coexistence and increasing differentiation of history, archaeology, and antiquarianism in the course of the nineteenth-century Europe, see Levine, *The Amateur and the Professional*.

<sup>8</sup> On the Spanish and Creole antiquarian tradition of the eighteenth century in the Andes, see José Alcina Franch (1995), *Arqueólogos o anticuarios. Historia antigua de la arqueología en la América Española* (Barcelona: Ediciones de Serbal). See also, Joanne Pillsbury and Lisa Trever (2008), ‘The King, the Bishop, and the Creation of an American Antiquity’, *Nawpa Pacha* 29. Research into the Spanish scientific expeditions of the eighteenth century, undertaken by men such as Antonio de Ulloa, Charles-Marie de la Condamine, Felipe Bauzá, and Joseph Dombey, has reflected on antiquarian interests in Andean antiquities within the expeditions’ broader interests in America’s nature and society. See, for instance, Marta Penhos (2005), *Ver, conocer, dominar. Imágenes de Sudamérica a fines del siglo XVIII* (Buenos Aires: Siglo XXI Editores Argentina); Juan Pimentel (2003), *Testigos del mundo. Ciencia, literatura y viajes en la Ilustración* (Madrid: Marcial Pons); Paula de Vos (2009), ‘The Rare, the Singular, and the Extraordinary: Natural History and the Collection of Curiosities in the Spanish Empire’, in Bleichmar, Daniela et al. (eds.), *Science in the Spanish and Portuguese Empires, 1500–1800* (Stanford: Stanford University Press).

to solve questions bearing on the ancient things' origins, manufacture, or use through a reading of the most recent archaeological literature from Paris, Copenhagen, or Berlin. Several instigated excavations—adopting practices now as well as then associated with the emerging discipline of archaeology. Ideas about human antiquity, origins, and evolution underwent a profound revolution in the second half of the nineteenth century, of which the 1857 discovery of a human fossil in the Neander Valley and the 1859 publication of Charles Darwin's *On the Origin of Species* were only the most visible landmarks. Several collectors, particularly in Santiago and the Araucanian territories, sought inclusion in these debates about prehistoric archaeology; the study of this new back-projected temporal horizon.<sup>9</sup> Peruvians and Chileans alike fitted their finds into debates about race, and, much like their British or German contemporaries, disputed and disagreed over the Three Age System and evolutionary theory.<sup>10</sup> Rather than succeed or replace, however, new methods and interests converged and coexisted with established forms of knowing, in the space of the collection, and through reflection on individual antiquities.

Antiquities are categories, not objects of collecting.<sup>11</sup> Antiquarian and archaeological discourses constructed and created antiquities over the course of the nineteenth century—they rendered things

<sup>9</sup> Prehistory evolved during the 1850s in Europe and from the 1870s in the Americas, particularly in the US and in Argentina. On the rise of prehistory on a global scale, see Donald R. Kelley (2003), 'The Rise of Prehistory', *Journal of World History* 14 (1). For debates about allegedly Palaeolithic finds in the formerly Peruvian territories in the Atacama Desert annexed by Chile in the aftermath of the War of the Pacific, see Stefanie Gänger (2009), 'Conquering the Past: Post-War Archaeology and Nationalism in the Borderlands of Chile and Peru, c. 1880–1920', *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 51 (4). For the emergence of prehistory in Argentina, see Irina Podgorny (2009), *El sendero del tiempo y de las causas accidentales. Los espacios de la prehistoria en la Argentina, 1850–1910* (Buenos Aires: Prohistoria Ediciones).

<sup>10</sup> Sven Nilsson (1787–1883) first made the connection between stone tools and hunting and gathering, the early stages of human development, and linked it to Christian Jürgensen Thomsen's Three Age System. The system was conceived in Denmark and southern Sweden in the mid-1830s, but while it was fully accepted and operating in those countries in under a decade, its reception in other parts of Europe was variable and patchy. Peter Rowley-Conway (2007), *From Genesis to Prehistory. The Archaeological Three Age System and its Contested Reception in Denmark, Britain and Ireland* (Oxford Studies in the History of Archaeology; New York: Oxford University Press).

<sup>11</sup> This alludes to Johannes Fabian's point that the primitive, the primordial, and the pristine are categories, not objects, of Western thought. Johannes Fabian (1983), *Time and the Other. How Anthropology Makes its Objects* (New York: Columbia University Press).

and people antiquities in the first place. Into the eighteenth century, artefacts made and used prior to the arrival of the Spanish in America had been unsightly idols to one group, 'curiosities' to another, while to another they were heirlooms or insignia of power that people treasured, media of communication they relied on, or utensils they put to practical use. By the late nineteenth century, however, the two countries' Creole middling and upper classes at least had decided upon the temporality of anything they associated with indigeneity as antique; left over from a long-bygone time. Collectors unearthed some of the antiquities and relics in their collections—textiles, precious adornments, stone tools, or sculptured ceramics—but others they simply took from people who used, or treasured, or worshipped them; not because they had detected their making in pre-Columbian times—a century before radiocarbon dating they had little means of knowing—but because they associated the people who owned and used them, the 'Indians', with the pre-Columbian past. Collections embody worlds of learning, but they invariably also constitute a cultural practice vested with meaning, related to the individuals' understanding of the world around them and their own place within it.<sup>12</sup> This book is an intellectual history of antiquities collecting, but it is also a cultural and social history of the relationship between the diminutive upper sphere that owned collections and the people they called Indians. It seeks to understand how things in use and men and women in the prime of their life became relics of a long-gone past, amiss in the present, in the eyes of collectors who claimed 'modernity' and the present for themselves.

## THE SPACES OF COLLECTING

The spaces where collections took shape, and where ideas and people cohered around them, underwent profound transformations between the mid-nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries. The focus of this book rests on the period prior to the professionalization and institutionalization of the discipline of archaeology in Peru and Chile

<sup>12</sup> For this and other reflections on collecting, see Susan M. Pearce (1995), *On Collecting: An Investigation into Collecting in the European Tradition* (London/New York: Routledge): 25.

in the early twentieth century. At that time, most of the finest and most complete collections of antiquities in South America were not made under the responsibility of governments or municipalities, but in the private sphere, in peoples' mansions, their salons, and living rooms. The magnificent museums formed by Ana María Centeno (1817–1876), Emilio Montes, or José Lucas Caparó Muñiz (1845–1921) in Cuzco, by José Dávila Condemarin (1799–1882), José Mariano Macedo (1823–1894), and Christian Theodor Wilhelm Gretzer (1847–1926) in Lima, and the collections formed in settlements and towns in southern Chile and Santiago, represented the period's foremost spaces for antiquarian and archaeological collecting. Learned debate about the antiquities' meaning, age, or value often took place in the collections' orbit, next to and around the things on display. Particularly in Peru, for most of the nineteenth century, salons, crammed cabinets, and private museums were the most important spaces not only for antiquarian and archaeological collection, but also for the increase of knowledge about them.

Collectors and students of antiquities met in the private sphere, but several of them also associated with the public and, in particular, the national museums that were being founded in the aftermath of independence: they used the museums' premises for their meetings, donated or loaned out antiquities from their own possessions, or they communicated through and with the museums' directorates, about their finds and reflections. In Chile, the National Museum (*Museo Nacional de Chile*) was first planned in the immediate aftermath of independence in 1813, but it was not until 1838 that it was founded, based upon the collections formed by the French naturalist Claudio Gay. The collection dwindled in significance after Gay's departure in 1842 until the appointment in 1853 of Rudolph A. Philippi (1808–1904), an immigrant from Kassel, as curator. Philippi made a concerted attempt to have the findings of collectors and students in the 'remote provinces'—in particular, the soldiers, engineers, and German settlers in Araucanía and in the Atacama Desert—communicated and transmitted to his museum. The Chilean National Museum became a foremost centre of learning and collecting under his directorship. In Peru, the National Museum (*Museo Nacional del Perú*) materialized under the directorship of Mariano Eduardo de Rivero y Ustariz (1798–1857) from 1826, but although Rivero undertook similar attempts at gathering together private endeavours and collections of natural history and antiquities in the

museum, a lack of political and institutional stability and scarce funds rendered the museum more marginal and ephemeral than its Chilean counterpart.<sup>13</sup> Collectors occasionally contacted the Lima National Museum on their own initiative, but, by and large, the focal points of antiquarian life in Lima were salons and societies.

From the 1860s, in both Chile and Peru, scientific societies joined the national museums in bringing together a growing and increasingly diverse group of collectors, authors of archaeological treatises, and an interested audience for antiquarian and archaeological lectures, exhibitions, and debates. Learned collectors like Macedo and Caparó continued to have their collections on display at home, but they also attended the meetings of learned societies, initiated their foundation, or called for their protection by the state. Only very few societies were purely archaeological, such as the Cuzco-based Peruvian Archaeological Society (*Sociedad Arqueológica Peruana*, founded 1868) and Santiago's American Archaeological Society (*Sociedad Arqueológica [sic] Americana*, 1878). In the main, the period's scientific societies included sections dedicated to archaeology, such as Lima's Geographical Society (*Sociedad Geográfica de Lima*, 1888/1891)<sup>14</sup> and Santiago's Society of History and Geography (*Sociedad de Historia y Geografía*, 1911). Others simply welcomed contributions related to the study of the pre-Columbian past, as was the case in the Peruvian Society of Science Lovers (*Sociedad Amantes de la Ciencia*, 1887), the Cuzco Science Centre (*Centro Científico*, 1897), the Santiago-based French and German scientific societies (*Société Scientifique du Chili*, 1891; *Deutscher Wissenschaftlicher Verein Santiago*, 1885) and the Santiago Society of Folklore (*Sociedad de*

<sup>13</sup> On the lack of financial support for the museum during the mid-century, see the various complaints by subsequent museum directors. Mariano Eduardo de Rivero y Ustariz (1831), 'Carta al Ministro del Interior, Lima, 12 de Octubre', *Archivo General de la Nación*. RJ 190, 8.10; Simón Yrigoyen (1856), 'Carta al Ministro de Estado en el Despacho de Instrucción, Lima, 19 de Julio', *Archivo General de la Nación*. RJ 190, 8.10; Simón Yrigoyen (1859), 'Carta al Ministro de Estado, Lima, 6 de Junio', *Archivo General de la Nación*. RJ 190, 8.10. Rivero has, particularly in recent years, been attributed a precursory and foundational role for archaeological discourses and practices in Peru. See in particular, César Coloma Porcari (1994), *Los inicios de la arqueología en el Perú* (Lima: Instituto Latinoamericano de Cultura y Desarrollo).

<sup>14</sup> For a study of the Geographical Society in the context of nationalist discourses, see Leoncio López-Ocón (1995), 'El nacionalismo y los orígenes de la Sociedad Geográfica de Lima', in Cueto, Marcos (ed.), *Saberes Andinos. Ciencia y tecnología en Bolivia, Ecuador y Perú* (Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos).



Folklore, 1909). Several of these societies—Santiago’s American Archaeological Society, Cuzco’s Science Centre, and Lima’s Geographical Society—established their own museums, in which the bulk of the plant and animal, geological and archaeological specimens, stem from donations by their members.<sup>15</sup>

From the 1870s, temporary exhibitions and congresses on a national and international scale also brought together men and women with an interest in antiquities. In Santiago, antiquities were exhibited at the Historical Exhibition of the Colonial Period (*Exposición del Coloniaje*, 1873) and at the Historical Exhibition of the Centenary of Chilean Independence from Spain (*Exposición Histórica del Centenario*, 1910). In a similar vein, Lima’s Municipal and National Exhibitions (*Exposición Municipal de Lima*, 1877; *Exposición Nacional del Perú*, 1871) and Cuzco’s Departmental Exhibition (*Exposición Departamental*, 1897) put private collections, or photographs of them, on public display. With the increasing convenience of transatlantic travel in the late nineteenth century, several of the collectors based in Lima, Cuzco, Santiago, or Temuco crossed the Atlantic, some of them several times in their lives, and partook in the variety of international forums for Americanist archaeology, the international congresses and exhibitions, that came into being at the time. One such meeting ground was the international community of Americanists. From 1875, the regular organization of the Congresses of Americanists—held at first exclusively in Europe, then, from 1895, alternating between the Americas and Europe—formalized Americanism and brought Peruvians, North Americans, and Europeans together in their shared interest in America’s pre-Columbian past.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>15</sup> For a catalogue of the collection exhibited by Santiago’s American Archaeological Society, see Sociedad Arqueológica de Santiago (1878), *Catálogo de Antigüedades Americanas. Ídolos, armas, utensilios domésticos, etc. exhibidos por la Sociedad Arqueológica* (Santiago: Imprenta de la Librería del Mercurio). For the collection exhibited by Lima’s Geographical Society, see Luis Carranza (1897), ‘Memoria que el Presidente de la Sociedad Geográfica de Lima, doctor don Luis Carranza, presenta á la Junta General, en la última sesión del año de 1895–1896’, *Boletín de la Sociedad Geográfica de Lima* 6 (1–3): 2. References to the collection formed in the context of Cuzco’s Science Centre can be found in Secretaría del Centro Científico del Cuzco (1901), ‘Memoria de la Secretaría del Centro Científico’, *Boletín del Centro Científico* 4 (4).

<sup>16</sup> On the discussion about alternating locations, see Juan Comas (1974), *Cien años de Congresos Internacionales de Americanistas. Ensayo histórico-crítico y bibliográfico* (México D.F.: Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas, UNAM): 25.

Prehistoric exhibits made their first appearance at the Paris Universal Exposition in 1867 and, from the 1880s onwards, Peru's record of archaeological monuments figured prominently at the Universal Expositions.<sup>17</sup> The Pan-American Scientific Congresses constituted another important forum within the Americas, bringing Chileans and Peruvians together over archaeological debates in the first decade of the twentieth century.<sup>18</sup>

The decades around 1900 witnessed a redistribution and relocation of antiquities from Peru and Chile to North America and Europe; and within Peru and Chile, from private- or association-based to state-based collecting and study. The world's large collecting museums absorbed many of the collections formed in private hands, particularly in Peru, but also in Chile. At the time, public museums in Europe and North America were at their largest—their buildings were bigger, more people visited them than ever, and objects flooded in at an unprecedented rate.<sup>19</sup> Several of the most outstanding and prominent private collections formed in Peru were sold abroad around 1900, mostly to Europe and the United States, in the absence of an appropriate state policy to hinder exportation.<sup>20</sup> At the same time, governments in Peru and Chile began to invest more heavily in public collections—the national and university museums, above all—and likewise acquired existing private collections for that purpose. The collections formed in the context of the scientific societies and other associations merged into the National Museum of Peru or were purchased by the state,<sup>21</sup> and purchases and donations of private

<sup>17</sup> See Nils Müller-Scheessel (2001), 'Fair Prehistory: Archaeological Exhibits at French Expositions Universelles', *Antiquity* 75 (288).

<sup>18</sup> On the first Pan-American Scientific Congress, see Francisco R. Sagasti and Alejandra Pavez (1989), 'Ciencia y tecnología en América Latina a principios del siglo XX: Primer congreso científico panamericano', *Quipu* 6 (2).

<sup>19</sup> See Chapter 1, Samuel J.M.M. Alberti (2009), *Nature and Culture. Objects, Disciplines and the Manchester Museum* (Manchester/New York: Manchester University Press).

<sup>20</sup> It was only following legislations in 1892 and 1911 that control of the exportation of antiquities was practically enforced in Peru. On protective legislation in Latin America, see Rebecca Earle (2007), *The Return of the Native. Indians and Myth-Making in Spanish America, 1810–1930* (Durham/London: Duke University Press): 27–64.

<sup>21</sup> The collection of the Lima Geographical Society was given to the National Museum in 1906. Scipión Llona (1906), 'Lista de la colección etnográfica enviada por la Sociedad Geográfica de Lima al Museo Nacional', *Boletín de la Sociedad Geográfica de Lima* XX (anexo).

collections likewise enriched the Chilean National Museum.<sup>22</sup> At the same time, the creation of university departments, the separate institutionalization of specialized fields such as history and prehistory, anthropology and archaeology, and a growing number of professionals brought about the fragmentation of collections and the knowledge about them in Lima, Cuzco, and Santiago. In Chile, a National Historical Museum (Museo Histórico Nacional) was founded in 1911. Based on the collections gathered by the professional archaeologist Max Uhle (1856–1944) from 1911 to 1916 predominantly in the extreme north of Chile, and those collected in Araucanía at the same time, the prehistory section gained independence from the National Historical Museum: it became Chile’s Museum of Ethnology and Anthropology in 1912. In Peru, after the destruction of the National Museum during the Chilean occupation in the War of the Pacific, a National Museum of History (Museo Nacional de Historia) was founded in 1905 and placed under the responsibility of the Lima Historical Institute (Instituto Histórico). The National Museum of History consisted of three separate institutional sections devoted to archaeology, ethnology—the study of ‘savage tribes’—and the history of Peru’s colonial and republican periods. This study ends with the second decade of the twentieth century—around the year 1911—when the collecting of antiquities had, to some extent at least, become a professional and a state-based concern, when private collections were losing their pre-eminence, and when knowledge about the ‘relics’ had fragmented, dividing into a range of disciplines and institutions.

## WRITING HISTORIES OF ARCHAEOLOGY

Students and collectors of antiquities resident in Cuzco, Santiago, or Lima have hitherto been virtually invisible in a historiographical approach that centred on European and North American travellers and visitors. In an attempt at quantifying nineteenth-century archaeology

<sup>22</sup> For some of the donations and purchases from private collectors and associations to the Chilean National Museum, see Rudolph A. Philippi (1908), ‘Historia del Museo Nacional de Chile’, *Boletín del Museo Nacional de Chile* 1 (1). For the various minor collections which formed the basis of the Museum of Ethnology and Anthropology later on, see Luis Alegría Licuime (2004), ‘Museo y Campo Cultural: Patrimonio indígena en el Museo de Etnología y Antropología de Chile’, *Conserva* 8: 64–5.

in Peru, Sergio J. Chávez mentioned twenty-one archaeologists in total for the years ranging from 1824 to 1900: seventeen of them were foreign visitors and only three were Peruvians.<sup>23</sup> The French naturalist Alcide d'Orbigny, author of *L'Homme américain*,<sup>24</sup> the US commissioner to Peru George Squier,<sup>25</sup> Charles Wiener with his 1875 archaeological and ethnographic expedition to Peru and Bolivia,<sup>26</sup> François de la Porte, Comte de Castelnau, the head of a government-sponsored French scientific expedition,<sup>27</sup> Clements Markham, a British traveller who visited Peru in 1851–3, or Wilhelm Reiss and Alphons Stübel with their 1875 archaeological excavations of the Ancón cemetery<sup>28</sup> are but some of the many travellers and visitors from the North Atlantic whose work has—comparatively—frequently been thoroughly re-edited and researched. Critical investigations into how European and North American travellers mobilized, relied on, and, in their writings, suppressed and silenced the practical and intellectual assistance they so often received

<sup>23</sup> Sergio J. Chávez (1990), 'A Methodology for Studying the History of Archaeology: An Example from Peru (1524–1900)', in Reyman, Jonathan E. (ed.), *Rediscovering our Past: Essays on the History of American Archaeology* (Worldwide Archaeology Series 2; Aldershot: Avebury): 38–9.

<sup>24</sup> Pascal Riviale (2000), 'L'oeuvre archéologique d'Alcide d'Orbigny', in Laborde Pédelahore, Philippe de (ed.), *Alcide d'Orbigny. À la découverte des nouvelles républiques sud-américaines* (Paris: Atlantica Transhumances). See also Alcide D'orbigny (1835–47), *Voyage dans l'Amérique Meridionale (Le Brésil, l'Argentine, Chile, Bolivia, Pérou) exécuté pendant les années 1823 à 1826*, 9 vols. (Paris).

<sup>25</sup> For biographical reference, see Terry Barnhart (2005), *Ephraim George Squier and the Development of American Anthropology* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press). See also Squier's main publication on his time in Peru, Ephraim George Squier (1877), *Peru. Incidents of Travel and Exploration in the Land of the Incas* (London: Macmillan & Co).

<sup>26</sup> Wiener's main publication resulting from this expedition was Charles Wiener (1880), *Pérou et Bolivie. Récit de voyage suivi d'études archéologiques et ethnographiques et de notes sur l'écriture et les langues des populations indiennes* (Paris: Librairie Hachette).

<sup>27</sup> Francis de Castelnau (1851), *Expédition dans les parties centrales de l'Amérique du Sud, de Rio de Janeiro à Lima, et de Lima au Para; exécutée par ordre du gouvernement français pendant les années 1843 à 1847*, 6 vols. (4; Paris: B. Bertrand). French archaeology in Peru has also been researched in depth. Pascal Riviale (2000), *Los viajeros franceses en busca del Perú Antiguo (1821–1914)* (Lima: IFEA).

<sup>28</sup> On the travels of Wilhelm Reiss and Alphons Stübel, see, for instance, Andreas Brockmann and Michaela Stüttgen (1994), *Tras las huellas—dos viajeros alemanes en tierras latinoamericanas* (Santa Fe de Bogotá: Banco de la República). Their main publication was Wilhelm Reiss and Alphons Stübel (1880–7), *The Necropolis of Ancón in Peru. A Contribution to our Knowledge of the Culture and Industries of the Empire of the Incas Being the Results of Excavations Made on the Spot by W. Reiss and A. Stübel*, trans. Keane, Augustus Henry, 3 vols. (Berlin: Asher).

from Peruvians or Chileans remain scarce.<sup>29</sup> This book draws fundamentally on a trend towards writing a new ‘global history of science’, a history of the webs of linkages and intermediaries that made knowledge and its objects travel.<sup>30</sup> In relation to these debates, historians have made a concerted attempt at decentring the traditionally Euro- and Anglocentric orientation of the history of science by reinserting, among others, the hitherto neglected Iberian world into historical narratives. During the last decade in particular, scholars have studied the systematic gathering of information, plants, curiosities, and knowledge in the Spanish and Portuguese empires.<sup>31</sup> Historians of science in republican Latin America have followed suit, positing that Latin America was not ‘on the periphery’ but in fact leading certain scientific debates.<sup>32</sup> Along these lines, this book gives visibility to agents and collections and to knowledge and ideas hitherto unmentioned or relegated to the margins. The avowed focus on reassembling understudied collectors and students of pre-Columbian antiquities in Peru and Chile, however, does not imply a limitation to the South American sphere. Instead, this book enriches the history of knowledge about

<sup>29</sup> For a critical study of Charles Wiener’s expedition, see Pascal Riviale (2003), ‘Charles Wiener o el disfraz de una misión lúcida’, *Boletín del Instituto Francés de Estudios Andinos* 32 (2).

<sup>30</sup> For a survey, see Sujit Sivasundaram (2010), ‘Introduction’, *Isis Global Histories of Science* (101).

<sup>31</sup> The work of Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra has become emblematic of this field. Jorge Cañizares Esguerra (2006), *Nature, Empire, and Nation. Explorations of the History of Science in the Iberian World* (Stanford: Stanford University Press). For a recent compilation of essays in the field, see Daniela Bleichmar et al. (eds.) (2009), *Science in the Spanish and Portuguese Empires, 1500–1800* (Stanford: Stanford University Press). For a summary of the discussion about the recent reappraisal of Iberian science, see Juan Pimentel (2000), ‘The Iberian Vision: Science and Empire in the Framework of a Universal Monarchy, 1500–1800’, *Osiris* 15.

<sup>32</sup> For studies on the Argentine and Peruvian cases, see Paul Gootenberg (2007), ‘A Forgotten Case of “Scientific Excellence on the Periphery”: The Nationalist Cocaine Science of Alfredo Bignon, 1884–1887’, *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 1 (49); Julia Rodríguez (2004), ‘South Atlantic Crossings: Fingerprints, Science, and the State in Turn-of-the-Century Argentina’, *The American Historical Review* 2 (109). For the Andes, see an early compilation: Cueto (ed.), *Saberes Andinos. Ciencia y tecnología en Bolivia, Ecuador y Perú*. See also López-Ocón, ‘El nacionalismo y los orígenes de la Sociedad Geográfica de Lima’; Leoncio López-Ocón (1998), ‘La exhibición del poder de la ciencia. La América en el escenario de las Exposiciones Universales del siglo XIX’, in Mourao, José Augusto, Cardoso de Matos, Ana Maria, and Guedes, Maria Estela (eds.), *O mundo Iberoamericano nas Grandes Exposicoes do século XIX* (Lisboa: Veja).

pre-Columbian material culture in both Europe and South America. European travellers, immigrants, and scholars resident in or visiting Chile and Peru operated side by side with discourses and practices of collecting and study among those born or living in Spanish America, simultaneously drawing together and blurring the boundaries between preceding and incoming traditions of learning and sociability.<sup>33</sup> Rather than denying the irrefutable impact of Europeans on antiquarian, archaeological, or prehistoric practices and discourses in the Peruvian and Chilean context, this analysis centres on how European and Latin American researches fed into and set the context for each other; how both were interrelated through the movement of objects, knowledge, and people.

This project is premised upon a body of secondary literature on ‘histories of archaeology’; studies adopting a disciplinary angle. Publications in this vein focus, in their vast majority, on key figures and institutional developments produced within the national frameworks of Peru and Chile. In the Peruvian case, the archaeology of the twentieth century—when the discipline of archaeology and the methodologies currently associated with it had come to be in place—has been studied in comparative depth.<sup>34</sup> For the first years of the twentieth century, the figure of the German archaeologist Max Uhle, active in both Peru (1906–11) and Chile (1912–9), has attracted much scholarly attention. His foundational impact on the discipline of archaeology, and in particular on prehistoric archaeology, has often been phrased through a metaphor of paternity in references to him as the ‘father’ of Andean or Peruvian archaeology.<sup>35</sup> Julio C. Tello,

<sup>33</sup> Several essays have recently summarized the paradigms of a new, non-Eurocentric history of science. Lissa Roberts (2009), ‘Situating Science in Global History. Local Exchanges and Networks of Circulation’, *Itinerario* XXXIII (1); Sujit Sivasundaram (2010), ‘Sciences and the Global: On Methods, Questions, and Theory’, *Isis* Global Histories of Science (101).

<sup>34</sup> See for instance, Manuel Aguirre-Morales (2005), *La arqueología social en el Perú* (Oxford: British Archaeological Reports); Richard L. Burger (1989), ‘An Overview of Peruvian Archaeology (1976–1986)’, *Annual Review of Anthropology* 18; Henry Tantaleán (2008), ‘Las miradas andinas: arqueologías y nacionalismos en el Perú del siglo XX’, *Arqueología Suramericana* 4 (1).

<sup>35</sup> For an early important study, see John Howland Rowe (1954), ‘Max Uhle, 1856–1944: A Memoir of the Father of Peruvian Archaeology’, *University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology* 46 (1). Peter Kaulicke has edited a collaborative volume that compiles recent research into Uhle’s life and work. Peter Kaulicke (ed.) (1998), *Max Uhle y el Perú Antiguo* (Lima: PUCP Fondo Editorial). For a critical reading of narratives about Uhle’s role in Peru, see Stefanie Gänger (2008),

widely considered to be instrumental in the institutionalization of the 'scientific' discipline in early twentieth-century Peru and its use in political nationalism, has been studied similarly extensively.<sup>36</sup> The focus on key figures such as Uhle or Tello has legitimated the creation of lineages that have permeated the history of the discipline within Peru up to the present.<sup>37</sup> Due to the focus on key figures and a disciplinary framework, historians have tended to dismiss amateur erudition and private collections prior to the arrival of Max Uhle in Peru: Peruvians' collections and studies of antiquities have been waved aside as mere 'entertainment' for 'adventurers and treasure hunters', men devoted to 'alchemy rather than archaeology'.<sup>38</sup> Up to the present day, several historians exclude nineteenth-century collections and studies because they see them as separate from the emergence of the discipline of archaeology, pursuing 'dilettantish' or commercial interests alone.<sup>39</sup> One of the few works on archaeological and antiquarian practices prior to the early twentieth-century consolidation and institutionalization of the discipline is a 1970 compilation of texts by the 'precursors' of Peruvian archaeology. Although phrased in terms of narratives about 'origins' and 'discovery', the compilation still puts valuable biographical data and primary material at the historian's disposal. And, while the editors focus on European visitors, they also include some select Peruvian intellectuals.<sup>40</sup> For

'La Mirada Imperialista? Los alemanes y la arqueología peruana', *Histórica* 3 (2). For Uhle's work in the Chilean context, see Percy Dauelsberg (1995), 'Dr Max Uhle: Su permanencia en Chile de 1912 a 1919', *Beiträge zur Allgemeinen und Vergleichenden Archäologie* 15.

<sup>36</sup> There are several recent, detailed studies of Julio C. Tello's life and impact on early twentieth-century Peruvian archaeology. A survey can be found in César W. Astuhumán Gonzáles and Richard E. Daggett (2005), 'Julio César Tello Rojas: Una biografía', in Daggett, Richard E. (ed.), *Julio C. Tello. Paracas Primera Parte* (Lima: Museo de Arqueología y Antropología de San Marcos).

<sup>37</sup> A case in point is the persisting legacy of ideas about 'indigenist' and 'foreign' archaeology in the wake of Julio C. Tello and Max Uhle. Peter Kaulicke (1998), 'Julio C. Tello vs. Max Uhle en la emergencia de la arqueología peruana y sus consecuencias', in Kaulicke (ed.), *Max Uhle y el Perú Antiguo*.

<sup>38</sup> Federico Kauffmann Doig (1963), 'El Perú y los Arqueólogos Alemanes', *Humboldt. Revista para el Mundo Ibérico* (23): 65.

<sup>39</sup> Luis Lumbreras, 'Apuntes sobre Julio C. Tello, el Maestro', *Colección Digital de la Universidad Mayor Nacional de San Marcos* (Last accessed 17 August 2012) <[http://sisbib.unmsm.edu.pe/bibvirtualdata/publicaciones/san\\_marcos/n24\\_2006/a10.pdf](http://sisbib.unmsm.edu.pe/bibvirtualdata/publicaciones/san_marcos/n24_2006/a10.pdf)>.

<sup>40</sup> Duccio Bonavia and Rogger Ravines (eds.) (1970), *Arqueología peruana: precursores* (Lima: Casa de la Cultura del Perú). Similarly structured works by Ravines examined select key figures, discoveries, and methodological hallmarks. Rogger

Chile, the history of archaeology has long attracted little attention. The publications of Mario Orellana stand out in this context for their examination of the nineteenth century, although their focus rests on the period after 1882. Orellana's main work on the history of archaeology in Chile has recorded a vast array of publications and institutions engaged in antiquarian and archaeological practices during the later part of the nineteenth century, making valuable sources accessible and known. For the Chilean context, Orellana has been instrumental in forging new narratives that place the scholarship of foreign scientists such as Max Uhle in a local context of institutions and informal networks.<sup>41</sup> All of these studies provide important groundwork for any project on the collecting and study of antiquities in Peru and Chile. This book diverges from earlier approaches primarily in that it does not see the history of archaeology as a teleological project bound to trace the emergence of a discipline—it is not structured in terms of 'precursors', father figures, and lineages. Rather than assess error, novelty, or discovery, it seeks to emphasize the structure, transformation, and relations of discourses and practices.

This book is premised upon a vast array of research into Latin American museums, state symbolism, and history-writing that provides a valuable basis and context for understanding the collecting and study of antiquities in Peru and Chile. The work of David Brading, and others in his wake, has opened up research on Creole discourses about the past in showing how Spaniards born in the New World created an American identity, with its distinctive intellectual and political traditions, through an engagement with America's pre-Columbian past as the historical foundations of their countries.<sup>42</sup> Latin American museums have received considerable attention in recent years and the institutional history particularly of the Chilean but also of the Peruvian National Museum is therefore relatively well

Ravines (1970), *100 años de arqueología en el Perú* (Lima: IEP); Rogger Ravines (1989), *Introducción a una bibliografía general de la arqueología del Perú (1860–1988)* (Lima: Editorial Los Pinos).

<sup>41</sup> Mario Orellana Rodríguez (1994), *Prehistoria y etnología de Chile* (Santiago de Chile: Bravo y Allende Editores); Mario Orellana Rodríguez (1996), *Historia de la arqueología en Chile (1842–1990)* (Santiago de Chile: Bravo y Allende Editores).

<sup>42</sup> David Brading (1991), *The First America: The Spanish Monarchy, Creole Patriots, and the Liberal State 1492–1867* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).



understood.<sup>43</sup> Rebecca Earle's study on the symbol of the 'native' in state imageries in Meso- and South America examines aspects of official imageries, political rhetoric, and archaeological discourses for Peru and Chile.<sup>44</sup> For the Peruvian case, Natalia Majluf's research into the representation of indigeneity in nineteenth-century art has been fundamental for an understanding of collections and studies of antiquities in Peru.<sup>45</sup> Investigations into the history of archaeology and antiquarianism in Colombia, Puerto Rico, and Argentina serve to situate this study in a continental perspective.<sup>46</sup> For the Chilean case, national historical exhibitions have been studied in the context of

<sup>43</sup> On the Chilean National Museum, see Patience A. Schell (2001), 'Capturing Chile: Santiago's Museo Nacional during the Nineteenth Century', *Journal of Latin American Cultural Studies* 10. For histories of the Peruvian National Museum, see Teodoro Hampe Martínez (1998), 'Max Uhle y los orígenes del Museo de Historia Nacional (Lima, 1906–1911)', in Kaulicke (ed.), *Max Uhle y el Perú Antiguo*; Rogger Ravines (1989), *Los museos del Perú. Breve historia y guía* (Lima: Dirección General de Museos, Instituto Nacional de Cultura); Julio C. Tello and Toribio Mejía Xesspe (1967), 'Historia de los museos nacionales del Perú', *Arqueológicas: Publicaciones del Instituto de investigaciones antropológicas* 10. See also references to both museums in the work of Rebecca Earle. Rebecca Earle (2006), 'Monumentos y museos: la nacionalización del pasado precolombino durante el siglo XIX', in González-Stephan, Beatriz, and Andermann, Jens (eds.), *Galerías del Progreso. Museos, exposiciones y cultura visual en América Latina* (Rosario: Beatriz Viterbo). For a survey of the history of museums in nineteenth-century Latin America, see Maria Margaret Lopes and Irina Podgorny (2000), 'The Shaping of Latin American Museums of Natural History, 1850–1990', *Osiris* 15 (Nature and Empire: Science and the Colonial Enterprise).

<sup>44</sup> Earle, *The Return of the Native*.

<sup>45</sup> Natalia Majluf (2005), 'De la rebelión al museo: genealogías y retratos de los incas, 1781–1900', in Cummins, Thomas et al. (eds.), *Los incas, reyes del Perú* (Lima: Banco de Crédito); Natalia Majluf (2006), 'Los fabricantes de emblemas: Los símbolos nacionales en la transición republicana: Perú, 1820–1825', *Visión y símbolos. Del Virreinato criollo a la República peruana* (Lima: Banco de Crédito). I thank Natalia Majluf for a copy of her PhD dissertation: Natalia Majluf, *The Creation of the Image of the Indian in 19th-Century Peru: The Paintings of Francisco Laso (1823–1869)* (Unpublished PhD Dissertation, University of Texas, 1996).

<sup>46</sup> For a detailed study of nineteenth-century antiquarianism and archaeology in Colombia, see Clara Isabel Botero (2006), *El redescubrimiento del pasado prehispánico de Colombia* (Bogotá: Instituto Colombiano de Antropología e Historia). For insights into Puerto Rican and Cuban archaeology during the nineteenth century in resistance to Spanish historical narratives, see Chapter 3 in Christopher Schmidt-Nowara (2006), *The Conquest of History. Spanish Colonialism and National Histories in the Nineteenth Century* (Pittsburgh, Penn.: University of Pittsburgh Press). On the development of prehistory and archaeology in Argentina, see Irina Podgorny and Maria Margaret Lopes (2008), *El desierto en una vitrina. Museos e historia natural en la Argentina, 1810–1890* (Mexico: LIMUSA); Podgorny, *El sendero del tiempo y de las causas accidentales*.

an interest in nineteenth-century heritage policies.<sup>47</sup> Although the Peruvian and Chilean exhibition of archaeological artefacts at the Universal Exhibitions, the Congresses of the Americanists, and the Pan-American Congresses remain to be studied in depth, particular aspects of the Peruvian involvement in these international forums have been analysed.<sup>48</sup> Studies of nineteenth-century history-writing in both Chile and Peru, particularly where they discuss the inscription of a native past in historical narratives, likewise serve to contextualize enquiries into archaeology and antiquarianism.<sup>49</sup> General reflections on the practice of antiquities collecting provide theoretical underpinning,<sup>50</sup> while historical studies on collections of pre-Columbian material culture in Latin America, and of ancient art beyond Latin America and Europe, supply comparative elements.<sup>51</sup> Numerous studies on museums further afield,

<sup>47</sup> Luis Alegría Licuime and Gloria Núñez Rodríguez (2007), 'La política patrimonial de Benjamín Vicuña Mackenna: rescate e invención', *Estudios de Arte*; Luis Alegría Licuime and Gloria Núñez Rodríguez (2007), 'Patrimonio y modernización en Chile (1910): La Exposición Histórica del Centenario', *Atenea* (495).

<sup>48</sup> Natalia Majluf (1997), "Ce n'est pas le Pérou", or the Failure of Authenticity: Marginal Cosmopolitans at the Paris Universal Exhibition of 1855', *Critical Inquiry* 23; Luis Felipe Villacorta Ostolaza (2007), 'La colección de minerales del Perú de Raimondi en la Exposición de París de 1878: Una república periférica en los ojos de la metrópoli', in Villacorta Ostolaza, Luis Felipe (ed.), *Minerales del Perú y la búsqueda de una imagen republicana* (Lima: Fondo Editorial UNMSM). For a survey of the Congresses of the Americanists, see Comas, *Congresos Americanistas*.

<sup>49</sup> Reflections on historiography in Peru can be found, for instance, in the work of Joseph Dager Alva and Mark Thurner. Joseph Dager Alva (2000), 'La historiografía peruana de la segunda mitad del siglo XIX. Una presentación inicial a través de la obra de José Toribio Polo', *Revista Complutense de Historia de América* (26); Mark Thurner (2003), 'Peruvian Genealogies of History and Nation', in Thurner, Mark and Guerrero, Andrés (eds.), *After Spanish Rule: Postcolonial Predicaments of the Americas* (Durham: Duke University Press).

<sup>50</sup> Pearce, *On Collecting*, 23–5. Since the 1990s in particular, collecting practices have been subject to philosophical and theoretical reflections. For new approaches to ethnographic collecting, see, for instance, O'Hanlon (2000), 'Introduction'.

<sup>51</sup> For the history of collecting in Latin America, Mexico and Argentina are better understood than most other countries, including Chile and Peru. Máximo E. Farro (2009), *La formación del Museo de la Plata. Coleccionistas, comerciantes, estudiosos y naturalistas viajeros a fines del siglo XIX* (Rosario: Protohistoria ediciones); Ian Graham (1993), 'Three Early Collectors in Mesoamerica', in Hill Boone, Elizabeth (ed.), *Collecting the pre-Columbian Past. A Symposium at Dumbarton Oaks, 6th and 7th October 1990* (Washington D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection). For the history of collecting in India, for instance, see Bernard S. Cohn (1992), 'The Transformation of Objects into Artifacts, Antiquities and Art in Nineteenth Century India', in Stoler Miller, Barbara (ed.), *The Powers of Art: Patronage in Indian Culture* (Delhi: Oxford University Press); Maya Jasanoff (2005), *Edge of Empire: Lives, Culture, and Conquest in the East, 1750–1850* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf).

particularly in Europe and North America, likewise provide a theoretical and comparative background.<sup>52</sup> All of these studies, though not explicitly or exclusively concerned with archaeological, prehistoric, or antiquarian discourses and practices of collecting and study in Peru and Chile, help complement and contextualize this research.

During the past three decades, a new critical history of archaeology that views the discipline in relation to processes of identity formation has gained currency. The relationship between ideology and archaeology was already being discussed during the 1980s.<sup>53</sup> In 1984, Bruce G. Trigger published a seminal article that strongly influenced subsequent discussions about the socio-political contexts of archaeological research. Trigger argued that the role of the particular nation state in a world system shapes the nature of archaeological research, thus dividing archaeologies along national, imperial, and colonial lines.<sup>54</sup> Historians of archaeology have subsequently diverged in various ways from Trigger's argument but the categories developed by him continue to pervade research into the relationship between archaeology and ideology. A branch in the historiography of European archaeology has focused on nationalism as a formative context in the development of the discipline and studied the role of archaeology in forging presumed ancestors for groups aspiring to nationhood.<sup>55</sup> Other historians have stressed colonialism and imperialism—the latter understood by Trigger as an expansionist national tradition—as

<sup>52</sup> On the Pitt Rivers Museum in Oxford, see, for instance, Gosden and Larson, *Knowing Things*. For a classic volume on museums, see Tony Bennett (1995), *The Birth of the Museum. History, Theory, Politics* (London: Routledge).

<sup>53</sup> See for instance the following classic works: David Lowenthal (1985), *The Past is a Foreign Country* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press); Neil Asher Silberman (1989), *Between Past and Present: Archaeology, Ideology, and Nationalism in the Modern Middle East* (New York: Henry Holt); Bruce G. Trigger (1989), *A History of Archaeological Thought* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).

<sup>54</sup> Bruce G. Trigger (1984), 'Alternative Archaeologies: Nationalist, Colonialist, Imperialist', *Man* (19).

<sup>55</sup> Important studies in this context were Margarita Díaz-Andreu and Timothy Champion (1996), 'Nationalism and Archaeology in Europe: An Introduction', in Kohl, Philip, and Fawcett, Claire (eds.), *Nationalism and Archaeology in Europe* (London: UCL Press); Philip Kohl (1998), 'Nationalism and Archaeology: On the Constructions of Nations and the Reconstructions of the Remote Past', *Annual Review of Anthropology* (27).

formative contexts in the development of the discipline.<sup>56</sup> Studies have also focused on how postcolonial nationalist movements appropriated archaeological discourses and practices in processes of emancipation.<sup>57</sup> Margarita Díaz-Andreu's *World History of Archaeology* constitutes a comprehensive synthesis of the diverse investigations carried out under the umbrella of research into the relationship between archaeology, nationalism, and colonialism.<sup>58</sup>

While much of this research has been welcome, too narrow a focus on nationalism or imperialism bears the danger of reducing the historical study of archaeology to only some of its possible dimensions. Research into the relationship between ideology and archaeology is important and indispensable where it situates archaeology as a product of history. It must allow, however, for the fragmentation of knowledge and senses of belonging, and the limited or inconsistent reach of political ideologies. In antiquarianism and archaeology in nineteenth-century Peru and Chile the sense of belonging to a fatherland or nation was by no means exclusive or persistent. Regionalist traditions, more than any sense of belonging to the Peruvian nation, underlay and forged Cuzco antiquarianism. In Araucanía, settler communities maintained coexisting loyalties with the homeland and among emigrant compatriots, and 'indigenous intellectuals,'<sup>59</sup> involvement in practices of collecting and study, as well as many

<sup>56</sup> See for instance, studies on Libya and South Africa: Stefan Altekamp (2000), *Rückkehr nach Afrika: italienische Kolonialarchäologie in Libyen 1911–1943* (Cologne: Böhlau); Henrika Kuklick (1991), 'Contested Monuments. The Politics of Archaeology in Southern Africa', in Stocking, George W. (ed.), *Colonial Situations. Essays of the Contextualization of Ethnographic Knowledge* (London: University of Wisconsin Press).

<sup>57</sup> Donald Malcolm Reid, for instance, studied the role of archaeology in European imperial claims to Egypt, but pointed also to how Egyptians re-appropriated the past for nationalism. Donald Malcolm Reid (2002), *Whose Pharaohs? Archaeology, Museums, and Egyptian National Identity from Napoleon to World War I* (Berkeley: University of California Press).

<sup>58</sup> Margarita Díaz-Andreu (2007), *A World History of Nineteenth-Century Archaeology: Nationalism, Colonialism, and the Past* (Oxford: Oxford University Press).

<sup>59</sup> Like studies on 'peasant intellectuals', scholarly debates about 'indigenous intellectuals' are inspired by a Gramscian notion of the 'organic intellectual', referring to men and women engaged in directive or educative activities within their societies. For an important study on 'peasant intellectuals', see Steven Feierman (1990), *Peasant Intellectuals: Anthropology and History in Tanzania* (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press). For a discussion of the term 'indigenous intellectual' see, for instance, Gabriela Ramos Cárdenas and Yanna Yannakakis (forthcoming), *Indigenous Intellectuals: Knowledge, Power, and Colonial Culture in New Spain and the Andes*.

scholars' attempts to place themselves in a transatlantic scientific community, further complicate the picture. Collective identities, be it the nation, the globe, or the region, in turn, were not invariably on the minds of men and women who collected and studied antiquities. Research into the history of archaeology benefits from the turn to practice theory that marked a profound change in the history of science: situating the production of knowledge in everyday and public life, in its social and material dimension, prevents the historian from seeing political identity as an isolated factor.<sup>60</sup> Chileans', and in particular, Peruvians' collecting was inexorably intertwined with a market in antiquities by the late nineteenth century.<sup>61</sup> Sociability—connections, upward mobility, and economies of friendship—likewise grounded the intellectual circles in urban Peru and Chile and the collectors' networks across the Atlantic.<sup>62</sup> In nineteenth-century Peru and Chile, archaeological practice lay predominantly in the hands of amateurs, hence individuals, driven by their personal anxieties and interests, financed by their private fortunes, and conditioned by the expertise and the limitations their professional and personal lives entailed. It is plausible that in nineteenth-century Europe or twentieth-century Latin America—where the nation state often financed professional research and constituted the cultural and political setting for the collecting and study of pre-Columbian material culture—politics and ideology bore upon scholarly practices and discourses. It is also to be expected, however, that where the state was little involved in scholarship, where individuals financed and constituted the setting, the nation state would not be the only, and in most cases, not even a significant underpinning. Historical studies of science and colonialism, or science and nationalism, have persisted

<sup>60</sup> See Andrew Pickering (1992), *Science as Practice and Culture* (Chicago/London: University of Chicago Press).

<sup>61</sup> For reflections on the interrelation between economic concerns and intellectual pursuits, see Chapters 1 and 3. On the trade in Andean antiquities during the nineteenth century, see Karen O. Bruhns and Nancy L. Kelker (2009), *Faking the Ancient Andes* (Walnut Creek, Calif.: Left Coast Press).

<sup>62</sup> On the role of friendship in scholarship, see, for instance, Vanessa Smith (2010), *Intimate Strangers: Friendship, Exchange and Pacific Encounters* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press); Anke Te Heesen (2001), 'Vom naturgeschichtlichen Investor zum Staatsdiener. Sammler und Sammlungen der Gesellschaft Naturforschender Freunde zu Berlin um 1800', in Te Heesen, Anke, and Spary, Emma C. (eds.), *Sammeln als Wissen. Das Sammeln und seine wissenschaftsgeschichtliche Bedeutung* (Göttingen: Wallstein Verlag).

in focusing on success stories, on how science and states productively established symbiotic relationships. The association between the state and antiquarianism or archaeology in nineteenth-century Peru, but also in Chile, is, rather than a success story, one in which the connection between the state and science broke down at several points, or where it was often non-existent.<sup>63</sup> Loyalty to a nation or homeland, of little significance to these men's antiquarian and archaeological interests when 'at home' and by themselves in Cuzco's, Santiago's, or Lima's antiquarian circles, came to matter crucially, however, in one of the situations related in this book: in the aftermath of the War of the Pacific, when these same men met, debated, and argued about archaeology under the impression of the shared experience of the conflict. Antiquities that had hitherto expressed a multiplicity and diversity of concerns and anxieties, of curiosities and interests, were made to speak of ancestry and national identity, of borders and race, in the debates over and surrounding the war. Processes of political identity formation and the construction of nationhood could thus be at the basis or come to influence archaeological and antiquarian discourses and practices, but they were neither exclusive nor ubiquitous in their impact. This is not to imply the existence of a 'normal' archaeological tradition untainted by its historical context. Rather, it is to say that the political was always only one aspect of a wider historical setting—one that encompassed friendship and sociability, economic needs and ambitions, or a desire for recognition, both at home and in a transatlantic scholarly community.

## THROUGH THE LIVES OF OBJECTS

Each 'object biography' leads the discussion of a central discourse or theme that underlay and was formative to the particular field of collections and studies under scrutiny. Chapter One reassembles the

<sup>63</sup> Matthew Crawford lucidly criticizes the idea that historical studies of science and colonialism have persisted in focusing on success stories. Matthew James Crawford (2007), "Para desterrar las dudas y adulteraciones": Scientific Expertise and the Attempts to Make a Better Bark for the Royal Monopoly of *Quina*, *Journal of Spanish Cultural Studies* 8 (2): 206.

antiquarian landscape of Cuzco; the learned circles, private collections and salon-museums of antiquities associated with Incan culture. The trajectory of an Incan headband, a *mascapaycha*, leads into a discussion about changes in the temporalities of Incan culture. The second chapter analyses antiquarian and archaeological discourses and practices in Lima. Following an Incan *kipu*, it endeavours to imagine the cords' many lives in pre-Columbian and colonial times, traces their sojourn in Lima's lively antiquarian circles, and follows them on their journey to Europe, where they were exhibited in the parlours and museums of Paris, London, and Berlin. Both Centeno's *mascapaycha* and Macedo's *kipu* found a final resting place in the Königliches Museum für Völkerkunde in Berlin (1873, inaugurated in 1886)—Berlin's Ethnological Museum—a telling and expressive correlation. Not only was Berlin's museum one of the largest of the world's collecting museums by the end of the nineteenth century; the new German nation, without the large African and Asian empires of Britain and France, had long put the study of South America first (see Figure 0.2 for a late nineteenth-century map). Particularly in the wake of Alexander von Humboldt's writings on Latin America and its pre-Columbian societies following his journeys there from 1799 to 1804, travel reports and the collecting and study of South American pre-Columbian material culture came to occupy a central place in German public culture.<sup>64</sup>

The third chapter moves south, to Chile: it examines the collection and study of Araucanian material culture during and in the aftermath of the Chilean conquest of the formerly 'free' territories of Araucanía. Structured along the life of an Araucanian 'Indian', Pascual Coña, the chapter traces how he became the 'last of his kind', a relic of the past like other Araucanian 'antiquities'. Chapter Four compares the developments in Peruvian and Chilean archaeology during the decades following the War of the Pacific, with particular attention to the transfer of ideas. After the defeat of Peru and Bolivia by Chile, the Chilean nation state annexed parts of the Peruvian territory—

<sup>64</sup> On Germans' fascination with South America, see, for instance, Susanne Zantop (1997), *Colonial Fantasies: Conquest, Family, and Nation in Pre-Colonial Germany, 1770–1870* (Durham: Duke University Press). See also Sandra Rebok (2005), 'La constitución de la investigación antropológica alemana a finales del siglo XIX: Actores y lugares del saber americanista', in López-Ocón, Leoncio, and Chaumeil, Jean-Pierre (eds.), *Los Americanistas del siglo XIX. La construcción de una comunidad científica internacional* (Frankfurt/M.: Iberoamericana).



Fig. 0.2. Map of South America. Americanized Encyclopaedia Britannica, Volume 1, Chicago 1892.

the province of Tarapacá—in perpetuity and unconditionally, and occupied the adjacent Peruvian provinces of Tacna and Arica until 1929. After 1929, Chile retained Arica and Peru reincorporated Tacna. The war and the subsequent struggle over the borderlands in the Atacama Desert marked the beginning of a long period of animosity



between Chile and Peru. Through the lens of debates about a ceramic pot found near Valdivia that became the contentious symbol of an Incan antiquity in Chile, the fourth chapter represents a point of culmination and synthesis, pulling together strings from all the previous chapters through the lens of the War of the Pacific. The conflict and its aftermath provide common ground for the ‘entangled history’ of the different settings under consideration; they allow for a comparison between the discourses and practices in Cuzco and Lima, and Araucanía.

Because each of the regional contexts follows its own logic and temporality, the time frame for the book—ranging from 1837 to 1911—encompasses slight variations in the sub-chronologies. Chapter One begins around the year 1837, when an article by the Incan descendant Justo Apu Sahuaraura in the Cuzco journal *Museo Erudito* sealed the reconfiguration of the Inca into an ancient civilization.<sup>65</sup> Chapter Two begins with the year 1851, when the influential atlas *Peruvian Antiquities (Antigüedades Peruanas)*, which resulted from Rivero’s collaboration with Johann Jakob von Tschudi, was first published.<sup>66</sup> For chapters Three and Four, source material has mainly been examined for the period after 1853, when Rudolph Philippi first came to Chile’s National Museum. Chapter Two ends with the year 1906, when Uhle’s employment as the director of Lima’s newly refounded National Museum marked a new beginning for archaeology—as an institutionalized, a national, and a nationalist discipline with increasingly professional

<sup>65</sup> His full name was Justo Apu Sahuaraura Inca Ramos Tito Atauchi Yaurac de Ariza Titu Condemaita. For a short biography, see ‘Sahuaraura, Justo (Cuzco 1770—Canas?),’ in Alberto Tauro, *Enciclopedia Ilustrada del Perú. Síntesis del conocimiento integral del Perú, desde sus orígenes hasta la actualidad*, ed. Alberto Tauro (Lima: PEISA, 2001). Sahuaraura died in 1848, on 11 November. ‘Un amigo suyo’, ‘Carta al editor’, *El Demócrata Americano*, 24 November 1848.

<sup>66</sup> Rivero intended an earlier, 1841 edition, of *Peruvian Antiquities (Antigüedades Peruanas)* focusing on pre-Columbian sites in the country’s north, as the first of a two-volume publication. Mariano Eduardo de Rivero y Ustariz (1841), *Antigüedades peruanas. Parte primera* (Lima: Imprenta de José Masías). Rivero authored a second version of *Peruvian Antiquities*, comprising north and south, with the Swiss scholar Johann Jakob von Tschudi. It was published in Spanish in 1851 and a few years later in English translation. According to the preface, Rivero sent the manuscript to Tschudi, who added ‘thereto observations on the Peruvian crania, Quichuan language, religion, &c. [...]’ Mariano Eduardo de Rivero y Ustariz and Johann Jakob von Tschudi (1851), *Antigüedades Peruanas* (Vienna: Imprenta Imperial de la Corte y del Estado). For the English version, see Mariano Eduardo de Rivero y Ustariz and Johann Jakob von Tschudi (1857), *Peruvian Antiquities*, trans. Hawks, Francis L. (2 edn.; New York: Putnam): XIII.

practitioners. Chapters One, Three and Four close around 1911, when the Yale Expedition under Hiram Bingham to Machu Picchu moved Cuzco archaeology into the international limelight, and shortly before Uhle's arrival in Santiago.

Although the focus rests on the decades between the 1830s and the 1910s, the time frame for this book widens beyond the given period at various points: it looks forward to the early twentieth and back to the late eighteenth centuries. A quest for origins will invariably result in eternal regress, and the interest in antiquities did not 'originate' at a given moment or in a given place. The second half of the eighteenth century, however, constituted a catalytic moment that forged and transformed ideas about pre-Columbian remains in ways that rendered developments in the nineteenth century possible. The blossoming of Creole and Spanish collections and studies of antiquities, the inclusion of antiquities experts in the Spanish expeditions, and the publication of studies on ruins in the late eighteenth-century Americas were intertwined with an unprecedented interest in classical antiquities in Europe following the excavations of spectacular Roman sites during the second half of the eighteenth century. American antiquarianism became a socially acceptable practice in the second half of the eighteenth century, and the pre-Columbian remains of America collectible as antiquities. Early twentieth-century indigenism, a movement that strongly drew on and was intertwined with the creation of an archaeological imagery for the Peruvian and, to a lesser extent, the Chilean state, has long been seen as an isolated phenomenon.<sup>67</sup> Situating indigenist discourses and practices in the *longue durée* of discourses about indigeneity, and uncovering the connections between the institutionalization of archaeology in that period and earlier collections and investigations, elucidates hitherto neglected continuities between the nineteenth century and the comparatively well-studied early twentieth-century elevation of pre-Columbian material culture into the sphere of official representation.

<sup>67</sup> For a survey of Latin American indigenisms and the pre-Columbian past, see Chapter 7, in Earle, *The Return of the Native*. On Peru, see, for instance, Natalia Majluf (2004), 'El Indigenismo', in Wuffarden, Luis Eduardo et al. (eds.), *Enciclopedia Temática del Perú. Arte y Arquitectura* (15; Lima: El Comercio): 126–36; Thomas C. Patterson and Peter R. Schmidt (1995), 'Archaeology, History, Indigenismo, and the State in Peru and Mexico', in Patterson, Thomas C., and Schmidt, Peter R. (eds.), *Making Alternative Histories: The Practice of Archaeology and History in Non-Western Settings* (Santa Fe: School of American Research Press).

# 1

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## The Mascapaycha

### *Collections of Incan Antiquities in Cuzco*

In the decades following the Wars of Independence, the city of Cuzco became home to a lively community of collectors of ‘Incan antiquities’. Many men and women in the former capital of the Incan Empire owned a collection or at least a few antiquities. Travellers who visited Cuzco noted the collections of the city’s elites, openly on display in their mansions, some in separate museum-salons, others spread out, as the French traveller Laurent Saint-Cricq—better known under his pseudonym Paul Marcoy—relates, in the living rooms, ‘on the tables and mirror consoles’.<sup>1</sup> At Ana María Centeno de Romainville’s, acquaintances from the Cuzco area and visitors from abroad alike admired a particularly grandiose private collection. In the midst of almost one thousand ‘antiquities’ she had assembled by the mid-century—including clay pots, wooden jars, precious metal plates, and woven tunics—visitors also saw some pieces of jewellery that were said to have once belonged to the nobles of the Incan Empire: ‘the sceptres the Incas and *kurakas* [Indian nobles] used, the earrings that distinguished the nobles, the princesses’ rings and brooches [. . .]’<sup>2</sup> and ‘[a] face-piece [*frentera*] (machapay), or adornment of the Incas, of *gold*, eight centimetres long and five centimetres wide [. . .]’.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Edgar Rivera Martínez (ed.) (2001), *Paul Marcoy: Viaje a través de América del Sur* (Lima: IFEA): 362. Note, also, the Frenchman Castelnau’s descriptions of the ancient artefacts Cuzco families kept in their homes. Castelnau, *Expédition dans les parties centrales de l’Amérique du Sud*, 244.

<sup>2</sup> Ricardo Dávalos y Lissón, ‘El Museo de la Señora Centeno’, *El Correo del Perú*, 5 September 1875, 290–1: 291.

<sup>3</sup> [Emphasis in original] (1876), *Catálogo del Museo de la señora Centeno* (Lima: Imprenta de la Merced): Sección Cuarta, N. 883.

We have no comprehensive historical study of Cuzco archaeology, antiquarianism, and collecting during the nineteenth century.<sup>4</sup> Following the *machaipay*—or as historians commonly refer to the piece today, *mascapaycha*—in Centeno’s collection, this chapter maps out Cuzco archaeology, antiquarianism, and collecting as a cultural, social, and intellectual landscape during the second half of the nineteenth century, when the *mascapaycha* had found a momentary resting place in Centeno’s collection. Before turning to Cuzco collections, however, this study begins by looking back at the life the *mascapaycha* might have led as a symbol of Incan power before it was turned into an antiquity and put in a museum. During the 1880s, Centeno’s collection was sold to the Berlin Ethnological Museum and the chapter ends by looking at the piece’s afterlife, and that of its many counterparts, in one of the world’s large collecting museums.

## INCAN MATERIAL CULTURE UNDER SPANISH RULE

A red fringe or tassel hanging from the *llauto*, a braid wrapped around the head, the *mascapaycha* constituted the most important Incan royal insignia before the conquest.<sup>5</sup> Above the fringe was the

<sup>4</sup> Some historians have referred to collecting practices among Cuzqueños during the second half of the nineteenth century. José Tamayo Herrera includes comments on some Cuzco collections in the context of his work on Cuzco indigenism. José Tamayo Herrera (1980), *Historia del indigenismo cuzqueño, siglos XVI–XX* (Lima: Instituto Nacional de Cultura): 115–33. Pascal Riviale has worked on Peruvian archaeological societies, and referred to Cuzco foundations. Pascal Riviale (1998), ‘L’archéologie péruvienne et ses modèles au XIXe siècle’, in Lempérière, Annick et al. (eds.), *L’Amérique Latine et des modèles européens* (Paris: l’Harmattan). Carlos A. Forment, in the context of his work on civil society, has mentioned collecting practices and learned societies related to archaeology in Cuzco. Carlos A. Forment (1999), ‘La sociedad civil en el Perú del siglo XIX: democrática o disciplinaria’, in Sabato, Hilda (ed.), *Ciudadanía política y formación de las naciones* (México: Fondo de Cultura Económica). Natalia Majluf has referred to antiquarian practices in Cuzco in the context of her work on visual representations of the Inca, and their increasing association with archaeology in the nineteenth century. Majluf, ‘De la rebelión al museo’.

<sup>5</sup> For an early study of the origins and possible symbolic meanings of the *mascapaycha* see for instance the work of Juan Larrea. Juan Larrea (1960), *Corona Incaica* (Córdoba: Facultad de Filosofía y Humanidades. Universidad Nacional de Córdoba). For a more recent study on the colonial *mascapaycha*, see in particular Chapters 5, 6 and 7 in Carolyn Dean (1999), *Inka Bodies and the Body of Christ: Corpus Christi in Colonial Cuzco* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press).

*tupaqochor*, a golden plaque, and rising above that, on a stick, was a 'pompon' from the top of which three distinct feathers emerged. So significant was the fringe that the entire headdress was also known as the *mascapaycha*.<sup>6</sup> Before the Spanish invasion, the *mascapaycha* designated the supremacy and qualities of the governor, underlined his military strength, and stressed the generosity of his relationship with subject populations. With the fall of Vilcabamba in 1572 and the execution of Inca Túpac Amaru, the use of symbols of power by Incan sovereigns to display authority came to an end. The Spanish recognized the *mascapaycha*'s symbolic value, and Philip II had the crowns of the last two Inca emperors, Huayna Capac and Atahualpa, taken for his collection at El Escorial.<sup>7</sup> Although conquest and colonization ended Incan rule, the insignia of power did not disappear but rather persisted in the hands of the Incan descendants, or of those who claimed to be.<sup>8</sup> After 1683 Indians could be raised to nobility if they demonstrated their Incan descent. The Indian nobility received privileges and deference. They had an officially sanctioned institutional presence and enjoyed exemption from taxes.<sup>9</sup> The process reinforced the Crown's authority because it constituted the source of Indians' social recognition, but at the same time claims to Incan descent became the medium to advance in society.<sup>10</sup> In this context, not only documents, but also the passing down and possession of objects that recalled Incan times became key in corroborating privileges and symbolizing elite belonging among Andeans. In early colonial Cuzco, wills testify that members of the indigenous elite left their heirs with the 'prestige of the lineage, the condition of nobility' and Incan

<sup>6</sup> Dean, *Inka Bodies and the Body of Christ*, 128.

<sup>7</sup> Thomas Cummins (2004), 'Silver Threads and Gold Needles: The Inca, the Spanish, and the Sacred World of Humanity', in Phipps, Elena, Hecht, Johanna, and Esteras Martín, Cristina (eds.), *The Colonial Andes. Tapestries and Silverwork, 1530–1830* (New Haven/London: Yale University Press): 11.

<sup>8</sup> Gabriela Ramos Cárdenas (2005), 'Los símbolos de poder inca durante el virreinato', in Cummins, Thomas et al. (eds.), *Los incas, reyes del Perú* (Lima: Banco de Crédito): 43–4.

<sup>9</sup> David Garrett (2005), *Shadows of Empire. The Indian Nobility of Cusco, 1750–1825* (New York: Cambridge University Press): 76.

<sup>10</sup> Juan Carlos Estenssoro Fuchs (2005), 'Construyendo la memoria: la figura del inca y el reino del Perú, de la conquista a Túpac Amaru II', in Cummins et al. (eds.), *Los incas, reyes del Perú*: 163.

emblems, among them *mascapaychas*.<sup>11</sup> Traditional emblems gave way to objects of clearly colonial manufacture, but the idea of the passing down of objects to the next generation to verify that they were descendants of the sovereign Incas persisted (see Figure 1.1).<sup>12</sup>

During the colonial period, the *mascapaycha* evolved into a symbol of the Andean nobility. Between the execution of Túpac Amaru and the mid-seventeenth century, the scarlet fringe passed from marking a single, paramount, and divine ruler to designating a host of authorities. Whereas the sculpture of the Christ child appeared in 1610 celebrations in Cuzco wearing the *mascapaycha*, by the end of the seventeenth century the scarlet fringe had been restricted to representations of, and references to, an ethnic history. The twenty-four Incan electors, two from each of the twelve Incan lineages, came to be referred to as the ‘noble Indians of the *mascapaycha*’ during the late seventeenth century. By the eighteenth century, the scarlet fringe had become the Andean equivalent of a European knightly order. Sporting the *mascapaycha* in public became the consummate performance of royal Incan lineage.<sup>13</sup> The *mascapaycha* could be seen depicted in paintings, incorporated into coats of arms, and engraved on colonial silver plates.<sup>14</sup> Even though the headdresses of Incan nobles were structurally consistent with those of pre-Columbian times, the materials used changed over time. The woollen *llautu* of the pre-Columbian period became a single, jewel-encrusted band—undoubtedly mimicking the European crown—and, in the eighteenth century, some Incan nobles appear to have taken to wearing *mascapaychas* that were no longer principally of textile but of gold.<sup>15</sup> The emphasis in the catalogue of Centeno’s collection on the *mascapaycha*’s making of ‘golden plates’ might well indicate that the one in her possession was made or modified during the colonial period, and the property of Incan nobles permitted to parade the fringe on festive occasions. Historians have argued that as Incan nobles incarnated

<sup>11</sup> See the will of Don Luis Chalco Yupanqui Ynga, recorded on 24 December 1600, cited in Gabriela Ramos Cárdenas (2010), *Death and Conversion in the Andes: Lima and Cuzco, 1532–1670* (Indiana: Notre Dame University Press): 299.

<sup>12</sup> Gabriela Ramos Cárdenas (2003), ‘Memoria, poder y escritura en el Perú colonial’, in Hamann, Maritza et al. (eds.), *Batallas de la memoria: antagonismos de la promesa peruana* (Lima: Universidad del Pacífico): 299–300.

<sup>13</sup> Dean, *Inka Bodies and the Body of Christ*, 103.

<sup>14</sup> Cummins, ‘Silver Threads and Gold Needles’, 11.

<sup>15</sup> Dean, *Inka Bodies and the Body of Christ*, 128–30.



Fig. 1.1. Reproduction of the drawing 'The first Inka, Manco Capac Inka' [86], from Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala's *The First New Chronicle and Good Government* (*Nueva corónica y buen gobierno*), 1615/1616.

and embodied the pre-Columbian rulers in costumes and through association with Incan symbols, they undid the Spanish invasion as an event that severed Andean history into a pre-Columbian and a colonial period: that their Incaism made the Incas cross into the colonial period.<sup>16</sup> Throughout their various reconfigurations, the *mascapaycha* and other Incan symbols still connected their wearers

<sup>16</sup> Dean, *Inka Bodies and the Body of Christ*, 128–30.

and owners with a past that reached into and was meaningful to them in the present.

As repression against local artistic expressions lessened after the mid-seventeenth century—the colonized had become Christians—descendants of the Andean nobility were permitted to invoke Incan history and images reminiscent of Incan times. Between the 1680s and the 1780s, the colonial Indian elite created a set of artistic idioms that symbolized Incan descent through the language of European visual representations of nobility. Through objects and symbols of Incan origin, reconfigured in relation to European ideas of genealogy and nobility, the Indian elite invoked a grandiose imperial past that reminded contemporaries, both Hispanic elites and Quechua peasants, of their noble origin. Theatre in the Quechua language also formed part of that artistic landscape, bearing witness to the existence of an urban indigenous culture.<sup>17</sup> The ‘Incan Renaissance’, as historians have called the period, was a movement shared by varied sectors of Cuzco society and it included Indian nobles as well as Creoles—Peruvians who grounded their identity in their ‘Hispanic’ origin.<sup>18</sup> Although the figures involved in this ‘renaissance’ clung to divergent social identities, they shared political visions and cultural assumptions about a Catholic Andean society, fought against the political and economic marginalization of Cuzco, and forged an ideal Incan past through the same narratives and images. They deployed strategically genealogical, dynastic paintings of Incan rulers succeeded by Spanish monarchs, kept Incan-style artefacts and read Garcilaso de la Vega’s *Commentaries*.<sup>19</sup>

The late eighteenth century witnessed the dissociation of Incan symbols from the Indian nobility as a class. Between the 1750s and

<sup>17</sup> César Itier (2000), *El teatro quechua en el Cuzco* (Lima: IFEA): 15.

<sup>18</sup> See Luis Eduardo Wuffarden (2005), ‘La descendencia real y el “renacimiento inca” en el virreinato’, in Cummins et al. (eds.), *Los incas, reyes del Perú*: 176. See also Dean, *Inka Bodies and the Body of Christ*, 110. A classic study on eighteenth-century Incaist movements is John Howland Rowe (1955), ‘Movimiento nacional Inca’, *Revista Universitaria de Cuzco* 107 (2); Francisco Stastny (1993), ‘El arte de la nobleza inca y la identidad andina’, in Urbano, Henrique (ed.), *Mito y simbolismo en los Andes. La figura y la palabra* (Cuzco: CBC). For references to linguistic aspects, see Bruce Mannheim (1999), ‘El Arado del tiempo: Poética quechua y Formación Nacional’, *Revista Andina*, 17 (1).

<sup>19</sup> Claudia Rosas Lauro (2002), ‘La imagen de los Incas en la Ilustración peruana del siglo XVIII’, in Flores Espinoza, Javier, and Varón Gabai, Rafael (eds.), *El hombre y los Andes. Homenaje a Franklin Pease G.Y.* (2; Lima: PUCP Fondo Editorial): 1042–5.



the end of the century, legislation was enacted periodically to prohibit the use and display of indigenous material culture. The 1780s Túpac Amaru Rebellion in particular marked a profound rupture in the history of Andean indigeneity and Incan symbolism.<sup>20</sup> The Túpac Amaru or 'Great Rebellion' synchronized foci of revolt in different parts of the Andes under the leadership of an Indian noble, Cuzco *kuraka* José Gabriel Condorcanqui, or Túpac Amaru. In the eyes of the Crown, the rebel leaders, who rejected the marginalization of Indians within the colonial order, received wide support among the population because of their use of Incan symbols and their consequent genealogical claims to Incan nobility. However, many among the Indian elites in and near Cuzco and the powerful *cacical* dynasties around Titicaca had remained loyal to the Crown under the rebellion. They chose to side with the Crown not only because the Indian nobility's privileged position was tied up with the existence of the monarchy but because many preferred to oppose aspects of colonial rule through petition and appeal to the court rather than rebellion. Furthermore, Túpac Amaru's claim to be the sole successor to Incan rule resonated through the Vilcanota highlands but fell flat in Cuzco, where other lineages of descent were considered more direct. Despite their loyalty, the Indian nobility would suffer repression as a collective following the defeat of the rebellion.<sup>21</sup> In its aftermath, the Crown began to dismantle the political power and privileges of the Indian nobles. The collapse of the elite after 1780 was neither immediate nor total. The Crown retreated periodically from its anti-Indian-elite stance and allowed for a corporate revival from the late 1780s until independence, but only in acknowledgement of a colonial artefact; no longer out of actual adherence to an ideology of social stratification rooted in natural law.<sup>22</sup> In conjunction with the repression, Spanish

<sup>20</sup> Majluf, 'De la rebelión al museo', 254.

<sup>21</sup> For the role of Cuzco Incan elites in the rebellion, see Garrett, *Shadows of Empire*: 201–6. The Túpac Amaru Rebellion, its origins, and its leaders have been studied in depth. David Cahill (2003), 'Nobleza, identidad, y rebelión: Los incas nobles del Cuzco frente a Tupac Amaru (1778–1782)', *Histórica* 27 (1); David Cahill (2004), 'First Among Incas: The Marquesado de Oropesa Litigation (1741–1780) en route to the Great Rebellion', *Jahrbuch für Geschichte von Staat, Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft Lateinamerikas* 41; Leon G. Campbell (1981), 'Social Structure of the Tupac Amaru Army in Cuzco, 1780–81', *The Hispanic American Historical Review* 61 (4); Thomas Sinclair (2002), *We Alone Will Rule: Native Andean Politics in the Age of Insurgency* (Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press).

<sup>22</sup> Garrett, *Shadows of Empire*, 233.

colonial administrators banned the use of several Incan symbols and representations.<sup>23</sup> José Antonio de Areche, Visitor General of the Spanish Crown in Peru, prohibited Incan cultural forms, such as music and paintings, as well as traditional native garments, ‘especially those that belong to the nobility, since it only serves to symbolize those worn by their Inca ancestors’. Areche’s declaration also prohibited ‘the *mascapaycha*, which is a circle in the shape of a crown from which they hang a certain emblem of ancient nobility signified by a tuft or tassel of red-coloured alpaca wool’.<sup>24</sup> The ban on the use of indigenous material culture did not enter into effect everywhere, particularly outside the urban centres, but it did enable a re-signification of Andean material culture associated with the Incan past.

During the first decades of the nineteenth century the symbolic power of Incaism was further dissociated from the Incan elite, as men and woman who emphasized their Hispanic descent increasingly appropriated its subversive potential. The ‘Andean Utopia’—the longing for a social and political alternative in the form of the return of the Incas<sup>25</sup>—had long been bound up with the descendants of the Incas. Late-colonial rebellions against the Crown had invariably sought an alliance with the Indian nobility so as to claim legitimacy before the Andean population. The 1805 Cuzco conspiracy, led by two Creoles, José Gabriel Aguilar and José Manuel Ubalde, sought to enthrone an Inca, but because the chosen descendant—Manuel Valverde Ampuero—refused to collaborate, it fell on Aguilar to

<sup>23</sup> See Majluf, ‘De la rebelión al museo’, 282.

<sup>24</sup> ‘Sentencia dada por el señor visitador Dr José Antonio de Areche al rebelde José Gabriel Tupác Amaru en la ciudad de Cuzco’ (May 1781). For an abridged version see José Antonio de Areche (2005), ‘All Must Die!’, in Starn, Orin, Degregori, Carlos Iván, and Kirk, Robin (eds.), *The Peru Reader. History, Culture, Politics* (Durham/London: Duke University Press): 169–72. Areche’s prohibition and its effect on Andean material culture has long occupied historians. On textiles, see Elena Phipps (1996), ‘Textiles as Cultural Memory: Andean Garments in the Colonial Period’, in Fane, Diane (ed.), *Converging Cultures: Art & Identity in Spanish America* (New York: The Brooklyn Museum): 154.

<sup>25</sup> See Alberto Flores Galindo (1986), *Europa y el país de los Incas: La utopía andina* (Lima: IAA); Alberto Flores Galindo (1988), *Buscando un inca: Identidad y utopía en los andes* (3 edn.; Lima: Editorial Horizonte). In the wake of Flores Galindo’s work, see also Manuel Burga (1988), *Nacimiento de una utopía: muerte y resurrección de los incas* (Lima: Instituto de Apoyo Agrario). For a discussion of the historiography on the ‘Andean Utopia’, see David Cahill and Scarlett O’Phelan Godoy (1992), ‘Forging their Own History: Indian Insurgency in the Southern Peruvian Sierra, 1815’, *Bulletin of Latin American Research* 11 (2).

embody the Incan liberator. Núria Sala i Vila argues that the incident was one of the first nexuses that disconnected the figure of the Incan redeemer from those that claimed Incan descent, linking it with a Creole instead.<sup>26</sup> The 1814–15 Southern Andean Rebellion, under the leadership of the mestizo brothers José and Vicente Angulo, deployed Incaist imageries to win popular support but in principle it bore a traditionalist and religious tone. The rebellion is sometimes named after the *kuraka* Mateo García Pumacahua, but in fact the rebellion was a Creole movement; Pumacahua joined the leadership only at a late stage.<sup>27</sup> Natalia Majluf has examined a drawing that appears to have been distributed by the ideologues of the rebellion, of José Angulo represented as ‘a new Inca’, staged against the backdrop of a pre-Columbian style gateway, and wearing a *mascapaycha*.<sup>28</sup>

The interdependence of the gradual demise of the Indian elites and the use of Incan symbols by Creoles converged most visibly in the struggle for independence. Historians have shown how the Creole patriots’ call for independence in Latin America came to rest both on their Hispanic, and hence European descent, signifying their capability of self-rule in the eyes of Europe’s imperial powers, and on their identification with indigenous America, through references to an Incan past, as the justification of their independence from Spain.<sup>29</sup> For Incan symbols to become serviceable in the hands of men and women invoking their Hispanic rather than their Indian ascendance, things Incan had to change in meaning and in time.<sup>30</sup> César Itier explained how, by the late eighteenth century, the Quechua language would lose its status as a language of culture and as an Andean *lingua franca* only to be rediscovered in Creole culture as folklore and as

<sup>26</sup> Núria Sala i Vila (1990), ‘De Inca a indígena: cambio en la simbología del sol a principios del siglo XIX’, *Allpanchis* 35–6: 611.

<sup>27</sup> Majluf, ‘De la rebelión al museo’, 264.

<sup>28</sup> Majluf, ‘De la rebelión al museo’, 264–6. On the Pumacahua rebellion, see Garrett, *Shadows of Empire*, 250. See also Charles F. Walker (1999), *Smoldering Ashes. Cuzco and the Creation of Republican Peru, 1780–1840* (Durham/London: Duke University Press): 97–105. In the final phase of the rebellion, demands for a return to Incan rule grew loud, see Timothy E. Anna (1979), *The Fall of the Royal Government in Peru* (Lincoln/London: University of Nebraska Press): 94.

<sup>29</sup> On the role of symbols of indigeneity in Latin America during the Wars of Independence, see particularly Chapters 1 and 2 in Earle, *The Return of the Native*. On the ‘Creole predicament’, see also Thurner, ‘Peruvian Genealogies of History and Nation’, 147.

<sup>30</sup> Majluf, ‘De la rebelión al museo’, 257.

an object of linguistic treatises during the nineteenth century. Juan Carlos Estenssoro has traced the history of a growing taste for Indian musical forms among urban Creoles after the Túpac Amaru Rebellion. Like music and language, ideas about the Incan past began to change, as it became the basis of Creole discourses seeking to delineate a common language, culture, and territory for a Peruvian people.<sup>31</sup> As the Creoles appropriated Incan symbols they transformed them, declaring Incan civilization to be without posterity; ancient and symbolic.<sup>32</sup> In 1825, the year Simón Bolívar decreed the protection of Incan monuments in Cuzco as the relics of a glorious past, Bolívar also abolished the office of the *kuraka* and Indian nobility titles, thus putting a definitive end to the singularity of an Andean Indian elite. In conjunction with the suppression of hereditary titles in the name of republican egalitarianism, he also decreed the abolition of Indian communal land and of compulsory personal labour, thus ending the legal status of indigeneity itself.<sup>33</sup> That same year, the first learned antiquarian society Friends of Cuzco (*Amigos del Cuzco*) was founded in the city and made open to all citizens ‘interested in furthering the Enlightenment’. The *Amigos* met casually in ‘Jeraldino’s pharmacy’ to explore ‘the material and civil antiquity, the origins of [Cuzco’s] inhabitants, their [ . . . ] advancement until the time of the European invasion’, feeling themselves called on to study ‘the antiquities’ of their new-born nation by their ‘love for [their] fatherland’.<sup>34</sup> As Natalia Majluf has pointed out, the use of Incan symbols reached its climax during the government of José de San Martín, while the Incas themselves became a symbol and the Incan elite lost all their political power and weight.<sup>35</sup> Only a few years earlier, debates about a British-style constitutional monarchy with an Incan dynasty—appropriated

<sup>31</sup> On music, see Juan Carlos Estenssoro Fuchs (1989), *Música y sociedad coloniales. Lima, 1680–1830* (Lima: Editorial Colmillo Blanco). On Quechua language, see Itier, *El teatro quechua en el Cuzco*. Both are cited in Majluf, ‘De la rebelión al museo’, 257.

<sup>32</sup> Favre argues that in the eyes of Bolívar, Indian civilizations were dead, and without posterity. Henri Favre (1988), ‘Bolívar and the Indians’, *UNISA Latin American Report* 4 (1): 7.

<sup>33</sup> From Simón Bolívar, Instruction to the prefect of Cuzco, on 18 July 1825, concerning the preservation of pre-Columbian monuments in Cuzco; cited in Favre, ‘Bolívar and the Indians’, 6.

<sup>34</sup> ‘Variedades’, *El Sol del Cuzco*, 11 May 1825.

<sup>35</sup> Majluf, ‘De la rebelión al museo’, 273. Favre, ‘Bolívar and the Indians’, 7.

during the 1809 revolution and discussed particularly at the 1816 Constitutional Congress of the United Provinces of South America in Tucumán—had raised expectations among the *kurakas*.<sup>36</sup> The years of struggle for independence and the subsequent decades of competing projects for national rule have long been regarded as ‘lost years’, but historians have gradually come to see them also as a time in which various groups in society expressed their diverging and telling visions of future political and social structures.<sup>37</sup> The genealogical images that had been used to legitimise the *kurakas*’ privileges before the Spanish Crown in colonial times would now serve to justify their right to the throne.<sup>38</sup> The plans fell through, however, and by 1825 the possibility of the restoration of the Indian elite was ruled out. Natalia Majluf has traced how the images of the Incas during the Wars of Independence lacked historical density; how the Incas were made generic and depicted without names and faces, removed from genealogies, becoming allegories rather than portraits. Within patriotism and with the demise of the Indian elite, the Incas ceased to be a tangible, embodied reality. Instead, they became a symbol themselves, bygone and translucent enough to include Creoles in the legitimacy they entailed.<sup>39</sup>

As claims to Indian elite membership had been widely premised upon instituted privileges rather than wealth, with the abolition of their offices the Incan descendants lost the possibility of distinguishing themselves from the remainder of the population as a class. In a gradual process that stretched long into the nineteenth century, they diluted into other layers of society.<sup>40</sup> Whereas some *kurakas* passed into the *casta* category and joined the ranks of the locally powerful through their own economic activities and marriage, those who had supported the anti-colonial rebellions lost their positions and wealth entirely and even dropped the use of their *kuraka* surname.<sup>41</sup>

<sup>36</sup> Majluf, ‘De la rebelión al museo’, 266–8.

<sup>37</sup> For this argument, see Peter Blanchard (2002), ‘The Language of Liberation: Slave Voices in the Wars of Independence’, *Hispanic American Historical Review* 82 (3); Garrett, *Shadows of Empire*; Cecilia Méndez (2005), *The Plebeian Republic: The Huanta Rebellion and the Making of the Peruvian State, 1820–1850* (Durham: Duke University Press).

<sup>38</sup> Majluf, ‘De la rebelión al museo’, 266–8.

<sup>39</sup> See Majluf, ‘De la rebelión al museo’, Stastny, ‘El arte de la nobleza inca y la identidad andina’, 267–8.

<sup>40</sup> Majluf, ‘De la rebelión al museo’, 285.

<sup>41</sup> Walker, *Smoldering Ashes*, 211–12.

Historians who have followed the demise of the *kurakas* have suggested that, in a decades-long replacement, their functions were gradually taken up by mestizo and Creole authorities, as well as by Indian mayors who ruled over just one community and whose position was not lineage-based.<sup>42</sup> Some Incan descendants surfaced to gain visibility and power once more during the years of the Peru–Bolivian Confederation (1836–9). Andrés de Santa-Cruz, the president of the Confederation, drew on the persistent symbolic power of the Incan nobility when seeking to forge a union of Bolivia and Peru. He promised a revaluation of the ‘descendants of the ancient nobles of the Inca Empire’ and the city of Cuzco.<sup>43</sup> Some of the privileges granted to the Indian nobles during the colonial period, such as grants for free education at the San Antonio Abad Seminary, were reintroduced under the government of Santa-Cruz.<sup>44</sup> Some *kuraka* families had retained land, privileges, and authority well into the republican period. Although as a class the Indian nobility was increasingly reduced to a ‘shell’ between 1784 and 1825, a few Indian nobles were rewarded for their loyalty during the 1781 rebellion and reached unprecedented heights in colonial administration.<sup>45</sup> The Choquehuanca, Cutimbo, and Sahuaraura families in particular experienced a revival during the Confederation years.<sup>46</sup> José Domingo Choquehuanca—an important figure among the patriots during the Wars of Independence, a politician, and an analyst of the Southern Andes’ social reality—was named sub-prefect of the Huancané region and prefect of Puno under Santa-Cruz.<sup>47</sup> Justo Sahuaraura experienced a similar promotion.<sup>48</sup> In 1838 he was named as an

<sup>42</sup> Méndez, *The Plebeian Republic*; Scarlett O’Phelan Godoy (1978), ‘El sur andino a fines del siglo XVIII: cacique o corregidor’, *Allpanchis Phuturinga* 11; Mark Thurner (1997), *From Two Republics to One Divided: Contradictions of Postcolonial Nation-Making in Andean Peru* (Durham/London: Duke University Press).

<sup>43</sup> ‘Publicación y jura solemne de la declaratoria de la Independencia en el Cuzco’, *La Estrella Federal*, 10 April 1836. Cited in Majluf, ‘De la rebelión al museo’, 277.

<sup>44</sup> Andrés Santa-Cruz, ‘Decreto’, *La Estrella Federal (Cuzco)*, 16 June 1836.

<sup>45</sup> Garrett, *Shadows of Empire*, 238.

<sup>46</sup> Majluf, ‘De la rebelión al museo’, 278–9.

<sup>47</sup> See José Domingo Choquehuanca (1833), *Ensayo de estadística completa de los ramos económico-políticos de la Provincia de Azángaro* (Lima: Imprenta de Manuel Corral). For a biography of Choquehuanca, see Néstor Puertas Castro (1963), ‘La personalidad de José Domingo Choquehuanca y su estirpe incarial’, *Revista de Historia de América* (55/6).

<sup>48</sup> ‘Sahuaraura, Justo (Cuzco 1770—Canas?)’, in Alberto Tauro. *Enciclopedia Ilustrada del Perú*.

official in the Southern-Peruvian Legion of Honour, where the other confederationist commanders were keen to be connected with him. Santa-Cruz, the president of the Confederation, allegedly called Sahuaraura ‘uncle’ as part of his attempt to seek proximity with the Incan legacy.<sup>49</sup> Only when an alliance from coastal Peru imposed its position in 1839 and defeated the Confederation did hopes for a return to the Incan descendants’ colonial prestige vanish. The defeat of the Confederation inaugurated a period in which the articulation of the nation state fell irrevocably to the coastal bourgeoisie of Lima. By the 1840s, the possibility of a national culture that could incorporate both the Spanish and the indigenous legacies had effectively disappeared.<sup>50</sup> Lima’s liberal intellectuals envisioned a Hispanic and European culture for the new nation state: they sculpted a discourse of national community premised upon European superiority. The early 1800s witnessed ideas about a direct relationship between indigeneity and inferiority travel the globe through the veins of imperial and postcolonial dominion.<sup>51</sup> Together with the legal end of the nobility, these ideas eliminated any space for an Indian elite in nineteenth-century Andean society.<sup>52</sup> To many in the Andes, including the descendants of Peru’s colonial Indian nobility, elite membership and indigeneity became mutually exclusive categories.

Incan material culture became dissociated from Incan descendants at a time of growing interest in Mesoamerican and Andean monumental

<sup>49</sup> Javier Flores Espinoza (2001), ‘La añoranza del pasado. Justo Sahuaraura Inca y sus Recuerdos de la monarquía peruana’, in *Recuerdos de la monarquía peruana o bosquejo de la historia de los Incas* (Lima: Ediciones de Umbral): 31.

<sup>50</sup> Deborah Poole (1997), *Vision, Race, and Modernity: A Visual Economy of the Andean Image World* (Princeton: Princeton University Press): 149.

<sup>51</sup> The term race (*raza*) was first used in the fourteenth century, but in the Castilian context race referenced and linked issues of blood (im)purity and fresh conversion to Christianity rather than appearance. See Burns’s discussion of early colonial ideas about human variation in Latin America. Kathryn Burns (2007), ‘Unfixing Race’, in Greer, Margaret R., Mignolo, Walter D., and Quilligan, Maureen (eds.), *Rereading the Black Legend: The Discourses of Religious and Racial Difference in the Renaissance Empires* (Durham: Duke University Press). On ideas in various parts of Latin America during the second half of the nineteenth century, see Nancy Stepan (1991), *The Hour of Eugenics. Race, Gender, and Nation in Latin America* (New York: Cornell University Press).

<sup>52</sup> Garrett, *Shadows of Empire*.

archaeology. All over Europe and into its colonial world, ancient material culture and sites came to be seen as evidence of a bygone past during the late eighteenth century. As with ancient Roman classics in Britain or Spain, material culture began to supplement the understanding derived from written sources and was used to inform, develop, and, eventually, also to contradict them in South and Mesoamerica.<sup>53</sup> Under the same monarch, Charles III—who reigned first in Naples from 1734 to 1759, and then in Spain and its dominions from 1759 to 1788—the discoveries of classical sites in Europe were entangled with the rise of archaeological endeavours in Latin America. Parallel to the excavations of Roman sites in Rome, Pompeii, and Herculaneum (as well as in other sites throughout the territory of the former Roman Empire and beyond), in the viceroalties of New Spain and Peru and in the Captain Generalship of Guatemala several sites were dug up during the eighteenth century, some commissioned by the Spanish king himself. Antiquities experts were included in scientific expeditions to Peru and Chile during the 1770s and 80s and had orders to bring back both contemporary artefacts in use and ‘those of antiquity’ for the Spanish cabinets of ‘curiosity’.<sup>54</sup> Jorge Juan and Antonio de Ulloa, members of the joint French and Spanish expedition, like other travellers of the late eighteenth century and participants in the Bourbon expeditions—Louis Feuillée and Charles-Marie de la Condamine, or the members of the expedition led by Alejandro Malaspina—included drawings or descriptions of antiquities in their publications.<sup>55</sup> Historians of art and archaeology have opened a path into the period with the rediscovery of the watercolours depicting the natural and cultural histories of the diocese of Trujillo, brought about under Bishop Baltasar Jaime Martínez Compañón (1737–1797).<sup>56</sup> The ninth volume was dedicated to archaeology,

<sup>53</sup> Richard Hingley (2008), *The Recovery of Roman Britain 1586–1906* (Oxford: Oxford University Press); Gloria Mora Rodríguez (1998), *La arqueología clásica española en el siglo XVIII: historias de mármol* (Madrid: CSIC).

<sup>54</sup> Cited in Vos, ‘The Rare, the Singular, and the Extraordinary’, 279.

<sup>55</sup> Numerous historians have studied the late-colonial expeditions to Latin America. Penhos, *Ver, conocer, dominar*, 17; Pimentel, *Testigos del mundo*; Juan Pimentel (2008), *Viajeros científicos. Jorge Juan, Mutis, Malaspina* (2 edn.; Madrid: Nivola). On the 1735–44 joint French and Spanish expedition to determine the true shape of the Earth, see Neil Safier (2008), *Measuring the New World. Enlightenment Science and South America* (Chicago/London: University of Chicago Press).

<sup>56</sup> Pillsbury and Trever, ‘The King, the Bishop, and the Creation of an American Antiquity’. The bishop has been studied in depth. See, for instance, Alcina Franch, *Arqueólogos o anticuarios*, 165–73, Pablo Macera Dall’Orso, Arturo Jiménez Borja and



including some of the most detailed and sophisticated illustrations of antiquities—plans of sites and representations of burials and grave goods—known from the Americas. In their accuracy, in the inclusion of descriptive accounts, and the interest in presenting antiquities as part of a larger architectural and cultural context, the drawings show a close affinity with the plans created in the context of the excavations around the Bay of Naples between 1738 and 1780 at the behest of the future Charles III of Spain.<sup>57</sup> The focus on strata in the Martínez Compañón plans, particularly in the illustration of the 1765 excavations at Cerro Tantalluc, predates the commonly accepted date for the introduction of a stratigraphic method in American archaeology by perhaps a century.<sup>58</sup> Martínez Compañón's volume was grounded in European classicism, but also in American and Iberian currents. The bishop owned a copy of Miguel Feyjoo de Sosa's (1718–91) *Description of the City and Province of Trujillo*, published in 1763. Feyjoo preceded Martínez Compañón in Trujillo as a royal magistrate, and his work was written in response to the Bourbon mandates of 1741 and 1751, aimed in part to understand native traditions; historians have suggested that Feyjoo sent back one of the earliest collections of antiquities to Spain, responding to specific requests for specimens for the royal cabinet.<sup>59</sup>

The Roman Empire had had a profound influence on the Spanish understanding of the Incan Empire from the sixteenth century: the Spanish conquerors used analogies with Rome when trying to describe and comprehend the realm of the Incas. Rome provided precedents and a model for understanding and introducing a certain order—such as a vocabulary—into aspects of Incan administration,

Irma Franke (eds.) (1997), *Baltazar Jaime Martínez Compañón, Trujillo del Perú* (Lima: EDUBANCO).

<sup>57</sup> Pillsbury and Trever, 'The King, the Bishop, and the Creation of an American Antiquity', 206–12.

<sup>58</sup> Pillsbury and Trever remind us, however, that identification of stratigraphic layers does not necessarily imply an understanding of superposition—that is, that the layers lower down were earlier.

<sup>59</sup> Paz Cabello Carro (1991), 'Las colecciones peruanas en España y los inicios de la arqueología andina en el siglo XVIII', *Los incas y el antiguo Perú. 3000 años de historia* (Madrid: Sociedad Estatal Quinto Centenario, Lunberg Editores), cited in Pillsbury and Trever, 'The King, the Bishop, and the Creation of an American Antiquity', 204. On Miguel Feyjoo de Sosa's collection, see also Alcina Franch, *Arqueólogos o anticuarios*, 173; Bonavia and Ravines, *Arqueología peruana: precursores*. For Feyjoo's account, Miguel Feyjoo (1763), *Relación descriptiva de la ciudad y provincia de Trujillo del Perú* (Edición Facsimilar [facsimile edition]; Madrid: Imprenta del Real y Supremo Consejo de las Indias).

organization and religion.<sup>60</sup> The chroniclers and early historians of the Incan past—Garcilaso de la Vega, Cieza de León, and Juan de Betanzos—commonly deployed and thus popularized the comparison with Rome for subsequent generations.<sup>61</sup> The ideal Incan past, inspired in Garcilaso's writings and classical analogies, imagined by Incan and Creole elites in the 'Incan Renaissance' during the mid-eighteenth century, bore close resemblance to the archaeological vision of the Inca that succeeded it after the late eighteenth century.<sup>62</sup> Yet, whereas Incan descendants' Incaism had made the past cross into the present, undoing the Spanish invasion as an event that split Andean history into a pre-Columbian and a colonial period, late eighteenth-century classicism deepened the rupture of the conquest. Despite the fact that Incan rule had lasted into the sixteenth century, and through its descendants had been perpetuated into the nineteenth century, through the lens of classicism the Inca came to be seen as an ancient, mystical past: a past that was thousands of years away, rather than a mere 250 years—or, indeed, not a past at all. Classicism not only entailed the possibility of archaeological practices and discourses in relation to Incan material culture. It also shaped the temporality and nature of the 'Incan antiquity' that the residents of Cuzco—the Cuzqueños—were beginning to imagine.

The only space left to the Inca after the 1830s, for both the pre-Columbian rulers and their nineteenth-century descendants, was a newly invented Peruvian antiquity. As Natalia Majluf has first observed, after the abolition of their privileges the Incas were turned into museum objects and the subject of folklore; they became, in a word, archaeology.<sup>63</sup> The Incas aged gradually but steadily. Historians have repeatedly referred to an emblematic court case. In 1860, Manuel Sixto Lasa asked for the return of family land, privileges, and

<sup>60</sup> See in particular, Sabine MacCormack (2001), 'Cuzco, another Rome?', in D'Altroy, Terence, and Alcock, Susan (eds.), *Empires. Perspectives from Archaeology and History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press); Sabine MacCormack (2007), *On the Wings of Time: Rome, the Incas, Spain, and Peru* (Princeton/Oxford: Princeton University Press).

<sup>61</sup> See Díaz-Andreu, *A World History of Nineteenth-Century Archaeology*, 81.

<sup>62</sup> On the analogies drawn between the Inca and the European classical past in eighteenth-century visions of the Incas, see, for instance, Karine Périssat (2000), 'Los Incas representados (Lima—Sigo XVIII): ¿Supervivencia o renacimiento?', *Revista de Indias* 60 (220).

<sup>63</sup> Majluf, 'De la rebelión al museo'.

fortune lost during the colonial and republican period. He based his claim on his mother's genealogy as an Incan 'royal heiress' as well as colonial legislation. Strikingly, however, Lasa concluded his claim by saying that 'it might seem strange at first sight to reclaim one's Incan ancestors, especially if one thinks of the long time that has gone by'. He only did so, Lasa continued, because his family members had long been famous for being tenacious in claiming their rights. In Lasa's own words, his petition was a product of stubbornness and an anachronism.<sup>64</sup> A journalist observing the process noted that although the claim was unviable, the documents Lasa had presented in court constituted a precious collection of historical materials of interest to those 'fond of archaeology'.<sup>65</sup> Incan descendants' legal documents to claim their privileges were gradually reconfigured into antiquarian evidence; something to be collected and admired, of intellectual rather than material concern or legal consequence.<sup>66</sup>

The biographies of Incan artefacts reflect important shifts in the organization of knowledge and changes in Andean society between the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. To Ana María Centeno the *mascapaycha* would neither be the trophy of war it had signified for Philip II nor was she intending to wear it or see it worn. Time had effected deep transformations in the piece; from the symbol of a colonial Indian elite, the *mascapaycha* had been reconfigured into an antiquity, the relic of an increasingly intangible, bygone, ephemeral, and ever-more all-encompassing Inca past. Neither was Centeno thinking particularly of the Peruvian nation state and its government when she chose to exhibit the *mascapaycha* at her home. Even though patriotic discourses had assisted Incan symbols' disbanding from the Indian elite, and had necessitated transformations in their temporality, from the mid-nineteenth century, Incan antiquities would become available for a wide range of individuals, purposes, and practices. Like many ladies, landowners, politicians, clergymen, and merchants in the city of Cuzco, Centeno collected Incan antiquities, sought to understand their meaning, felt the urge to talk to other collectors about them, and put them on display for various and

<sup>64</sup> (1861), *Exposición que Manuel Sixto Lasa hace en representación de su madre, Cecilia Ladrón de Guevara, al Soberano Congreso de 1860* (Lima: Imprenta José E. del Campo). Cited in Tamayo Herrera, *Historia del indigenismo cuzqueño, siglos XVI–XX*.

<sup>65</sup> 'Vástago ilustre', *El Independiente* (Lima), 6 de Mayo 1861. Cited in Majluf, 'De la rebelión al museo', 293.

<sup>66</sup> Majluf, 'De la rebelión al museo', 293.

divergent reasons. Centeno's and her contemporaries' conscription of Incan objects in the city of Cuzco would be as much regional and cosmopolitan as it would be patriotic; as much a personal matter as it would be collective and sociable; as much inspired by intellectual curiosity as it would be nurtured by the pursuit of economic benefits. And it would be as much a Creole practice as it would be adopted by Creoles, Europeans, and Incas alike.

### COLLECTIONS, SALONS, AND LEARNED SOCIETIES

Sometime between the 1830s, when Centeno began her collection as a girl, and 1874, when she passed away, the *mascapaycha* made its way into Centeno's mansion, and found a place among her antiquities.<sup>67</sup> In the museum, the *mascapaycha* was on view for a distinguished audience: as the daughter of one of the city's wealthiest and most influential men, Centeno's city mansion doubled as a private museum of antiquities and as a *salon*. A meeting ground for learned and polite society, it attracted and brought together upper-class Cuzqueños and the European and North American travellers who visited Cuzco during the mid-nineteenth century. Travellers from Europe and the United States passed through Cuzco in growing numbers following independence, drawn by the city's close association with Incan history and its peculiar materiality, the visible presence of Incan structures.<sup>68</sup> Unlike Mexico, where the Aztec city of Tenochtitlan was transformed through destruction into Mexico City, in Cuzco new structures replaced or were built on the foundations of old ones. Physically, Cuzco remained an Incan city 'over which has been superimposed a European one' (see Figure 1.2).<sup>69</sup> It was not only a geographical location, but also 'a concept, an imagined city of the imperial past'.<sup>70</sup> We have testimonies from contemporaries that

<sup>67</sup> José Tamayo Herrera and Eduardo Zegarra Balcázar (2008), *Conversaciones. Las élites cuzqueñas* (Cuzco: Instituto Nacional de Cultura): 70.

<sup>68</sup> For a discussion of Cuzco's material and historical close association with the Inca past, see Thomas Cummins (1996), 'A Tale of Two Cities: Cuzco, Lima, and the Construction of Colonial Representation', in Fane, Diane (ed.), *Converging Cultures. Art & Identity in Spanish America* (New York: The Brooklyn Museum).

<sup>69</sup> Cummins, 'Tale of Two Cities'.

<sup>70</sup> Dean, *Inka Bodies and the Body of Christ*, 25.



Fig. 1.2. 'Inca Mall', c.1863, from the George Squier Collection of Cuzco photographs.

Centeno was a considerable intellectual presence in the eyes of her visitors from Peru and abroad; an educated woman and a prolific reader, many found her conversation about the objects in her collection informed and valuable.<sup>71</sup> The US diplomat Ephraim George Squier related how the *señora* was a liberal hostess, entertaining her visitors with 'very amusing accounts' of the many well-known

<sup>71</sup> Elvira García y García (1924), 'Ana María Zenteno', in *La mujer peruana a través de los siglos* (1; Lima: Imprenta Americana): 254. See also Squier, *Peru*, 456. Steven Shapin makes a similar case for the sister of Robert Boyle, Lady Ranelagh, who, like Centeno, never published. Steven Shapin (1994), *A Social History of Truth. Civility and Science in Seventeenth-Century England* (Chicago/London: The University of Chicago Press): 371.

personalities who had visited her salon: the Comte de Castelnau or Marcoy, both of whom would publish later on Incan ruins and material culture.<sup>72</sup> Centeno's husband, the Frenchman Pierre de Romainville, shared his wife's passion for collecting Incan antiquities, and was in the habit of showing the family's antiquities to his fellow countrymen upon their visits to Cuzco.<sup>73</sup> The European and North American elites who came to Cuzco in search of an Incan antiquity shared a language, a culture, and codes of civility with Cuzco antiquaries; they met on the grounds of the same 'bourgeois public sphere' and erudite sociability, in social spaces limited to a small group of educated citizens.<sup>74</sup> Indeed, Peruvian contemporaries compared Centeno's home with the leading French Enlightenment parlours—that of Madame Geoffrin in particular.<sup>75</sup> This was in part to accommodate Centeno's social prominence in a legitimate sphere for a woman, yet also to inscribe local forms of sociability into European models. If the parlours of the European Enlightenment had revolved around literature, philosophy, or art, however, the Incan past provided the material ground for the meetings of Cuzco elites.

Centeno was but one of many who owned Incan antiquities in the city of Cuzco. Her collection was intertwined with a close-knit network of literate and wealthy citizens who owned, displayed, and sought to understand the meaning of Incan antiquities. The foundation of a city museum conveys a glimpse of the general possession of Incan antiquities among a diminutive provincial bourgeoisie. On the initiative of Cuzco prefect Miguel Medina, a Cuzco museum of archaeology (*Museo Arqueológico del Cuzco*) was founded in 1848, and placed under the care of its first director, Doctor Manuel Domingo Vargas, in the building of the former hospital San Andrés. With Medina, forty of the 'most select and important' members of Cuzco

<sup>72</sup> Squier, *Peru*, 456.

<sup>73</sup> Castelnau, for instance, speaks of ancient artefacts he was shown by his compatriot M. Romainville. Castelnau, *Expédition dans les parties centrales de l'Amérique du Sud*, 244.

<sup>74</sup> Historians largely agree that learned bourgeois sociability was a core expression of nineteenth-century European-style civil society. Mary Kaldor (2003), 'The Idea of Global Civil Society', *International Affairs* 79 (3): 585. On the limitations of the Peruvian 'bourgeois public sphere', see Natalia Majluf (1994), *Escultura y espacio público. Lima 1850-1879* (Documentos de Trabajo NQ 67. Historia del Arte N. 2; Lima: IEP): 18.

<sup>75</sup> Clorinda Matto de Turner, 'María Ana Centeno viuda de Romainville (Peruana). Apuntes para una biografía', *El Correo del Perú*, 24 March 1878: 94-5.

society contributed ‘the best Incan pieces they owned’, ‘their most valued (*preciados*) artefacts’<sup>76</sup>: the official scribe Don Julián Tupay[a]chi, the Cuzco tailor Bruno Bolívar, who had made a fortune as a merchant and moneylender<sup>77</sup>, and Mariano Campos, administrator of the publisher *Imprenta República*, were some of those who donated pieces.<sup>78</sup> In its reliance on donations, the Cuzco municipal museum was no exception. Gifts from the middle classes were a staple source of acquisition for regional museums in Europe.<sup>79</sup> The citizens created a cabinet-museum, converging, as with Centeno’s, on an archaeological section containing stone artefacts and pottery with gold and silver minerals, its walls decorated with drawings by the traveller Paul Marcoy depicting ‘Siriniri Indians’.<sup>80</sup> Even though the same Marcoy would later ridicule the Municipal Museum collection’s scarcity and arrangement, Prefect Medina’s initiative reveals not only the general possession of Incan antiquities among the city’s upper circles, but also the extent to which the collecting of Incan antiquities presupposed and was connected to knowledge, education, and a concern with the public good. Travellers’ writings retain a glimpse of how several of the donors to the Municipal Museum also displayed Incan antiquities in their mansions. Only a few years before the donation, Castelnau saw with admiration pre-Columbian pieces on display at Francisco Alarcón’s; in particular, a ‘figurine representing a sleeping Indian; made of some sort of porcelain of extreme refinement’.<sup>81</sup> Castelnau reported on other private collections during his visit to Cuzco in the 1840s. He had seen antiquities on display in the house of Martin Concha, referring in particular to ‘a very pretty little vase admirably carved in the shape of a cross’.<sup>82</sup> Castelnau would have seen a larger

<sup>76</sup> Luis A. Pardo (1948), ‘Primer Centenario del Museo Arqueológico de la Universidad del Cuzco’, *Revista del Instituto y Museo Arqueológico de la Universidad Nacional del Cuzco* 12.

<sup>77</sup> On Bruno Bolívar see Thomas Krüggeler, ‘Unreliable Drunkards or Honorable Citizens? Artisans in Search of Their Place in the Cusco Society (1815–1930)’ (Unpublished PhD Dissertation, University of Illinois, 1993): 142–5. Cited in Ulrich Mücke (1998), *Der Partido Civil in Peru 1871–1879: Zur Geschichte politischer Parteien und Repräsentation in Lateinamerika* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag): 137.

<sup>78</sup> For the complete list of the 41 donors, see Pardo, ‘Primer Centenario del Museo Arqueológico de la Universidad del Cuzco’, 123–4.

<sup>79</sup> See, for instance, the collection of the Manchester Geological Society. Alberti, *Nature and Culture*.

<sup>80</sup> Rivera Martínez, *Paul Marcoy: Viaje a través de América del Sur*, 374.

<sup>81</sup> Castelnau, *Expédition dans les parties centrales de l’Amérique du Sud*, 75.

<sup>82</sup> Castelnau, *Expédition dans les parties centrales de l’Amérique du Sud*, 75.

collection at the Conchas' during the 1850s, when it was enriched with archaeological finds from that family's extensive property.<sup>83</sup> Whereas twentieth-century archaeology would see mostly male professionals in Peru, the mid-nineteenth witnessed a number of learned women like Centeno among the donors to the Municipal Museum, as well as among the owners of the more outstanding cabinets. Clements Markham, a British traveller who visited Cuzco during the 1850s, was particularly impressed with the Bennet family's collection. Mr Bennet, a compatriot of Markham's, had moved to Cuzco thirty years earlier and owned 'a great many curiosities': Incan vessels, stone figures, gold head ornaments, and smooth golden bracelets. It appears that Bennet adopted his learned interest from his wife, Señora Astete de Bennet, 'a descendant of Pizarro's warriors', according to Markham, 'steeped in the traditions and folklore of the Incas' and the traveller's 'authority for the sites of Inca palaces'.<sup>84</sup>

When Ana María Centeno passed away in 1874, leaving all her possessions to her two sons Eduardo and Adolfo Romainville, her museum-parlour remained open to the public for some years.<sup>85</sup> By the late 1870s, other salons, like Centeno's, doubling as museums and forums for learned debates involving foreigners and locals alike, had emerged. José Lucas Caparó Muñiz established his own collection as a museum in 1877 in his grand Cuzco mansion, where it occupied various rooms. The mansion itself had formerly been in the possession of the Marquis Valleumbroso, head of a Cuzco family that had claimed Incan noble descent in the eighteenth century.<sup>86</sup> By 1878, Caparó possessed a collection of five hundred 'Peruvian antiquities', containing utensils, vessels, and figurines of both coarse and precious

<sup>83</sup> In 1851, during construction works, two jars, one laminated with gold and the other with silver, were unearthed on the Concha family's property. Emilio Montes (1892), *Catálogo del Museo de Antigüedades peruanas e incaicas de la propiedad del Dr D. Emilio Montes y de Aldasábal Vasquez de Velasco* (Cuzco: Imprenta Manuel F. Minauro), Object N. 1221.

<sup>84</sup> See Clements Markham (1910), *The Incas of Peru* (London: Smith, Elder, & Co): 288.

<sup>85</sup> (1874), 'Testamento de la Señora Doña María Ana Centeno, Cuzco, 15 de Julio', *Archivo Departamental del Cuzco. Sección Notarial Manuel A. Gamarra, Protocolo 96, 1874-1875*.

<sup>86</sup> Brading, *The First America*; Flores Espinoza, 'La añoranza del pasado', 22; Anthony Pagden (1990), *Spanish Imperialism and the Political Imagination. Studies in European and Spanish American Social and Political Theory 1513-1830* (New Haven/London: Yale University Press): 129.



stones, wooden *queros* (beaker-shaped drinking vessels), textiles, fine ceramic vessels and plates, human busts, metal objects, wool and cotton textiles, and four sixteenth-century manuscripts (see Figure 1.3).<sup>87</sup> The collection would continue to grow and by 1919, shortly before his death, Caparó owned more than two thousand pieces.<sup>88</sup> Caparó was an antiquary of the mid-nineteenth century, the product of a world that continued to encourage and expect a broad approach and a wide range of interests. Like his counterparts in England, Spain, or France, Caparó concentrated his attentions on the locality in which he lived, but engaged in activities in different areas of study related to that Incan past. Caparó was a prolific excavator and collector of antiquities; he made drawings of the architectural structures of Incan ruins, studied linguistic matters related to the Incan past,



Fig. 1.3. Photograph of the collection of José Lucas Caparó Muñiz, Cuzco, *n.d.*

<sup>87</sup> José Lucas Caparó Muñiz, 'Colección de antigüedades peruanas', *El Comercio (Lima)*, 15, 17 and 18 May 1878.

<sup>88</sup> José Lucas Caparó Muñiz (1919), 'Catálogo de las antigüedades incanas que constituyen el Museo Caparó Muñiz', Cuzco, *Colección Manuscritos de José Lucas Caparó Muñiz*.

and compiled local legends.<sup>89</sup> A lawyer and judge, Caparó worked at night on his studies, in the few hours he could spare from his public duties.<sup>90</sup> Familiar with the perusal of written documents—of genealogical proofs and ancient manuscripts—due to his profession, his work was based on the material culture in his collection, but also a ‘small library’, containing manuscripts, European publications, and ‘all editions of the Spanish chroniclers and quechua grammars.’<sup>91</sup> Foreign travellers and local students of ‘Incan history’ frequented Caparó’s museum and often sought dialogue with its owner. Caparó published only very few of his studies in newspapers or journals, but he read out his manuscripts about Quechua linguistics and Incan archaeology in his museum to interested visitors, both local and foreign.<sup>92</sup> Several of the key figures in early twentieth-century Cuzco anthropology and archaeology would subsequently acknowledge the impact their conversations with Caparó had on them.<sup>93</sup> José Uriel García, who was to become an important intellectual and art historian of the 1920s, had written his dissertation on Incan art in Cuzco under Caparó’s guidance and in the latter’s museum, referring to the maps and drawings the antiquary had fabricated and willingly shared.<sup>94</sup>

Caparó and his contemporaries exhibited, like Centeno, former Incan insignias of power. Caparó exhibited head adornments worn by the *ñustas*—Incan ladies of royal descent—and he had also put on display the large golden ear spools, *tulumpi*, worn by male members

<sup>89</sup> For the similarly diverse profile of English antiquaries, see Levine, *The Amateur and the Professional*, 13.

<sup>90</sup> See José Guevara Gil (1997), ‘La contribución de José Lucas Caparó Muñiz a la formación del Museo Arqueológico de la Universidad del Cuzco’, *Boletín del Instituto Riva-Agüero* (24): 167–226; José Lucas Caparó Muñiz (1903), ‘Khipu pre-colombiano’, *Colección Manuscritos de José Lucás Caparó Muñiz. Estudios especiales de José Lucas Caparó Muñiz sobre el khipus, geroglíficos, emblemas, fijos i mudables, i avisos volantes pre-colombianos* (Paruro).

<sup>91</sup> Alfred Hettner (1889), ‘Brief an Adolf Bastian, Cuzco, 10. Mai’, *Staatliche Museen zu Berlin—Ethnologisches Museum. Sammlung Centeno Pars I B. Litt. A.*

<sup>92</sup> José Lucas Caparó Muñiz (1905), ‘Carta a D. Jorge Polar, Ministro de Justicia, Paruro, 3 de Junio’, *Colección Manuscritos de José Lucás Caparó Muñiz. Libro borrador de cartas, artículos necrológicos, histórico-arqueológicos.*

<sup>93</sup> Caparó Muñiz, ‘Carta a D. Jorge Polar’. For comments by Caparó’s visitors and disciples, Tamayo Herrera, *Historia del indigenismo cuzqueño, siglos XVI–XX*, 137; 167.

<sup>94</sup> José Uriel García, ‘*El arte incaico en el Cuzco*’ (Doctoral dissertation, Universidad del Cuzco, 1911).

of the Incan elite—or, ‘principal persons’, as Caparó phrases it.<sup>95</sup> In the images that exist of Caparó’s collection, Incan objects are staged against the backdrop of several paintings by Mariano Corvacho (1840–1907), a Cuzco painter of historicist motives—*The Golden Chain of Inca Huascar*, *Ancient Ccoscco* [sic], *Motives of Ollantay*, and *The Sacsayhuaman* were some of his works. A Ming-style Chinese vase or two also stood among the Incan pottery in Caparó’s collection. Chinese porcelain, ivories, and silk had reached colonial Cuzco from Asia via the Manila Galleons for centuries—via the port of Acapulco in Mexico, from whence Chinese goods were shipped on to Peru and transported from Lima overland to highland Cuzco.<sup>96</sup> Centeno already owned Chinese porcelain jars and cups, Japanese porcelain plates, and a Japanese figurine.<sup>97</sup> European and Latin American elites had possessed East Asian porcelain for centuries, but in the early nineteenth century, its collection was taken up by antiquarian connoisseurs all over Europe as the material embodiment of an ancient and highly advanced civilization.<sup>98</sup> Other Cuzco collectors also exhibited among their antiquities from the Cuzco area pieces associated with other ‘ancient civilizations’. From the 1850s, Montesinos collected ‘Incan’ copper topes, silver llamas, *champi* head busts, bone needles, colourful pottery, wooden plates with birds’ heads, stone mortars, broken ceramic jars, and tiny wooden animals; but also some Mexican antiquities.<sup>99</sup> Emilio Montes, who began to form his collection of ‘Peruvian antiquities’ from the 1860s (see Figure 1.4),

<sup>95</sup> Caparó Muñíz, ‘Colección de antigüedades peruanas’. The practice of piercing and elongating the lobes to differentiate nobles from commoners persisted as late as 1600 despite its prohibition in the second council of Lima (1567–8). Dean, *Inka Bodies and the Body of Christ*, 127–8.

<sup>96</sup> For a survey of the history of the Manila Galleons trade, see (2001), ‘Introduction’, in Flynn, Dennis O., Giráldez, Arturo, and Sobredo, James (eds.), *European Entry into the Pacific. Spain and the Acapulco-Manila Galleons* (The Pacific World: Lands, Peoples and History of the Pacific, 1500–1900. Vol. 4; Ashgate: Variorum).

<sup>97</sup> Centeno’s Asian porcelain is catalogued in section twelve of the catalogue: *Catálogo del Museo de la señora Centeno, 1346–60*, 63–6.

<sup>98</sup> Clare Le Corbeiller and Alice Cooney Frelinghuysen (2003), ‘Chinese Export Porcelain’, *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin, New Series* 60 (3): 60. On the aesthetic perception of Chinese porcelain, see David L. Porter (2002), ‘Monstrous Beauty: Eighteenth-Century Fashion and the Aesthetics of the Chinese Taste’, *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 35 (3): 399.

<sup>99</sup> The German museum agent Hettner sought to buy the collection and therefore put together a short catalogue. The transaction never materialized. Hettner (1889), ‘Brief an Adolf Bastian, Cuzco, 7. Mai’.

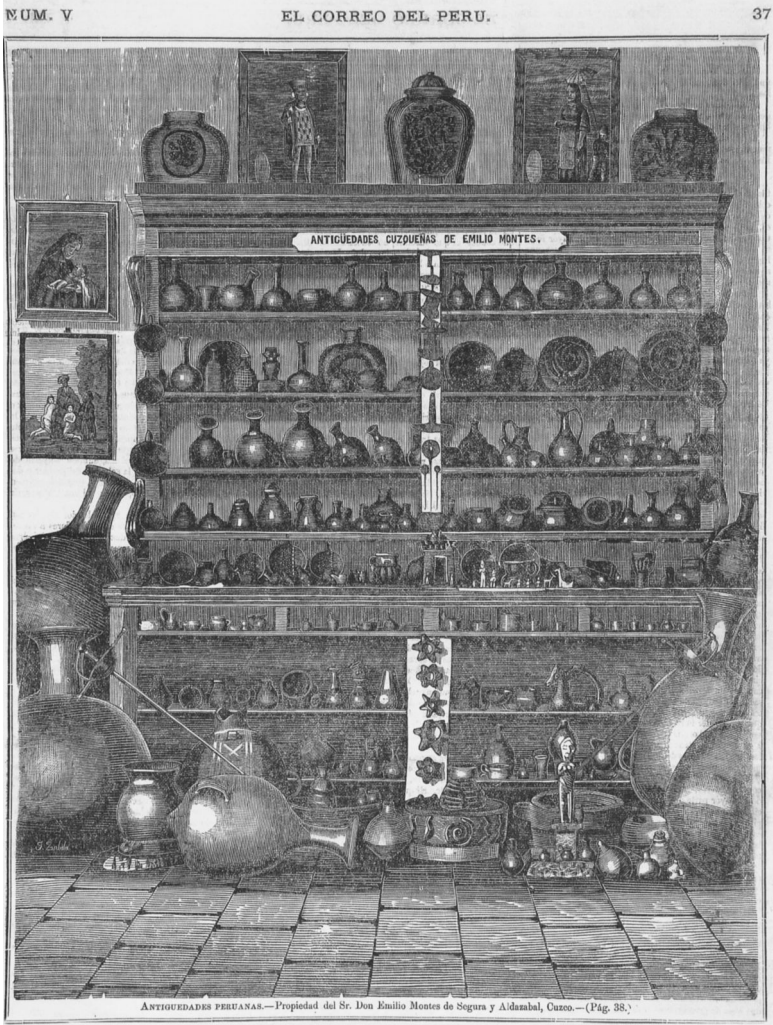


Fig. 1.4. Image of the collection of Emilio Montes, published in 1873 in the newspaper *El Correo del Perú*, volume IV.

had put on display ‘a fine gold ribbon that served to adorn the hair of the *ñustas* [...] and also to embellish their textiles’, placing the ribbon among other Incan artefacts from the Cuzco area and provincial imitations of Inca imperial designs. He intermingled the ‘antiquities’ with some samples of colonial and republican art, a 300lb

slab of lapis lazuli, and three fossils.<sup>100</sup> Centeno already owned a petrified shell, as the anonymous author of the catalogue of her collection put it, ‘a fossil stone, very curious’.<sup>101</sup> Fossils attracted particular inquisitiveness in the early and mid-nineteenth century, when they came to be associated with extinct species and symbols of a newly discovered, temporal history of the earth.<sup>102</sup> Antiquarian collections of the second half of the nineteenth century staged Incan insignia against the backdrop of the world’s ancient civilizations and of a newly discovered human antiquity. In the eyes of Cuzco collectors, Incan insignia were, like fossils and Chinese vases, part of a long-bygone, venerable past.

Pre-Columbian artefacts had long been unearthed incidentally, in construction or during agricultural works, but from the mid-nineteenth century, purposeful excavation became a common means to obtain antiquities. Even though several of the antiquaries under consideration rarely refer to the acquisition of their objects, some collection catalogues and expedition reports retain fragmented information about the circumstances through which objects entered the collections. Caparó related how he extracted artefacts for his collection from specific ‘huacas’—a term that refers mostly to ancient or sacred sites in the Andes<sup>103</sup>—specifying the sites’ names and geographic location—‘the huacas of the hill facing Raccaypata’, for instance, where he unearthed ‘some ropes’. He also related how others excavated for him: Nicolas Calvo from the village of Quiquijana had

<sup>100</sup> Brian S. Bauer (1990), ‘Killke and Killke-Related Pottery from Cuzco, Peru, in the Field Museum of Natural History’, *Fieldiana* 15: 3; Brian S. Bauer (1992), *Avances en arqueología andina* (Cusco: CBC): 114. The collection’s first catalogue was published in 1873: Melquiades Saldívar, Angel Enrique Colunge and Pablo del Castillo, ‘Antigüedades peruanas’, *El Correo del Perú*, 1 February 1873: 38–9. There is no information about when Montes was born or when he died. His name is spelled inconsistently, even in the primary sources. Brian Bauer refers to him in relation to the sale of his collection to the Chicago Museum, spelling his name Montez.

<sup>101</sup> The catalogue entries pertaining to ‘natural petrifications, phenomena and curiosities related to mineralogy’ include numbers 1227–48. *Catálogo del Museo de la señora Centeno*.

<sup>102</sup> On the history of fossil collecting, see Martin J.S. Rudwick (1976), *The Meaning of Fossils: Episodes in the History of Palaeontology* (2 edn.; Chicago: University of Chicago Press); Martin J.S. Rudwick (1996), ‘Minerals, Strata and Fossils’, in Jardine, Nicholas, Secord, James A., and Spary, Emma (eds.), *Cultures of Natural History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).

<sup>103</sup> On the colonial coinage of the term *huaca*, see for instance Susan Elizabeth Ramirez (1996), *The World Upside Down. Cross-Cultural Contact and Conflict in Sixteenth-Century Peru* (Stanford: Stanford University Press): 125.

excavated a *champi* knife—Caparó suggested *champi* cut as well as iron, replacing the latter among the Incas—from ‘a huaca, one of the many that exist in the ayllu of Collatiacc’. The priest Doctor Mariano Alejandro had given him a ‘small idol representing a new-born child’, that ‘they had extracted from a huaca on a hill belonging to the village of Sangarará (Acomayo)’.<sup>104</sup> Some of the collectors excavated objects from the ground on their own terrain, often with the help of the peasants on whose labour these estates were invariably dependent. The collectors Montesinos, Garces, and the presbytery Quino thus discovered objects on their farmland.<sup>105</sup> Antonio Lorena, the owner of a collection of 150 crania from the Cuzco Department, had mostly excavated by himself in Ollantaitambo or Hillahuamán by 1908,<sup>106</sup> while the Puno collector Miguel Garces had ordered digs under his direction.<sup>107</sup>

Even though Cuzqueños carried out excavations, in their catalogues and notebooks they leave no record of whether they paid any attention to the find context, or the artefacts’ stratigraphic position in relation to other artefacts in the ground. It is, however, unlikely that Cuzqueños would have acknowledged a chronological depth beyond the Incan past prior to the 1890s. It was only by that decade that the existence of a pre-Incan epoch and a deep chronology began to surface as a research question in Cuzco. In his second catalogue, published in 1892, Montes suggested some artefacts associated with the Inca might not actually have been made by the Inca, but found in graves and put to new use by them. Even so, he classified most of his collection as Incan.<sup>108</sup> An important hub of ideas about chronological

<sup>104</sup> See catalogue entries 203 and 206, Caparó Muñiz, ‘Colección de antigüedades peruanas’.

<sup>105</sup> Montes makes reference to these casual finds in entry number 1221 of his catalogue: Emilio (1892), *Catálogo del Museo de Antigüedades peruanas e inkaikas* (Cuzco: Imprenta Manuel F. Minauro).

<sup>106</sup> Antonio Lorena (1909), ‘Algunos materiales para la antropología del Cuzco’, *Boletín de la Sociedad Geográfica de Lima* 25 (3): 164–50. The paper was first published in Santiago, in Porter, Carlos (ed.), *Cuarto Congreso Científico (Primero Pan-Americano)* (XIV; Santiago: Imprenta, Litografía y Encuadernación).

<sup>107</sup> Secretary of the Natural History Museum (1896), ‘Letter to Adolph Bandelier, New York, n.d.’, *American Museum of Natural History. Division of Anthropology Archives, Bandelier 1896–31*.

<sup>108</sup> His assertions about pre-Incan origin only appear in the first two catalogue entries. Montes, *Catálogo del Museo de Antigüedades peruanas e inkaikas*, N. 1–2.

depth came from Antonio Lorena, a close collaborator of Caparó's, who had graduated in Lima during the 1880s and upon his return to Cuzco inaugurated courses in anthropology, legal medicine, and physiognomic techniques at Cuzco University during the 1890s, teaching also the principles of evolutionary theory as proposed by Lamarck and Darwin.<sup>109</sup> For most of the period under consideration, however, relative chronology was not of interest to Cuzqueños. As the chronicles spoke only of the immediate pre-Columbian history, the Incan past remained central, even exclusive, to historical narratives about the pre-Columbian period in Cuzco: as had been the case with Germanic, Celtic, or Slavonic life in European antiquarianism,<sup>110</sup> the Inca continued to be imagined as occupying a timeless past, with most of what was known about them condensed into one single picture.

Cuzco antiquaries were generally familiar with a considerable body of knowledge on Andean material culture, which allowed them to recognize artefacts that bore an association with Incan culture, to choose them for their collections, and to offer interpretations on the pieces' meaning. Her contemporaries relate that Centeno treasured 'a hundred details in her memory' about the pieces in her collection, even though she never fixed them in writing.<sup>111</sup> Caparó not only grouped the artefacts together according to their material quality—stone, metal, ceramics, or textiles—his collection catalogue also contained detailed descriptions and a meaningful taxonomy. Caparó often stressed how he named and labelled the antiquities in his collections. He had taken up 'the scientific, historical and archaeological study of the Incan antiquities, so [the collection] would serve as a key to express the [antiquities'] meaning, in order not to say [. . .] "little plate", "little vessel", as did those ignorant of the objects' value', he explained. It was

<sup>109</sup> Marisol de la Cadena (2000), *Indigenous Mestizos. The Politics of Race and Culture in Cuzco, Peru, 1919–1991* (Durham/London: Duke University Press): 61.

<sup>110</sup> Ulrike Sommer (2008), 'Choosing Ancestors: The Mechanisms of Ethnic Ascription in the Age of Patriotic Antiquarianism (1815–1850)', in Schlanger, Nathan, and Nordbladh, Jarl (eds.), *Archives, Ancestors, Practices: Archaeology in the Light of its History* (New York: Berghahn Books): 235.

<sup>111</sup> Dávalos y Lissón, 'El Museo de la Señora Centeno', 291.

shameful, Caparó thought, that the antiquities in the National Museum in Lima were exhibited ‘unsystematically, without classification’.<sup>112</sup> Most Cuzco antiquaries corresponded in English or gave academic papers in French, but they were also bilingual in Quechua and Spanish.<sup>113</sup> They knew the things’ Andean names—*uncus*, *llicllas*, or indeed, *mascapaycha*—and had interpretations to offer on their past and present function and meaning. Emilio Montes was aware of the traditional use of *keros* in pairs,<sup>114</sup> as is evident in his catalogue entry on a ‘pair of grand jars or *keros*’.<sup>115</sup> He identified ‘hunkos’—today usually spelled *uncus*—men’s tunics, among the ancient textiles in his collection.<sup>116</sup> Caparó also chose ‘*llikllas* (mantillas)’, ‘precious textiles of alpaca wool with silver threads’, ‘excessively rare’, as he writes, with alternating stripes ‘serving as adornments’ and solid-colour areas. Scholars still refer to the mantle worn by an Andean woman over her basic garment as *lliclla*, a textile of a characteristic tripartite design organization of patterned stripes and solid-colour areas.<sup>117</sup> Some Cuzqueños engaged in iconographic ‘readings’ of pre-Columbian artefacts, in a quest for references to visual and literary sources.<sup>118</sup> They preferred to collect pieces representing motives, portraits, and scenes; to describe the themes, and seek out their deeper meanings or content. A *kero* depicting a combat scene between the ‘royal army and the chunchos’ was ‘of great merit because it revealed the clothes and weapons of those days’; a precious silver *topo* adorned with human figures worshipping the sun was ‘useful’ because it gave an ‘understanding of Incan theogony’; while another *kero*, ‘a splendid object of

<sup>112</sup> Caparó Muñíz, ‘Carta a D. Jorge Polar’.

<sup>113</sup> Emilio Montes, for instance, presented his paper at the Chicago Congress in French, corresponded with Frederic W. Putnam in English, and supplied translations of Quechua lyrics in his catalogue. Bauer, *Avances en arqueología andina*, 114, 30; Montes, *Catálogo del Museo de Antigüedades peruanas e inkaikas*, Emilio Montes (1893), ‘The Antiquity of the Civilization of Peru’, in Wake, C. Staniland (ed.), *International Congress of Anthropology* (Chicago: The Schulte Publishing Company): 95–9, 1214.

<sup>114</sup> Montes, *Catálogo del Museo de Antigüedades peruanas e inkaikas*, N. 563–4.

<sup>115</sup> Thomas Cummins (2002), *Toasts with the Inca. Andean Abstraction and Colonial Images on Quero Vessels* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press): 211.

<sup>116</sup> Montes, *Catálogo del Museo de Antigüedades peruanas e inkaikas*, N. 801–4.

<sup>117</sup> Phipps, ‘Textiles as Cultural Memory’.

<sup>118</sup> Pascal Riviale has shown, in a similar vein, how González de la Rosa’s interpretations were fundamentally iconographic readings. Pascal Riviale (1997), ‘Manuel González de la Rosa, sacerdote, historiador y arqueólogo’, *Histórica* XXI (2): 284.



wood with paintings and incrustation', unveiled 'the dress and some customs of the Incas in those times of the empire'.<sup>119</sup> Though Montes was mistaken in attributing the *keros* to pre-Columbian times—imperial *keros* are covered with regularized geometric forms that, for the most part, bear no visual relation to objects and beings; these ornaments gave way to polychrome pictorialism only in the colonial period<sup>120</sup>—his preference for the figurative is characteristic of his time. The collection of Nicolás Sáenz contained colourful and refined pottery and textiles, as well as elaborate metal and wooden artefacts from the coast and the southern Andes of Peru. As with the collection of Montes, in the eyes of their owner, the antiquities bore deeper meanings and contents: a black Virú vessel depicting a snake biting the tale of a lizard revealed the struggle of 'evil genies'; a jug from Casma showed death playing the drum, 'as if to call for the living'; while a vessel from Cuzco bore the image of a warrior, kneeling down, 'imploring the protection of the Sun'.<sup>121</sup> Montes conjectured,

[t]hrough the ceramics the Peruvian artists have acquainted us with the customs and habits, because they represent in their glazes and in the figures [...] that adorn their vessels the ceremonies, rites and the nature of those primitive generations. Be it a battle, a shrine, a vicuña hunting party or fishing; or, be it a cacique with his entourage of ministers [...].<sup>122</sup>

Next to iconographic reading, Cuzco's antiquaries also adopted approaches yielding up to comparative demonstration.<sup>123</sup> Emilio Montes' detailed compilations of antiquities excavated or found by fellow antiquaries in Europe, Lima, and Cuzco for comparison, grounded in his conviction that the more pieces one juxtaposed, the 'wider' one's horizon would be for investigation'.<sup>124</sup> Historians of

<sup>119</sup> Montes, *Catálogo del Museo de Antigüedades peruanas e inkaikas*, N. 780, 1580.

<sup>120</sup> Cummins, *Toasts with the Inca: Andean Abstraction and Colonial Images on Quero Vessels*.

<sup>121</sup> Catalogue entries 15, 37, and 43 in Nicolás Sáenz, 'Catálogo de los objetos que remite Nicolás Sáenz á la Exposición Universal de Paris por conducto de la comisión nombrada al efecto por el Supremo Gobierno, Lima', unpublished manuscript, Archivo del Ministerio de Fomento. Dirección de Obras Públicas, Rimac 40–110.

<sup>122</sup> Montes, *Catálogo del Museo de Antigüedades peruanas e inkaikas*, N. 302.

<sup>123</sup> On comparative demonstration as an antiquarian method, see Schnapp, 'Between Antiquarians and Archaeologists', 402.

<sup>124</sup> Montes, *Catálogo del Museo de Antigüedades peruanas e inkaikas*, N. 302.

Peru had hitherto worked ‘premised upon the imagination and the fable’, Montes lamented. It was only ‘from a comparative analysis, attentive and rigorous, of all the objects’, he wrote, that ‘the history of those times we know nothing about will undoubtedly see the light with all its splendour’.<sup>125</sup> Cuzco antiquaries were proficient in diverse bodies of knowledge: they engaged in iconographic readings and comparative analysis, cited Quechua nomenclature, and were well aware of the function and meaning of the antiquities in their collections (see Figure 1.5).

Cuzco collections and studies were closely linked to the discourses and practices of European classicism. Antiquarianism and archaeology, the collecting and study of pre-Columbian material culture, was a distinctly European practice that affirmed one’s belonging to a cosmopolitan *respublica literaria* of educated ladies and gentlemen.<sup>126</sup> Through their education in the city’s schools and universities, European classicism constituted a key aesthetic and an intellectual framework for Cuzco collectors and students. Cuzqueños were aware of the excavations in the cities of what had been the Roman Empire, and eagerly invoked analogies. Describing ‘bottles of distinct colours’, Montes commented on how they ‘imitate[d] [*afectan*] the shape of the amphora the Romans used, disinterred from the ruins of Herculaneum and Pompeii.’<sup>127</sup> To Montes, Andean ceramics had reached ‘a state of perfection that equalled that of Greece or Etruria’; they were ‘identical in their shapes, glazes, drawings and reliefs’ to classical antiquities. The ‘most expert eyes of European antiquaries’, Montes wrote in his catalogue, had ‘erred more than once in attributing a vessel from Cuzco’s *huacas* to the island of Pafos or the city of Cortona’ (see Figures 1.6 and 1.7).<sup>128</sup> Contrary to what historians have hitherto assumed, the ‘aesthetic recognition’<sup>129</sup> of pre-Columbian materials was not a phenomenon of the early twentieth

<sup>125</sup> Montes, *Catálogo del Museo de Antigüedades peruanas e inkaikas*, N. 302.

<sup>126</sup> On collecting and gentlemanly sociability in Britain, see Rosemary Sweet (2004), *Antiquaries: The Discovery of the Past in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Hambledon & London: Cambridge and London): 61. On societies and exchange, see Te Heesen, ‘Vom naturgeschichtlichen Investor zum Staatsdiener. Sammler und Sammlungen der Gesellschaft Naturforschender Freunde zu Berlin um 1800’, 69.

<sup>127</sup> Montes, *Catálogo del Museo de Antigüedades peruanas e inkaikas*, N. 468–75.

<sup>128</sup> Montes, *Catálogo del Museo de Antigüedades peruanas e inkaikas*, N. 468–75.

<sup>129</sup> For a general discussion of the ‘aesthetic recognition’ of American art, see George Kubler (1991), *Aesthetic Recognition of Ancient Amerindian Art* (New Haven/London: Yale University Press).



Fig. 1.5. A photograph depicting *keros* and other vessels from the collection of Emilio Montes, Cuzco, *n.d.* The imprint identifies the photographer as Luis Alviña, an Argentine who established himself as Cuzco's principal photographer from the 1870s. The photograph was taken between the opening of Alviña's studio and its sale to the Berlin Ethnological Museum in 1890.

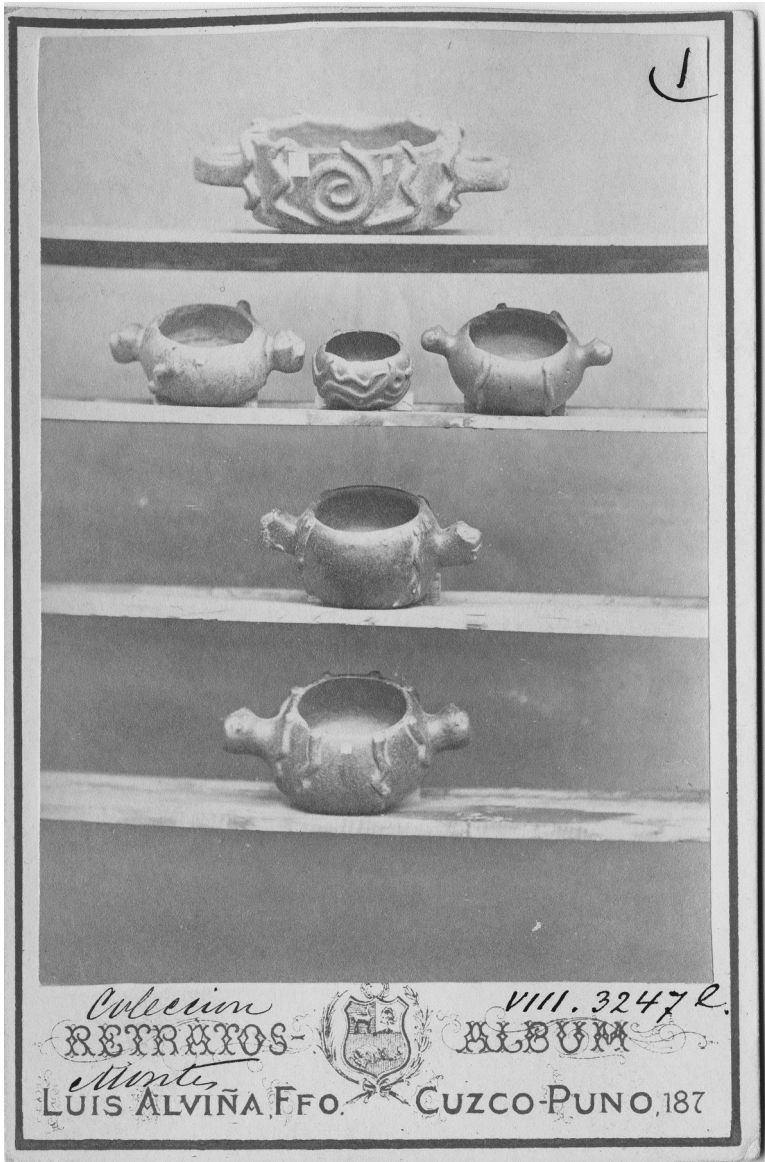


Fig. 1.6. A photograph depicting ceramics from the collection of Emilio Montes. Taken by Luis Alviña, between 1870 and 1890.

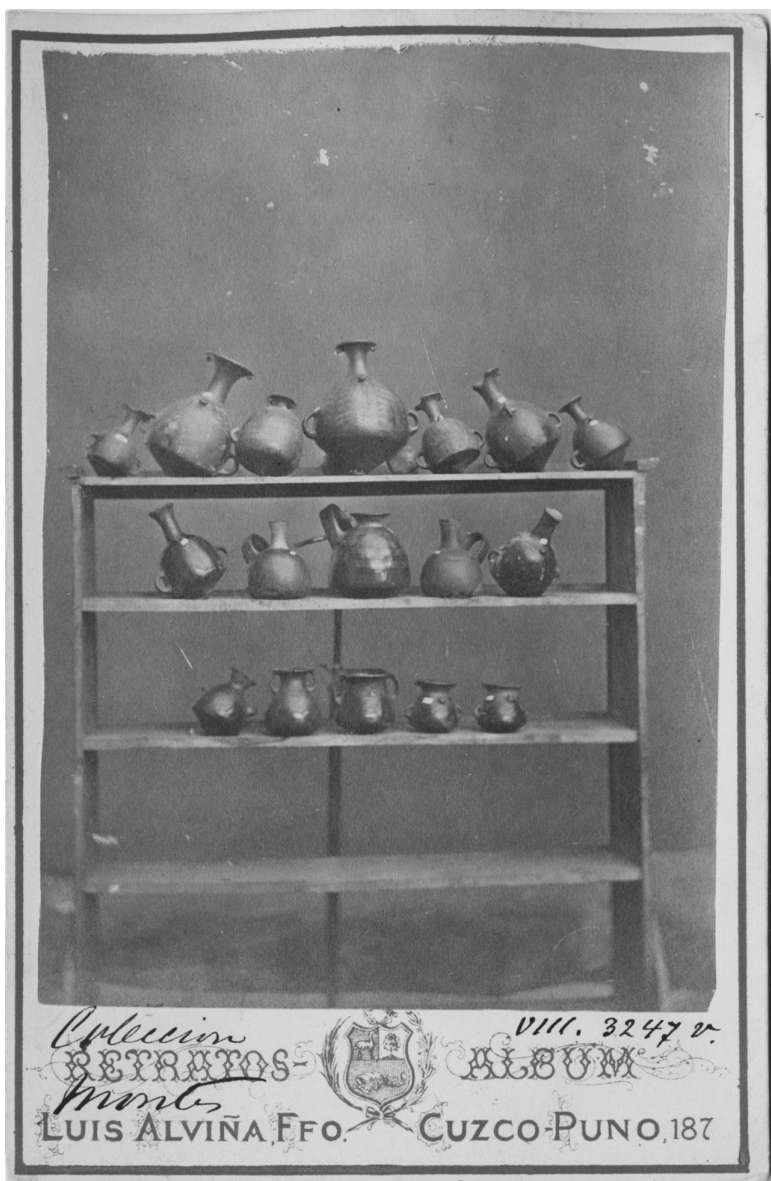


Fig. 1.7. A photograph depicting Andean amphorae—*arybalos*—from the collection of Emilio Montes. Taken by Luis Alviña, between 1870 and 1890.

century. While it is true that the perception of American antiquities as art became an influential discourse in Peru and elsewhere only from the 1920s,<sup>130</sup> references to the beauty of pre-Columbian material culture pervaded mid- to late nineteenth-century Cuzco writings. Cuzqueños explicitly interlinked their praise of the antiquities with references to their similarity—in their purity, simple elegance, and exact dimensions—to classical art. As an observer contended in 1897, in their ‘purity’ and ‘elegance’ Incan artefacts could ‘compete with the best Etruscan vessels’.<sup>131</sup> Montes referred to the objects in his collection as ‘very beautiful’ [*hermosísimo*] because of the material, colours, drawings, and the exactness in the dimensional representation of humans and animals. As such, he claimed, the objects in his collection resembled the Greek vessels fabricated under the Roman Empire.<sup>132</sup> Melquiades Saldívar, author of a commentary on the Montes collection, delighted in the pieces’ ‘elegance and fine drawing of exquisite simplicity’. Recounting the details of a stone mosaic found in Cuzco, Saldívar asserted that the precious object ‘revealed a high level of civilization that makes [...] the sons of the sun comparable with the opulent peoples of the Orient, with ancient Greece and the assimilating Rome’.<sup>133</sup> As in contemporary European histories of art, the lens of classicism allowed for the recognition of Incan aesthetics and cultural significance, rendering Incan artefacts collectibles and ‘antiquities’ for Cuzqueños.<sup>134</sup> Historians have repeatedly pointed out how, for European travellers, the writings of Alexander von

<sup>130</sup> Natalia Majluf and Luis Eduardo Wuffarden, *Elena Izcue* (Lima/Madrid: 1999): 23. Europe’s awakening to the beauties of *art primitif* is generally traced to the changed sensibility in the work of Van Gogh or Gauguin or to the ‘discovery’ of primitive sculpture by Picasso. See Elizabeth A. Williams (1985), ‘Art and Artifact at the Trocadéro; Ars Americana and the Primitivist Revolution’, in Stocking (ed.), *Objects and Others. Essays on Museums and Material Culture*.

<sup>131</sup> Rosendo A. Zevallos, ‘Exposición Departamental’, *El Comercio* (Cuzco), 24 July 1897.

<sup>132</sup> Montes, *Catálogo del Museo de Antigüedades peruanas e inkaikas*.

<sup>133</sup> Saldívar, Colunge, and Castillo, ‘Antigüedades peruanas’.

<sup>134</sup> See Henrik Karge’s analysis of Franz Kugler’s *Handbuch der Kunstgeschichte* (1842)—a manual for art history—which included Mexican monuments. Henrik Karge (2002), ‘El arte americano antiguo y el canon de la antigüedad clásica. El “nuevo continente” en la historiografía del arte de la primera mitad del siglo XIX’, in Kügelgen, Helga Von (ed.), *Herencias indígenas, tradiciones europeas y la mirada europea. Actas del Coloquio de la Asociación Carl Justi y del Instituto Cervantes Bremen, del 6 al 9 de abril de 2000* (Estudios de Arte de la Asociación Carl Justi; Frankfurt: Vervuert-Iberoamericana): 330–4.

Humboldt, following his journeys in South America from 1799 to 1804, moved the terms in which descriptions of the Incas had been couched ever since the early seventeenth century away from the idioms of classical humanism. Humboldt discarded all classical analogies and compared ancient American civilizations with Asian rather than ancient classical polities, at a time when Asian civilization was no longer highly esteemed in Europe, and when aesthetic value was conceded only to Greek, Roman, and European antiquities.<sup>135</sup> Even though educated Peruvians were likely familiar with Humboldt's writings, the traveller's conceptions are conspicuously absent from Cuzco collectors' and students' discourses. Cuzqueños perpetuated the imaginary of the Inca as a classical civilization during the nineteenth century: it provided *the* discursive and aesthetic framework in which Cuzqueños could imagine the Incas as an ancient past.

Unlike Centeno and most earlier antiquaries active during the mid-century, Caparó and his contemporaries of the last three decades of the nineteenth century were ever-more involved in the city's active associational life. Learned societies and clubs came to occupy an important place in the city, doubling, like the salons, as forums of antiquarian and archaeological learning and sociability. To the meetings of the Peruvian Archaeological Society, founded in Cuzco in 1868, participants usually brought antiquities they had excavated or found. The Society's members gathered in a salon of Cuzco's university and informally shared some thoughts on the pieces' implications for the understanding of 'pre-Columbian times'.<sup>136</sup> Its founder, the presbyter Dr González de la Rosa, had lived and travelled for extended periods of time in Europe in the service of the Peruvian government and established contacts within the emerging circuits of Americanism and anthropology. According to Pascal Riviale, González de la Rosa's idea of founding a Peruvian archaeological society to launch the institutionalization of archaeology in Peru was inspired by both his awareness of European, US-American, and Brazilian historical and archaeological institutes and by his 'conversations with

<sup>135</sup> Jorge Cañizares Esguerra (2008), 'Travel Accounts', in Pillsbury, Joanne (ed.), *Guide to Documentary Sources for Andean Studies, 1530–1900* (I; Norman: University of Oklahoma Press): 304. See also Chapter 23, 'Scientific Traveller', in Brading, *The First America*, 514–34.

<sup>136</sup> Manuel González de la Rosa, 'Sociedad Arqueológica Peruana', *El Nacional*, 5 de Diciembre 1868. On the society's meetings, see Manuel González de la Rosa, 'Sociedad Arqueológica Peruana', *El Meridional*, 27 de Noviembre 1868.

erudite cuzqueños'.<sup>137</sup> The Cuzco Archaeological and Linguistic Society, presided over by Caparó in the 1880s, was entirely made up of clergymen, university teachers, and other educated members of the more prosperous strata of society.<sup>138</sup> Caparó was also named president of the Cuzco branch of the Andean Club (*Club Andino del Cuzco*) in 1891, and invited men like the physician Antonio Lorena to join the association.<sup>139</sup> Lorena was also a member of Cuzco's Archaeological Society (*Arqueológica Cuzqueña*), an association unified by 'the most vivid interest in everything related to the history of Tahuantinsuyu'—as the Incas called their 'fourfold domain'.<sup>140</sup> Cuzco's Science Centre, founded in 1897, joined together the 'notables' of the department, its political and ecclesiastical authorities, its deputies, landowners, and educated citizens, around a shared concern with the area's progress.<sup>141</sup> Under the umbrella of Cuzco's Science Centre, its members organized 'explorations' of the marginal areas of the Amazon and the Andean sections of the Cuzco Department in the years around 1900, with the aim of opening up those areas to commerce and 'civilization'. In 1900, Caparó presided over one of the few purely archaeological expeditions to a supposedly Incan fortress, and for the purpose formed a small society made up of a group of local gentlemen. He published the expedition's results in the bulletin edited by the centre.<sup>142</sup> The centre owned a cabinet of mineralogical, archaeological, and animal specimens brought back from its members' expeditions and journeys.<sup>143</sup> The objective of Cuzco's local public sphere of learned societies was not self-evidently congruent to social-democratic or liberal ideas of full civic participation and social mobility.<sup>144</sup> As much as the city's private museums, civil society

<sup>137</sup> Riviale, 'Manuel González de la Rosa', 281.

<sup>138</sup> Caparó refers to his work as president of the society in his manuscripts. José Lucas Caparó Muñiz (1887), 'Apuntes y tradiciones que se pueden utilizar para la historia del Imperio de los Incas', Cuzco, *Colección Manuscritos de José Lucas Caparó Muñiz*.

<sup>139</sup> The foundation of the club was announced in the Sociedad Geográfica de Lima (1891), 'Miscelánea', *Boletín de la Sociedad Geográfica de Lima* 1 (2).

<sup>140</sup> Antonio Lorena (1890), 'La medicina y la trepanación incásicas (De "La Crónica Médica")', *La Gaceta Científica. Publicación mensual de la Sociedad "Amantes de la Ciencia"* 7 (1).

<sup>141</sup> José Luis Rénique (1980), 'El Centro Científico del Cuzco (1897–1907)', *Histórica* 4 (1): 45.

<sup>142</sup> Caparó Muñiz, 'El Fuerte de Huatta', 32.

<sup>143</sup> Secretaría del Centro Científico del Cuzco, 'Memoria de la Secretaría del Centro Científico', 5–6.

<sup>144</sup> Frank Trentmann and John A. Hall (eds.) (2005), *Civil Society. A Reader in History, Theory and Global Politics* (London/New York: Palgrave Macmillan): 139.



associations could serve precisely the opposite purpose, entrenching and reifying the elite.

Cuzco collectors and students of antiquities invariably belonged to the city's closely intertwined, diminutive upper sphere. As was the case in European antiquarianism, most men and women active in antiquarian circles knew each other personally. The European distinction between an educated urban middle class as opposed to land-owning groups was not apparent in Cuzco. Almost the entirety of the city's professional elite owned landed estates. During the age of export expansion in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the southern highlands witnessed a major transfer of land from the peasant communities to the estate sector.<sup>145</sup> Ana María Centeno was the owner of the so-called Hacienda de la Puente; Pío Concha was owner of Hacienda Santa Ana, the site of present-day Quillabamba; and Emilio Montes was in possession of a hacienda in Apurímac. The same men and women were the city's politicians—like Centeno's father—its lawyers, judges, and deputies, like Caparó.<sup>146</sup> They were also the city's mayors, like Emilio Montes,<sup>147</sup> its prefects, like Miguel Medina, Cuzco's university directors, like Doctor Julian Ochoa,<sup>148</sup> or they were, like César Lomellini or Bruno Bolívar, the city's wealthiest businessmen.<sup>149</sup> Cuzco antiquaries would have known each other from their studies at the city's only university, and they might even have attended the same school.<sup>150</sup> They met at the regular gatherings of the various societies, at dinners and soirées, which were, as in contemporary Europe, so much a part of the antiquarian scene at this time.<sup>151</sup> Like Caparó, Cuzco's other collectors and students of antiquities would have been among the owners of the city's private libraries, and collections of books and manuscripts;<sup>152</sup> those who

<sup>145</sup> For an account of the 'Avalanche of Hacienda Expansion' in the late nineteenth century, see Nils Jacobsen (1993), *Mirages of Transition. The Peruvian Altiplano, 1780–1930* (Berkeley et al.: University of California Press): 198–258.

<sup>146</sup> Itier, *El teatro quechua en el Cuzco*, 24.

<sup>147</sup> See Saldívar, Colunge and Castillo, 'Antigüedades peruanas'.

<sup>148</sup> Markham, *The Incas of Peru*, viii.

<sup>149</sup> See Itier, *El teatro quechua en el Cuzco*, 24.

<sup>150</sup> With a population of nearly forty thousand, Cuzco had only one university with less than one hundred students by the 1830s, and only two schools, Sciences and Arts for boys and Educandas for girls. Walker, *Smoldering Ashes*, 174.

<sup>151</sup> Levine, *The Amateur and the Professional*, 19.

<sup>152</sup> Rivera Martínez, *Paul Marcoy: Viaje a través de América del Sur*, 349.

frequented the city's bookstores,<sup>153</sup> and by the 1890s, they would have been among the readers of the roughly one thousand copies of newspapers sold in the city.<sup>154</sup> The antiquaries' catalogues and correspondence reveal how they had read the same chronicles—above all, Garcilaso de la Vega's *Commentaries*—and the same books by travelers with an archaeological interest, like Charles Wiener. Cuzco antiquaries had also read the same Lima publications—in particular Rivero's and Johann Jakob von Tschudi's atlas *Peruvian Antiquities*.<sup>155</sup> Cuzqueños were acquainted with each other's collections, visited each other's museums occasionally, and conversed about their most recent archaeological finds. When Emilio Montes sought to prove, in an extensive catalogue entry accompanying an Incan gold ribbon, that historians had long overrated the intrinsic value of Inca statuettes and that the Incas mastered lamination techniques that allowed them to produce thin layers of gold to adorn their houses, palaces, and temples, he adduced as evidence pieces he had seen exhibited in Cuzco collections, at his friends' and acquaintances' homes. His acquaintance Alarcón had found laminated idols, and so had the intendant Vicente Caldos. In 1852 a golden breastplate and two golden ear spools covered with lamina had been discovered in Cuzco, and in 1853 the vocal Montesinos had discovered on his finca (landed estate) near Cuzco two small idols and a gold llama, also simply coated with laminated gold. Luis Espejo, the presbyter Quino, the traveller Charles Wiener, Miguel Garces from Puno, and many collectors living on the coast—and Montes exerted himself so far as to name them all—had found laminated gold and silver artefacts.<sup>156</sup>

<sup>153</sup> Pío B. Mesa, colonel, Dean of the Humanities Faculty and Senator of the Republic, for instance, also owned a bookstore in Cuzco. David Cahill (1984), 'Curas and Social Conflict in the *Doctrinas* of Cuzco, 1780–1814', *Journal of Latin American Studies* 16 (2): 266; Tamayo Herrera, *Historia del indigenismo cuzqueño, siglos XVI–XX*, 141.

<sup>154</sup> Nils Jacobsen (2005), 'Public Opinions and Public Spheres in Late-Nineteenth Century Peru. A Multicolored Web in a Tattered Cloth', in Jacobsen, Nils (ed.), *Political Cultures in the Andes, 1750–1950* (Durham/London: Duke University Press): 283.

<sup>155</sup> Emilio Montes persistently cited the atlas and Garcilaso de la Vega's *Commentaries*. Emilio Montes (1878), 'Catálogo de las Antigüedades Peruanas de la propiedad de W. Emilio Montes que han sido remitidas a la Exposición de Paris', Lima, *Archivo del Ministerio de Fomento. Dirección de Obras Públicas, Rimac* 40–110; Montes, *Catálogo del Museo de Antigüedades peruanas e inkaikas*. So did Caparó: Caparó Muñiz, 'Catálogo'.

<sup>156</sup> Montes, *Catálogo del Museo de Antigüedades peruanas e inkaikas*, 1221.

Several Cuzco collectors were involved in politics, and the collecting and study of antiquities served their purpose. The lineal national narrative inherent in the term ‘Peruvian antiquities’—popularized further with the wide circulation of Rivero’s and Tschudi’s atlas among Cuzco’s antiquaries—is both meaningful and deceptive. Even though Cuzco collections and studies sealed an Incan and a Peruvian antiquity, this antiquity belonged not to the Peruvian nation state and its government, but to Cuzqueños. Indeed, several of the collectors and students of antiquities felt their belonging to the city of Cuzco more keenly than any national allegiance. Cuzqueños had contested Lima’s designation as the seat of the highest imperial institutions ever since the sixteenth century, acclaiming its illustrious Incan past as the capital of the empire and its numerous Indian population.<sup>157</sup> Following the late eighteenth century, Cuzco became ever-more economically and politically marginalized: with the segregation of Upper and Lower Peru, the economic axis connecting Lima with Potosí dissolved and the collapse of that commercial circuit brought about an economic crisis in the region. The Southern Andean area, thus isolated and relegated to the margins of the economy, was ruined further by recurrent armed conflicts between 1814 and 1824.<sup>158</sup> During the 1840s, Lima elites, under the leadership of General Ramón Castilla, claimed permanent control of the Peruvian state: by that decade, Lima outranked Cuzco in every measure of political and economic power. As in the early colonial period, during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the idea resonated in the southern Andes that Cuzco’s subjection to Lima was illegitimate because of the city’s historical role as the former capital of the Incan Empire, ‘the ancient capital of that vast (*vastísimo*) Peru’.<sup>159</sup> Discourses and practices invoking Cuzco’s Incan legacy—‘Incaism’—continued to be an integral part of the city’s self-fashioned identity in the nineteenth century, in a process that was closely intertwined with how Cuzco challenged its marginalization, argued for regional autonomy, and criticized

<sup>157</sup> See Chapter 1, in Alejandra B. Osorio (2008), *Inventing Lima. Baroque Modernity in Peru’s South Sea Metropolis* (The Americas in the Early Modern Atlantic World; New York: Palgrave Macmillan).

<sup>158</sup> Flores Espinoza, ‘La añoranza del pasado’; Majluf, ‘De la rebelión al museo’, 258, 79, 305.

<sup>159</sup> These words were part of a comment made by Mariano Eduardo de Rivero in Cuzco in 1812. Cited in Flores Espinoza, ‘La añoranza del pasado’, 29.

Lima's hegemony.<sup>160</sup> The Incas constituted a key icon for post-independence conservatives, a trend initiated by Cuzco-born *caudillo* Agustín Gamarra. Gamarristas interpreted the Incan Empire as a model of hierarchy and social control, an interpretation that other conservatives developed in the nineteenth century. Focusing on the painful contrast between Cuzco's glorious Incan past and its stagnation in the early nineteenth century, Gamarra cast the region's decline as being a result of the encroachment and discrimination of outsiders, particularly political forces from Lima, Arequipa, and Bolivia.<sup>161</sup> Caparó was a supporter of the first Civil Party (*Partido Civil*) government under Manuel Pardo (1872–6): under the Chilean occupation of Peru during the War of the Pacific he sided with the Civil Party's fighting of the central government. Later he occupied important administrative posts in Cuzco and served as deputy for Canas between 1897 and 1902. As César Itier has argued, Caparó's alliance with the Civil Party was not coincidental: the party was a national and nationalist project but it also favoured decentralization and democratization. According to Itier, like Caparó, several of Cuzco's local Quechua scholars recognized themselves in the Civil Party government and its political agenda of decentralization.<sup>162</sup> Collections and studies of Incan material culture remade an imperial past in the eyes of locals and visitors alike, reifying and nourishing discourses, not primarily about the Peruvian nation state, but about Cuzco's pre-eminent role in it.

Even though Cuzco collectors belonged to the same strata of society they were of diverse origins. While some of them were British or French expatriates like Mr Bennet and Pierre de Romainville, others self-identified as Creoles, that is, American-born Spaniards, like the 'descendant of Pizarro's warriors', Señora Astete de Bennet. Most Cuzqueños, however, evade the neat classificatory grid of 'the Spaniard', 'the European', or 'the Creole'. As was the case for the majority of Cuzco's upper class, Centeno, for instance, was in her appearance mestizo. The consul-merchant Heinrich Witt from Hamburg, at least, called Ana María's father, Anselmo Centeno, 'a true

<sup>160</sup> See, for instance, Carlos A. Forment (2003), *Democracy in Latin America, 1760–1900* (Chicago/London: University of Chicago Press): 309–10.

<sup>161</sup> Walker, *Smoldering Ashes*, 138.

<sup>162</sup> Paul Gootenberg (1993), *Imagining Development: Economic Ideas in Peru's 'Fictitious Prosperity' of Guano, 1840–1880* (Berkeley: University of California Press): 87.

Indian both in colour as in character'.<sup>163</sup> Yet Centeno's physical share in the indigenous legacy was not indicative of a sense or ascription of indigeneity. Ana María Centeno's mansion was an open display of Spanish culture: paintings depicting the heroes of Spanish legends such as El Cid or Bernardo del Carpio, themselves emblems of Spanish identity, sat alongside images of the Virgin Mary, marking the palace as a Spanish, Catholic home.<sup>164</sup> Historians of the Andes have long stressed the fluidity of ethnic boundaries, and how cultural practices reified ethnic identity. In nineteenth-century Cuzco, social and cultural belonging was constantly remade, and physical characteristics were secondary to whether one was 'Indian', Creole, or mestizo.<sup>165</sup> Caparó claimed that his early contacts with his Indian nursemaid had made him 'an Indian of pure race'.<sup>166</sup> That Caparó would seek to be associated with indigeneity is related in anecdote, but his life, like Centeno's, leaves us in no doubt that neither of them was 'Indian' with everything the word entailed in the period. Early republican authorities reified the legal, fiscal, and ideological fixtures of Peruvian society along the Indian/non-Indian fault line, with 'Indians' constituting some 80 per cent of the Cuzco Department's population in the late 1820s. In the imagination of the ruling elite, 'Indians' were the lowly classes towards the end of the nineteenth century, a rural underclass of farmers, labourers, and foot soldiers.<sup>167</sup> Indeed, both Centeno and Caparó were portrayed, and saw themselves, not as Indians, but as the Indians' paternal guardians and interpreters. Whereas Centeno was known by her contemporaries as a charitable woman, a protector of 'that race descended from the Emperors',<sup>168</sup> Caparó time and again related how he sighed at the Indians' 'deplorable ignorance'.<sup>169</sup> To invoke their 'Indian' ascendancy, or to allow others

<sup>163</sup> Witt's assertion is cited in Luis Miguel Glave (2004), *La República instalada. Formación nacional y prensa en el Cuzco 1825-1839* (Lima: IEP/IFEA): 223.

<sup>164</sup> Dávalos y Lissón, 'El Museo de la Señora Centeno', 290.

<sup>165</sup> Marisol de la Cadena has made this argument for twentieth-century Cuzco. Cadena, *Indigenous Mestizos*.

<sup>166</sup> Guevara Gil, 'La contribución de José Lucas Caparó Muñiz a la formación del Museo Arqueológico de la Universidad del Cuzco'.

<sup>167</sup> Brooke Larson (2004), *Trials of Nation Making: Liberalism, Race, and Ethnicity in the Andes, 1810-1910* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press): 247; Walker, *Smoldering Ashes*, 187.

<sup>168</sup> Clorinda Matto de Turner, 'María Ana Centeno viuda de Romainville (Peruana). Apuntes para una biografía', *El Correo del Perú*, 24 March 1878, 94-5, 196.

<sup>169</sup> Caparó Muñiz, 'Colección de antigüedades peruanas'.

to invoke it, implied a metaphorical discourse of cultural authenticity rather than identification with the period's living Indians. The collecting, exhibiting, and 'musealization' of antiquities entailed a peculiar intimacy with, but at the same time, an unambiguous distance from, indigeneity.

Even though Cuzco antiquaries all engaged in a European cultural practice, not all of them were men and women invoking their Hispanic or European descent. During the 1830s, Justo Sahuaraura embarked on a number of publications related to Incan history in which he consistently referred to himself as a man 'prolific in the investigations of the antiquities of [my] country'.<sup>170</sup> Based on this authority, Sahuaraura wrote to correct an article that had come out in the Cuzco periodical *Museo Erudito* (The Erudite Museum). In 1830s Cuzco the *Museo* was a forum for reflections on the pre-Columbian past as well as contemporary literature and science.<sup>171</sup> The group of editors owned a small museum of pre-Columbian antiquities that they housed in their office.<sup>172</sup> The article that had aroused Sahuaraura's concern claimed that the body of the Incan Emperor Viracocha, buried near Cuzco, had been discovered by Gonzalo Pizarro. Pizarro, the article stated, stripped the body of its rich adornment, burnt it and dispersed its ashes. Sahuaraura urged his readers not to give credit to the account. Not only had the mestizo chronicler Garcilaso de la Vega seen, years after Pizarro's death, the body of the Emperor Viracocha in Cuzco, but Sahuaraura himself had heard from his family elders that, in accordance with Garcilaso's version, the corpses of their sovereigns were not buried but embalmed and taken to the icy peak of the Pachatusan so that the cold would dry their bodies and 'make them look as if they were alive'.<sup>173</sup> With his comment, Sahuaraura interfered

<sup>170</sup> Some of Sahuaraura's manuscripts are kept by the Peruvian National Library. Don Justo Apu Sahuaraura Inca (1838), 'Escritos del Dr Justo Apu Sahuaraura', Lima, *Biblioteca Nacional del Perú. Colección Manuscritos D 1584*.

<sup>171</sup> José Palacios (1839), 'El Redactor', *Museo Erudito o los Tiempos y las Costumbres* 2 (13).

<sup>172</sup> Yazmín López Lenci (2007), *El Cusco, paqarina moderna: Cartografía de una modernidad e identidad en los Andes peruanos (1900-1935)* (Cusco: Instituto Nacional de Cultura): 102.

<sup>173</sup> Sahuaraura is referring to a section in the fifth book of the *Royal Commentaries*, Chapter XXIX, 'The Death of Inca Viracocha; The Author Saw His Body', in El Inca Garcilaso de la Vega (1966 [1609]), *Royal Commentaries of the Incas and General History of Peru*, trans. Livermore, Harold V., 2 vols. (Austin: University of Texas Press): vol. 1, 306.

in a longstanding debate in colonial and republican circles on the mummification procedures applied to Incan monarchs' bodies in pre-Columbian times and their elusive trajectory after the conquest.<sup>174</sup> As Emilio Montes related, mummification procedures elicited vivid debates among 'the authors of our fatherland [*escritores patrios*]'.<sup>175</sup> Yet the article also elucidates how Sahuaraura had come to see his role in Cuzco society by the 1830s. He already considered himself 'useless', as he wrote in the closing part of the article, but still wanted to support the journal editors' antiquarian project by 'providing insight into our antiquities [*antiguallas*], with the little that has been treasured in memory [...]'.<sup>176</sup> After the destruction of the royal *kipus*, which Sahuaraura equated with written historical documents, the oral history preserved in the royal family was the only trace left of Incan history. Even now some of its members were alive, wrote Sahuaraura, 'being the one who writes this [one of them]'.<sup>177</sup> Sahuaraura's narrative about how he learned from his family elders about the Incan past is reminiscent of how Garcilaso de la Vega, when he had long lived in Spain, related what he remembered having heard as a child from his Incan mother and her relatives.<sup>178</sup> Sahuaraura, just like Cuzco's other antiquaries, had read and formed an idea of Incan history, and of his own self, through Garcilaso de la Vega's *Commentaries*.<sup>179</sup> As much as his ideas about the pre-Columbian past, Sahuaraura's references to conversations with Incan elders are a reflection of centuries of cultural *mestizaje* among elite Cuzqueños, of a shared realm of ideas, discourses, and images about the Incan past.

Like Sahuaraura, other Indian nobles who had lived through the transition from the colonial to the republican period found their place

<sup>174</sup> The testimonies of the conquerors, who saw the mummies in Cuzco, the discovery of some of them, their subsequent transfer to the city of Lima, and their final interment in the capital of the viceroyalty, are part of an elusive, complex trajectory. See Chapter 1 in Ramos Cárdenas, *Death and Conversion in the Andes*.

<sup>175</sup> Montes, *Catálogo del Museo de Antigüedades peruanas e inkaikas*.

<sup>176</sup> Don Justo Apu Sahuaraura Inca (1837), 'Artículo remitido', *Museo Erúdito o los Tiempos y las Costumbres* 1 (7): 10.

<sup>177</sup> Sahuaraura Inca, 'Escritos del Dr Justo Apu Sahuaraura, *BNP*'.

<sup>178</sup> See, for instance, Book Nine, Chapter XXXVIII, Garcilaso de la Vega, *Royal Commentaries of the Incas and General History of Peru*. Majluf, 'De la rebelión al museo', 282.

<sup>179</sup> On the late eighteenth-century reception of Garcilaso's *Commentaries* in Cuzco, see Rosas Lauro, 'La imagen de los Incas en la Ilustración peruana del siglo XVIII', 1037.

in treasuring the memory of the Incan past. As Natalia Majluf writes, 'having lost their political power many descendants of the Incan nobility [...] sought refuge in the past, becoming *aficionados* and antiquaries'.<sup>180</sup> Paul Marcoy related how in the village of San Sebastian, the descendants of the Quispé, Mamani, and Condori families, even though they had 'fallen from their ancient splendour', treasured their families' coats of arms, a privilege granted to Incan imperial families under colonial rule. When the British traveller Clements Markham paid a visit to Pablo Policarpo Justiniani in the village of Lares, Markham found Justiniani immersed in studies of his family's history and his own genealogy. Though impoverished, Justiniani treasured in his house his family's coats of arms and a series of genealogical portraits, including that of his own Incan noble ancestor.<sup>181</sup> During the 1830s, Justo Apu Sahuaraura Inca authored a genealogical study entitled *Memories of the Peruvian Monarchy* (*Recuerdos de la Monarquía Peruana*). His Incan genealogy, written in the form of the colonial 'proofs of nobility' (*probanzas de nobleza*), attested that its author, Sahuaraura, was the last descendant of the Incas and the heir to that dynasty. Indeed, Justo Sahuaraura's parents were Pedro Sahuaraura, the hereditary *cacique* of Ayllu Cachona in the Santiago parish, in Cuzco, and Sebastiana Bustinza Yauric Ariza, daughter and heiress to the *cacicazgo* of Ayllu Cuzco in Oropesa. Pedro Sahuaraura's father, Ascencio (c. 1695–1750), claimed to be from an Incan lineage in Urcos, a large town in Quispicanchis, and to have descended from Huayna Capac through Paullu's illegitimate son Tito Atauchi. Ascencio was the commissioner of the Indian noble militia unit, an elector of the Incan *cabildo*, and served as *alférez real* in the Santiago procession. He would have been one of the few allowed to wear a *mascapaycha* on the occasion of festivities (see Figure 1.8).<sup>182</sup> Although the style and content of Sahuaraura's

<sup>180</sup> Majluf, 'De la rebelión al museo', 282.

<sup>181</sup> Markham, *The Incas of Peru*, viii, 140. Cited in Majluf, 'De la rebelión al museo', 282–3.

<sup>182</sup> On Titu Atauchi, see Jean-Jacques Decoster (2002), 'La sangre que mancha: La Iglesia colonial temprana frente a indios, mestizos e ilegítimos', in Decoster, Jean-Jacques (ed.), *Incas e indios cristianos. Elites indígenas e identidades cristianas en los Andes coloniales* (Cuzco: CBC). I am indebted to David Garrett for Sahuaraura's genealogy.





Fig. 1.8. *Dinastía Incaica* (Incan Dynasty) by Mariano Florentino Olivares in 1880. Sahuaraura appears on the right-hand side, as the last progeny of the Incan dynasty. The painting is based on Sahuaraura's *Memories of the Peruvian Monarchy*.

*Memories of the Peruvian Monarchy* was reminiscent of late-colonial-period claims for political positions, economic benefits, and social privileges, after the defeat of the Peru-Bolivian Confederation, Sahuaraura was well aware that neither his illustrious pedigree nor his written genealogy would grant him such things, and that his readers would not see in the text the possibility of a restitution of the Incan Empire but rather view it as an antiquarian work, a historical study of bygone times.<sup>183</sup> Upon his death in 1848, Sahuaraura knew there would be no restitution of the Incan Empire and that his study was an intellectual and a genealogical project that had ceased to be political.

The Incan past was reconfigured for Incan descendants, men like Sahuaraura and Justiniani, in the same way as it was for Centeno, Medina, and other Cuzqueños. Sahuaraura held a doctorate in theology and canon law from Cuzco's San Antonio Abad Seminary under the direction of the humanist Ignacio de Castro. A reader of

<sup>183</sup> See Flores Espinoza, 'La añoranza del pasado', 45; Majluf, 'De la rebelión al museo', 281–2.

Montesquieu, Molière, and Voltaire, de Castro had authored a history of the foundation of Cuzco in 1795, lauding the Incas' moral virtues and riches, and their 'natural lights'.<sup>184</sup> Sahuaraura wrote and read not only Spanish, but also Latin and Quechua. He was ordained as a priest and occupied numerous parishes in the bishopric of Cuzco. Sahuaraura travelled to Cádiz as a deputy before the *Cortes*;<sup>185</sup> he fought in the Southern Andean Rebellion of 1814, was jailed, and upon his liberation joined the patriots once more during the Wars of Independence. He fought in the Battle of Ayacucho in 1825 and after independence was rewarded accordingly: he was granted a canonry in the Cathedral of Cuzco, one of the highest ranks in the ecclesiastical hierarchy.<sup>186</sup> As much as Sahuaraura was of Incan descent, he was also a patriot, a republican, and a Catholic; he was a politician, an intellectual, and a clergyman. Descriptions of Sahuaraura's Cuzco mansion reveal that, other than Incan artefacts and symbols, he owned portraits of Napoleon and of Simón Bolívar; paintings of Peru's patron saint Santa Rosa hung from his walls, and tiny contemporary 'naïve' statuettes of Manco Capac and Mama Ocllo stood in gold-coloured wooden niches. Sahuaraura juxtaposed republican heroes, Catholic images, and Incan artefacts, and the imagery mirrored the complexities of his own identity.<sup>187</sup> Assimilation was the initial framework the Spanish Crown advocated after the conquest, and although it gave way to the juridical fiction of 'two republics' from the 1570s, the goal of assimilation was still held for the indigenous nobility. Special schools were erected to convert the sons of local leaders to Christianity and give them a thoroughly Spanish upbringing; by the late sixteenth century they were among the Spanish clergy's most enthusiastic new Christians.<sup>188</sup> Andeans were only

<sup>184</sup> Brading, *The First America*, 413.

<sup>185</sup> Paul Rivet and Georges de Crequi-Montfort (1951), *Bibliographie des langues aymará et kicua* (1 (1540–1875); Paris: Institut d'Ethnologie). Cited in César Itier (1995), 'Quechua y cultura en el Cuzco del siglo XVIII. De la "lengua general" al "idioma del imperio de los Incas"', in Itier, César (ed.), *Del Siglo de Oro al Siglo de las Luces* (Cuzco: CBC): 100.

<sup>186</sup> Flores Espinoza, 'La añoranza del pasado', 31.

<sup>187</sup> Majluf, 'De la rebelión al museo', 302.

<sup>188</sup> Burns, 'Unfixing Race', 190–1. On the education of the Indian elite, see Monique Alaperrine-Bouyer (2007), *La educación de las elites indígenas en el Perú colonial* (Lima: IFEA-Instituto Riva Agüero). On the Indian elites' Christian identity, see also Jean-Jacques Decoster (ed.) (2002), *Incas e indios cristianos. Elites indígenas e identidades cristianas en los Andes coloniales* (Cuzco: CBC).

allowed into the ranks of the Indian nobility by virtue of their Christian faith and loyalty to the Crown; their Incan descent was but one distinctive element of their identity as Catholics and vassals of the Crown. At the same time, it was precisely in Cuzco, an area of heavy Spanish settlement, urbanization, strong regional markets, and colonial Incan privilege, that the institutions and ideals of colonial rule had taken deepest root.<sup>189</sup> Incan lineage had been the medium to advance in society for Sahuaraura but, as with Centeno and Caparó, for him the Incas had come to only represent the antiquity of Cuzqueños. His discourse about himself as a man of old age—‘useless already’—mirrors the gradual reconfiguration of the Incas into an antiquity. Sahuaraura envisioned himself and his kind as people on the threshold of extinction, as the ‘last’ of their kind. Antiquarianism established itself as a cultural practice among the city’s educated classes, those familiar with European classicism, with the cultural practices of Europe’s Enlightenment, with the writings of Garcilaso de la Vega, and with the discourses and practices of the emergent discipline of archaeology: to all these people the Incas had come to represent a bygone time. Sahuaraura was both antiquary and antiquity, for he was a patriot and an Inca, a Creole and an Indian. If the Incas were objects of antiquarianism, if Sahuaraura was the antiquary treasuring his own memory, his very existence as an Inca was impossible other than as a ‘relic’ of the past. Sahuaraura epitomizes how to many, within less than a lifetime, the Incas had become objects of antiquarian study, and their material culture, things like the *mascapaycha*, symbols of a lost world. To him and his readers, at least, an insurmountable chasm had come to divide the Incan past from the present, and had turned it into a distant and bygone epoch of mythical figures—a time of which only relics remained.

Whether they thought of themselves as Incan, European, or Creole, antiquarian discourses and practices allowed Cuzco’s elites to reify the division between themselves and the ‘Indians’. Not only had the Inca become antiquity, and their material culture, antiquities, by the late 1800s; living Andeans, ‘Indians’, were entwined with that temporality. One of the artefacts in Caparó’s collection was ‘a pot of very fine stone, greenish, [ . . . ] with the faces of wildcats sculpted on it’. In his catalogue, Caparó related that the object ‘had not been excavated’

<sup>189</sup> Garrett, *Shadows of Empire*, 210.

because it had been in constant use among the Indians 'since the times of the empire'. The greenish pot, Caparó continued, had been a vessel in which Incan sovereigns in pre-Columbian times distributed corn beer, together with other gifts, among their people during festivals. Caparó closed the catalogue entry by commenting on contemporary traditions in which Andean communities performed the historical information he had just related.

Currently, in the province of Acomayo the custom is to disguise the tiniest of the Indians in the community [*aillo*]; on this day they worship the Kings with jewellery and modern luxurious dresses, because of the lack of *champi* and textiles that belong to the fable nowadays. [...] These *accorasis* [Incan princes] visit the principal houses in the village, accompanied by their two *ñustas* (princesses) [...] and after the [...] reverences the Inca pay to their subjects, they sing hymns and *yaravies* so sad that it is impossible not to cry for the listeners, who know about the cruel devastation caused by the selfish conquistador [...]<sup>190</sup>

Caparó introduced several other artefacts in his catalogue, stating that they had not been unearthed but had been in constant use. In doing so, he implied that their 'continued use' was an anachronism; that these artefacts in reality belonged in the ground, that they were essentially archaeological pieces. As much as precious textiles and *champi* belonged to the realm of 'fable', Incan objects belonged under the ground or in a collection, and the Incan Empire to the past. The village customs, the textiles, and the greenish pot were all relics, the pre-Columbian past was impossible to retrieve; it belonged to the world of legends and myths.

There are numerous instances in which collectors reasoned their antiquities' authenticity, not by a reference to the pieces' excavation from the ground, but their 'continued use' among the Indians. Throughout the catalogues and correspondence, there are narratives about how the collectors had received things 'from the Indians', or from acquaintances who had in turn been given the piece by 'an Indian' who had kept it 'since the times of the empire', and had 'continued' to use it for practical, ceremonial, or religious purposes. Caparó's catalogue documents how several individuals gave him artefacts which they

<sup>190</sup> Caparó Muñiz, 'Colección de antigüedades peruanas'. *Champi* is a particular alloy, characteristic of Incan metallurgy.

claimed to have inherited ‘from their ancestors’,<sup>191</sup> while other pieces, stone mortars for instance, had ‘continued to be in use’ because their owners thought them ‘so practical’.<sup>192</sup> Miguel Garces’ collection catalogue likewise documents the purchase of allegedly pre-Columbian artefacts from peasants.<sup>193</sup> There were other discourses and practices reasoning the antiquities’ sameness with things currently ‘in use’. Caparó’s catalogue relates several instances of how he took things for his collection from men and women who had extracted them ‘from a huaca’—there are examples of a copper axe or a ring of *champi*—and were ‘putting [them] to use’.<sup>194</sup> The catalogue of Emilio Montes points to how certain types of material culture in his collection were analogous to those in use among local peasants in the period. Montes owned a *purur-anka*—a vessel adorned with snakes, used for the sacrificial spilling of liquids—and his catalogue entry details that the Indians still used similar *purur-ankas* in their festivities ‘to drink the *aka*, through a barley or wheat straw tube [...]’.<sup>195</sup> In one of his manuscripts Sahuaraura narrated a version of the Quechua drama *Ollantay* and sought to prove its pre-Columbian origins. The play was a fictitious, colonial piece, as historians are now aware, but during the nineteenth century many thought it a rare sample of pre-Columbian, Incan drama. To Sahuaraura, an ancient ceramic depicting a man bearing a close resemblance to the protagonist, General Rumiñahui, as allegedly described in the play, proved that the events had actually occurred in pre-Columbian times. The ceramic was unquestionably authentic, Sahuaraura contended, because it had been taken from an Indian who preserved it ‘without doubt as a sacred monument to his ancestors’.<sup>196</sup> As to his fellow antiquaries in Cuzco, to Sahuaraura a

<sup>191</sup> See, for instance, catalogue entry 206, Caparó Muñiz, ‘Colección de antigüedades peruanas’.

<sup>192</sup> See catalogue entries 1 and 5 in Caparó Muñiz, ‘Colección de antigüedades peruanas’.

<sup>193</sup> F. W. Putnam (1895), ‘Letter to the Secretary’s Office at the American Museum of Natural History, Mr Winsor, Cambridge, Mass., 11 February’, *American Museum of Natural History, Division of Anthropology Archives, Bandelier 1896–31*.

<sup>194</sup> See catalogue entry 228 and 250, in Caparó Muñiz, ‘Colección de antigüedades peruanas’.

<sup>195</sup> Montes, *Catálogo del Museo de Antigüedades peruanas e inkaikas*.

<sup>196</sup> A transcript of the drama can be found in Sahuaraura’s manuscripts. Sahuaraura related that he had heard the narrative from his former ‘philosophy teacher’. Sahuaraura Inca, ‘Escritos del Dr Justo Apu Sahuaraura, BNP’. José Palacios allegedly published an account that was almost identical to the one in Sahuaraura’s manuscripts. (1837), ‘Tradición de la rebelión de Ollantay y acto heroico de fidelidad

symbolic Indian had come to embody an unbroken bond with the pre-Columbian past. Cuzqueños took things out of a ‘constant use’ among the Indians and placed them in their collections of ‘antiquities’. By doing so, they insinuated that the material culture in use in the Andes was unchanged, that it was the same—technically or in fact—as that ‘of antiquity’. Ultimately, that sameness included the owners, producers, and users of pre-Columbian material culture: the allegation of ‘continued use’ reasoned a close, intimate connection between the pre-Columbian inhabitants of the Andes and their living counterparts.

Not only were living and pre-Columbian Indians connected by virtue of the ‘continued use’ of the same material culture, antiquarian discourses, and practices; the living owners and users of pre-Columbian material culture were also included in this bygone age. In one of his manuscripts, Caparó related how for over thirty years he had observed the Indians’ ceremonies in the highlands of Cuzco.

We have seen by the light of the *cconucuy* (nightly fireplaces) numerous groups with their *khuñas* (napkins), which contained, wrapped up, their *incaichos* (amulets and *conopas*), their *kipus*, their *illas* and their protective stones. We have witnessed the ceremonial spilling of *chicha* to the *Apus* (genies), to the *Anquis* (mediators) and afterwards to the Sun, the Moon, the Stars, the *huakas* (gods), that is to say, the hills and the roads in the woods [ . . . ], and they say they are similar to wild beasts, humans and animals. [ . . . ] We have heard them sing the *tuyallay*, the *huancasccar* and the *harahui*, with mournful and monotonous tones [ . . . ] weeping at their current disgrace, compared to their ancient greatness. We saw all of this, an age of fantastic shadows, [ . . . ] the objects through the prism of what lies beyond the grave [ . . . ].<sup>197</sup>

de Rumiñahui, ambos jenerales del tiempo de los Incas’, *Museo Erúdito o los Tiempos y las Costumbres* 1 (6–7). César Itier has argued that Julián Ochoa, director of Cuzco’s University in the late-colonial period, propagated the myth of the pre-Columbian origins of *Ollantay*. Ochoa was possibly Sahuaraura’s source. Itier argues that the author of the drama was in fact Antonio Valdés, a priest in Sicuani. See César Itier (2006), ‘Ollantay, Antonio Valdez y la rebelión de Thupa Amaru’, *Histórica* XXX (1): 78.

<sup>197</sup> José Lucas Caparó Muñiz (1903), ‘Khipu pre-colombiano’, Paruro, *Colección Manuscritos de José Lucas Caparó Muñiz. Estudios especiales de José Lucas Caparó Muñiz sobre el khipu, geroglíficos, emblemas, fijos i mudables, i avisos volantes pre-colombianos*.

To Caparó, the Indians were not only the same as their ‘ancestors’, ‘in their current disgrace’ as much as in ‘their ancient greatness’ not only did they ‘still’ know, ‘they’ were connected with that past through their usage of the same *conopas*, *inccaichos*, and *kipus* he associated with Incan rule; they were also relics of the past in the present, ‘fantastic shadows’ from ‘beyond the grave’. He had gathered observations of Andean customs religiously, trying to store in his memory everything he possibly could, because he knew that what he was observing, said Caparó, were but fleeting shadows from the past.<sup>198</sup> Living Andeans who partook in ceremonies reminiscent to Caparó to those of Incan times were not in fact part of the present; rather, they belonged to a past that had ended long ago. Caparó’s ideas bear close resemblance to those formed among other Cuzco intellectuals, particularly those associated with the Cuzco Archaeological Society. He did not study the past from books, wrote Antonio Lorena; rather, he learned from his observation of the ‘Inca customs preserved until the present, almost in their pristine originality, in several populations in the department of Cuzco, as though on little islands that have remained from the submersion of a continent’.<sup>199</sup> Even today, ‘relics’ embody a sense of hesitation, between our reverence for the ancient and our contempt for the obsolete and outdated. As in Europe or North America, ideas about linear progress underlay Peruvians’ and Chileans’ vision of indigeneity: Caparó’s and Lorena’s ideas about the Indians as living relics were closely tied up with the concepts of stagnation and degeneration, the two modes of failure to evolve along the line of evolutionary progress. Groups of people could move back and forth on the line of progress or they could remain static, and ‘modern societies’ could coexist with human ‘relics of the past’—the living remnants of ancient peoples that had failed to evolve. The notion of societal progress was already conceptualized during the Enlightenment, when thinkers argued that human societies developed along universal, linear stages of progress. Late nineteenth-century evolutionist ideas in Peru about the failure of Indians to advance also merged with a peculiarly Iberian genealogy. During the colonial period in Peru narratives about Indian indolence and lethargy had been central to arguments advocating their need for

<sup>198</sup> José Lucas Caparó Muñíz (1903), ‘Khipu pre-colombiano’, Paruro, *Colección Manuscritos de José Lucas Caparó Muñíz*.

<sup>199</sup> Lorena, ‘La medicina y la trepanación incásicas (De “La Crónica Médica”)', 35.

tutelage.<sup>200</sup> Following the late eighteenth century, these ideas about indolence were reconfigured along the idea of societal progress. Late-colonial and early republican debates posited the need to incorporate the Indians into progress, that is, into the wider non-Indian structures and material culture, liberating them from traditional practices.<sup>201</sup> As Caparó deplored in a catalogue entry on *Sarapconopas*, part of a cult to the family gods, Cuzco Indians were ‘caught up in the impious custom of worshipping even now the family gods of the Incas with as much fervour as [the Incas]’.<sup>202</sup> Indians were stuck; they were trapped in the past, coexisting with the urban, European-style modernity the antiquaries and their kind embodied. They formed part of the same Incan antiquity Cuzco antiquaries were imagining for themselves. And the rhetoric of the living relic did more than just relegate living Andeans to the past. Once more, it underlined the differences, between a protector of ‘that race descended from the Emperors’ and that race itself;<sup>203</sup> the Indians’ ‘deplorable ignorance’ and the antiquary’s erudition.<sup>204</sup> Though collecting is not necessarily synonymous with identification, it is often closely intertwined with identity formation. In the same way, collecting is not necessarily synonymous with power over the world the collected objects embody, yet it is invariably underpinned by a sense of appropriation, of drawing materials closer to oneself, the perceived necessity to come to terms with them, and thus, by virtue of analogy or contrast, with what oneself is in relation to them. The collection and study of Incan antiquities marked the distance that allowed Cuzqueños like Sahuaraura, Centeno, or Caparó to make sense of their own selves and to come to terms with those who ‘continued to use’ the symbols and material culture of the Incas.

Late nineteenth-century descendants of the colonial Indian nobility, such as Angel Vega Enríquez, a member of the Betancur family and the last progeny of the ancient *Hanan Koskos* lineage, were

<sup>200</sup> For references to the cultural history of ideas about Indians’ ‘indolence’, see Majluf, *The Creation of the Image of the Indian*, 286, 336. For eighteenth-century ideas about Indians’ vices—laziness and ‘barbarianism’—see Rosas Lauro, ‘La imagen de los Incas en la Ilustración peruana del siglo XVIII’, 1044–5.

<sup>201</sup> Walker, *Smoldering Ashes*, 94.

<sup>202</sup> See, catalogues entries 113 to 136, Caparó Muñiz, ‘Colección de antigüedades peruanas’.

<sup>203</sup> Matto de Turner, ‘María Ana Centeno viuda de Romainville’, 196.

<sup>204</sup> Caparó Muñiz, ‘Colección de antigüedades peruanas’.



known to actively excavate ancient artefacts from the ground for their own antiquarian collections.<sup>205</sup> For Vega, his expertise in Incan genealogy reserved him a privileged place in Cuzco antiquarian circles. His 'well-known competence' in pre-Columbian material culture made him a desired speaker on Incan history in public events in the city<sup>206</sup> and got him involved in the formation of the archaeological museum. He was called on to catalogue and inventory the Caparó collection upon its sale to Cuzco University in 1919 and thus contributed to the definitive institutionalization of Incan archaeology in Cuzco.<sup>207</sup> In a newspaper article, Vega outlined his vision of the Incan past, reflecting the discourse that had consolidated in the city by the 1910s. Though 'lost in the night of times', Vega wrote, the Incan past represented an 'indestructible watchtower on the firmament of history'. One of the world's great cultures, comparable to Greek and Roman civilization, it was the 'nucleus of Peruvian nationality'.<sup>208</sup> Cuzco, he wrote, was the country's richest reservoir of monuments that have survived the civilization that created them: 'the expressions of the life [...] of races whose historical cycle ended in distant times, and of people of whose steps nothing remains but the buried rubble of a city, the dispersed cemeteries and the ruins [...] today abandoned to nature'.<sup>209</sup>

Vega, with the remainder of the city's elite, completed the process initiated in the eighteenth century through which the symbols of Incan sovereignty became antiquities. Just as Incan material culture became, together with those who treasured and used it, the relic of a bygone past, and as Incan descendants came to think of themselves as

<sup>205</sup> Vega was known to take great pains in discovering pre-Columbian graves and other sites. Tamayo Herrera, *Historia del indigenismo cuzqueño, siglos XVI–XX*, 132.

<sup>206</sup> In 1898, Vega gave a talk in Cuzco about Peruvian ethnology, held in a literary and musical parlour. Manuel Jesús Gamarra, 'Velada literaria musical', *El Comercio (Cuzco)*, 23 de Julio 1898, sec. Crónica: 3.

<sup>207</sup> Albert Giesecke (1948), 'Los primeros años del Museo Arqueológico de la Universidad del Cuzco, hoy Instituto Arqueológico del Cuzco', *Revista del Instituto y Museo Arqueológico de la Universidad Nacional del Cuzco* 12: 37.

<sup>208</sup> Angel Vega Enríquez, 'Ideal Histórico', *El Comercio (Cuzco)*, 7 June 1898, sec. Literatura: 3.

<sup>209</sup> For the idea of Cuzco as a living museum and 'reservation' of Incan culture, see a contemporary: Emilio Gutiérrez de Quintanilla (1917), 'Museo para el Cuzco', Lima, *Archivo del Museo Nacional de Arqueología, Antropología e Historia. Legajo 25, MN-4511*. For a discussion of the increasing 'musealization' of Incan culture over the nineteenth century, see Majluf, 'De la rebelión al museo'.

antiquaries, the space of the city of Cuzco itself was reconfigured into an archaeological museum; a reservoir of monuments.

### COMMODITIES ON SALE

In 1887, Ana María Centeno's children decided to sell their parents' collection to the Berlin Ethnological Museum. Particularly in the light of recent debates about the devolution of what has come to be called 'cultural heritage' on a global scale, the sale of Andean antiquities to museums in Europe and the US has been associated with ethical illegitimacy and 'informal empire'—the power relations of the imperial world order of the nineteenth century. However, leaving aside the question to whom Andean antiquities rightfully belong—to the Peruvian nation state, to Andeans asserting Indian identity and continuity with a pre-Columbian past, or to museums in Europe or, respectively, the United States—Incan symbols were commoditized from the Spanish conquest. The conquistadors' first contacts with Andean ancestor worship coincided with acts of looting, and the identification of the tombs as treasure houses sparked a search that continued into and far beyond the nineteenth century.<sup>210</sup> While some clung to Incan symbols as meaningful things embodying personal memories, as heirlooms, or as objects of utility and ceremonial artefacts, others participated in a circuit of exchange and commoditization soon after the conquest, putting items on the market when necessity obliged items to do so. *Keros* and *aquillas*, for instance, ritual drinking vessels in pre-Columbian times, became forms of property, things of monetary value, during the early colonial period. They came to be sold, even produced for market distribution, as commodities.<sup>211</sup> Following the late eighteenth century, when Incan objects became visible in discourse as 'antiquities', their commodification was increasingly disconnected from their material value—if they were made of gold or silver—and their possible usefulness, for instance, as drinking vessels.

<sup>210</sup> On the Spanish looting of graves and other sacred sites, see Chapter 3 in Ramos Cárdenas, *Death and Conversion in the Andes*. See also Chapter 5 in Ramírez, *The World Upside Down*.

<sup>211</sup> Cummins, *Toasts with the Inca: Andean Abstraction and Colonial Images on Quero Vessels*, 213–20.

The things came to be of commercial value for their temporality, as men and women in Europe and the Americas found intrinsic interest in them as the remnants of an ancient civilization.<sup>212</sup> Following the mid-century, Cuzco collectors and students of antiquities were part of an active commercial network within the city, buying from one another and from anyone who owned antiquities.<sup>213</sup> Caparó's catalogue, for instance, documents how the antiquary acquired collections 'formed by a variety of individuals',<sup>214</sup> among them 'the opulent collection' formed by the Concha family.<sup>215</sup> Three of the vessels in Emilio Montes' collection—identified by Brian Bauer as *Killke*, a pre-Incan Cuzco ceramic style—bear identification tags written in fountain pen ink that are likely to stem from a previous owner.<sup>216</sup> Excavations in the city of Cuzco became so profitable that diggers invaded private land to excavate. By the mid-1840s interventions by the local prefect were already necessary to regulate and limit the digs for 'treasures' in the city.<sup>217</sup> Commoditization did not necessarily involve sale; in many cases, the catalogues detail the antiquaries' barter—the exchange of objects for one another without reference to money. Caparó, for instance, purchased a precious mosaic from Montes, which the latter had in turn obtained from a local shop owner for twelve golden eagles.<sup>218</sup> Carlos Bravo—very

<sup>212</sup> James Clifford (2011), 'On Collecting Art and Culture', in Dering, Simon (ed.), *The Cultural Studies Reader* (3 edn.; New York/London: Routledge): 99.

<sup>213</sup> Catalogue entry 207 in Caparó Muñiz, 'Colección de antigüedades peruanas'.

<sup>214</sup> Guevara Gil, 'La contribución de José Lucas Caparó Muñiz a la formación del Museo Arqueológico de la Universidad del Cuzco', 172.

<sup>215</sup> Guevara Gil, 'La contribución de José Lucas Caparó Muñiz a la formación del Museo Arqueológico de la Universidad del Cuzco', 172.

<sup>216</sup> The handwritten tags in French are neither typically found in antiquities exhibited at the Columbian Exposition, where Montes' collection was on display before its transfer to the Field Museum of Natural History, nor in other pieces from the Montes collection. Bauer, 'Killke and Killke-Related Pottery from Cuzco, Peru, in the Field Museum of Natural History', 3.

<sup>217</sup> See Tomás Gallegos (1848), 'Carta al Prefecto del Cuzco, Cuzco, 13 de Marzo', and José Mariano Perales (1848), 'Carta al Prefecto del Cuzco, Cuzco, 3 de Marzo', *Archivo Departamental del Cuzco. Sección Prefectura, Asuntos Contenciosos y Administración 1847-60*.

<sup>218</sup> The object had already figured in the 1891 catalogue of Caparó's collection. José Lucas Caparó Muñiz (1891), *Museo de Antigüedades peruanas precolombinas pertenecientes al D.D. José Lucas Caparó Muñiz quien las colectó con afán incesante de 15 años, en muchos pueblos del departamento, haciendo personalmente varias escavaciones de las huacas (tumbas)* (Cuzco: Imprenta de Manuel Florencio Minauro).

likely a La Paz lawyer and linguist<sup>219</sup>—sent his collection to Vilquachino to exchange it for manuscripts,<sup>220</sup> while the painter Mariano Corvacho offered his small collection of stone pots adorned with snakes, precious stone vessels in the shape of alpacas, mortars, bronze animals, and skulls in exchange for a lithographic press.<sup>221</sup> Following the commercial aperture of Peru after independence, an expanding market for Incan antiquities opened up, involving European and North American private buyers and the period's large collecting museums.<sup>222</sup> By the 1870s, there were commercial associations devoted to Incan antiquities in Cuzco; merchants advertised that they would buy antiquities 'from those who owned them and were willing to sell them'.<sup>223</sup> Due to the growing profit inherent in collections of Andean antiquities and in the absence of an appropriate state policy to hinder exportation,<sup>224</sup> a number of Cuzco collections were sold, particularly in the period between the 1880s and the early decades of the twentieth century, to buyers abroad. There were several foreign merchant houses with branches in Cuzco; the German company Emmel Hermanos, the Italian Antonio Calvo, and the French Etablissements Braillards. While these merchants had long taken control of the exportation of coca, leather, and wool, and the importation of a vast array of articles from tools to luxury goods<sup>225</sup> by the 1880s, several specialized in the acquisition

<sup>219</sup> Carmen Beatriz Loza (2004), *Itinerarios de Max Uhle en el Altiplano boliviano. Sus libretas de expedición e historia cultural (1893–1896)* (Berlin: Gebr. Mann): 107–11.

<sup>220</sup> Alfred Hettner (1888), 'Brief an Adolf Bastian, Arequipa, 17. Dezember', *Staatliche Museen zu Berlin—Ethnologisches Museum. Sammlung Centeno Pars I B. Litt. A.*

<sup>221</sup> For comments on Corvacho and his collection, see Hettner, 'Brief an Adolf Bastian, Cuzco, 7. Mai'.

<sup>222</sup> See, for instance, the observations of Adrien de Longpérier (1816–1882), curator of the Louvre's antiquities department, on rising price levels in the early 1850s: Adrien de Longpérier (1854), 'Achat á M. Le Moyne, chargé d'affaires dans La Plata, de 184 objets antiques provenant de fouilles originaires du Pérou et de Nouvelle Grenade, Paris, 3 février', *Les archives des musées nationaux. S 6 art. 9 1854.*

<sup>223</sup> Tristan D. López, 'Antigüedades jentlicas', *El Ferrocarril (Cuzco)*, 6 July 1872, sec. Avisos Diversos.

<sup>224</sup> It was only following legislations in 1892 and 1911, that control of the exportation of antiquities was practically enforced in Peru. On protective legislation in Latin America, see Earle, 'Monumentos y Museos', 27–64.

<sup>225</sup> César Lomellini, 'Ces. Lomellini y Ca. Importadores—Exportadores. Casa fundada en 1886', *El Comercio (Cuzco)*, 12 July 1898, 1. On European merchants in Cuzco, see Magnus Mörner (1979), *Notas sobre el comercio y los comerciantes del Cuzco desde fines de la colonia hasta 1930* (Lima: IEP): 15.

and sale of antiquities collections, approaching owners—like Adolfo Romainville—and mediating in sales to museums abroad.<sup>226</sup> The market in Incan antiquities was related to the increasing commercialization of other items related to the Incan past, in particular of ancient documents and Incan genealogical portraits. A small industry developed to satisfy the demand for these sorts of ‘souvenirs’, provoking falsification.<sup>227</sup> The commoditization, sale, and alienation of Incan things had a long history in the city of Cuzco that did not begin with ‘informal empire’.

The correspondence between collectors and buyers gives us an impression of the considerable monetary value Andean artefacts had attained by the late 1800s. Centeno’s heirs eventually agreed with the director of Berlin’s Ethnological Museum on the price of £2,000 in 1887 for their mother’s collection of around 1,000 pieces, at the time corresponding to roughly \$9,720 or 12,900 *soles*.<sup>228</sup> Emilio Montes, the collector who most notably and systematically pursued sale, had offered his collection to the Berlin museum in 1889, demanding, according to Alfred Hettner, ‘the crazy price of hundred thousand soles, so that there could be no thought of serious negotiations’.<sup>229</sup> In September 1893, Montes addressed Frederick W. Putnam, then professor of anthropology at Harvard College and director of the Ethnology Department of the World Columbian Exposition, requesting that Putnam find a buyer for his collection.<sup>230</sup> Montes had taken up residence in Chicago by the time he wrote the letter to Putnam, on the occasion of the Chicago World Columbian Exposition of 1893, held to commemorate the four-hundredth anniversary of the landfall of Columbus.<sup>231</sup> In his letter to Putnam, Montes asked for \$25,000—with the 1890 exchange rate that would have corresponded to around 32,750 *soles*—but eventually he sold the collection of around 1,200 pieces to the Columbian

<sup>226</sup> Adolfo Romainville (1887), ‘Carta a Adolf Bastian, Lima, 24 de Septiembre’, *Staatliche Museen zu Berlin—Ethnologisches Museum. Sammlung Centeno Pars I b. Litt. A.*

<sup>227</sup> Majluf, ‘De la rebelión al museo’, 293, 301–3.

<sup>228</sup> Romainville, ‘Carta a Adolf Bastian, Lima, 24 de Septiembre’.

<sup>229</sup> Hettner, ‘Brief an Adolf Bastian, Cuzco, 7. Mai’.

<sup>230</sup> Bauer, *Avances en arqueología andina*, 114.

<sup>231</sup> On the Chicago Exposition, see, for instance, Robert Rydell (1984), *All the World’s a Fair: Visions of Empire at American International Expositions, 1876–1916* (Chicago/London: The University of Chicago Press).

Museum of Chicago for \$10,000 or 13,100 *soles*.<sup>232</sup> Miguel Garces's collection consisted of almost five hundred pieces, predominantly from Titicaca Island, just across the border from Bolivia: a stone case, two mortars, two *queros*, around sixty ceramics, a stone knife, the period's 'largest gold and silver collection from that locality'<sup>233</sup> (including gold, silver, and bronze llamas), figurines and *topos*, needles and bracelets, and artefacts made from turquoise and lapis lazuli.<sup>234</sup> Its textiles rendered the collection particularly outstanding and desirable: six ponchos, 'which cannot be adequately described and must be seen to be appreciated', as Marshall H. Saville from the American Museum of Natural History put it. He had only ever seen 'one poncho in the European Museums which at all approaches them in beauty and design'.<sup>235</sup> Hettner marvelled in similar terms at an alpaca poncho, which he conjectured would have been the 'dress of a higher civil servant', red with stripes and flowers, in the upper part a belt with black, red, yellow and white squares and within the same red fabric [...] butterflies, and a blue poncho fragment, red around the neck and a belt with squares, the upper part blue with five rows of arabesques and figures'.<sup>236</sup> In the end, the American Museum of Natural History managed to acquire the collection, paying Miguel Garces in 1896 a price amounting to £800.<sup>237</sup> Nicolás Sáenz sold his collection of ceramics, textiles, and wooden and silver artefacts for \$20,000 to the Chilean National Museum in 1897.<sup>238</sup> It is difficult to obtain direct data on prices and living costs in order to understand the real value of these collections. However, the year Sáenz sold his collection for \$20,000, Peru's GDP amounted to \$602 per capita.<sup>239</sup>

<sup>232</sup> Bauer, 'Killke and Killke-Related Pottery from Cuzco, Peru, in the Field Museum of Natural History', 2.

<sup>233</sup> M. H. Saville (1896), 'A Brief Report on the Garces Collection', New York, *American Museum of Natural History. Division of Anthropology Archives, Bandelier 1896-31*.

<sup>234</sup> Miguel Garces (1896), 'Inventario, Lima, 11 de Junio', *American Museum of Natural History. Division of Anthropology Archives, Bandelier 1896-31*.

<sup>235</sup> Saville, 'A Brief Report on the Garces Collection'.

<sup>236</sup> Alfred Hettner (1888), 'Letter to Adolf Bastian, 25 September, Copacabana', *Staatliche Museen zu Berlin—Ethnologisches Museum. Sammlung Centeno Pars I B. Litt. A*.

<sup>237</sup> Garces, 'Inventario'.

<sup>238</sup> Alfred Hettner (1889), 'Brief an Adolf Bastian, Puno, 25. März', *Staatliche Museen zu Berlin—Ethnologisches Museum. Sammlung Centeno Pars I B. Litt. A*.

<sup>239</sup> Information on per capita GDP for all countries in the world is available from the Maddison Historical Statistics database. In a country as unequal as Peru in the

Already in 1859, the price demanded for an allegedly Incan vessel—‘typical and characteristic of the civilization of our unfortunate ancestors’, as its finder, a Manuel Vivarez claimed—was twice as much as the Lima National Museum assistant’s annual income.<sup>240</sup> In the 1880s in particular, intense monetary instability accompanied the War of the Pacific and its aftermath in Peru; in the period ranging from 1879 to 1885 price levels may have risen 800 per cent.<sup>241</sup> Precisely because of the monetary instability that accompanied the war, the sale of the collections in international currencies—in dollars and pounds, as was mostly the case—must have rendered them even more valuable. By the 1880s the collections had become a safe investment, a profitable asset in times of uncertainty and loss.

There was avid competition for Southern Andean collections between far-flung museums in Europe, Latin America, and the United States. Upon Centeno’s death in 1874 her collection was widely renowned in the period’s museums through the reports of those European and North American travellers who had enjoyed her hospitality.<sup>242</sup> Adolf Bastian, the director of the Berlin Ethnological Museum, had seen Centeno’s collection himself in her mansion when he passed through Cuzco shortly after the owner’s death.<sup>243</sup> The sight of it induced him to pursue the collection’s acquisition for more than a decade after her heirs had announced their willingness to

period, GDP data are, to be sure, but rough estimations. <<http://www.ggd.net/maddison/maddison-project/data.htm>>.

<sup>240</sup> Vivarez declared he had been offered 400 pesos by agents of the French government to sell the artefact, but had chosen to offer the object for purchase to the Peruvian National Museum first. Manuel Vivarez (1859), ‘Carta al Director del Museo Nacional, Lima, 5 de Diciembre’, *Archivo General de la Nación. RJ 190, 8.10*. As a point of reference, the annual income of the museum curator hired in 1847 was 600 pesos; the director’s income, hired in 1855, was 1,200, and the assistant’s, hired in 1844, 200 pesos. Simón Yrigoyen ‘Razón de los empleados en el Museo Nacional, Lima, n.d.’, *Archivo General de la Nación. RJ 190, 8.10*.

<sup>241</sup> Paul Gootenberg (1990), ‘Carneros y Chuño: Price Levels in Nineteenth-Century Peru’, *The Hispanic American Historical Review* 70 (0): 32.

<sup>242</sup> For Squier’s visit and account, see Squier, *Peru*, 456. The German traveller Brühl also commented on Centeno’s museum, in a passage that bears close resemblance to Squier’s account of his visit. Gustav Brühl (1875–1887), *Die Culturvölker Alt-Americas* (Cincinnati: Verlag von Benziger-Bros): 126. Francis de Castelnau refers to Centeno’s museum, but by the name of her husband. Castelnau, *Expédition dans les parties centrales de l’Amérique du Sud*, 244.

<sup>243</sup> So had Dávalos y Lissón. Dávalos y Lissón, ‘El Museo de la Señora Centeno’. Bastian recorded his journeys in Adolf Bastian (1878–89), *Die Culturvoelker des Alten America*, 3 vols. (Berlin: Weidmann).

sell<sup>244</sup> and to compete with a number of museums—a competition Centeno's heirs played out to variously raise the price or put pressure on their buyers.<sup>245</sup> For the collection of Miguel Garces, the rival institutions during the 1880s included the Berlin Ethnological Museum, the Santiago National Museum, the Peabody Museum of Natural History at Yale University, the American Museum of Natural History, and the Bolivian government, which sought to acquire the collection for the country's representation at the Paris Universal Exhibition. Historians have argued that for the United States and Imperial Germany, the places where some of the largest ethnographic collections were made in the period, competition was between cities and museums within the same country, rather than between nation states. Germany's polycentric nature accounted for the growth of numerous regional centres of anthropology, in Dresden, Hamburg, Leipzig, and Stuttgart, with museum officials citing regional competition within Germany instead of relying on claims of national greatness.<sup>246</sup> Similar forces were at work in the United States, where new museums in the Midwest and along the west coast strove to emulate and outdo the older institutions in Boston, Washington DC, and New York.<sup>247</sup> In a letter dating from 1896, Frederic Ward Putnam warned Adolph Bandelier, who was then collecting for the American Museum of Natural History in Peru, that if he had 'any special localities in view' he would 'better secure them so that no one else [could] get in before [him]'. The Chicago Museum, Putnam cautioned Bandelier, was 'now pushing ahead at a tremendous rate and will soon have explorations in Peru. The Pennsylvania University, Putnam feared, was 'also making great efforts, and I have no doubt they will do considerable [sic] in Peru [ . . . ]'.<sup>248</sup> Intra-American, as much as intra-German competition, raised prices and sought swift acquisitions.

<sup>244</sup> For the correspondence between the Ethnological Museum in Berlin and Centeno's heirs in relation to the transaction, see Adolfo Romainville (1887), 'Carta a Adolf Bastian, Cuzco, 1 de Marzo', *Staatliche Museen zu Berlin—Ethnologisches Museum. Sammlung Centeno Pars 1 b. Litt. A*; Romainville, 'Carta a Adolf Bastian, Lima, 24 de Septiembre'.

<sup>245</sup> Romainville, 'Carta a Adolf Bastian, Cuzco, 1 de Marzo'.

<sup>246</sup> Glenn H. Penny (2002), *Objects of Culture: Ethnology and Ethnographic Museums in Imperial Germany* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press).

<sup>247</sup> Gosden and Larson, *Knowing Things*, 38.

<sup>248</sup> F. W. Putnam (1896), 'Letter to Adolph Bandelier, New York, 24 March', *American Museum of Natural History. Division of Anthropology Archives, Bandelier 1896-31*.



In Peru, as elsewhere, collectors played out competition between museums, not between nation states: it was the Santiago National Museum, the Berlin Ethnological Museum, the Peabody Museum, and the American Museum of Natural History competing for the Sáenz collection, not Chile against Germany against the United States.

To most Cuzqueños, economic profit was no, or at least not their principal, incentive to collect, study, and exhibit Incan antiquities. There is no evidence, for instance, that Ana María Centeno had pecuniary objectives in forming her collection. On the contrary, she was 'kind enough', as Squier observed, to bestow antiquities from her collection as gifts upon visitors.<sup>249</sup> As with Centeno's collection, there are other cases where the collectors' heirs decided to make money with the antiquities brought together by their parents.<sup>250</sup> Caparó feared a similar fate for his antiquities: he resolved to sell his collection to Cuzco University in 1920, the year before he died. He explained his intentions in a letter to the Peruvian government, stating that the collection would 'get lost among its heirs', and he wished to invest the profit made by selling in more durable goods.<sup>251</sup> Hettner repeatedly complained in his letters to Adolf Bastian in Berlin about Cuzco collectors who could not be prevailed upon to sell their collections: the collector Castillo, for instance, was a man 'too wealthy' to be willing to put his collection on the market.<sup>252</sup> Cuzco collectors did not regard the antiquities in their collections consistently as commodities but neither did they regard them exclusively as things bearing an affective value connected to their own identity. In some cases, economic necessity seemingly obliged collectors to sell their collections, even though a sale had not been their initial intention. Miguel Garces 'had for years not had the intention to sell, but was now put in the position [that obliged him] to sell as soon as possible', apparently due to financial trouble, as he declared.<sup>253</sup>

<sup>249</sup> Squier, *Peru*, 458.

<sup>250</sup> José Mariano Macedo, a collector in Lima, mentions a similar case to Adolf Bastian, in which a collection was sold because 'the daughters did not appreciate the value of their father's collection of materials of the past'. Macedo, 'Carta a Adolf Bastian, París, 3 de Octubre'.

<sup>251</sup> Caparó Muñíz, 'Carta a D. Jorge Polar'.

<sup>252</sup> Hettner, 'Brief an Adolf Bastian, Cuzco, 7. Mai'.

<sup>253</sup> For Garces' initial unwillingness to sell, see Hettner, 'Letter to Adolf Bastian, 25 September, Copacabana'. About Garces' financial troubles, see Alfred Hettner (1889), 'Letter to Adolf Bastian, Sorata, February 6', *Staatliche Museen zu Berlin—Ethnologisches Museum. Sammlung Centeno Pars I B. Litt. A.*

Even if economic benefits were not among their objectives in forming a collection of Incan antiquities, the market and foreign demand for the pieces would still have affected the perceived value of Incan material culture, beyond commercial transactions. In the eyes of those collectors who would not participate in the antiquities trade, as much as in the eyes of those who did, the economic value attributed to the pieces enhanced their visibility and prestige as collectibles. Independently of whether collectors directly engaged in the antiquities trade, the wide-ranging appeal of the Incan artefacts further encouraged Cuzqueños to take pride in Incan history and its material culture, and it enhanced the pieces' perceived value.

Cuzco collections also blur the boundaries between commercial interests and intellectual curiosity. Cuzco antiquaries did not sell Europeans and North Americans 'raw material' destined to be processed into knowledge in the 'centres': they sold collections that were ordered, described, and interpreted in collection catalogues; that came with the owners' expertise.<sup>254</sup> In Cuzco, the sale or exhibition in museums abroad or in Lima in many cases first induced Cuzqueños to produce a catalogue and fix their knowledge in writing. Centeno's catalogue, for instance, was authored after her death as her heirs planned to sell. Emilio Montes' catalogue was ostensibly inspired by his wish to sell his collection to the Chicago Museum.<sup>255</sup> When Montes presented a paper on Incan archaeology at the 1893 International Congress of Anthropology in Chicago he was displaying his erudition, while he was, at the same time, pursuing the sale of his collection to the Chicago Museum.<sup>256</sup> In their correspondence, the antiquaries often pointed to their own conceptions of the material culture in their possessions, the ideas that had guided the formation of their collections. Nicolás Sáenz, when he was negotiating the sale of his collection to the Berlin Ethnological Museum with its director, Adolf Bastian, in 1888 and 1889, explained that he had collected and juxtaposed the *huacos*—ancient pottery—in his collection such that

<sup>254</sup> Irina Podgorny, in a study of fossil and manuscript trade in the River Plate during the mid-nineteenth century, has pointed to the connection between antiquities trade and expertise. Irina Podgorny (2011), 'Mercaderes del pasado: Teodoro Vilardebó, Pedro de Angelis y el comercio de huesos y documentos en el Río de la Plata, 1830–1850', *Circumscribere. International Journal for the History of Science* 9.

<sup>255</sup> *Catálogo del Museo de la señora Centeno, Montes, Catálogo del Museo de Antigüedades peruanas e inkaikas.*

<sup>256</sup> Montes (1893), 'The Antiquity of the Civilization of Peru'.

they exemplified the meaningful order that had inspired its formation—his assumption that the head busts represented the different tribes subjected by the Incas.<sup>257</sup> Sáenz welcomed the fact that Bastian approached him because it allowed him ‘to enter in contact with the most distinguished [ . . . ] scientist’ of the ancient civilizations.<sup>258</sup> His ‘collection of Peruvian antiquities’, Sáenz explained, was not large, but it ‘was possibly the most select one created up to date, because my object in forming it was but to study the civilization of the ancient Peruvians’.<sup>259</sup> Historians have argued that ethnographic work in Berlin, Oxford, or Paris was dependent on the ability to draw on more specialized knowledge provided by other people, and a significant proportion of this knowledge was embodied in the objects that were sent to them from Africa, Asia, or the Americas.<sup>260</sup> Cuzco collectors’ knowledge and expertise was woven into their collections, and bound up with their selection, composition, and order; in the transaction, collectors sold their knowledge and their antiquities together.

Considerable knowledge about the pieces’ meaning and history, as well as their uses before their collection, was lost by the time the ‘antiquities’ entered the cabinets. We are left but with glimpses of how cloth, vessels, and utensils that observers and owners alike associated with pre-Columbian times were kept, revered, reproduced, or put to new uses in the Andes. The objects Caparó mentions in his description of the ceremony he had observed—*kipus*, *illas*, and *conopas*—have been described by archaeologists of the pre-Columbian period, by colonial historians, and by anthropologists working on the twentieth-century Andes. *Conopas* are small carved stone figurines representing llamas or alpacas and kept among the belongings of Andean herders; miniatures or models that could conjure up the items they represented; and *illas* are carved figures or natural pebbles that evoke animals, houses, or crop plants, which are found on the hillside as gifts to the mountain deities, the *apus*. Both types of miniatures are used in Andean rituals as offerings. Caparó’s reference to the *huacas* as ‘gods, that is to say, the hills and the roads in the woods’ reveals the

<sup>257</sup> Nicolás Sáenz (1889), ‘Carta a Adolf Bastian, Lima, 23 de Enero’, *Staatliche Museen zu Berlin—Ethnologisches Museum. Sammlung Centeno Pars I B. Litt. A.*

<sup>258</sup> Nicolás Sáenz (1888), ‘Carta a Adolf Bastian, Lima, 6 de Octubre’, *Staatliche Museen zu Berlin—Ethnologisches Museum. Sammlung Centeno Pars I B. Litt. A.*

<sup>259</sup> Sáenz, ‘Carta a Adolf Bastian, Lima, 6 de Octubre’.

<sup>260</sup> Gosden and Larson, *Knowing Things*, 73.

antiquary's awareness of the animate power of the material world in both the pre-Columbian and modern Andes.<sup>261</sup> Their practicality might have played a part in why pieces held to be Incan were used in the Andes around 1900, as in the case of the stone mortar, as might village and family traditions. The *kipus* Caparó refers to—bundles of knotted strings—are associated with Incan culture, and there is evidence that they served Andeans during the nineteenth century as a mnemonic tool to keep track of information. As in the case of the 'greenish pot', some uses of pre-Columbian material culture appear to have represented genuine attempts at preserving or creating a relation with the Inca past.<sup>262</sup> Yet, we can only conjecture as to the meaning of the greenish pot, the *kipu*, the stone mortar, or, indeed, the *mascapaycha*: for the life the pieces had led before they entered Cuzco's collections was often left behind on the journey.

Much was left behind as the pieces entered Cuzco's collections but more still when they continued their journey. Two years after Centeno's death, the 1876 catalogue recorded the *mascapaycha*, rather matter-of-factly, as '[a] face piece [*frentera*] (machaipay), or adornment of the Incas, of gold, eight centimetres long and five centimetres broad [...]'. The artefacts in Centeno's collection had their story, but, as one of Centeno's earliest biographers bemoaned the year following her death, it was a story they 'now kept silent, without anyone able to decipher it'.<sup>263</sup> Whatever else Centeno could have told about the circumstances of the *mascapaycha*'s acquisition or the life the piece had led before it entered her collection, was lost with her death. Still more was lost as the *mascapaycha* continued its journey across the Atlantic. The Berlin catalogue listing the roughly 1,000 pieces that were acquired from the Centeno collection for the Berlin museum in 1888—from the 1,500 Centeno had owned—made no explicit reference to a *mascapaycha*. There is, however, a catalogue entry referring to a 'Goldener Scheibenschmuck', meaning either a 'golden adornment of plates' or 'golden plate adornment'. The

<sup>261</sup> Bill Sillar (2009), 'The Social Agency of Things? Animism and Materiality in the Andes', *Cambridge Archaeological Journal* 19 (3): 367–77.

<sup>262</sup> See, for instance, Thomas Cummins (1992), 'Let Me See! Reading is for Them: Colonial Andean Images and Objects "como es costumbre tener los caciques Señores"', in Hill Boone, Elizabeth, and Cummins, Thomas (eds.), *Native Traditions in the Postconquest World. A Symposium at Dumbarton Oaks 2nd through 4th October 1992* (Washington D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection): 91–148.

<sup>263</sup> Dávalos y Lissón, 'El Museo de la Señora Centeno', 291.

'adornment' appeared in the Ethnological Museum's catalogue with two numbers, the internal VA 8656 and the number allocated to the piece by its previous owner, 883. The latter is the same number that designated the *mascapaycha* in Centeno's 1876 catalogue, and it is therefore likely that the 'golden adornment' that reached the Berlin museum was in fact Centeno's *mascapaycha*.<sup>264</sup> Whoever classified the adornment was either unwilling to preserve the nomenclature or unaware of the name's historical implication. By the time the *mascapaycha* had come to lie in the Berlin museum, it had lost its name and its history, and become nothing but a golden plate. Historians have long recognized that manuscripts, natural specimens, and, as in this case, non-European material culture, were considered to gain epistemological value as they travelled towards the 'centres'.<sup>265</sup> Scholars are only recently beginning to pay attention to bodies of knowledge and sets of techniques that did not transfer from the New World into Europe, how some bodies of knowledge were suppressed, lost, ignored, or abandoned, while others were embraced and have come to shape our lives. As in the case of the *mascapaycha*, plants or things often moved easily from Latin America or Africa into Europe, but the knowledge of their many uses and meanings did not necessarily follow the same path.<sup>266</sup> The distance covered by the *mascapaycha* in transfer led to the loss of detail, context, and information; it changed and distorted the piece's meaning.

Indeed, in the late nineteenth century European and American scholars alike shared a sense that the objects not only gained, but that they also lost epistemological value, as they travelled away from the Andes and were situated in relation to another world of objects. Regardless of whether Cuzqueños' only objective had in fact been that of study, they possibly had reasons to assume that to assert their intellectual endeavours in forming collections would raise their value

<sup>264</sup> See entry VA 8656 (*Goldener Scheibenschmuck, Cuzco*), in the accession books held at the Berlin Ethnological Museum.

<sup>265</sup> Bruno Latour's concept of the 'centre of calculation' refers to a metropolitan centre that possesses the power to maintain a cycle of accumulation through a wide network of individuals and institutions. See Bruno Latour (1987), *Science in Action: How to Follow Scientists and Engineers through Society* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press).

<sup>266</sup> I am referring here in particular to recent debates about 'agnotology'. See Robert N. Proctor and Londa Schiebinger (eds.) (2008), *Agnotology. The Making and Unmaking of Ignorance* (Stanford: Stanford University Press).

in the eyes of their interlocutors. Historians have long overlooked the important role played by Peruvian antiquaries in transatlantic archaeological networks around 1900. In Cuzqueños' access to Andean material culture, in their dominion of indigenous languages, and in their ethnographic observations of the inhabitants of the Andes themselves, they were seen to be in possession of knowledge and resources that constituted a privilege, naturally amiss in Europe, the US, or distant coastal Lima. Whereas European scientists were advantaged in their access to technology, material culture for global comparison, or a range of publications, Cuzqueños saw themselves and were seen as scholars privileged in their position 'on the spot'. In his manuscripts, Caparó condescendingly disparaged what he called 'writings from a bird's-eye view'; studies carried out by foreign researchers and Lima authors who came only for a short while to the Cuzco area, and took Incan antiquities to distant museums where the isolated pieces would be 'mysteries without a key'. Foreign or Lima-based studies of Incan antiquities were bound to fail because these scholars lacked 'a comprehensive knowledge' of Andean languages, customs, and the ancient structures. Archaeological and linguistic studies about the Incas were only useful 'if they were undertaken in Cuzco, by a Cuzqueño'.<sup>267</sup> Historians of Iberian science have long observed how eighteenth-century Creole naturalists emphasized their experience of, and proximity to, American nature and to Amerindian groups: they saw themselves as translators of indigenous languages they understood or medicinal practices they observed among the Indians into the enlightened sciences. Denouncing European scholars' failure to meaningfully include Latin American materials or to fully understand Latin American culture and nature, Creole intellectuals' discourse was a way of reaffirming their particular kind of belonging to, and the significance of their role in, global networks of knowledge production, transmission, and exchange.<sup>268</sup> Caparó's words struck a very particular chord: they elucidate the peculiar position as brokers Cuzco antiquaries held in the intellectual geography that materialized around the antiquities' journeys.

<sup>267</sup> Caparó Muñiz, 'Apuntes y tradiciones'.

<sup>268</sup> Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra, among others and many that have followed, has made this argument in Jorge Cañizares Esguerra (2001), *How to Write the History of the New World: Histories, Epistemologies, and Identities in the Eighteenth-Century Atlantic World* (Stanford: Stanford University Press).

Alongside ‘metropolitan-to-periphery’ lines of exchange, there were, during the late nineteenth century, diverse centres for the patronage, accumulation, and communication of knowledge. In networks of intellectuals, ‘each locality has the capacity to become central, to act as the node of a circuit of information’.<sup>269</sup> Indeed, Cuzco was a centre for the study of Incan archaeology, as much as New York, Berlin, or Paris during the second half of the nineteenth century. Cuzqueños’ capacity to merge diverse bodies of learning and to translate their own knowledge into languages they shared with those in other parts of the world held considerable value. Cuzco’s salons and private museums, and men and women like Caparó, reading out his manuscripts, Astete de Bennet sharing her knowledge on ‘the sites of Inca palaces’, or González de la Rosa, engaged in associational academic life in Paris, New York, and Cuzco, acted as ‘hubs’ in transatlantic networks of Andean archaeology. They drew disparate localities together and allowed for the same questions to be asked and the same ideas to be discussed in Lima, Cuzco, Paris, and Vienna. It was precisely Cuzqueños’ position in between that allowed them to mediate the possibility of transfer and communication across the Atlantic. The forums of an interconnected intellectual sphere, of friendship and gentlemanly sociability, were some of the veins that allowed ideas and things to travel. Intellectuals like Centeno, Caparó, González de la Rosa, or Montes were not only brokers, articulating ‘relationships between disparate worlds or cultures by being able to translate between them’,<sup>270</sup> rather, their very existence forces us to think beyond the categories of these ‘worlds’—that of the ‘local’ and the ‘global’, or the European and the non-European, science’s ‘centre’ and its ‘periphery’—‘to fragment traditions of knowledge on all sides’,<sup>271</sup> and to question the essentially confrontational relation that an influential body of scholarship has long assumed.<sup>272</sup>

<sup>269</sup> As Sujit Sivasundaram points out, inspired by Bruno Latour’s work, networks have had a major impact on the history of science, allowing for the possibility of moving beyond centres and peripheries. See Sivasundaram, ‘Sciences and the Global’, 154.

<sup>270</sup> Simon Schaffer et al. (2009), ‘Introduction’, in Schaffer, Simon et al. (eds.), *The Brokered World: Go-Betweens and Global Intelligence, 1770–1820* (Sagamore Beach: Watson Publishing International LLC): xiv.

<sup>271</sup> See Sivasundaram, ‘Sciences and the Global’.

<sup>272</sup> In this sense, it follows in the wake of a recent collective volume discussing ‘go-betweens’. Schaffer et al., ‘Introduction’, xv. The figure of the intermediary or cultural broker has been examined and theorized by various authors. For a collection of

At the same time, these men and women oblige us to rethink the power relationship between intellectuals in Latin America and those in Europe or the US. The idea of a fundamental inequality has long shaped debates: it has shed some light on intellectual exclusion, the silencing of the voices of Latin American ‘informers’, and academic marginalization. The multi-directional, multi-centred Republic of Letters of the second half of the nineteenth century was, to be sure, fraught with ‘unevenness’, with relations that were, at times, hierarchical and exclusive, entailing complex processes of negotiation and contestation.<sup>273</sup> And yet, when observing closely individual relations and networks, one also finds a considerable degree of equality: in hospitality, in friendships, and in intellectual dialogue, conditioned by relations of mutual dependency and reliance. Readers of the same books, visitors in the same parlours, researchers of the same questions—dialogue was at the basis of relations between those Europeans, North Americans, and Cuzqueños interested in the pre-Columbian past.

Not only knowledge was lost on the *mascapaycha*’s journey to Europe; a similar destiny awaited the piece itself. Shortly after it entered the Berlin Ethnological Museum, the last trace of the piece’s trajectory trails away. Sometime between 1888 and today, the ‘golden adornment’ Centeno and her Cuzco contemporaries had taken for an Incan *mascapaycha*, has gone astray. Whereas the paper card registering the entry, with a description and drawing of the piece, is still preserved in the Ethnological Museum, the piece itself is no longer traceable among the Berlin museum’s possessions. There is little evidence as to its present abode. During the 1940s, the National Socialist government passed legislation compelling museums to give away metal pieces, to be melted for the production of military

contributions on Latin America, see Scarlett O’Phelan Godoy, Carmen Salazar-Soler, and Solange Alberro (2005), *Passeurs, mediadores culturales y agentes de la primera globalización en el mundo ibérico, siglo XVI–XIX. Actas del Congreso Internacional ‘Las Cuatro Partes del Mundo’* (Actes & Mémoires Vol. 4; Lima: IFEA/IRA). For a study of native intermediaries in colonial Mexico, see Yanna Yannakakis (2008), *The Art of Being In-Between: Native Intermediaries, Indian Identity, and Local Rule in Colonial Oaxaca* (Durham: Duke University Press).

<sup>273</sup> For a critical and important discussion of Latin American cosmopolitans’ relationship with Europe, see Majluf, “Ce n’est pas le Pérou”, or the Failure of Authenticity?



weaponry. It is possible, even though there is no explicit reference in the Ethnological Museum's catalogue to prove it, that the golden plate was melted and that its material adopted a shape quite different from what it had once been. It is more likely, however, that the plate has left the museum via an illegal and, therefore, non-documented sale, or that it continues to exist, unidentified and buried in oblivion, somewhere in the Berlin museum's extensive storage basement.

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A prevailing emphasis on rupture in the historiography has obscured connections between Cuzco's early twentieth-century indigenist Incan archaeology and antiquarian practices and discourses prior to 1911 in the city. The university reforms under the new rector, Albert Giesecke—a man of German descent but born and raised in the United States—professionalized, expanded, and internationalized archaeological practice after the 1910s in Cuzco, but the university was not the first forum for debates about the Incan past in the city.<sup>274</sup> The 1911 Yale Expedition under Hiram Bingham to Machu Picchu, an impressive Incan royal estate built sometime between 1450 and 1570,<sup>275</sup> moved Cuzco archaeology into the international limelight to an unprecedented extent. And yet, the numerous publications debating the legitimacy of Bingham's 'discovery' and of his exportation of archaeological finds to the United States have invariably mentioned that upon his arrival Bingham tapped into existing Cuzco circles of antiquarian erudition and commoditization, which supplied him with antiquities and information.<sup>276</sup> In the historiography of the twentieth

<sup>274</sup> John Super (1994), 'History, Indians, and University Reform in Cuzco', *Historian* 2 (56): 334–6.

<sup>275</sup> The estate is today considered to have been the property of the ninth Incan ruler Inca Yupanqui. Lucy C. Salazar (2004), 'Machu Picchu. Mysterious Royal Estate in the Cloud Forest', in Burger, Richard L., and Salazar, Lucy C. (eds.), *Machu Picchu. Unveiling the Mystery of the Incas* (New Haven: Yale University Press): 26.

<sup>276</sup> The works of Christopher Heaney and Mariana Mould de Pease are but two of a wide range of books dealing with Machu Picchu and Hiram Bingham's expedition that point to Bingham's connections with Cuzco intellectuals. Christopher Heaney (2010), *Cradle of Gold: The Story of Hiram Bingham, a Real-Life Indiana Jones, and the Search for Machu Picchu* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan); Mariana Mould de Pease and Martín H. Romero Pacheco (2008), *Machu Picchu antes y después de Hiram Bingham: entre el saqueo de 'antigüedades' y el estudio científico* (Colección Franklin Pease G.Y. para la historia andina del Perú; Lima: Biblioteca del Centro de Estudios Históricos Luis E. Valcárcel). By 1912 José Gabriel Cosío had already listed the names of curious Cuzqueños who had visited the ruins prior to Hiram Bingham's arrival, and the latter's informers. José Gabriel Cosío (1912), 'Machupiccho. Ciudad preincaica en el valle de Vilcanota', *Boletín de la Sociedad Geográfica de Lima* 28 (2).

century, the study collections, the private sphere, and the amateurs that characterized the period prior to the 1910s in the city of Cuzco became increasingly dissociated from what was considered 'archaeological practice'. And yet, personal networks cut across the alleged divide between the professional and the amateur, between the art historian or archaeologist and the antiquary, and between the old-fashioned collector and the politicized indigenist. In 1920, the national government awarded Cuzco's San Antonio Abad University sufficient funds to purchase the private archaeological collection of José Lucas Caparó Muñiz together with the collections of the Departmental Museum initiated by Prefect Medina, the Science Centre collections, and private collections formed by the two Cuzco collectors, Tomás A. Alvistur and Fernando Pacheco,<sup>277</sup> the latter a founding member of Cuzco's Science Centre and the author of historical studies on Cuzco's Incan architecture.<sup>278</sup> Private collections merged into and grounded the museums of the early twentieth century. Cuzco's University Archaeological Museum, with its remarkable collection of Incan *arybalos* and stone artefacts—at the time the 'world's best Incan museum'<sup>279</sup>—was eventually placed under the authority of Luis E. Valcárcel, a leading intellectual, writer, and archaeologist in Cuzco, and after 1930, in Lima's indigenist movement.<sup>280</sup> Like Uriel García, Luis E. Valcárcel would later avow that, as a young man, he had learned from Caparó about Incan history and archaeology.<sup>281</sup> The commercialization of Andean antiquities reached new dimensions during the 1920s, with guidebooks for tourists advertising sellers in Cuzco. Ultimately, however, the 1920s perpetuated established nineteenth-century trade circuits within and outside Cuzco: the guidebooks included advertisements from merchants like the Italian César Lomellini Pedemonte, or Enrique Estrada Romaña who 'purchased and sold: furniture, antiquities [...] ironware, grocery, toys, perfumes, paper, ancient and modern books [...], decorative statues

<sup>277</sup> Pardo, 'Primer Centenario del Museo Arqueológico de la Universidad del Cuzco', 131.

<sup>278</sup> Fernando Pacheco (1901), *Bosquejo de la ciudad del Cuzco o ligeros apuntes para su historia* (Cuzco: Tipografía Católica por J. Gonzalez).

<sup>279</sup> Albert Giesecke (1921), 'El Museo Arqueológico de la Universidad', *Revista Universitaria: Órgano de la Universidad del Cuzco* 10 (35): 59.

<sup>280</sup> Super, 'History, Indians, and University Reform in Cuzco'.

<sup>281</sup> Tamayo Herrera, *Historia del indigenismo cuzqueño, siglos XVI-XX*, 137.

[...] jewellery',<sup>282</sup> but also the name of Emilio Montes who offered artefacts from his 'Incan and colonial collection' for sale—'paintings on canvas from celebrated painters; porcelain, textiles, furniture [...] ancient weapons; Incan stones, *hucaos*, *champs* [...]'.<sup>283</sup> The period from 1906 to 1911, when Max Uhle served as director of the National Museum in Lima is generally considered to have been foundational to the discipline of archaeology in Peru. But while it is true that he brought methodological and technological innovations to the country from his previous workplaces in the United States and Germany, he also took up debates and questions of long standing. One of his first publications to come out in a Peruvian journal was his 1907 article on the making and meaning of the *mascapaycha*.<sup>284</sup> Contrary to what historians have hitherto assumed, the pre-Columbian past was not neglected during the nineteenth century and suddenly recovered in the indigenist discourses of the early twentieth century in Cuzco. The museums of antiquities, the contentious topics, and the key figures that marked the 1910s and 1920s reached back to and continued earlier museums, ideas, and circles in the city of Cuzco. Along the journey of Centeno's *mascapaycha* surfaces a world of antiquarian curiosity, of relations of intellectual and material exchange across the Atlantic, and of the changing and divergent temporalities of Incan material culture after the conquest that preceded and prepared the ground for the Incan archaeology to thrive in the twentieth century.

<sup>282</sup> Enrique Estrada Romaña (1921), 'Casa de Compra-Venta', in Sociedad de Propaganda del Sur del Perú (ed.), *Guía General del Sur del Perú* (Cuzco: Librería Imprenta H.G. Rozas).

<sup>283</sup> Emilio Montes (1921), 'Antigüedades en venta', in Sociedad de Propaganda del Sur del Perú (ed.), *Guía General del Sur del Perú* (Cuzco: Librería Imprenta).

<sup>284</sup> Max Uhle (1907), 'La Masca Paicha del Inca', *Revista Histórica. Órgano del Instituto Histórico del Perú* 2 (2).

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## The Khipu

### *Antiquarianism and Archaeology in Lima*

In 1876, José Mariano Macedo opened his private collection of Peruvian antiquities to a select public in Lima. In the years to come, Argentine clergymen, celebrated French actresses, Lima intellectuals, and eminent German ethnologists would come to ‘admire [Macedo’s] treasures’ in his private residence on Plaza Bolívar.<sup>1</sup> By the year 1881 Macedo owned around 2,000 ‘antiquities’: elaborate and colourful ceramics—head busts of humans, animal figurines, and representations of flora—as well as colourful textiles, and precious metal artefacts. It was, however, a bundle of a 158 coloured knots and twisted strings that Macedo called ‘the jewel of my collection—the mysterious khipus of the Incas’.<sup>2</sup> As Macedo explained to Philadelphia antiquaries in a letter dating back to 1882, the *khipu* comprised ‘a series of strings of different colours, such as red, white, black, dark brown and yellow’, with some of the strings combining different colours, and attached ‘to a thick cord’ at the top. The knots differed ‘in their shape and the interspaces [between them]’, and sometimes a series of knots ‘surrounded a larger one’ (see Figure 2.1). By the 1880s, there was considerable controversy over the meaning the *khipu* conveyed. Macedo believed the Incas ‘were unacquainted with any system of writing by means of letters or

<sup>1</sup> Macedo kept a visitors’ book. Several of his visitors are cited in: Sociedad Peruana de Historia de la Medicina (1945), *Vida y Obras de José Mariano Macedo (1823–1894)* (Lima: Sanmartí y Ca): 17.

<sup>2</sup> José Mariano Macedo (1882), ‘Carta a Adolf Bastian, París, 7 de Enero’, *Staatliche Museen zu Berlin—Ethnologisches Museum. Sammlung Macedo Pars I B. Litt. J.*

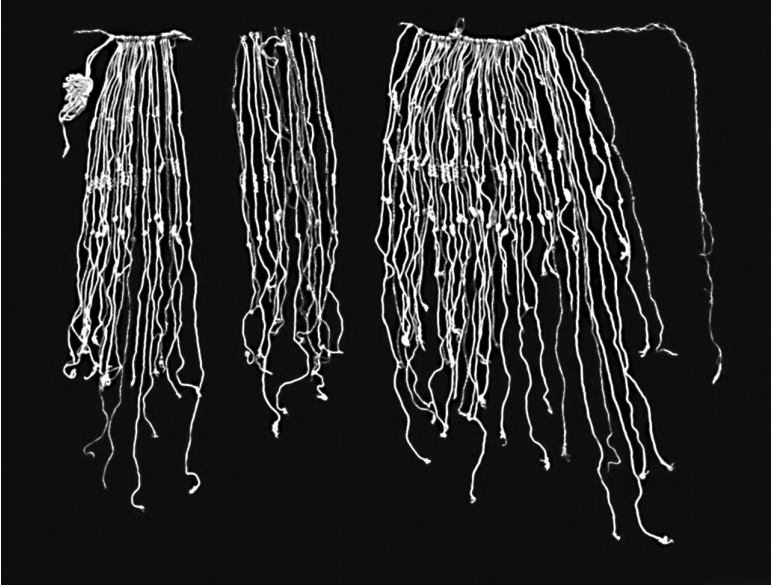


Fig. 2.1. The three pieces which make up the Incan *khipu* from Macedo's collection, today in Berlin's Ethnological Museum.

of hieroglyphics', but availed themselves of the *khipu* instead.<sup>3</sup> The *khipu* had been 'the scripture of the Indians'.<sup>4</sup> Even though several scholars contended the system was applicable only to numerical figures of addition and subtraction, to Macedo the *khipu* conveyed 'ideas, entire phrases translated into knots', and the day one found a key to deciphering them, they would be 'an open book' of history.<sup>5</sup>

As for Cuzco, we have no comprehensive historical study of Lima archaeology, antiquarianism, and collecting during the nineteenth

<sup>3</sup> José Mariano Macedo (1884), 'Communication Read from Dr Macedo of Lima, Peru, on the Aborigines of that Country', *Report of the Proceedings of the Numismatic and Antiquarian Society of Philadelphia* 86 (1): 15.

<sup>4</sup> Entry number 1497 in Macedo's catalogue designates a 'roll of "Khipus" or scripture of the Indians consisting in threads and knots of different colours'. José Mariano Macedo (1881), *Catalogue d'objets archéologiques du Pérou de l'ancien empire des Incas* (Paris: Imprimerie Hispano-Américaine).

<sup>5</sup> José Mariano Macedo (1882), 'Carta a Adolf Bastian, Lima, 11 de Octubre', *Staatliche Museen zu Berlin—Ethnologisches Museum. Sammlung Macedo Pars I B. Litt. J.*

century. Neither do we understand the role men like Macedo played in the far-flung networks of antiquities collecting, study, and commerce that stretched across the city of Lima and the Atlantic. This chapter traces antiquarian and archaeological collections and studies in the city of Lima and beyond. Structured around the journey of Macedo's *khipu*, it traces the cords' many lives before they entered Macedo's museum, their sojourn in Lima's lively antiquarian circles, and their departure to Europe, where Macedo exhibited them, together with other pieces from his collection, in Paris, London, and Berlin.

### KHIPUS AND COMMUNICATION IN THE ANDES

Macedo's *khipu* dates back to the Incan Empire; it was made and used in the decades prior to the arrival of the Spaniards.<sup>6</sup> It remains little understood how and to what end the earliest owner of Macedo's *khipu* may have employed the knotted strings, for the exact meaning of Incan *khipus* still eludes us today. Scholars are aware of the contents of Incan records only indirectly, through Spanish chroniclers' commentary on them, or through the documents containing transcriptions of their 'reading' by indigenous record keepers. What we do not have are direct translations of their contents unmediated by Spanish hands or voices. Nor, in those in which we have transcriptions, do we have the *khipu* that was the source of the record keeper's account.<sup>7</sup> Made of cotton and wool cords that are coloured, spun, twisted, and knotted in different ways and combinations, Andean *khipus* hold and convey knowledge separately from language. They function, like Aztec and Mixtec writing, semasiographically, but unlike Mesoamerican pictorial systems, their elements are conventional rather than iconic: *khipus* abstract information through colour, texture, form, and size of the knots and cords and their relative

<sup>6</sup> I thank the curator of the Ancient American Department at Berlin's Ethnological Museum, Manuela Fischer, for informing me about the *khipu*'s association with Incan rule.

<sup>7</sup> Gary Urton (2002), 'An Overview of Spanish Colonial Commentary on Andean Knotted-String Records', in Quilter, Jeffrey, and Urton, Gary (eds.), *Narrative Threads. Accounting and Recounting in Andean Khipu* (Austin: University of Texas Press): 3.

placement, like mathematical, scientific, or musical notation, with arbitrarily codified symbols holding meaning.<sup>8</sup> Most European and North American twentieth-century authors who hold Incan *kipu* to be mnemonic devices rely upon the authority of Leland Locke's study *The Ancient Quipu*. Locke had concluded in 1923 that the *kipu* was a numerical device in which the knotted strings employed a decimal system. Even though he would be widely credited with it, Leland Locke actually used the methodology recommended earlier by Max Uhle.<sup>9</sup> Max Uhle's publications were largely ignored by the scientific community outside Germany and Peru, which would continue to reproduce other proposals for two decades, like the diffusionist theories of Ernest Théodor Hamy that suggested a filiation between Asian cord registries and those associated with the Inca.<sup>10</sup> While many today still consider Locke's work to be the definitive statement about *kipu* semiosis, other scholars continue in endeavours to locate writing in the *kipu*, questioning Locke's dictum that the *kipus* only recorded numbers.<sup>11</sup> In the 1960s, Marcia and Robert Ascher argued that the numerical nature of the *kipu* did not limit its semiotic capacity. Most recently, the work of Gary Urton suggested that *kipus* employ a seven-bit binary code. It remains unsubstantiated, however, whether or not most of the binary elements Urton identifies—such as the spin and ply of the strings, the knots' direction, and the system employed, decimal or nondecimal—are indeed significant, semiotic conventions.<sup>12</sup> Even though most scholars agree today that the meaning of the *kipus* must be traced not only in their visual but also in

<sup>8</sup> Elizabeth Hill Boone (1994), 'Introduction: Writing and Recording Knowledge', in Hill Boone, Elizabeth, and Mignolo, Walter D. (eds.), *Writing without Words. Alternative Literacies in Mesoamerica and the Andes* (Durham/London: Duke University Press): 20–2.

<sup>9</sup> Loza, *Itinerarios*, 193.

<sup>10</sup> Loza, *Itinerarios*, 193.

<sup>11</sup> Leland Locke (1923), *The Ancient Quipu, or Peruvian Knot Record* (New York: American Museum of Natural History). Cited in: Jeffrey Quilter (2002), 'Preface', in Quilter and Urton (eds.), *Narrative Threads. Accounting and Re-counting in Andean Khipu*: xiii. The volume edited by Quilter and Urton brings together studies by scholars who question the dictum that *kipu* only record numbers.

<sup>12</sup> See also Marcia Ascher and Robert Ascher (1981), *Code of the Quipu: A Study in Media, Mathematics, and Culture* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press), cited in Galen Brokaw (2005), 'Toward Deciphering the Khipu', *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* XXXV (4): 572. Brokaw's article was written as a reponse to Gary Urton (2003), *Signs of the Inka Khipu: Binary Coding in the Andean Knotted-String Records* (Austin: University of Texas Press).

their material and kinaesthetic dimensions, the roles their knots and their placement, the twists of cords and colour combinations, play in conveying information remains yet to be understood.

The Spanish conquest did not immediately or consistently entail the replacement of the *khipu* recording system. From 1540 the Spaniards learned to respect the indigenous accounting system and accepted *khipus* as a point of departure for the development of a colonial tribute system.<sup>13</sup> In the decades leading up to and following the Third Provincial Council of Lima (1582–3), *khipus* were broadly accepted in the Andes. Ecclesiastical testimonies reveal how parishioners recorded their sins in the knotted strings for confession and to commit religious lessons to memory, while legal claims expose the admissibility of *khipus* as valid evidence in early seventeenth-century courtrooms.<sup>14</sup> Written documents subsequently replaced cord registries as legally recognized means of record keeping.<sup>15</sup> There is evidence that the marginalization of the *khipu* from official records converted it into a medium for communication outside the control of viceregal legislation. Studies of the mid-eighteenth-century Huarochirí Rebellion reveal how Andeans continued to communicate with one another through *khipus*, which became an unofficial channel to convey information for the rebels.<sup>16</sup> Although cord registries are traceable in the modern period, they appear to have been used only sporadically in the central Andes. Anthropological studies suggest that in Peru's central Huarochirí region *khipus* served, as late as the early twentieth century, to document households' contributions to their kin groups and their kin groups' contribution to their village.<sup>17</sup> The scattered distribution and marginal position in society of

<sup>13</sup> Frank Salomon and Karen Spalding (2002), 'Cartas atadas con quipus: Sebastián Francisco de Melo, María Micaela Chinchano y la represión de la rebelión de Huarochirí de 1750', in Flores Espinoza, Javier, and Varón Gabai, Rafael (eds.), *El hombre y los Andes: Homenaje a Franklin Pease G.Y.* (Lima: PUCP Fondo Editorial).

<sup>14</sup> Investigations of the *Ritual formulario e institución de curas* by the priest Juan Pérez Bocanegra, published in Lima in 1631, have identified the role of *khipus* at the time of the manual's publication. Juan Carlos Estenssoro Fuchs (2003), *Del paganismo a la santidad. la incorporación de los indios del Perú al catolicismo, 1532–1750* (156; Lima: Instituto Francés de Estudios Andinos, Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú). Cited in John Charles (2007), 'Unreliable Confessions: Khipus in the Colonial Parish', *The Americas* 64 (1): 14.

<sup>15</sup> Charles, 'Unreliable Confessions', 25.

<sup>16</sup> Salomon and Spalding, 'Cartas atadas con quipus', 862–7.

<sup>17</sup> Frank Salomon (2004), *The Cord Keepers: Khipus and Cultural Life in a Peruvian Village* (Durham/London: Duke University Press).



modern-day *kipus* have prevented the emergence of a single modern *kipu* tradition: postcolonial *kipus* show great variability in morphology and in numerical notation. The relation between the knotted strings in use in the Andes at present and Incan *kipus* is likewise uncertain; while some scholars have suggested close continuities, others hold that from the beginning of the seventeenth century the types of information recorded on *kipus* have represented a simplified version of the record-keeping capacities of the devices used in pre-Columbian times.<sup>18</sup>

Macedo's impression that the key to deciphering the *kipu* was lost—the image of the enigmatic *kipu*—first surfaced in eighteenth-century romantic narratives. Just as the knotted strings gradually ceased to function as means of official communication, renderings of *kipus* made their appearance in antiquarian literature, romantic novels, and archaeological treatises. One of the books in Macedo's extensive private library was the Quechua drama *Ollantay*, a representation of Incan rule authored around 1782 by Antonio Valdez, a Cuzco priest.<sup>19</sup> On one occasion in the play the Incan ruler receives a *kipu*, the contents of which are read to him by an expert in the royal palace. In the play, just enough is said for the audience to realize that the *kipu* works systematically, yet in terms they can only partly understand, given the technical difficulty of the medium. In the play, the *kipu* appears less as a functional means of communication than as an enigma and a puzzle: the senior *kipu* reader and adviser to the Incan ruler is referred to as one 'who deals in riddles'.<sup>20</sup> The scene is paradigmatic of the transformation the *kipu* underwent by the end of the eighteenth century. In dialogue with a European fascination with hieroglyphics and other ancient writing systems, the *kipu*

<sup>18</sup> For a survey of modern *kipu* traditions, see Carol Mackey (2002), 'The Continuing Khipu Traditions', in Quilter and Urton (eds.), *Narrative Threads. Accounting and Recounting in Andean Khipu*.

<sup>19</sup> Macedo believed like most of his contemporaries that *Ollantay* was an ancient drama written under Incan rule. Along with the drama, Macedo also owned the writings of a number of contemporary European authors, including the works of Clements Markham. Markham was the author who popularized the myth of an Incan *Ollantay*, while his own source was, in turn, most likely Julian Ochoa, the director of Cuzco's University. Itier, 'Ollantay, Antonio Valdez y la rebelión de Thupa Amaru', 78.

<sup>20</sup> Gordon Brotherston (1992), *Book of the Fourth World: Reading the Native Americas Through Their Literature* (Cambridge/New York: Cambridge University Press): 209.

became one of the ancient world's many mysteries.<sup>21</sup> The undecipherable *khipu* developed into an iconic form in Spanish and Creole thought. Incan monuments and the relics that 'remained among the modern Indians who tenaciously preserved and guarded their antiquities [*antiguallas*]', wrote José Hipólito Unánue in 1791 in the journal *Mercurio Peruano*, were the only sources left to shed light on the 'Peruvian Monarchy during the time before its conquest': for, 'the archives of Cuzco, Cajamarca and Quito were lost, the fragile *khipu* reduced to dust'.<sup>22</sup> Brittle and ephemeral remains from a long-bygone time, the *khipu* had ceased to be a means of communication and, instead, came to epitomize the civilization's collapse. The *Mercurio*, edited by the Lovers of the Country Society (*Sociedad Amantes del País*) and actively supported by Viceroy Gil de Taboada, was one forum of a Creole antiquarian movement in late eighteenth-century Lima that adopted responsibility for the preservation and interpretation of the enigmatic *khipu* and other things 'ancient'.<sup>23</sup> The intellectuals attached to the *Mercurio* sent descriptions and surveys of pre-Columbian sites,<sup>24</sup> and the society's secretary José María Egaña invoked state protection for the ancient monuments.<sup>25</sup> *Khipus* found themselves alongside America's other antiquities in the collections and writings of Creole intellectuals around 1800.<sup>26</sup> They

<sup>21</sup> For the European fascination, see, for instance, Françoise de Graffigny's *Lettres d'une Peruvienne* (1747), a novel about the letters allegedly written in *khipus* by an Incan princess, Zilia. Cañizares Esguerra, *How to Write the History of the New World*, 115.

<sup>22</sup> Unánue, 'Idea general de los monumentos del Antiguo Perú', 202.

<sup>23</sup> See Majluf, *The Creation of the Image of the Indian*, 31–2.

<sup>24</sup> See, for instance, the letter by Pedro Nolasco Crespo, whom the editors had asked to present selected ancient sites to the readership. Pedro Nolasco Crespo (1792), 'Carta escrita a la Sociedad por el doctor don Pedro Nolasco Crespo', *El Mercurio Peruano* 5 (170–1).

<sup>25</sup> José María Egaña asked the Spanish authorities to protect archaeological monuments by law. Pablo Macera Dall'orso (1997), 'El tiempo del Obispo Martínez Compañón', in Macera Dall'orso, Pablo, Jiménez Borja, Arturo, and Franke, Irma (eds.), *Baltazar Jaime Martínez Compañón, Trujillo del Perú* (Lima: EDUBANCO): 28.

<sup>26</sup> Llano Zapata included descriptions of ancient architectural structures and antiquities, including *khipus*, in his writings on America's natural history. On Llano Zapata's main work—*Memorias histórico-físicas-apológicas de América Meridional*—and his archaeological curiosity, see Alcina Franch, *Arqueólogos o anticuarios*, 188. Rogger Ravines mentions Pedro José Bravo de Lagunas y Castillo's collection in his history of Peru's museums. Ravines, *Los museos del Perú*. For the life and political career of Pedro Bravo Lagunas, see J.A. de Lavalle (1861), 'D. Pedro Bravo Lagunas y Castilla', *La Revista de Lima* 4; Pablo Macera Dall'orso (1956), *Tres etapas en el desarrollo de la conciencia nacional* (Lima: Talls. Gráfs. P.L. Villanueva).

came to be seen as things of the past, precious in their old age and evanescence.

From the breakdown of the Spanish imperial state in 1808 to the consolidation of the Peruvian nation state in 1826, men and women in Lima lived through the struggle for independence and subsequently through various competing projects for national rule. Unlike in Argentina, where Incan symbolism was central to patriotic discourses, the Creole ideologues and leaders of Peru's emancipation only adopted a new Incan symbolism under José de San Martín, when independence was finally foisted upon them in the 1820s.<sup>27</sup> Lima Creoles were similarly reluctant to adopt symbols reminiscent of indigeneity in the official imagery of the state after independence. Not only was the Incaist imagery after the Túpac Amaru Rebellion associated with a defeated class, it also represented a legitimacy Lima's Creole elites were definitely excluded from; for it evoked the indigenous world, 'this majority absent from the formation of a Creole state founded with independence'.<sup>28</sup> In 1826, Rivero was charged with building a national museum for the Peruvian state—a project that Unánue and other intellectuals previously attached to the *Sociedad Amantes del País* had initiated in 1822.<sup>29</sup> Due to a lack of political and institutional stability and scarce funds, however, the museum was to remain a marginal and ephemeral institution for years to come.<sup>30</sup> It was only in association with the renewal of the central government under President Ramón Castilla (in office 1845–51 and 1855–62), a consequence of economic growth following the expansion of guano production and export, that Lima found political and

<sup>27</sup> Majluf, 'De la rebelión al museo', 258, 64. On the uses of pre-Columbian imageries in the struggle for independence in Guatemala, Mexico, Ecuador, Peru, Argentina, and Chile, see the first two chapters in Earle, *The Return of the Native*.

<sup>28</sup> Majluf, 'Los fabricantes de emblemas', 232–9.

<sup>29</sup> Majluf, 'Los fabricantes de emblemas', 232–9. The museum project was bound up with a legal decree prohibiting 'the extraction of minerals, ancient pottery, textiles and the other objects found in the huacas', for both natural resources and antiquities were the 'property' of the Peruvian nation state. Torre-Tagle and E.B. Monteagudo (1822), '2 de Abril de 1822. Los monumentos que quedan de la antigüedad de Perú . . .', in Oviedo, Juan (ed.), *Colección de leyes, decretos y ordenes. Publicadas en el Perú desde el año de 1821 hasta 31 de diciembre de 1859* (9; Lima: Felipe Bailly).

<sup>30</sup> On the lack of financial support for the museum during the mid-century, see the various complaints by subsequent museum directors. Rivero y Ustariz, 'Carta al Ministro del Interior'; Yrigoyen, 'Carta al Ministro de Estado en el Despacho de Instrucción, Lima, 19 de Julio'; Yrigoyen, 'Carta al Ministro de Estado, Lima, 6 de Junio'.

economic stability.<sup>31</sup> And it was only then, by the time Macedo came to Lima as a young student of medicine, that the collecting and study of antiquities would again acquire a conspicuous place in Lima society.

### ANTIQUARIANISM, ANTIQUITIES COLLECTING, AND ARCHAEOLOGY

Macedo did not record how he acquired the *khipu* described in his 1881 catalogue—his ‘jewel’. What is certain is that the ‘jewel’ was one of at least two *khipus* in his possession and that he unearthed one of them during an excursion to the ancient cemetery of Ancón, not far from Lima.<sup>32</sup> Outings to the surroundings of Lima or journeys ‘inland’ for excavations were a common means among the city’s antiquaries to obtain antiquities for one’s collection. Macedo went from time to time on an excursion to ancient ruins or cemeteries, sometimes alone, sometimes accompanied by other antiquaries. One of Macedo’s companions on these journeys was his friend, the German immigrant Ernst—or Ernesto—W. Middendorf. Macedo’s diaries record how, on a Saturday morning in October 1886, the two men set off together to ‘examine the important ruins of Pachacamac [. . .], a flourishing capital in the epoch of Cuysmanco and later in the time of the Incas conquered by Inca Yupanqui’.<sup>33</sup> Middendorf, after his retirement from the medical profession, dedicated most of his time to archaeological and linguistic studies. Between 1885 and 1888, he travelled widely within Peru and sketched and photographed numerous archaeological sites.<sup>34</sup> Like Macedo or Middendorf, Thomas

<sup>31</sup> Gootenberg, *Imagining Development*, 91.

<sup>32</sup> Carlos Radicati di Primeglio (2006), *Estudios sobre los quipus* (Lima: Fondo Editorial Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos): 305. The cemetery of Ancón would become an internationally renowned archaeological site following the excavations of Alphons Stübel and Wilhelm Reiss there in 1875. For the first English translation, see Reiss and Stübel, *The Necropolis of Ancón in Peru*.

<sup>33</sup> Cuys Manco was a Cuzco chief, mentioned in Garcilaso de la Vega’s *Commentaries* and discussed by Clements Markham; both authors appear in Macedo’s library. José Mariano Macedo (1880), ‘Memorandum Histórico’, Lima, *Colección Manuscritos de José Mariano Macedo*.

<sup>34</sup> For biographical data, see Dorothea Bankmann (1972), ‘Ernst Wilhelm Middendorf (1830–1908)’, *Verhandlungen des 28. Internationalen Amerikanistenkongresses* (Stuttgart—München). Middendorf’s main work is his ‘Observations’ on Peru.

Hutchinson, the Anglo-Irish consul in Peru, visited ‘ancient Peruvian burial grounds’ in his moments of leisure. He found time for his ‘rambles amongst the Golgothas’ when he took leave from his post ‘for the benefit of my health in seeking change of air’.<sup>35</sup> Hutchinson became ‘greatly interested in the study of Peruvian antiquities’ during his long residence in Lima, and he made, like Macedo and Middendorf, ‘a valuable collection of pottery and images, from the huacos’.<sup>36</sup> By the end of the nineteenth century, the *kipu* made its appearance in the cabinets and parlours of a network of literate and wealthy amateur antiquaries in Lima, men who had the leisure and the funds for a vacation outing or a weekend daytrip to pursue their learned interest in antiquities.

Only a week after his excursion with Middendorf to the ruins of Pachacamac, Macedo found time to call on another German immigrant, Christian Theodor Wilhelm Gretzer, a textile merchant. Born in Hanover, Gretzer had moved to Lima in 1872, to return home only in 1904. His interest in antiquities appears to have developed from his profession as an importer of textiles. He began by collecting pre-Columbian textiles, soon including other artefacts as well.<sup>37</sup> By 1884, Gretzer’s Lima house had been converted into another of the city’s private museums, holding plant specimens, butterflies, and hummingbirds, but principally, as his widow said, ‘what the Indians of the country made for their daily use or their adornment, especially what the Indians had made in remote times’.<sup>38</sup> We find traces of Macedo’s visits to Gretzer’s museum in his notebooks because he occasionally sketched artefacts he had been particularly impressed with. That week, it was ‘a worker’s skullcap [...] in the shape of a

Ernst W. Middendorf (1893–5), *Peru. Beobachtungen und Studien über das Land und seine Bewohner. Während eines 25 jährigen Aufenthalts*, 3 vols. (Berlin: R. Oppenheim).

<sup>35</sup> Thomas J. Hutchinson (1874), ‘Explorations Amongst Ancient Burial Grounds (Chiefly on the Sea-Coast Valleys) of Peru. Part I’, *The Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland* 3: 311.

<sup>36</sup> Hutchinson, *Explorations Amongst Ancient Burial Grounds*.

<sup>37</sup> Donald A. Proulx (2006), *A Sourcebook of Nasca Ceramic Iconography: Reading a Culture Through Its Art* (Iowa: University of Iowa Press): 21.

<sup>38</sup> Erna Wilhelmine Gretzer, cited in Beatrix Hoffmann (2007), ‘Posibilidades y limitaciones para la reconstrucción y recontextualización de la colección Gretzer del Museum Ethnologisches de Berlin’, *Baessler-Archiv* 55.

hat ending in four points'.<sup>39</sup> Other than Lima antiquaries and acquaintances like Macedo, scientists and curious travellers from 'all the countries', as Gretzer's widow remembered years later—one of them the royal princess of Bavaria, Theresia—called at Gretzer's museum, to marvel at ceramics, and antiquities made of wood, pumpkin fibre, or precious metal, of stone, shells, bone, and feather. Gretzer exhibited mummified bodies wrapped up in cloth and, above all, textiles; fragments of *uncus*, turbans, and loincloths and, like Macedo, one of the few *khipus* in the city.<sup>40</sup> Five cloth mummy masks and pottery in Gretzer's collection were the first discoveries associated today with Paracas culture.<sup>41</sup> Gretzer and Macedo also befriended Eduard Gaffron (1861–1931), an ophthalmologist from Lippstadt, trained in Breslau, who came to Lima in 1892. Gaffron joined the city's antiquarian circles, and before he returned to Berlin in 1912 more than 11,000 antiquities from different places around Peru had passed through his hands. One of Peru's few specialists in his medical field, Gaffron travelled widely to offer treatments all over Peru. Cuzco newspapers retain advertisements by Gaffron that he would 'buy any kind of antiquities'<sup>42</sup> when he passed through the city, and he often received antiquities for his collection from impecunious patients. Like Gretzer or Macedo, Gaffron opened his collection in Lima to a select public, welcoming acquaintances from Lima and travellers from afar alike.<sup>43</sup> The circle of collectors that surfaced in Lima in the second half of the nineteenth century in Macedo's environment rested decisively upon the city's bourgeois sphere, its cultural practices, and its codes of civility: men like Macedo, Gretzer, or Middendorf had the means to acquire antiquities, the inclination and leisure for learned gatherings, and the social standing to be admitted to them.

<sup>39</sup> Four-cornered hats are characterized by a square top and pointed tips and are mainly associated with Wari society (AD 400–1000). Macedo, 'Memorandum Histórico'.

<sup>40</sup> Hoffmann, 'Posibilidades y limitaciones'.

<sup>41</sup> Anne Paul (1991), 'Paracas: An Ancient Cultural Tradition on the South Coast of Peru', in Paul, Anne (ed.), *Paracas Art & Architecture. Object and Context in South Coastal Peru* (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press): 2.

<sup>42</sup> Eduard Gaffron, 'Antigüedades Peruanas', *El Comercio (Cuzco)*, 21 March 1899, sec. Crónica; Eduard Gaffron, 'El Dr Eduardo Gaffron, médico cirujano oculista', *El Comercio*, 28 February 1899, sec. Avisos Diversos.

<sup>43</sup> For a biography of Eduard Gaffron and a comprehensive study of his collection, see Claudia Schmitz (2001), *Geschenke der Ahnen. Peruanische Kostbarkeiten aus der Sammlung Eduard Gaffron. Konstruktion und Wirklichkeit einer Kultur* (Leipzig: Völkerkundemuseum zu Leipzig).

Several of Macedo's acquaintances among the antiquaries in Lima were engineers by trade. Hans H. Brüning (1848–1928), a compatriot of Gretzer, Gaffron, and Middendorf, likewise formed a substantial collection of over 5,000 antiquities from the north coast and of photographs of ruins. An engineer by training, Brüning had arrived in Peru in 1875 and found employment in the sugar plantations of Lambayeque in the installation and maintenance of the machinery. As with the textile merchant Gretzer, Brüning's profession informed his archaeological investigations. He began by studying the pre-Columbian artificial irrigation systems watering the Lambayeque Department from Andean rivers, before he went on to inventory and measure the area's principal ruins and to map its road networks.<sup>44</sup> Next to eighteenth-century dramas like *Ollantay*, Macedo also owned modern Peruvian science publications. One of the books on his shelves was a copy of the work of Pablo Federico Chalon, a Lima construction engineer. Chalon's *Edifices in Ancient Peru*, published in 1884 in the *Annals of Civil Engineering and Mines (Anales de Construcciones Civiles y de Minas)* was both an archaeological study and a testament to his profession: it was unusual in its measured plans, in Chalon's attention to the material and building techniques used in ancient structures.<sup>45</sup>

Macedo's antiquarian circles took shape at the time of the Civil Party government of President Manuel Pardo (1872–6), when the construction of railways took numerous engineers into the Andes. As in contemporary England or the west of the United States, several of these engineers discovered and donated antiquities to the National Museum, or reported back on ancient structures exposed by railway

<sup>44</sup> Hans Heinrich Brüning (1916), 'Provincia de Lambayeque. Contribución arqueológica', *Boletín de la Sociedad Geográfica de Lima*, XXII; Hans Heinrich Brüning (1989 [1922]), *Estudios monográficos del departamento de Lambayeque* (Chiclayo: Imprenta de Dionisio Mendoza). Brüning was among the donors to the museum of the Geographical Society. Eulogio Delgado (1903), 'Memoria que en la última sesión de 1902, presenta a la Sociedad Geográfica de Lima, su presidente Don Eulogio Delgado', *Boletín de la Sociedad Geográfica de Lima* 13 (1). For the contents of his collection, see Hans Heinrich Brüning (1932 [1925]), 'Inventario', *Archivo del Museo Nacional de Arqueología, Antropología e Historia. Colgante 2000–30*.

<sup>45</sup> Pablo Federico Chalon (1884), 'Los edificios del Antiguo Perú', *Anales de Construcciones Civiles y de Minas*. Macedo was in possession of a separata. Macedo, 'Memorandum Histórico'.

excavations.<sup>46</sup> Ernesto Malinowski—a Polish émigré and railway engineer—oversaw the construction of Pardo’s trans-Andean railway line and its continuation after the War of the Pacific with Chile. He afterwards taught topography at Lima’s San Marcos University. While surveying infrastructural projects, Malinowski also visited pre-Columbian sites and reported back to ‘those interested in ancient Peruvian ruins’ among his acquaintances in Lima, including Macedo and his companions.<sup>47</sup> One of Malinowski’s reports documented his excavations, together with North American scholars and the German travellers Wilhelm Reiss and Alphons Stübel, of the ruins of Kuelap.<sup>48</sup> Mining engineers had been among the National Museum’s earliest donors in the late 1840s and 1850s. The military engineer Coronel José Domingo Espinas remitted ‘various ancient precious objects’ in 1847,<sup>49</sup> and in 1851 Santiago Flores, an engineer involved in guano mining, gifted a clay jug to Lima’s National Museum that he had unearthed on Chincha Island. Flores conjectured that the jug, found underneath the lowest strata of droppings, had been left behind just before the formation of the guano deposits. Evidently familiar with pre-Columbian aesthetics—the jug reminded him of the pottery found in the Indians’ graves—Flores had recognized the jug as a ‘rare and unique thing’, ‘worthy of antiquarian study and a place in the national museum’.<sup>50</sup> Like Flores or Espinas, Rivero, the founder of

<sup>46</sup> Michael Freeman has examined how British geologists used the geological information exposed by railway cuttings in different parts of England. Michael Freeman (2001), ‘Tracks to a New World: Railway Excavation and the Extension of Geological Knowledge in Mid-Nineteenth-Century Britain’, *British Journal of the History of Science* 34. On the expansion of scientific field work along the transcontinental railroad in the US Central West in the late 1860s, see Jeremy Vetter (2004), ‘Science along the Railroad: Expanding Field Work in the US Central West’, *Annals of Science* 61.

<sup>47</sup> An article by Wertheman transcribed Malinowski’s letter to Lima’s Geographical Society. ‘Carta de Ernesto Malinowski, Tarica, Mayo 25 de 1892, Empresa Minera “San Juan” Limitada, Tarica, Puerto Samanco, Perú’, cited in Arturo Wertheman (1892), ‘Ruinas de la fortaleza de Cuelap’, *Boletín de la Sociedad Geográfica de Lima* 2 (4–6).

<sup>48</sup> Ernesto Malinowski et al. (1891), ‘Informe que presenta a la Sociedad Geográfica de Lima la comisión especial nombrada por ella para el estudio del Archivo Raimondi’, *Boletín de la Sociedad Geográfica de Lima* 1 (4).

<sup>49</sup> José Rufino Echenique (1847), ‘Carta al Ministro de Estado en el Despacho de Gobierno, Lima, n.d.’, *Biblioteca Nacional del Perú. Colección Manuscritos D 1957*.

<sup>50</sup> Santiago Flores (1850), ‘Carta al Ministro de Estado en el Despacho de Gobierno é Instrucción Pública, Isla de Chincha, 12 de Agosto’, *Biblioteca Nacional del Perú: Colección Manuscritos D 1957*. According to George Kubler, the guano islands yielded several thousand artefacts of pre-Columbian origin between 1826 and 1875: George



Lima's National Museum, was an engineer. He occupied a post merging mining and archaeology institutionally—that of General Director of the National Museum and of Mining and Agriculture—from 1826.<sup>51</sup> From the 1820s on, Rivero authored numerous studies on pre-Columbian structures and artefacts, including reflections on *kipus*.<sup>52</sup> Trained in a technical profession, in practical geometry and mathematics, Rivero brought, like Flores or Chalón, peculiar qualifications and interests to antiquarianism and archaeology. He enquired into the manufacture of instruments or the distribution of Incan aqueducts; he excavated and studied ruined structures in Chavín de Huántar and Huánuco Viejo in the highlands or in Chan Chan and Pachacamac on the coast with the necessary experience in mining techniques to tunnel through the earth; and he had the skills to create plans and maps of these sites.<sup>53</sup> Engineers knew 'how to dig, how to record, draw up plans, how to take measures', and their drawings and images changed the technical grounds of archaeology in the Americas and Europe.<sup>54</sup>

Lima's antiquarian circles in the second half of the nineteenth century were based in the city's bourgeois sphere, but antiquarian collection and study also remade and entrenched these circles. In 1896, while Adolph Bandelier was charged with the transfer of

Kubler (1974), 'A Reappraisal of Peruvian Archaeology', in Bennett, Wendell C. (ed.), *A Reappraisal of Peruvian Archaeology* (Memoirs of the Society for American Anthropology; Menasha, WI: Kraus Reprint Co).

<sup>51</sup> With political changes, Rivero was relieved of his office and reinstated in 1831. Juan de Dios Rivera (1831), 'Carta al Ministerio de Instrucción, Lima, 22 de Septiembre', *Archivo General de la Nación*. RJ 190, 8.10; Simón Yrigoyen (1860), 'Carta al Ministro de Estado en el Despacho de Instrucción, Lima, 22 de Agosto', *Archivo General de la Nación*. RJ 190, 8.10. During the political conflicts of 1834 to 1839, Rivero retired from public office. Under the Gamarra government in 1840, Rivero returned to his previous post as director of the museum. José Antonio García y García (1860), 'Americanos Ilustres. Don Mariano E. de Rivero', *La Revista de Lima* 1: 503.

<sup>52</sup> Mariano Eduardo de Rivero y Ustariz (1827), 'Antigüedades Peruanas', *Memorial de ciencias naturales, y de industria nacional y extranjera; redactado por M. de Rivero y N. de Piérola* 1 (1). Arturo Alcalde Mongrut has studied the history of the memorial. Arturo Alcalde Mongrut (1954), 'El Memorial de Ciencias Naturales, Lima 1827–1828', *Boletín Bibliográfico* 24.

<sup>53</sup> On Rivero's archaeological excavations and studies, both published and unpublished, see Coloma Porcari, *Los inicios de la arqueología en el Perú*, 19, 33, 35.

<sup>54</sup> Irina Podgorny has studied the contribution of Spanish military engineers to late-colonial Spanish archaeology, particularly in New Spain. Irina Podgorny (2007), 'The Reliability of the Ruins', *Journal of the Spanish Cultural Studies* 8 (2): 214, 24–8.

the Miguel Garces collection from Puno to the American Museum of Natural History, he halted his journey in Lima. In a letter to the American Museum of Natural History, Bandelier apologized for holding the collection longer ‘than it was intended’ in Lima, and explained the reasons for the delay.

The Garces collection is not only well known in Peru and also in Spain, it is even celebrated [emphasis in the original], hence a number of my friends, chiefly from the diplomatic corps, begged me to let them admire it and even requested me to leave it [on display] one week longer, as both the Legate of the Holy See and the Minister of England could not possibly call previously [ . . . ]<sup>55</sup>

Antiquities were ‘admired’ in Lima by the 1890s: they attracted visitors from the upper strata of Lima’s society, the clergy, and the diplomatic corps. José Macedo had come to Lima as a youth from the ‘province’: born in Ayaviri and raised in Cuzco, he had only moved to Lima to study medicine in 1845.<sup>56</sup> When Macedo took up collecting sometime between 1858 and 1861—shortly after he acceded to the chair for anatomy at San Marcos University in Lima<sup>57</sup>—the display of antiquities in parlours and salons was confined to the highest strata of Lima society. Several republican governors, of both conservative and liberal political factions, gathered pre-Columbian material culture around them at this time. The former Viceroy General Pio Tristán y Moscoso, who was also Provisional President of the Southern Peruvian State during the confederation years, displayed gold antiquities from Cuzco,<sup>58</sup> following in style and format in the tradition of Spanish aristocratic collecting.<sup>59</sup> So did José Rufino Echenique, a liberal politician who succeeded Castilla in 1851 as President of Peru. Markham related that when he first met the president at a dinner, Echenique ‘very good-naturedly brought with him some golden

<sup>55</sup> Adolph F. Bandelier (1896), ‘Letter to the Secretary’s Office at the American Museum of Natural History, Mr Winsler, Lima, 28 June’, *American Museum of Natural History. Division of Anthropology Archives, Bandelier 1896–31*.

<sup>56</sup> Sociedad Peruana de Historia de la Medicina, *Vida y Obras de José Mariano Macedo (1823–1894)*, 7.

<sup>57</sup> For Macedo’s professional life, see a homage by Lima’s Medical History Society. Sociedad Peruana de Historia de la Medicina, *Vida y Obras de José Mariano Macedo (1823–1894)*.

<sup>58</sup> Rivero and Tschudi relate that Pio Tristán owned *conopas*, as they write, ‘gold idols’ found in Cuzco. Rivero y Ustariz and Tschudi, *Antigüedades Peruanas*, 322.

<sup>59</sup> See Mora Rodríguez, *La arqueología clásica española en el siglo XVIII*.

ornaments of the Inca period, recently arrived from Cuzco', among them a breastplate 'worn by the Inca', 'the head of an ornamental pin or topu worn by the coya or wife of the Inca', and three flat pieces of gold, which Markham explained represented 'the leaves out of the golden garden of the Incas'.<sup>60</sup> To own and to display antiquities, to bring them out and show them to one's guests after dinner, appears to have constituted an element of elite sociability in the city of Lima. The French diplomat Léonce Angrand,<sup>61</sup> the director of San Marcos University, José Dávila Condemarin,<sup>62</sup> and politicians and economists in the highest ranks of the Peruvian government were among those who collected antiquities in Lima by the mid-century.<sup>63</sup>

<sup>60</sup> Peter Blanchard (ed.) (1991), *Markham in Peru: The Travels of Clements R. Markham, 1852–1853* (Austin: University of Texas Press): 8. According to recent archaeological studies, the five small gold items date to the Late Formative Period. The disk, the 'plum', a narrow band, and three small plain disks were found in graves in the Cuzco area, but had probably been imported as they reflect the Paracas tradition of the south-central coast. Brian S. Bauer (2004), *Ancient Cuzco. Heartland of the Inca* (Austin: University of Texas Press): 206.

<sup>61</sup> Léonce Angrand was the French consul in Lima. He occasionally authored archaeological treatises. Leonice Angrand (1866), *Antiquités Américaines; les Antiquités de Tiahuanaco et l'origine présumable de la plus ancienne civilisation du Haut Pérou* (Paris). He donated his collection to the Louvre upon his return to France. See Adrien de Longpérier (1850), 'Correspondance concernant le don par Angrand, consul général de France, d'antiquités "du Mexique" (en fait du Pérou) provenant des fouilles des tombeaux de Trujillo et d'Arica (vases aymara), 9 juin', *Archives des musées nationaux. A 8 1850*.

<sup>62</sup> Condemarin assembled Italian paintings—having lived in Italy, he had hoarded copies of Italian artworks—modern Peruvian fine art, specimens of natural history and pre-Columbian 'textiles, jugs, [...] tools and weapons [...] many gold, copper, silver, wooden and stone works'. Rogger Ravines (1989), 'El museo del doctor José Dávila Condemarin', *Boletín de Lima* 61: 14–15, 25. José Dávila Condemarin also served as the museum's subdirector for several years. José Dávila Condemarin (1847), 'Carta al Director del Museo, Lima, 18 de Noviembre', *Biblioteca Nacional del Perú. Colección Manuscritos D 1957*; José Dávila Condemarin (1861), 'Carta al Director del Museo Nacional, Lima, 11 de Diciembre', *Biblioteca Nacional del Perú. Colección Manuscritos D 1957*; Tello and Mejía Xesspe, 'Historia de los museos nacionales del Perú', Decreto 3 de Junio 1836.

<sup>63</sup> Macedo might also have been familiar with the popular collection of Manuel Bartolomé Ferreyros de la Mata, a politician and economist in the highest ranks of the republican government. Ferreyros presided over a commission classifying and amplifying the holdings of the National Museum in 1856, to remove the museum from its state of neglect. Manuel Ferreyros (1856), 'Carta al Director General de Estudios, Lima, 15 de Julio', *Archivo General de la Nación. RJ 190, 8.10*; Manuel Ferreyros (1856), 'Carta al Ministro de Instrucción Pública, Lima, 29 de Mayo', *Archivo General de la Nación. RJ 190, 8.10*. Rivero referred to the collection in the 1841 edition of *Peruvian Antiquities*. Rivero y Ustariz, *Antigüedades peruanas*, 41.

Historians have noted how in eighteenth-century Britain individuals could hope to improve their professional and social prospects by inserting themselves in the world of antiquarianism; common interests allowed them to forge contacts with those of a higher social status or to build up and maintain relationships with people whose friendship could bring economic or social advantages.<sup>64</sup> Macedo was, like his acquaintances Brüning and Gretzer, a member of a new class of professionals—doctors, engineers, and agronomists—that gained power and influence in the second half of the nineteenth century and that merged with Lima's established families. Many among the new generation that marked Lima's intellectual landscape following the 1870s were migrants: they came from Hanover and Prague, or, like Macedo, from Peru's provinces. Middendorf, Macedo, and Gretzer alike sought inclusion in Lima society; most of them had little intention or hope of ever returning to live in their home countries, for political, but also for personal or economic reasons: they came to Lima in a period of economic expansion and technological optimism.<sup>65</sup> Antiquarianism was an affirmation of taste and of scientific curiosity, a testimony to one's education; it enhanced the status and prestige of the collector. It allowed the antiquaries to receive the diplomatic corps or the Legate of the Holy See; for their homes to become foci of sociable gatherings; for them to widen their acquaintance and raise their standing.

The antiquaries' open collections, their mutual visits, and the debates that ensued lent consistency to archaeological practices—to the questions the collectors asked and the narratives they wrought. In their publications and correspondence, Lima scholars often resorted for evidence to antiquities from private collections they expected their readers to be, likewise, familiar with. When the antiquary Sebastian Barranca—professor of mineralogy, palaeontology, and geology at the University San Marcos—sought to decipher the 'allegorical meaning' of a golden vessel, he cited not only books his Lima readers would also be acquainted with—Rivero's and Tschudi's influential *Peruvian Antiquities*, the traveller Charles Wiener's *Pérou et Bolivie*, or Wilhelm Reiss' and Alphons Stübel's atlas on the Ancón necropolis—but also

<sup>64</sup> Sweet, *Antiquaries*, 60.

<sup>65</sup> G. Bonfiglio (2000), 'La inmigración europea en el Perú durante el período republicano', in Lohmann Luca de Tena, Juan Guillermo (ed.), *Historia de la cultura peruana* (2; Lima: Fondo Editorial del Congreso del Perú).

adduced antiquities he had seen personally during his visits to the collections of Macedo or the Puno collector Nicolás Sáenz.<sup>66</sup> Eugenio Larrabure y Unánue (1844–1916) published from time to time on archaeology and antiquarianism, even though, mainly, he worked as a journalist during the 1870s—he was the editor of the newspaper *La República* and the director of *El Peruano*—and served as Minister of Foreign Affairs, Minister of Transport, and, from 1908 to 1912, as vice-president of the Republic under Augusto B. Leguía.<sup>67</sup> In one of his publications, Larrabure thanked his ‘renowned friend the collector Doctor Macedo’ for a plate depicting ‘prisoners, naked or with their noses bleeding’. The plate had helped him to better understand the history of the Paramonga Fortress, for it depicted armed conflicts involving Chimú soldiers that had taken place near the fortress.<sup>68</sup> The antiquaries were not only familiar with each other’s collections; they lent out, gave away, and bartered antiquities among themselves. Some of the ceramics in Gretzer’s collection retain tags bearing Macedo’s name and in others a handwritten ‘Macedo’ and a date—presumably the year of the acquisition—on the back (see Figures 2.2 and 2.3). Macedo must either have sold them or bestowed them upon Gretzer.<sup>69</sup> Thomas Hutchinson not only received antiquities from Lima friends of his like Antonio Raimondi (1826–1890), he cited Raimondi’s work and that of Rivero in his main book *Two Years in Peru, with Exploration of its Antiquities*.<sup>70</sup> Raimondi, an Italian naturalist commissioned by the Peruvian government for the production of primarily geographic documentation about the country, was

<sup>66</sup> José S. Barranca (1902), ‘Arqueología peruana. Informe sobre el valor arqueológico de un vaso de oro extraído de la necropolis situada en las inmediaciones de la hacienda “Monterrico Grande”’, *La Gaceta Científica. Publicación mensual de la Sociedad ‘Amantes de la Ciencia’* 14 (2): 20.

<sup>67</sup> (2001), ‘Larrabure y Unánue, Eugenio (Lima 1844–1916)’, in Tauro, Alberto (ed.), *Alberto Tauro. Enciclopedia Ilustrada del Perú. Síntesis del conocimiento integral del Perú, desde sus orígenes hasta la actualidad* (Lima: PEISA).

<sup>68</sup> Eugenio Larrabure y Unánue (1935), ‘La fortaleza de Paramonga’, in Larrabure y Correa, Carlos (ed.), *Manuscritos y Publicaciones de Eugenio Larrabure y Unánue* (2; Lima: Imprenta Americana): 212–13.

<sup>69</sup> See, for instance, the antiquities from Gretzer’s collection, today at the Berlin Ethnological Museum, catalogued as VA 3834A—an example of a handwritten reference—and VA 3839, bearing a nametag. I thank Beatrix Hoffmann for making me aware of Gretzer’s possession of antiquities formerly in the hands of Macedo.

<sup>70</sup> Thomas J. Hutchinson (1873), *Two Years in Peru, with Exploration of its Antiquities*, 2 vols. (London: Sampson Low, Marston Low & Searle).



Fig. 2.2. Front of a figurine from the collection of Christian Theodor Wilhelm Gretzer. Fig. 2.3. Back of the figurine from the collection of Christian Theodor Wilhelm Gretzer; a handwritten 'Macedo' and a date can be seen on its back.

among the first to systematically document and measure archaeological structures and remains alongside mines, fertile land, and animal species in his six-volume atlas *El Perú* (1874–9).<sup>71</sup> He apparently owned, like Macedo, a substantial private library: Hutchinson showed himself indebted to Raimondi, and also to Miceno Espantoso, one of the directors of the National Bank of Peru, for

<sup>71</sup> Raimondi published only three volumes of *El Perú* during his lifetime, and three more volumes were published posthumously. Antonio Raimondi (1874), *El Perú*, 5 vols. (Edición facsimilar 1983 edn., 1; Lima: Editores Técnicos Asociados S.A.). Raimondi had planned a sixth volume entitled 'ethnography', on 'the ancient and modern human races of Peru', as the commission in charge of editing the volumes announced posthumously. Malinowski et al., 'Informe que presenta a la Sociedad Geográfica de Lima la comisión especial nombrada por ella para el estudio del Archivo Raimondi'. The manuscript for the sixth volume was burnt in the 1943 fire that destroyed many important documents in Peru's National Library.

reference works from their libraries.<sup>72</sup> By the late nineteenth century Lima's antiquaries moved not only within the same bourgeois sphere, they also formed an intellectual community: they were reading the same books and journals, they were familiar with the same ruins and sites, and they engaged with the same corpus of antiquities.

Institutional forums for archaeology gradually materialized in the city. Public expositions lent a novel visibility to Lima archaeology in the 1870s. For the 1872 National Exhibition, Malinowski, Raimondi, and Hutchinson were commissioned to prepare an archaeological section.<sup>73</sup> At the 1877 Municipal Exposition in Lima, following an officially disseminated invitation,<sup>74</sup> private archaeological societies exhibited 'fine pottery and textiles from the Indians'.<sup>75</sup> Prehistoric exhibits made their first appearance at the Paris Universal Exposition in 1867 and the archaeological sections in the Lima expositions followed in the wake of this model.<sup>76</sup> The journal *Revista Peruana* likewise lent coherence to investigations into the pre-Columbian past in Lima, bringing together students of history with those interested primarily in material culture over the shared concern of the pre-Columbian past: José Toribio Polo, the author of historical studies and investigations into pre-Columbian material culture,<sup>77</sup> the journal's editor Mariano Felipe Paz Soldán (1821–1886), Minister of Education and the author of a Peruvian Geographical Dictionary that listed also archaeological sites,<sup>78</sup> Manuel González de la Rosa, the founder of Cuzco's Archaeological Society,<sup>79</sup> and the historian Sebastián Lorente. Lorente, a liberal initially hired by the Castilla

<sup>72</sup> Hutchinson, *Two Years in Peru*, xi.

<sup>73</sup> Riviale, 'L'archéologie péruvienne et ses modèles au XIXe siècle', 300.

<sup>74</sup> 'Aviso', *El Comercio*, 2 July 1877.

<sup>75</sup> (1877), *Catálogo General de la Exposición Municipal inaugurada el 28 de Julio de 1877 siendo alcalde del concejo provincial de Lima el Sr Dr D. Pedro J. Saavedra* (Lima: Imprenta de El Nacional).

<sup>76</sup> Müller-Scheessel, 'Fair Prehistory'.

<sup>77</sup> On José Toribio Polo's antiquarian and archaeological studies, see in particular, the work of Joseph Dager Alva. Joseph Dager Alva, 'Una aproximación a la vida y obra de José Toribio Polo' (Unpublished Dissertation (*Licenciatura*), Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, 1996); Dager Alva, 'La historiografía peruana de la segunda mitad del siglo XIX. Una presentación inicial a través de la obra de José Toribio Polo'.

<sup>78</sup> Mariano Felipe Paz Soldán (1877), *Diccionario Geográfico Estadístico del Perú. Contiene además la etimología ayмара y quechua de las principales poblaciones, lagos, ríos, cerros, etc. etc.* (1 edn.; Lima: Imprenta del Estado).

<sup>79</sup> On Manuel González de la Rosa and his contributions to the *Revista Peruana*, see Riviale, 'Manuel González de la Rosa', 274.

government, had become an important public intellectual by the 1870s. He authored a comprehensive history of Peru, which included stages of 'evolutionary progress' stretching back into pre-Incan times.<sup>80</sup> Lima's Geographical Society, founded in 1888 under the re-established central government of President Andrés A. Cáceres after the War of the Pacific, likewise brought together several of the period's antiquaries. José Mariano Macedo was one of the society's members, and so were José Toribio Polo, the doctor, scientist, and journalist Luis Carranza and Malinowski, Barranca, Lorente, and Middendorf.<sup>81</sup> The Society's organ—*The Bulletin of Lima's Geographical Society* (*Boletín de la Sociedad Geográfica de Lima*)—combined visual and written information about the country's unknown interior, and the reports often included references to antiquities associated with the pre-Columbian period. Military officials in the service of the Society advanced into distant areas and brought back pre-Columbian stone figurines and utensils;<sup>82</sup> engineers involved in the construction of roads or hydrographical explorations would admire and report back on the works produced by 'skilful Incan engineers' on their way.<sup>83</sup> Archaeology was soon officially inscribed in the Geographical Society's agenda, and one of its four commissions was devoted to the 'Races, Ethnography, Archaeology and Historical

<sup>80</sup> Sebastián Lorente first published his 'History of the Peruvian Civilization' and other studies on pre-Columbian history in the *Revista Peruana*. Sebastián Lorente (1879), 'Antigüedades Primitivas del Perú', *Revista peruana* 2; Sebastián Lorente (1879), 'Civilización de los Incas', *Revista peruana* 1 (2); Sebastián Lorente (1879), 'Historia de la Civilización Peruana', *Revista peruana* 1. On Sebastián Lorente's intellectual and political biography, see Mark Thurner (2005), 'Una historia peruana para el pueblo peruano. De la genealogía fundacional de Sebastián Lorente', *Sebastián Lorente. Escritos fundacionales de historia peruana* (Lima: Fondo Editorial Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos).

<sup>81</sup> Sociedad Geográfica de Lima (1891), 'Personal de la Sociedad Geográfica de Lima', *Boletín de la Sociedad Geográfica de Lima* 1 (10–12).

<sup>82</sup> Coronel Eleuterio Ponze, the prefect of Puno, repeatedly donated to the National Museum. Among his donations were artefacts from the Amazon, landscape photographs, boats (*balsas*) from Titicaca Lake, and two stones from Hatuncolla. Max Uhle (1908), 'Carta al Coronel D. Eleuterio Ponze, Prefecto del Puno, Lima, 19 de Enero', *Archivo del Museo Nacional de Arqueología, Antropología e Historia. Legajo 29, MN-5023*.

<sup>83</sup> In 1892, following up on Rivero's and Tschudi's *Peruvian Antiquities*, La Combe studied the structures of the Huichay Fortress and admired the strategic defence construction made by the 'skillful Incan engineers'. Ernesto de La Combe (1892), 'La Fortaleza de Huichay y el arte de la fortificación en el tiempo de los Incas', *Boletín de la Sociedad Geográfica de Lima* 2 (4–6): 146–7.



Geography of Peru'.<sup>84</sup> Men with an interest in antiquarianism met at dinners and in the city's private collections, but from the 1870s, they were increasingly also readers of the same journals, members of the same scientific societies, and visitors of the same public exhibitions.

Networks within Lima grew in depth and intensity from the 1870s, and so did international networks between Limeños and Americanists on the other side of the Atlantic. One of the visitors who came to Macedo's museum in 1876 was Adolf Bastian. Macedo 'had the pleasure of receiving [Adolf Bastian] at my home' and Bastian acquainted himself with the collection on the occasion. The two men entered in a discussion they would continue until Macedo's death in 1894.<sup>85</sup> From 1876, Macedo advised Bastian on acquisitions but also on the classification and arrangement of antiquities for the Berlin museum.<sup>86</sup> Bastian was not Macedo's only correspondent across the Atlantic. In 1878, Albin Kohn, a Prussian scholar associated with Berlin's University contacted Macedo because, via a mutual friend, he had seen photographs of antiquities from Macedo's collection. There were, Kohn wrote, so many things 'we don't know in Europe related to prehistoric artefacts in Peru' and he entreated Macedo to help him understand the meaning of one particular piece. To him and his colleagues, the object was a 'hieroglyph, and nobody has been able to resolve this enigma'.<sup>87</sup> In his reply, Macedo proceeded to correct Kohn's spelling of the names of archaeological sites he had mentioned, sent him more photographs of antiquities from his own collection for reference, and gave his opinion on the different ceramic styles represented among the photographs. Answering Kohn's

<sup>84</sup> The other commissions focused on botany, mineralogy, geography, and geology. Meliton Carvajal (1900), 'Memoria que el Presidente de la Sociedad Geográfica de Lima, capitán de navío D.M. Meliton Carvajal, presentó á la junta general en sesión de enero de 1900', *Boletín de la Sociedad Geográfica de Lima* IX (10). See also López-Ocón, 'El nacionalismo y los orígenes de la Sociedad Geográfica de Lima', 115–17.

<sup>85</sup> José Mariano Macedo (1881), 'Carta a Adolf Bastian, París, 21 de Julio', *Staatliche Museen zu Berlin—Ethnologisches Museum. Sammlung Macedo Pars I B. Litt. J.*

<sup>86</sup> See the correspondence between Macedo and Bastian during the 1880s. José Mariano Macedo (1888), 'Carta a Adolf Bastian, París, 19 de Octubre', *Staatliche Museen zu Berlin—Ethnologisches Museum: Sammlung Macedo Pars I B. Litt. J.*; José Mariano Macedo (1888), 'Carta a Adolf Bastian, París, 28 de Octubre', *Staatliche Museen zu Berlin—Ethnologisches Museum: Sammlung Macedo Pars I B. Litt. J.*

<sup>87</sup> José Mariano Macedo ([1878] 1945), 'Cartas a Albin Kohn', in Sociedad Peruana de Historia de la Medicina (ed.), *Vida y Obras de José Mariano Macedo (1823–1894)* (Lima: Sanmartí).

enquiry, Macedo explained that the antiquity was from ‘a huaca in Trujillo’.

It contains a bird, a foetus, two heads of different ages and a crane. What is the interpretation of this group? Do you know that one of the legends on the origins of the Indians is that they descended from birds? Might not this group represent the origin and the four ages of mankind?<sup>88</sup>

Lima antiquaries possessed considerable intellectual authority in the transatlantic scientific networks of the late nineteenth century. Kohn and Bastian were both professors and museum directors in the German Empire, and sought Macedo’s advice because they believed him to be knowledgeable, and an expert in the field. Macedo was invited to send papers to international congresses and archaeological societies in the United States and had his collection exhibited at the International Congresses of Americanists.<sup>89</sup> He openly criticized the lack of knowledge and accuracy European travellers occasionally betrayed—Charles Wiener was one principal object of his contempt.<sup>90</sup> Lima antiquaries read widely. Macedo’s bookshelves held the writings of European travellers like Wiener, but also recent scientific publications and journals. Macedo also possessed, next to *Ollantay*, some of the earliest studies of American antiquities published in Europe and in the Americas: the Jesuit Javier Clavijero’s *Ancient History of Mexico*, glorifying the Aztec past,<sup>91</sup> and the writings of Alexander von Humboldt, Jorge Juan, and Antonio de Ulloa, members of the joint French and Spanish expedition.<sup>92</sup> His library bears witness to the global print

<sup>88</sup> Macedo, ‘Cartas a Albin Kohn’.

<sup>89</sup> Before the 1883 Congress of the Americanists in Copenhagen, A. Worsaaac, President of the Congress, asked Macedo to attend and present a paper at the meeting. Unable to attend, Macedo sent two papers to the Congress instead. José Mariano Macedo (1887), ‘Apuntes viográficos [sic] del Dr José Mariano Macedo’, Lima, *Colección Manuscritos de José Mariano Macedo*. For the exhibition of his collection, see Gavino Pacheco Zegarra (1883), ‘Cerámica Americana’, in IV. Congreso de Americanistas (ed.), *Actas de la cuarta reunion* (Madrid: Fortanet).

<sup>90</sup> When a catalogue of his collection was published in Paris in 1881, Macedo used the foreword to voice a harsh criticism of the French traveller Charles Wiener, pointing to mistakes in the latter’s publications. Macedo, *Catalogue d’objets archéologiques du Pérou de l’ancien empire des Incas*. On Wiener’s conflictive relationship with other Latin Americans, see Riviale, ‘Charles Wiener o el disfraz de una misión lúcida’.

<sup>91</sup> For a discussion of Clavijero’s *Historia Antigua de México*, see Díaz-Andreu, *A World History of Nineteenth-Century Archaeology*, 57.

<sup>92</sup> Alcina Franch, *Arqueólogos o anticuarios*, 192.

industry that reached the Latin American market after independence,<sup>93</sup> but, primarily, to his personal networks across the Atlantic; more than once he exchanged Peruvian publications with his contacts for journals and books from Europe.<sup>94</sup> News about archaeological discoveries in the Old World, in the Mediterranean or Egypt, reached Lima and circulated rapidly within the city.<sup>95</sup> Although he hardly ever published, Macedo's private notebooks reveal he was abreast with the most recent debates in archaeology: in his notes, he commented not only on developments in Peruvian archaeology but also on the main scholarly debates in the Atlantic community: about Samuel Morton's craniology, Paleolithic finds, or pre-Columbian migrations between the Old and the New World.<sup>96</sup> During his three journeys to Europe, Macedo visited private collections of Egyptian antiquities in Liverpool, an exhibition about the Amazonian Jívaro group in Brighton, the British Museum and Crystal Palace in London, the Louvre in Paris in 1881—where he returned again and again to see the displays of Greek pottery, sketching jugs and pots in his notebooks—the museums in Vienna and Munich, and Dresden's Ethnological Museum in October 1882.<sup>97</sup> Most Lima antiquaries were, like Macedo, cosmopolitan intellectuals: in an age of letter writing, of the ever-more rapid transatlantic circulation of books

<sup>93</sup> Between 1823 and 1829, the English editor Rudolph Ackermann published over a hundred books and journals in Spanish, destined mostly for the Latin American market; by the end of 1825, there were Ackermann outlets in Argentina, Colombia, Guatemala, Peru, and Venezuela. See John Ford (1983), *Ackermann, 1783–1983: The Business of Art* (London: Ackerman). Cited in Natalia Majluf (2006), *Reproducing Nations. Types and Costumes in Asia and Latin America, ca. 1800–1860* (New York: Americas Society): 31. See also Eugenia Roldán Vera (2003), *The British Book Trade and Spanish American Independence. Education and Knowledge Transmission in Transcontinental Perspective* (Aldershot/Burlington: Ashgate Publishing, Ltd).

<sup>94</sup> Macedo remitted copies of Peruvian publications to Bastian. José Mariano Macedo (1888), 'Carta a Adolf Bastian, París, 14 de Octubre', *Staatliche Museen zu Berlin—Ethnologisches Museum. Sammlung Macedo Pars I B. Litt. J*. In his correspondence with Kohn, Macedo asked for publications from Berlin to be sent to him. Macedo, 'Cartas a Albin Kohn'.

<sup>95</sup> Limeños would occasionally feel themselves called upon to imitate European forums for Egyptian archaeology by this news, calling for the publication of archaeological photo albums and the foundation of archaeological societies in the city. D. Pretzner (1878), 'Antigüedades Peruanas. Sensible falta de Sociedades Arqueológicas en el Perú. Eminentes servicios del profesor Wiener en tanto a la paleología del Imperio de los Incas', *El Siglo. Periódico Científico y Literario de la Sociedad 'Amantes del Saber'* 4 (42).

<sup>96</sup> Macedo's notebooks reveal his awareness of these and other scientific debates. See Macedo, 'Memorandum Histórico'.

<sup>97</sup> Macedo, 'Memorandum Histórico'.

and letters, and the relative convenience of transatlantic travel, they were familiar with museums in Vienna, received publications from London, and corresponded with scholars in Berlin. Rivero had already studied engineering and natural sciences between 1810 and 1822 in Spain, at the *École des Mines* in Paris, and, following Alexander von Humboldt's advice, in Freiburg. By the time Rivero returned to Peru in 1825, he had not only built up a reputation as a scientist in Europe's scientific community, he left behind teachers, patrons, and friends he would correspond with for years to come.<sup>98</sup> Raimondi, Lorente, Gretzer, Brüning, and Malinowski were migrants, and through their journeys and their colleagues, friends, and family back home, they drew disparate localities together. Brüning maintained a network of correspondence with collectors and researchers at the museum back home in Hamburg, Lima antiquaries like Gonzaléz de la Rosa, German scholar Max Uhle, and other European antiquaries and travellers, such as Clements Markham.<sup>99</sup> Gonzaléz de la Rosa had lived and travelled for extended periods of time in Europe in the service of the Peruvian government and established contacts with the emerging circuits of Americanism and anthropology. He had attended the meetings of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland and would later, like other Lima antiquaries, be present at several Congresses of the Americanists.<sup>100</sup> Thomas Hutchinson remitted antiquities from Peru to London while he was living in Lima, and after his return remained in correspondence with Limeños.<sup>101</sup> As was so often the case in the period, the consular service was an agency for the retrieval and collection of antiquities and of knowledge about them.<sup>102</sup> When Hutchinson gave a paper about Peru's ancient burial

<sup>98</sup> For Rivero's biography, see Monique Alaperrine-Bouyer (1999), *Mariano Eduardo de Rivero en algunas de sus cartas al barón Alexander von Humboldt* (Arequipa: UNSA); Monique Alaperrine-Bouyer (2008), 'Rivero y Ustariz, Mariano Eduardo de (1798–1857)', in Pillsbury (ed.), *Guide to Documentary Sources for Andean Studies, 1530–1900*, vol. III.

<sup>99</sup> For an inventory of the written documentation and correspondence left behind by Brüning, see Teodoro Hampe Martínez (1997), 'La colección Brüning de documentos para la Etnohistoria del Perú: Inventario de sus fondos', *Revista del Archivo General de la Nación* 16.

<sup>100</sup> Riviale, 'Manuel González de la Rosa'. Pablo Patrón attended the fourteenth Congress of the Americanists in Stuttgart in 1904. (1904), 'Vierzehnte Tagung', *Internationaler Amerikanistenkongress* (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer): XXV–XXIX.

<sup>101</sup> Sociedad Geográfica de Lima, 'Personal de la Sociedad Geográfica de Lima'.

<sup>102</sup> See, for instance, Lucia Patrizio Gunning's study on the British Consular Service: Lucia Patrizio Gunning (2009), *The British Consular Service in the Aegean*

grounds at a meeting of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland in London in 1874, González de la Rosa was present in the lively discussion that followed the talk to critique Hutchinson's points and to put them right.<sup>103</sup> Men like González de la Rosa, Hutchinson, Malinowski, Rivero, and Macedo not only point to connections between scientific centres; they blur the boundaries between Europe's and North and Latin America's scientific communities; between the knowledge gained and the debates held in London and Lima, in Berlin and Philadelphia, in Paris and Cuzco. Their existence urges us to remap the emergence of modern intellectual culture as a global network of exchanges and encounters, a versatile and complex dialogue across multiple centres and regions.

One of the acquisitions Macedo recommended to Bastian was a mummy on sale at a Paris merchant. The mummy, as Macedo described it in his letter to Bastian, was holding a bundle of *kipus* in its hands, as if the person were 'reading' the knots. The *kipus* were so very rare and would, once deciphered, constitute such a precious source, 'an open book',<sup>104</sup> that, Macedo wrote, he could not but advise Bastian to contact the merchant at once. The mummy spoke to Macedo's firm belief that the Incan *kipu* in his collection had a meaning deeper and richer than that of a mnemonic device or a tool for computation: his conviction that one would be able to read it like a book once the lost key to deciphering it was found. Macedo was not alone in his belief in the *kipu's* deep yet hidden meanings. While, particularly in the immediate aftermath of the War of the Pacific, several Lima intellectuals doubted that *kipus* conveyed abstract ideas like a text or that they had served for more than purposes of accountancy and as a mnemonic device,<sup>105</sup> most antiquaries of the mid- and late nineteenth century contended that, precisely because the key to deciphering the *kipu* was lost, the possibility of a deeper, hidden meaning could not be precluded. Macedo was probably also under the influence of Rivero and Tschudi in his belief that the *kipu*

*and the Collection of Antiquities for the British Museum* (Farnham/Burlington: Ashgate Publishing, Ltd).

<sup>103</sup> Hutchinson, 'Explorations Amongst Ancient Burial Grounds'.

<sup>104</sup> Macedo, 'Carta a Adolf Bastian, Lima, 11 de Octubre'.

<sup>105</sup> Macedo's contemporary and friend, Eugenio Larrabure y Unánue, argued the *kipu* was a numerical device, employing a decimal system, 'serving to count, for, to consign abstract ideas, the *kipu* had only served as an auxiliary to memory'. Eugenio Larrabure y Unánue (1888), 'El quipu', *El Ateneo de Lima* 5 (53): 246.

transmitted complex information. In their atlas, Rivero and Tschudi maintained that the ‘Peruvians’ used the *khipu* under Incan rule ‘in place of characters’. The knots were first applied for purposes of numeration alone, they wrote, but with time they also came to express ‘historical relations, laws and decrees, so that they could transmit to their descendants the most striking events of the empire; and thus the Quippus might supply the place of documents and chronicles’.<sup>106</sup> According to the colour applied, the mode of intertwining the knots, and the twisting, they explained, the threads acquired different meanings. Macedo’s notebooks retain detailed descriptions and measurements of the *khipu* in his collection. He emphasized, like Rivero and Tschudi, that the distance of the knots from the junction of the thread with the base cord, and even the mode of twisting or braiding the thread, the spin, and ply direction, were of some importance to a proper understanding—a position that underlies investigations at present.<sup>107</sup> Rivero and Macedo had some intention or hope of retrieving the information stored in the *khipus*, but their emphasis on the complexity of the *khipu*—the likelihood of it being a form of writing—may also be ascribed to their wish to demonstrate Incan advancement in conjectural and philosophical histories of progress.<sup>108</sup> Macedo and Rivero allowed for the possibility that the Inca had known scripture because they wished their readers and correspondents to ‘do justice’ to the ‘surprising’ cultural advancement among the Inca;<sup>109</sup> because they believed in the progress and sophistication of Incan civilization. Their confidence is typical of the years prior to the War of the Pacific, when positive readings of the Inca—and their faculties—still prevailed.

To Lima antiquaries, the *khipus* were but one of ‘many means of transmission used in the ancient Tahuantinsuyu’: Macedo and his contemporaries sought to read text in the indecipherable *khipus*, but also in the drawings on monuments and textiles, and more particularly, in the ancient ceramics (see Figure 2.4).<sup>110</sup> Even though Macedo and his contemporaries were aware of the period’s debates about

<sup>106</sup> For Rivero’s and Tschudi’s observations on the *khipu*, see Rivero y Ustariz and Tschudi, *Peruvian Antiquities*, 104–7.

<sup>107</sup> Brokaw, ‘Toward Deciphering the Khipu’, 574.

<sup>108</sup> Cañizares Esguerra, *How to Write the History of the New World*, 60–129.

<sup>109</sup> Macedo, ‘Cartas a Albin Kohn’.

<sup>110</sup> Larrabure y Unánue, ‘El quipu’, 244; Manuel O. Tamayo (1909), ‘La uta en el Perú’, *Boletín de la Sociedad Geográfica de Lima* XXV (1): 1.



Fig. 2.4. A photograph depicting sculpted ceramics from the collection of José Mariano Macedo. The imprint on the photograph identifies Rafael Castillo as its photographer and reveals that the image was exhibited at the 1877 Exhibition of Art and Archaeology in Lima. In 1890, the Berlin Ethnological Museum acquired the photograph from a vendor by the name of Julio Ludowieg.

prehistoric archaeology, the quest for the material traces of the primitive origins of mankind—coarse stone tools or arrowheads—did not guide their endeavours. Lima's collectors chose the beautiful and the elaborate over shards or coarse pieces. Like Americanists in Europe or North America at the time, Peru's antiquaries were susceptible to Andean antiquities' aesthetics.<sup>111</sup> In Macedo's collection, as Dávalos y Lissón observed, one looked 'in vain' for the stone works that transported the observer to the 'primitive times of mankind'.<sup>112</sup> Gretzer similarly chose only the 'beautiful and very artistic things' for his collection.<sup>113</sup> Some of the ceramics in Eduard Gaffron's collection retain traces of restoration works; as in early modern Spanish or Italian classicism, Peruvians valued the intact piece over the fragment, the aesthetic appeal of an antiquity over its inviolacy.<sup>114</sup> The antiquaries' quest for sophistication and elaborateness was, however, significant beyond the favourable impression the pieces were meant to cause. In his letter to the Numismatic and Antiquarian Society of Philadelphia, Macedo advised his correspondents to look for pieces from the area to the north of Lima for their collections, in the provinces that had been 'under the dominion of the great Chimú' prior to their conquest by the Inca.<sup>115</sup> The pottery of that area, Macedo wrote, was fine and light, and the depictions of human heads were so accurate in their proportions and in their depictions of facial expressions that they 'equalled those wrought by the chisel of the Renaissance'.<sup>116</sup> Macedo's recommendation to collect on the north coast, a space with a long tradition of sculptured ceramics, with stirrup bottles and other closed forms depicting both religious and genre themes,<sup>117</sup> echoes his fondness for the aesthetically appealing, but above all, a preference for the figurative that pervaded the formation of his collection (see Figures 2.5 to 2.7). Over 1,200

<sup>111</sup> See for instance E.T. Hamy (1882), 'Les collections péruviennes du docteur Macedo, *Revue d'Ethnographie* 1: 71.

<sup>112</sup> Ricardo Dávalos y Lissón, 'La colección de antigüedades peruanas del doctor Macedo', *El Comercio (Lima)*, 16 de Febrero 1876.

<sup>113</sup> Cited in Hoffmann, 'Posibilidades y limitaciones'.

<sup>114</sup> Schmitz, *Geschenke der Ahnen*, 9. On early-modern restorations, see Mora Rodríguez, *La arqueología clásica española en el siglo XVIII*, 49.

<sup>115</sup> Macedo, 'Communication', 16.

<sup>116</sup> Macedo, 'Communication', 16.

<sup>117</sup> Karen Olsen Bruhns (1994), *Ancient South America* (Cambridge World Archaeology; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press): 131.





Fig. 2.5. A photograph depicting sculpted ceramics from the collection of José Mariano Macedo. Photographer: Rafael Castillo.



Fig. 2.6. A photograph depicting two sculpted ceramics from the collection of José Mariano Macedo. Photographer: Rafael Castillo.

entries in Macedo's 1881 collection catalogue described ceramics from coastal sites: from Cajamarca, from Ancón or Pachacamac near Lima, and from Lambayeque, Casma, and Chimbote on the very north of the country's coastline. Only very few additions came from the Andes, from Recuay, or from Puno and Cuzco in



Fig. 2.7. A photograph depicting thirteen figurines from the collection of José Mariano Macedo. A thematic arrangement, the figurines all represent sleeping men: they lie or recline, with their eyes closed, next to and on top of each other. The photograph was taken by Rafael Castillo, sometime between the opening of Castillo's Lima studio in 1874 and the sale of the photograph to the Berlin Ethnological Museum by Julio Ludowieg in 1890.

the southern highlands.<sup>118</sup> Macedo's sculptured or painted ceramics depicted people sleeping, dancing, kneeling, or carrying children, his head busts emotions, grimaces, caricatures, 'laughter; [...] nobility and dignity'. The Recuay pieces, all made of fine white kaolin clay, highly decorated by both modelling and slip painting in red, brown, and black, likewise bore images: a woman and a man embracing each other, men playing instruments, or a warrior in his armour.<sup>119</sup> One of the visitors to Macedo's museum related that, in walking through the rooms, one encountered at every turn ceramics that represented

scenes of the administration, the cults, or the way of life. A castle with guardians and loopholes, [...] a miniature of one of these astounding fortresses, like Ollantaytambo and Sacsahuaman; [...] and one can see

<sup>118</sup> The catalogue described over two thousand pieces in 1574 entries; 1,209 of the entries designated ceramics. Macedo, *Catalogue d'objets archéologiques du Pérou de l'ancien empire des Incas*.

<sup>119</sup> See catalogue entries 73–224, Macedo, *Catalogue d'objets archéologiques*.

councils of *caciques*, presided over by the *curacas*; [...] dancers with dresses and extravagant adornments; funeral scenes modeled or in bas-relief [...] beggars with a rope tied around their necks; flautists; [...] and hundreds more like that.<sup>120</sup>

In a letter to Bastian, Macedo explained his 'method' in studying the antiquities in his collection: he sought to read 'allegories' in them; 'condensed stories', he wrote. Macedo's quest for pieces conveying narratives and themes speaks to his iconographic approach: his quest for the pieces' deeper meanings or content, the hidden references to visual and literary sources, and allusions to cultural, social, and historical facts. With his letter to Bastian, Macedo remitted a copper piece for the Berlin museum that represented four men surrounding a fifth. The latter was seated and adorned with a necklace of skulls, holding a bird in his left hand and a beaker in his right hand. Macedo's private library held Garcilaso de la Vega's *Royal Commentaries*, next to the chronicles of Agustín de Zárate, Fernando Montesinos, and Pedro de Cieza de León.<sup>121</sup> Drawing on standardized narratives about Incan rule reminiscent of the panegyric Garcilaso's *Commentaries* had crafted, Macedo 'read' the copper piece as an allegory of Incan rule, of the Incas' 'Paternal Theocracy':<sup>122</sup> the four faces surrounding the central figure represented the four parts of Tahuantinsuyu, and the man on the throne 'Manco Capac or one of his brothers'. While the necklace represented the Incas' military strength, the bird, Macedo conjectured, symbolized their mercy and generosity with subject populations, whereas the beaker, in turn, might hold the Incas' favourite beverage, *chicha*.<sup>123</sup> Moving back and forth between literary and non-literary evidence as antiquaries had done ever since the early seventeenth century, Macedo took artefacts and images as evidence of 'historical facts'.<sup>124</sup> When Macedo supplied Eugenio Larrabure with the plate depicting 'prisoners, naked or with their noses bleeding' both interpreted the scene as an occasion

<sup>120</sup> Dávalos y Lissón, 'La colección de antigüedades peruanas del doctor Macedo', 6–7.

<sup>121</sup> Macedo, 'Memorandum Histórico'.

<sup>122</sup> Macedo, 'Carta a Albin Kohn'.

<sup>123</sup> Macedo, 'Carta a Adolf Bastian, París, 19 de Octubre'.

<sup>124</sup> Peter Burke (2003), 'Images as Evidence in Seventeenth-Century Europe', *Journal of the History of Ideas* 64 (2): 293. Podgorny places Burke's work in relation to late-colonial antiquarianism in Mexico. Podgorny, 'The Reliability of the Ruins'.

in the conflicts between Incan and Chimú soldiers.<sup>125</sup> As much as Macedo sought to understand the copper figurine through Garcilaso de la Vega's narratives about Incan rule, the writings of Cieza de León and Fernando Montesinos about the Incan conquest of the polity of Gran Chimú made Macedo and Larrabure look for familiar textual references in the plate.<sup>126</sup> Even though the division between the three historical communities of antiquarianism, archaeology, and history had supposedly crystallized clearly by the 1880s in Europe,<sup>127</sup> Americanists all over Europe and the Americas continued to transcend the relationship between history and the text and between archaeology and the artefact at the time: they focused their reflections on individual artefacts—like Limeños and Cuzqueños, working with close attention to iconographic detail and carefully searching in extant written sources.<sup>128</sup>

Unlike Cuzco antiquaries, who forged a one-dimensional, timeless Incan antiquity, Lima antiquaries identified distinctive and pre-Incan cultural formations because they had found them mentioned in the chronicles or because, based on typological juxtapositions, their visual style set them apart from a material culture associated with the Inca. The antiquaries knew Nazca, Chavín, Chimú, and Recuay as distinct realms. Chavín de Huántar was a frequent destination for foreign and Peruvian travellers during the nineteenth century—Rivero, Raimondi, Wiener, and Middendorf visited it. It was well known to them as an important pre-Incan religious centre, partly from the writings of Vazquez de Espinosa and Jesuit missions in the early seventeenth century, and partly owing to a distinctly non-Inca style of stone sculpture. Already Middendorf identified it as the capital of an early empire that had included sites in the Casma Valley and other coastal and highland sites. The idea that its influence may have extended beyond local groups was proposed long before 1919, when Julio C. Tello began to devote his early career to establishing that Chavín de Huántar was the source from which Andean civilization spread to the northern, central, and southern highlands and

<sup>125</sup> Larrabure y Unánue, 'La fortaleza de Paramonga', 212–13.

<sup>126</sup> Montesinos mentioned the 'warlike Chimos', their long resistance to the Incas, and their final defeat by Tupac Yupanqui. See Philip Ainsworth Means (ed.) (1920), *Memorias antiguas del Perú*, by Fernando Montesinos, trans. Ainsworth Means, Philip (London: Hakluyt Society): 42–5, 115–17.

<sup>127</sup> Levine, *The Amateur and the Professional*, 38–9.

<sup>128</sup> Williams, 'Art and Artifact at the Trocadéro'.

beyond.<sup>129</sup> Years before Macedo and Larrabure, Rivero and Paz Soldán had already recognized in Chimú an independent, pre-Incan polity. Rivero visited and studied the ruins of Gran Chimú near Trujillo in 1841, and Mateo Paz Soldán's *Geography of Peru* recorded the site of Chan Chan and credited the 'Chimu Reign' with the 'admirable monuments', irrigation works, and 'impregnable' fortress built to fend off an Incan invasion.<sup>130</sup> Several scholars, travellers, and geographers in the second half of the nineteenth century mentioned and described the ancient aqueducts of Nazca. The site was a preferred destination for collectors—and looters—long before 1900.<sup>131</sup> When Macedo acquired a collection of 160 'special and important' Recuay ceramics from a planter near Huaraz, in Ancash, he thought the ceramics' fine white clay, painted with black-and-red figures portraying animals and humans, so characteristic and distinct,

that after looking at one, all the rest appear made from the same type and in such a uniform manner that it is impossible to confound them with the faces of the other pottery of the Incan Empire. [...] This leads

<sup>129</sup> Richard L. Burger (2008), 'Chavín de Huántar and Its Sphere of Influence', in Silverman, Helaine, and Isbell, William H. (eds.), *Handbook of South American Archaeology* (Springer: New York), 681–703, 682.

<sup>130</sup> Several of the antiquaries under consideration took up the narrative about Chimú resistance. On Paz Soldán's, Macedo's, and Rivero's and Tschudi's observations on the Chimú, see Macedo, 'Communication', 17; Mateo Paz Soldán (1862), *Geografía del Perú, obra póstuma de D.D. Mateo Paz Soldán, corr. y aum. por su hermano Mariano Felipe Paz Soldán* (Paris: Fermin Didot Hermanos & Hijos): 215; Rivero y Ustariz and Tschudi, *Peruvian Antiquities*, 266.

<sup>131</sup> For descriptions of Nazca sites, see 'Ica', *La Integridad*, 1 March 1890, sec. Sección Nacional; Blanchard, *Markham in Peru. The Travels of Clements R. Markham, 1852–1853*, 50; M. Cáplan (1859), *Geografía descriptiva del Perú compuesta por M. Cáplan teniendo por base los trabajos especiales de Weddell, Gillis, Herndon, Tschudi, Rivero & propias observaciones* (Lima: Tipografía Americana): 32; Antonio Raimondi (1895), 'Ayacucho. Itinerario de los viajes de Raimondi en el Perú', *Boletín de la Sociedad Geográfica de Lima* 5 (1–3): 48; Sociedad Amantes del Saber (1874), 'Prospecto', *El Siglo. Periódico Científico y Literario de la Sociedad 'Amantes del Saber'* 1 (1). Mariano Felipe Paz Soldán also mentioned the Nazca site in his 'Diccionario', but like most of his contemporaries credited the Inca with its construction. Paz Soldán, *Diccionario Geográfico Estadístico del Perú. Contiene además la etimología aymara y quechua de las principales poblaciones, lagos, ríos, cerros, etc. etc.*, 609. Thomas J. Hutchinson suggested the site might have been built before the Incas. Hutchinson, *Two Years in Peru*, 19. As for references to looting, see for instance Teodorico Olaechea (1877), 'El oro de Ica', *El Siglo. Periódico Científico y Literario de la Sociedad 'Amantes del Saber'* 3 (32, 35): 131.

one to think that the pre-Incarial civilization of this place maintained itself isolated and independent until the close of the Empire.<sup>132</sup>

Macedo recognized a distinct visual tradition in Recuay—a style (c. 300 BC–AD 600) still largely defined on the basis of its characteristic ornate funerary vessels—and associated it with cultural and temporal distance from the Inca. Several of Macedo’s contemporaries proposed models of chronological development. Pablo Chalón, in his work on pre-Columbian building techniques, established a chronology for prehistory and classified the known pre-Columbian sites according to architectural style, with Chimú falling, together with Pachacamac, Cañete, Huánuco Viejo, and Vilcashuamán, into the historical or pre-Incan period.<sup>133</sup> Early twentieth-century scholars such as Max Uhle or Julio C. Tello would establish the first lasting chronologies for pre-Incan cultures based on stratigraphic excavations, but Lima antiquaries had long questioned the idea that the Incas had civilized previously lawless and uncultured peoples.

The weight of having a piece’s accurate locality assigned augmented concomitantly in places like Berlin, Lima, or Chicago by the 1880s and 1890s. Macedo translated his idea that Recuay had been a pre-Incan, an ‘isolated and independent’, civilization, into the order in which he displayed his collection: he reserved a specific section for the Recuay artefacts. At the time, several Lima collectors were known to arrange, catalogue, or exhibit their antiquities by ‘ethnographic group and by locality’.<sup>134</sup> Macedo assured Bastian that even the merchants from whom he purchased things—Mr Pasta, Mr Mativorena, Mr Risar, Mr Reyneya, or Mr Landazuri—were careful and knowledgeable, and that they would ‘assign [the antiquities] their legitimate

<sup>132</sup> For José Mariano Macedo’s reflections on Recuay, see Macedo, ‘Communication’, 17. According to Villacorta, Raimondi was also aware of Recuay stylistic commonalities. Luis Felipe Villacorta Ostolaza (2006), ‘Antonio Raimondi y el departamento de Ancachs: historia y construcción de un vínculo científico, personal y simbólico’, in Villacorta Ostolaza, Luis Felipe (ed.), *El departamento de Ancachs y sus riquezas minerales (1873)* (Lima: Fondo Editorial UNMSM): 85.

<sup>133</sup> Chalón, ‘Los edificios del Antiguo Perú’.

<sup>134</sup> For the order of Macedo’s museum on display, see Hamy, ‘Les collections péruviennes du docteur Macedo’, 68. Tello and Xesspe also mention that Espantoso recorded and displayed the geographical provenance of his artefacts. Tello and Mejía Xesspe, ‘Historia de los museos nacionales del Perú’, 46.

provenance'.<sup>135</sup> By the time an institution like the Columbian Museum of Chicago—founded in 1893 and renamed Field Columbian Museum in 1894—pioneered a card catalogue that retained, among other things, the mode of acquisition and the provenance of any given antiquity,<sup>136</sup> Lima collectors had already begun to group their possessions by provenance and to retain the mode of acquisition. Considering that the roughly contemporary exhibition of *Americana* in connection with the Universal Exposition of 1878 in Paris displayed the antiquities without any consistent distinction between different locales or cultural areas, and regardless of provenance or dating,<sup>137</sup> Lima scholars in their attention to provenance and stylistic difference were often leading, rather than following, developments in Europe and the Americas.

Alongside typology, excavation, and the authority of the chronicles, the testimony of 'Indians' became a means to determine the meaning, age, or interest of antiquities. To Rivero and Tschudi, verbal commentary indicating a *kipu*'s subject matter was necessary in order to decipher it,<sup>138</sup> serving a purpose akin to the clef in a musical notation. Attempts to read the *kipu* accurately still failed, Rivero lamented, for, even though he understood the meaning of some single knots, the meaning of the conjunctions was wanting.<sup>139</sup> But even with the advantage of a verbal commentary to explain the subject matter of a *kipu*, Rivero and Tschudi believed, deciphering it

[...] would still require the aid of the most skilful *quippu-camayoc*. We think that there are still, in the southern provinces of Peru, Indians who know very well how to decipher these intricate memorials, but they guard their knowledge as a sacred secret, inherited from their ancestors.<sup>140</sup>

<sup>135</sup> José Mariano Macedo (1882), 'Catálogo de la colección de Antigüedades Peruanas del Dr José M. Macedo', *Staatliche Museen zu Berlin—Ethnologisches Museum. Sammlung Macedo Pars I B. Litt. J.*

<sup>136</sup> The Columbian Museum of Chicago founded in 1893—renamed Field Columbian Museum in 1894—pioneered a card catalogue that retained among other data the ways in which the object had been acquired, its provenance, and find date. Irina Podgorny (2011), 'Introducción', *Un repositorio nacional para la ciencia y el arte* (Cuadernos de museología; Bogotá: Sistema de patrimonio cultural y museos): 18.

<sup>137</sup> Williams, 'Art and Artifact at the Trocadero', 152.

<sup>138</sup> Rivero y Ustariz and Tschudi, *Peruvian Antiquities*, 111.

<sup>139</sup> Brokaw, 'Toward Deciphering the Khipu', 574.

<sup>140</sup> Rivero y Ustariz and Tschudi, *Peruvian Antiquities*, 104–7.

Rivero's idea that 'the Indians knew very well' how to decipher the *khipu*, but that they guarded their knowledge 'as a sacred secret, inherited from their ancestors', likewise pervaded the writings of his contemporaries. Antonio Raimondi believed, like Rivero, that the 'Indians in the provinces of Jauja and Huancayo still maintain many of their ancient customs'; and he had observed how they 'still' used the *khipu* for their accounts.<sup>141</sup> Raimondi and Rivero saw other things 'in use' that belonged, like the *khipu*, in their eyes, to the past. Raimondi recorded that the *chaquitaclla*, an instrument in use in the Andes in the shape of a large crosscut chisel that ended in a bevelled edge, was identical to those *chaquitacllas* discovered in the *huacas*.<sup>142</sup> Rivero wrote that the Indians preferred pre-Columbian textiles, jugs, and tools for their domestic purposes 'to the pots and jugs made by our artisans'.<sup>143</sup> The Indians made 'no use at all of what comes from outside';<sup>144</sup> they clung, as José Hipólito Unánue had already written in 1791, to 'their antiquities', tenaciously preserving and guarding them.<sup>145</sup> The Indians 'still' knew, 'still' used, 'still' retained a material culture that men like Unánue or Rivero associated with the pre-Columbian past. They held the key to deciphering the *khipu*, this 'intricate memorial', because unlike Creoles, they maintained a privileged, intimate connection with 'their ancestors'.

From around 1800 the stereotype of the inscrutable Indian, traceable in Rivero's writings on the *khipu*, developed into an obsession for Lima scientists, collectors, and explorers. The 'Indians' knew of hidden treasures, had recounted stories about the past from generation to generation; and yet they would not speak to Creoles but concealed their knowledge from them.<sup>146</sup> Lima's antiquaries urgently needed the help

<sup>141</sup> Antonio Raimondi (1896), 'Itinerario de los viajes de Raimondi. De Lima á las montañas de Huancayo, Tarma, Pampa de Junín y Cerro de Pasco', *Boletín de la Sociedad Geográfica de Lima* 5 (4-6): 129.

<sup>142</sup> Raimondi, 'Itinerario de los viajes de Raimondi'.

<sup>143</sup> Mariano Eduardo de Rivero y Ustariz (1857), 'Antigüedades peruanas. Extracto publicado en 1841', in Rivero y Ustariz, Mariano Eduardo de (ed.), *Colección de memorias científicas, agrícolas é industriales publicadas en distintas épocas* (2; Brussels: Imprenta de H. Goemaere): 61.

<sup>144</sup> Antonio Raimondi (1906), 'Itinerario de los viajes de Raimondi en el Perú. De Llata á Huánuco y regreso por las provincias de Huamalíes y Cajatambo á Lima', *Boletín de la Sociedad Geográfica de Lima* XIX (3): 418.

<sup>145</sup> Unánue, 'Idea general de los monumentos del Antiguo Perú', 202.

<sup>146</sup> On the stereotype of the 'inscrutable Indian', see Chapter 8 in Majluf, *The Creation of the Image of the Indian*.



of those who, as they invariably believed, knew the right way to, or the 'true' meaning of, the archaeological site or object. Larrabure and Raimondi invariably looked for guides, most frequently agricultural labourers and farm hands, to help them locate and excavate ancient burials. Complaints about these labourers' unwillingness to collaborate constituted a recurrent motif in the period's travel accounts. Larrabure stated that the men thought excavating burials would bring them misfortune.<sup>147</sup> Raimondi complained in a similar vein, lamenting that the Indians [ . . . ] have a thousand preoccupations [ . . . ] and say that if they remove the earth from the gentiles they will fall ill and get the *chacho*. With this name they designate a particular disease, the symptoms of which are pains in the body, some sort of melancholy, and loss of weight that many times leads to death.<sup>148</sup>

Ever since the early colonial period, local residents, or others who felt a connection with those buried in ancient graves, had resisted excavations, and had refused to collaborate or tried to sabotage them.<sup>149</sup> The collectors and students of archaeological materials invariably interpreted this resistance as the cultural persistence of beliefs and customs they associated with the pre-Columbian period. Macedo explained that it was difficult to obtain pottery from the Cuzco area because 'the Indians did not permit the excavation of their tombs', as they 'retained even to the present day great veneration and respect for the relics of their forefathers'.<sup>150</sup> Andeans' resistance to looting and excavations was considered irrevocable proof of their connection with the pre-Columbian past. Like their continued use of the *kipu* it exposed their intimate bond and relationship with 'their forefathers'. As among Cuzco antiquaries, to Limeños it reasoned a close, intimate connection between the pre-Columbian inhabitants of the Andes and their living counterparts.

Rivero and Tschudi, like Raimondi, apparently witnessed the making and use of cord registries in the Andes. They chose to see the reading of the *kipu* as a practice that connected the registries' owners

<sup>147</sup> Eugenio Larrabure y Unánue (1874), *Cañete. Apuntes geográficos, históricos, estadísticos y arqueológicos* (Lima: Imprenta del Estado): 231.

<sup>148</sup> Antonio Raimondi (1895), 'Itinerario de los viajes de Raimondi en el Perú. De Lima a las montañas de Huanuco, Tarma, Pampa de Junín y Cerro de Pasco', *Boletín de la Sociedad Geográfica de Lima* 5 (4–6): 158.

<sup>149</sup> See, for instance, Susan Ramírez' study of Chimú burials, and the Chimús' various attempts to defend their ancestors' graves from Spanish looting. See Chapter 5 in Ramírez, *The World Upside Down*.

<sup>150</sup> Macedo, 'Communication', 18.

with the pre-Columbian past, rather than seeing it as a means to record and to communicate information, a tool with a practical end, and one element in a diverse, complex social environment. So many of the references in antiquaries' writings reveal the manifold practices relating to pre-Columbian materials witnessed by antiquaries. Reports shed light on how 'antiquities' were collected and put to new uses in the villages surrounding ancient sites, in the homes of peasants, workers, and local authorities alike. In the descriptions by Raimondi and others, a broad range of socially heterogeneous individuals collected things they associated with an ancient past at home, incorporated them in the structures of their buildings, or excavated them to sell them, use them, or protect them from destruction. During his visit to the ruined 'castle' of Chavín in the Andes in 1860,<sup>151</sup> Antonio Raimondi found, in the house of a local farmer, Timoteo Espinoza, a carved stele,<sup>152</sup> a rectangular granite block (see Figure 2.8) with carvings depicting 'a man holding in his hands sceptres resembling snakes'—as Raimondi suspected, a representation of an 'evil genius'.<sup>153</sup> Like Espinoza, other inhabitants of Chavín village had taken artefacts and fragments from the ruins to their homes. Raimondi mentions Juan Palacios, who had ancient lion heads encrusted over the walls of his house,<sup>154</sup> and other sources reveal how carved stones had been incorporated into the local church's façade.<sup>155</sup> The village of Chavín was no exception in that matter. In the Andean village of Chiquián, not far from Chavín in the highlands, an ancient textile 'of very fine manufacture and symbolic decoration' had hung for decades on the church's wall.<sup>156</sup> Larrabure related that, although generally unwilling to collaborate in

<sup>151</sup> Prior to Raimondi's visit, Mariano Eduardo de Rivero described the ruins in Chapter 10 of his *Peruvian Antiquities*. Rivero y Ustariz and Tschudi, *Peruvian Antiquities*.

<sup>152</sup> Villacorta Ostolaza, 'Antonio Raimondi y el departamento de Ancachs', 46.

<sup>153</sup> The stele evolved into an emblematic object of Chavín culture—the 'Raimondi Stela'—and is today exhibited in the Museo Nacional de Arqueología, Antropología e Historia in Lima. Jorge Guillermo Llosa (ed.) (1966), *Antonio Raimondi. Viajes por el Perú* (Lima: Editorial Universitaria): 89.

<sup>154</sup> Cited in Llosa (ed.), *Antonio Raimondi. Viajes por el Perú*.

<sup>155</sup> Max Uhle (1911), 'Carta al Director General, Lima, 6 de Marzo', in *Archivo del Museo Nacional de Arqueología, Antropología e Historia. Legajo 25, MN-3986*.

<sup>156</sup> Emilio Gutiérrez de Quintanilla (1916), 'Carta al Director Jeneral de Instrucción, Lima, 1 de Abril', *Archivo del Museo Nacional de Arqueología, Antropología e Historia. Legajo 29, MN-4399*.



Fig. 2.8. Photograph of the 'Raimondi Monolith', the stela found at Chavín de Huántar by Antonio Raimondi.

archaeological excavations, the inhabitants of the coastal town of Cañete went 'looting [*huaquear*] for themselves' on Saint Lawrence's Day—the name day of Lawrence, a Roman deacon, on 10 August—'taking with them some little jug that serves them as a mascot'.<sup>157</sup> Macedo related, in a similar vein, how only on Good Friday, 'through a kind of superstition', as he put it, had it become acceptable among several of the locals to open burial sites in Cuzco.<sup>158</sup> Those who prospected graves and took ancient artefacts were from a variety of backgrounds; some of them looted while they still believed in the need for offerings to the dead and the continued power of the deceased over their lives. Raimondi wrote that the majority of the 'populace', as he called them, held the graves in high esteem, whereas some regarded them with indifference. A certain Timoteo Condor in Pumamarca 'found in his *chacra* a large number of ancient skeletons'. Raimondi writes that he could not convince the man to show him the site, although he offered to pay him. Later, Raimondi 'learned that Condor had placed coca in the mouths of some corpses and had given others cigarettes, in the hope that they, out of gratitude, would show him a burial [site]'. Raimondi also recorded several incidents of 'looting'; the wilful destruction of graves for the sake of 'treasure hunting' by people Raimondi calls 'Indians'.<sup>159</sup> Condor and the other looters Raimondi refers to embody the variety of possible relations men and women entertained with regard to pre-Columbian tombs. As Gabriela Ramos has pointed out for the early colonial period, while several funerary monuments came into disuse and bodies were increasingly buried outside churches, other, apparently abandoned sites, continued to be visited or even used, and some in the Andes made offerings to ancestors who had lived before the European invasion. As in the case of Condor, those making offerings were sometimes the same as those who plundered the tombs hoping to find treasures, whether because they were obliged by others, because one was the grave of a family member or relation and the other not, or because they had their own, material interest in the objects.<sup>160</sup> The Indians' privileged connection with the past—the idea that they mirrored the

<sup>157</sup> Larrabure y Unánue, *Cañete*.

<sup>158</sup> Macedo, 'Communication'.

<sup>159</sup> Antonio Raimondi (1903), 'Enumeración de los vestigios de la antigua civilización entre Pacasmayo y la Cordillera', *Boletín de la Sociedad Geográfica de Lima* 13: 166.

<sup>160</sup> See the conclusion, in Ramos Cárdenas, *Death and Conversion in the Andes*.

past in their beliefs and practices—was, above all, a scholarly discourse. Lima's antiquaries invented a symbolic Indian, 'still' closely connected with the pre-Columbian past, not because that was what they saw, but because that was what they chose to see.

References to the 'native informer', whose 'fantastic' narrations required material or other evidence to be believable, abound in foreign and Peruvian travellers' writings. As invariably as every Lima traveller required a local 'assistant', or advice and guidance from the local population, the given information was labelled as unreliable. Antonio Raimondi, when describing the ruins of Tarmatambo, wondered about the meaning of numerous niches built into the ruins. He related that the local population told him these niches contained mirrors made of iron or pyrite sulphide, which they commonly called the Incan stone mirror. He added, however, that one could 'not believe the inhabitants of the place because they invent the most naïve legends when they talk about these ruins'.<sup>161</sup> Oral history about the past was usually subject to what scholars referred to as 'rigid scrutiny' in Peru and in various parts of Europe's imperial and former colonial possessions. Historians have found that under the British Empire, the colonizers often relied on local and popular traditions to create knowledge while dismissing and surpassing such discourses rhetorically.<sup>162</sup> As historians working on Australian prehistory have observed, scholars dismissed local knowledge on the grounds that the accounts did not comply with what constituted disciplinary expectations, because of the different ways in which temporalities were constructed or because of the subordinate position of oral histories in the hierarchy of Western knowledge.<sup>163</sup> The peculiar reliability and unreliability of Indian knowledge in Peru, however, was also closely related to the broken chain that connected, and at the same time disconnected, the population from their pre-Columbian ancestors: to the coupling of authenticity and inferiority. Living Andeans' connection with the ancient past was of a peculiar kind: their sameness with their 'ancestors' placed them in

<sup>161</sup> Raimondi, 'De Lima a las montañas de Huanuco, Tarma, Pampa de Junín y Cerro de Pasco. Itinerario de los viajes de Raimondi en el Perú', 155.

<sup>162</sup> Sujit Sivasundaram (2007), 'Buddhist Kingship, British Archaeology and Historical Narratives in Sri Lanka c. 1750–1850', *Past and Present* 197: 137–8.

<sup>163</sup> Bryce Barker (2006), 'Hierarchies of Knowledge and the Tyranny of Text: Archaeology, Ethnohistory and Oral Traditions in Australian Archaeological Interpretation', in David, Bruno, Barker, Bryce, and Mcniven, Ian J. (eds.), *The Social Archaeology of Australian Indigenous Societies* (Canberra: Aboriginal Studies Press): 81.

direct continuity with the past, but, as in the eyes of Cuzco scholars, at the same time it epitomized their failure to evolve from it towards modernity.

Living Indians had not only failed to evolve from what their ancestors had been, they were even degraded; had fallen from that ancient greatness. Particularly in the aftermath of the War of the Pacific, the conception of a glorious Incan past gave way to more resigned judgements about the despotic character of Incan rule and the idea that the abiding legacy of Incan despotism and Spanish oppression had predisposed the indigenous population to passivity and stagnation.<sup>164</sup> Larrabure, relating local oral history about the Laguna de Condorcoto, a point of departure for pre-Columbian irrigation channels, doubted the channels had been destroyed in a Spanish revenge act, as the villagers claimed. The inhabitants of the place had both built the channels and were to be blamed for their decay. 'The [inhabitants of Chilca] were the authors of this work, truly a great merit that reveals the rigour, constancy and knowledge of engineering among their ancestors; and their inexplicable abandonment accuses only the[ir] indolence and apathy [. . .].'<sup>165</sup> The inhabitants of Chilca were ultimately the same people, only their living representatives no longer had the skills and knowledge of their ancestors; they had become apathetic and indolent. Or, as Luis Carranza phrased it around the same time:

[. . .] they live like their ancestors: they have the same habits, the same preoccupations, the same spirit, to the extent that there is no variation in their culture and aspirations at all: they are today what they were before and as they will always be, as long as their race exists [. . .] As we can see, [their race] has suffered profound modifications in their intellectuality under the impact of Spanish society: they have forgotten their history, which is for a people as if they had lost their conscience: [their race] has lost the memory of its traditions, of its history, and with it all reminiscence of Incan theocracy; but it has continued in its

<sup>164</sup> Mark Thurner argues that Lima intellectuals drew on William Prescott's 'History of the Conquest of Peru', which blamed the decline of the indigenous population on an abiding legacy of Incan despotism. Thurner, 'Peruvian Genealogies of History and Nation', 163.

<sup>165</sup> The original publication date is not indicated in the edited volume of Larrabure y Unánue's writings. Eugenio Larrabure y Unánue (1935), 'Ruinas prehistóricas en la provincia de Cañete', in Larrabure y Correa, Carlos (ed.), *Manuscritos y Publicaciones de Eugenio Larrabure y Unanue* (2; Lima: Imprenta Americana).

superstitious spirit, its social habits and customs, and maintained its intelligence in the same narrow field in which that of its ancestors moved. [...] <sup>166</sup>

The Indians were today—and in this, Carranza and Larrabure did not disagree with earlier authors—the same they had always been: they perpetuated their ancestors' habits and spirit, and their—ever-more—evil tendencies, their superstition, and narrow intelligence. Unlike earlier authors, however, Limeños had come to believe by the late 1880s that the Indians had even degenerated from what their ancestors had been: they had forgotten their history and lost the memory of what they had once known and been. Present-day cultural practices reminiscent of Incan times were deadened, blunted, meaningless acts; the people's habits, spirit, and culture were a shell, void and without reason.

By the beginning of the twentieth century, about a decade after Macedo passed away in 1894, the *kipu* had likewise come to signify not only Indians' connection with the past but also their degeneration from it, and their inferiority in comparison with it. In a 1907 article on Incan *kipus*, Enrique de Guimaraes argued—like Macedo, Rivero and Tschudi, and Unánue had before him—that to be able to read Incan *kipus* required a key that had got lost with the demise of the last *kipucamayocs*. In his article about the *kipu*, Guimaraes attacked Max Uhle, who had asserted close continuities between the Incan and the modern-day *kipu*. Uhle believed that the cords in use in the Andes at this time maintained the basic organizing principles of the ancient, Incan *kipu*, and that both modern and ancient *kipus* had served but for registry, as numerical devices.<sup>167</sup> Contrary to Uhle's assertions about a cultural continuity between the ancient and modern *kipus*—both mere numerical devices to Uhle—Guimaraes argued that the modern *kipus* in use in the Andes were but a 'memory', a shadow, of the Incan *kipu*, which had been a complicated writing system. Modern *kipus* were less complex, 'a degeneration of the ancient [*kipu*]', and, as mere numerical devices, they could not add to his generation's knowledge about Incan *kipus*.<sup>168</sup>

<sup>166</sup> Luis Carranza (1888), 'Consideraciones sobre los departamentos del Centro', *El Ateneo de Lima* 5 (56, 58): 180.

<sup>167</sup> Loza, *Itinerarios*, 196.

<sup>168</sup> Enrique de Guimaraes (1907), 'Algo sobre quipus', *Revista Histórica. Órgano del Instituto Histórico del Perú* 2 (3): 62.

The modern *khipu*, to sum it up, is nothing but an impalpable proof of the Indians' lack of education; in places where this system of accountancy is in use, they are ignorant of reading and writing and of the most basic arithmetic, [and] they have seen themselves in the necessity of preserving this system deployed by their ancestors which, although it reveals Incan culture, is not in harmony with the progress of modern civilization.<sup>169</sup>

The *khipu* was not in harmony with modernity, it was an ancient thing amiss in Guimaraes' present. The fate of the *khipu* thus remained inextricably bound up with the fate of its only reader: the authentic Indian, a timeless and yet ancient figure. Like the Indian, the *khipu* had degenerated, and was but a shadow of what it had once been. Both the *khipu* and the authentic Indian of the Andes had by then become relics of the past in the present.

Scholars have long argued that Latin American Creoles' ideas about degeneration implied a rupture between pre-Columbian Incan glories and Indians' miserable, abject present. Franklin Pease has pointed to a schism between a glorious Incan past and a 'miserable' Indian present in nineteenth-century writings, and Cecilia Méndez has traced the same schism in Lima's 1830s Creole nationalism. Mark Thurner, drawing on the work of David Brading and Anthony Pagden, sees the same rupture already in mid-1700s discourses.<sup>170</sup> The idea that 'contemporary indigenous peoples were declared to have lost their connection to that [pre-Columbian] past' continues to pervade even the most recent studies.<sup>171</sup> While it is undeniable that Indians were thought to have lost their memories of that pre-Columbian past, a reading of archaeological and antiquarian writings in nineteenth-century Lima suggests that ideas about continuity also pervaded Peruvians' thought: although Indians were unaware of their history, in their bodies and through their cultural practices and 'continued' use of material culture they were still intrinsically

<sup>169</sup> De Guimaraes 'Algo sobre quipus'.

<sup>170</sup> Franklin Pease (1993), *Perú: Hombre e historia. La República* (Lima: EDUBANCO), cited in Thurner, 'Peruvian Genealogies of History and Nation', 142. For Cecilia Méndez's study, see Cecilia Méndez (1996), 'Incas Sí, Indios No: Apuntes para el estudio del nacionalismo criollo en el Perú', *Journal of Latin American Studies* 1 (28). For Thurner's argument, see Thurner, 'Peruvian Genealogies of History and Nation', 141–2.

<sup>171</sup> See Chapter 6 in Earle, *The Return of the Native*.



connected with that past.<sup>172</sup> Rather than an emphasis on rupture, these discourses speak of an anxiety about the purported continuity between living and pre-Columbian Andeans—an anxiety that, perhaps, precisely originated discourses conjuring up rupture. Collectors and students examined the human remains, bones, and crania of ‘the most ancient races of America and the current indigenes’ to diagnose ‘an absolute identity’ between them, ingrained and inscribed in both groups’ bodies.<sup>173</sup> Indians ‘still’ knew how to decipher the *kipu* only because they were still connected with the pre-Columbian past, perpetuating—even though perhaps unconsciously—their ancestors’ customs and knowledge.

#### A KHIPU ON THE MARKET

The War of the Pacific, involving Peru, Bolivia, and Chile from 1879 to 1883, caused decisive ruptures in the Peruvian antiquarian landscape. Financial ruin or the fear of looting during the Chilean occupation of Lima induced some collectors to sell their private museums abroad. The war was devastating his country, wrote Macedo to Adolf Bastian in July 1881; to protect his possessions from looting, he was going to sell them in Europe—‘those happy countries where property and life are guaranteed’. He would not wait to see his collection fall into the ‘hands of the enemies’.<sup>174</sup> Indeed, that same year, Macedo had arrived with his collection in Paris after a tiresome journey across the Atlantic. He had chosen a ship route through comparatively calm waters to Le Havre to avoid the breakage of the ceramics, and had watched over his boxes of antiquities every time the ships were loaded and unloaded.<sup>175</sup> During his stay in Paris, Macedo used one of the city’s hotels to exhibit his collection of antiquities to Parisiens. His visitors admired ‘the hundreds of metal; silver or copper pieces assembled on boxes at the centre of the cabinet, those made of nacre, so rare in our collections, the textiles’, while it was, without a doubt,

<sup>172</sup> I thank Natalia Majluf for her advice to reconsider the idea of a schism between the pre-Columbian past and the present.

<sup>173</sup> Lorente, ‘Antigüedades Primitivas del Perú’, 11.

<sup>174</sup> José Mariano Macedo ‘Carta a Adolf Bastian, París, n.d.’, *Staatliche Museen zu Berlin—Ethnologisches Museum. Sammlung Macedo Pars I B. Litt. J.*

<sup>175</sup> Macedo, ‘Carta a Adolf Bastian, París, 21 de Julio’.

‘two large *khipus*’ that ‘attracted the greatest curiosity’.<sup>176</sup> Macedo was by then ‘known to all men of science interested in the study of Peruvian ethnography’. Ernest T. Hamy was but one of several French scholars who came to look at the exhibits. In terms of Chimú antiquities at least, Hamy believed Macedo possessed ‘the most complete and the most instructive collection [...] in the world’.<sup>177</sup> As Macedo’s collection of newspaper clippings reveals—articles from the Vienna daily *Neues Wiener Abendblatt*, from the French newspaper *L’Opinion*, or the Hamburg journal *Hamburger Fremdenblatt*, published a few weeks after Macedo’s Paris exhibition—news of the exhibition spread fast in Vienna, Hamburg, and Paris.<sup>178</sup> So did rumours about Macedo’s readiness to sell his collection: in Vienna, commentators suggested acquiring the collection for the city’s archaeological museum, ‘if it was indeed as interesting as was said’,<sup>179</sup> while the merchant of the Trocadéro Museum proposed to buy a quarter of the collection for the sum of 60,000 francs.<sup>180</sup> Macedo exhibited his collection once more in London. He advertised the exhibition in *The Times*, and ‘in less than fifteen days’, as he told Bastian, ‘had more English visitors than in three months in Paris’.<sup>181</sup> Upon his departure from Paris, Macedo was kind enough to deposit some Recuay ceramics, some diminutive figurines, relief animals, ‘and a human head of a rather peculiar type’ in the Trocadéro Museum—Paris’s first ethnographical museum, which had opened its doors in 1880 under the direction of Hamy and of Armand Landrin—‘to fix the impression of his French visitors’.<sup>182</sup> It was not his first donation to a French museum: he had bestowed antiquities from his collection upon the Louvre in the mid-1870s.<sup>183</sup> Also among the

<sup>176</sup> Hamy, ‘Les collections péruviennes du docteur Macedo’.

<sup>177</sup> Hamy, ‘Les collections péruviennes du docteur Macedo’.

<sup>178</sup> Macedo’s collection of newspaper clippings has been preserved by his descendants in Lima.

<sup>179</sup> ‘Alterthümer aus dem “Inca-Reiche” (Peru)’, *Neues Wiener Abendblatt*, 2 November 1881. The article is one of the clippings in Macedo’s collection.

<sup>180</sup> Macedo, ‘Carta a Adolf Bastian, París, 7 de Enero’.

<sup>181</sup> Macedo, ‘Carta a Adolf Bastian, París, 7 de Enero’.

<sup>182</sup> Hamy, ‘Les collections péruviennes du docteur Macedo’, 68.

<sup>183</sup> Macedo sent ‘six boxes of Peruvian antiquities’ to the Louvre, entrusting the donation to Charles Wiener. The latter, so it will seem, never passed the antiquities on to the museum. José Mariano Macedo (1881), ‘Envoi d’Antiquités péruviennes par Macedo et offre de deux tableaux de Juan Gonzales (vie de Saint Ignace de Loyola), Paris, 3 septembre’, *Archives des musées nationaux. A 7 1881*.

antiquities Macedo left behind when he quitted Paris for London was one of the two Incan *kipus* on display, perhaps the one he had discovered on his trip to Ancón.<sup>184</sup> Macedo's catalogue mentions a 'roll (rouleau) of *kipus*', a term that might encompass more than one *kipu*, but most likely the *kipu* Macedo gave to Paris's Trocadéro Museum never figured in his collection catalogue: the donation probably preceded the 1881 publication of the catalogue by some weeks or months. With a weight of 55 grams, and dimensions of 49 centimetres wide by 84 long, the *kipu*, a delicate bundle of strings and knots, came to rest in the museum's cramped rooms, surrounded by an ever-growing collection from France's colonies and other, distant parts of the world.<sup>185</sup> In 1938, the *kipu* went on another journey, when, along with the bulk of the Trocadéro Museum's collections, it was transferred to the new Musée de l'Homme. In 2006, the holdings of the Musée de l'Homme, among them Macedo's *kipu*, together with the collections of the Musée des Arts d'Afrique et d'Océanie, were dismantled and transferred to Paris's Musée du Quai Branly. From the museum's collection of 300,000 pieces, the Musée du Quai Branly only displays 3,500 artefacts; the remainder, including Macedo's *kipu*, lies to this day in the new museum's storage facilities.<sup>186</sup>

Macedo put the second *kipu* he had brought to Europe on sale, together with the bulk of his collection. Antiquarianism and collecting, in the city of Lima as much as among Europe's ethnographic museums, was a marketplace: people negotiated with each other; they drove a hard bargain, and they sought to draw profit from the antiquities' sale. Even though the imminent occupation of Lima in all probability prompted Macedo to decide to sell his collection in Europe, his endeavour was not just to save the collection from destruction. Macedo pursued the sale rather matter-of-factly as a commercial transaction. He negotiated with various potential buyers to obtain the most favourable conditions: he was determined—perhaps obliged by his family's seemingly precarious economic

<sup>184</sup> Radicati di Primeglio, *Estudios sobre los quipus*, 305.

<sup>185</sup> For a history of Paris's Trocadéro Museum, see Nélia Dias (1991), *Le Musée d'Ethnographie du Trocadéro (1878–1908)* (Paris: Editions du CNRS).

<sup>186</sup> The *kipu*'s inventory number 71.1878.3.61. A photo and the record are available online, in the Quai Branly Museum's catalogue <<http://www.quaibrantly.fr/cc/pod/resultats.aspx?b=1&t=1>>.

situation<sup>187</sup>—that nothing less than £20,000 ‘could convince’ him. If a nation state or a private buyer with sufficient funds were to acquire the collection at his price, he would sell it intact; but if he was unable to find such a buyer, he informed Bastian, he was resolved ‘to separate those objects that are not easily acquired and [put] the rest on public sale in October’.<sup>188</sup> While in August 1881 Macedo promised to give Bastian’s museum preference over every other institution, as ‘a gift to science and to friendship and the interest I have in the past of my country’,<sup>189</sup> a few months later he played out intra-European competition between the Paris, Berlin, and London museums. In January 1882 he mentioned to Bastian how Landrin from the Trocadéro Museum in Paris had expressed his interest, and how the collection had likewise piqued the curiosity of a Mr Hastings from London.<sup>190</sup> A collection’s value is never absolute; it is protean, and hardly ever singular.<sup>191</sup> Competition between buyers would raise a collection’s price, as Macedo was well aware, but so would other inducements. Macedo was a meticulous accountant; not only do his personal notebooks list his daily expenses in detail, he also kept track of his archaeological acquisitions, of select pieces and of entire collections he purchased. For the Recuay section alone, Macedo informed Bastian, he had been asked to pay £2,000, for it was ‘its owner’s special field of interest, [and he] knew its importance quite well’. The owner’s expertise added to a collection’s value, and so did the pieces’ aesthetic quality, their peculiar materiality, and a spectacular iconography. One could hardly imagine ‘what kind of an impression the [Recuay] collection made on me’, Macedo wrote, ‘with its clay, drawings, the rather peculiar [...] faces, the fortresses, the dances, [...] the fantastic animals’. For one of the pieces in his collection—‘a blind man playing a flute’—he had paid three hundred pesos, Macedo noted, because of the ‘artistic quality’ of the facial expression and because ‘we entered in competition between [...] Mr Condemarín and

<sup>187</sup> Sociedad Peruana de Historia de la Medicina, *Vida y Obras de José Mariano Macedo (1823–1894)*, 19.

<sup>188</sup> Macedo, ‘Carta a Adolf Bastian, París, 21 de Julio’.

<sup>189</sup> José Mariano Macedo (1881), ‘Carta a Adolf Bastian, París, 14 de Agosto’, *Staatliche Museen zu Berlin—Ethnologisches Museum. Sammlung Macedo Pars I B. Litt. J.*

<sup>190</sup> Macedo, ‘Carta a Adolf Bastian, París, 7 de Enero’.

<sup>191</sup> For reflections on the protean and multiple values of artefacts on the market, see Penny, *Objects of Culture*, 69–70.

myself'.<sup>192</sup> Scholarly criteria likewise added to a collection's value. In October 1881, disappointed with the price proposed by Bastian, Macedo sought to convince him to reconsider his offer, adducing the pieces' historical value as source material. He 'sincerely would have wished to see his collection of Peruvian antiquities as part of the important and rich collection of the Berlin Museum, for both joined together', he reminded Bastian, 'would have provided the best groundwork to reconstruct the civilization of the Empire of the Incas, hitherto so little understood'.<sup>193</sup> Lima antiquaries' methodical emphasis on iconography, on the reading of images, likewise affected the prices paid: one could certainly purchase in Lima 'an average huaco at two and a half pesos each but those that have some historical or allegorical meaning can only be acquired at high prices', Macedo explained to Bastian. In his attempts to obtain a price for his collection that would 'satisfy him', Macedo was not being mercenary—or at least no more or less mercenary than Bastian or other museum directors, collectors, and scholars in Europe and North America at the time.<sup>194</sup> He simply mastered the rules that governed the antiquities market as well as they did. Macedo, like other experts, knew that competition translated, like a piece's value for antiquarian and archaeological scholarship or aesthetic criteria, into monetary value, and he employed his expertise for his purpose.

The late nineteenth century was the time of the world's great collecting museums, study collections that grew—like Macedo's and other Lima antiquaries' private museums—through the acquisition of select artefacts or entire, smaller collections on a market 'based on international networks of communication and exchange'.<sup>195</sup> Like Macedo's collection, each of the period's large collecting museums was inextricably linked to that market. Museums and collectors competed for possession and completeness: they had to understand the value of artefacts when they came on the market, anticipate how that value would shift or change, and calculate how to make the best

<sup>192</sup> Macedo, 'Carta a Adolf Bastian, Paris, 7 de Enero'.

<sup>193</sup> Macedo, 'Carta a Adolf Bastian, Paris, 3 de Octubre'.

<sup>194</sup> For the very similarly structured correspondence between, for instance, the Louvre and French collectors negotiating the sale of their collections, see L.L. Le Moyne (1854), 'Achat à M. Le Moyne, chargé d'affaires dans La Plata, de 184 objets antiques provenant de fouilles originaires du Pérou et de Nouvelle Grenade, Paris, 3 février', *Archives des musées nationaux*. A 6 1854.

<sup>195</sup> Penny, *Objects of Culture*, 51–2.

possible deal.<sup>196</sup> When Adolph Bandelier, in the service of the American Museum of Natural History, suggested the acquisition of ‘a strictly local collection from Chiclayo, representing every type found about there’, he underlined the collection was on sale ‘for ONE THOUSAND DOLLARS [emphasis in the original] only, or a little more than 1.20\$ a piece’; he knew the collection well and ‘could guarantee for its genuineness in every way’.<sup>197</sup> The pieces’ ‘genuineness’ gained significance in Lima and European antiquities’ collections in view of an emerging market with modern falsifications. Due to the growing demand for Peruvian antiquities, enterprising suppliers stepped in to provide products, supplying contemporary forgeries of pre-Columbian ceramics. Things got made, purchased, authenticated, and placed in collections.<sup>198</sup> Fakes and forgeries had reached the Andean art collections of international museums and private individuals as early as the 1830s and 1840s: already in the cabinet formed by King Christian VIII of Denmark (1839–48) faked specimens of Chimú pottery have been identified.<sup>199</sup> In 1851, when the engineer Santiago Flores remitted pottery unearthed on Chincha Island, he accompanied his donation with a certificate signed by witnesses of the excavation, to prove its ‘authenticity’.<sup>200</sup> By the 1880s, there were ‘factories’ in the Andes that produced one type or style artefact in full operation, and there is little reason to think that they ever went out of production.<sup>201</sup> A falsified *khipu* was first exhibited in Philadelphia in 1876 and published in the journal *Nature* that same year.<sup>202</sup> The transatlantic archaeological community grew aware of the potentially fatal consequences of forgeries for research when an allegedly ancient piece of pottery, presented by the Spanish scholar Jiménez de la Espada, seemed to evidence early contacts between Asia and America, and, after years of debate, turned out to

<sup>196</sup> Penny, *Objects of Culture*, 51–2.

<sup>197</sup> Adolph F. Bandelier (1896), ‘Letter to the Secretary’s Office at the American Museum of Natural History, Mr Winser, Lima, 1 June’, *American Museum of Natural History. Division of Anthropology Archives, Bandelier 1896–31*.

<sup>198</sup> Bruhns and Kelker, *Faking the Ancient Andes*, 12, 73.

<sup>199</sup> Inge Schjellerup (1987), ‘Information about pre-Columbian Objects in the Ethnography Department of the National Museum of Denmark’, in Hocquenghem, Anne-Marie, Tamási, Peter, and Villain-Gandossi, Christiane (eds.), *Pre-Columbian Collections in European Museums* (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó).

<sup>200</sup> Flores, ‘Carta al Ministro de Estado’.

<sup>201</sup> Bruhns and Kelker, *Faking the Ancient Andes*, 73.

<sup>202</sup> Radicati di Primeglio, *Estudios sobre los quipus*, 301.

be a fake.<sup>203</sup> Forgeries circulated, like pre-Columbian pieces, through an ever-more professionalized market in antiquities in and through the city of Lima. Networks of professional looters (*huaqueros*) and merchants specializing in the commercial trade in antiquities supplied collectors and museums in Lima and museums in Europe and across the Americas. The Lima collector Javier Prado y Ugarteche purchased antiquities from Luis Zuñiga or Belisario Mallqui, merchants who in turn obtained their artefacts from professional looters like José Quintana, the Lujan brothers, José Mas, and Justo Pastor Rivas.<sup>204</sup> Felipe Morales was a Lima antiquities merchant who worked closely with a group of professional 'looters'; together, they provided 'Casa Jancke' and 'Casa Alexander', commercial vendors of antiquities in Lima, as well as the Lima private collectors Gaffron and Gretzer, with objects. Gretzer also personally hired looters to unearth ancient textiles for him; textiles were still a rarity on the antiquities market of the late nineteenth century, and would have been difficult to acquire via exchange or purchase.<sup>205</sup> Looted cemeteries, fields where 'thousands of crania and human bones belonging to the ancient Indians lay scattered', became a common sight from the mid-century as treasure hunters unearthed the graves and threw aside what they did not need or care for.<sup>206</sup> In Lima, just like in Cuzco, societies organized in analogy to joint stock companies were formed to invest in the exploitation of *huacas* out of commercial interest.<sup>207</sup> Macedo was a member of the company 'Huacas of the Inca' (*Huacas del Inca*), founded in 1887, which was dedicated to the extraction of the 'wealth hidden for so many centuries'. Despite their undoubtedly commercial orientation, the members' archaeological expertise was

<sup>203</sup> Pascal Riviale (2005), 'Las colecciones americanas en Francia en el siglo XIX: objetos de curiosidad, objetos de estudio', in López-Ocón, Leoncio, Chaumeil, Jean-Pierre, and Verde Casanova, Ana (eds.), *Los americanistas del siglo XIX. La construcción de una comunidad científica internacional* (Madrid: Iberoamericana): 35.

<sup>204</sup> Julio C. Tello (n.d.), 'Apuntes', Lima, *Archivo Histórico del Instituto Riva-Agüero. Colección T. Mejía Xesspe, TMX 2614*.

<sup>205</sup> Report by Max Schmidt, from the Berlin Ethnological Museum, remitted to the general director of Berlin's museums, 28 December 1906 (E 2158/06 EMB Archiv: Acta Erwerb. Am. Gretzer Vol. 69), cited in Hoffmann, 'Posibilidades y limitaciones'.

<sup>206</sup> Raimondi, 'Ayacucho. Itinerario de los viajes de Raimondi en el Perú', 56.

<sup>207</sup> Compañía Explotadora Huacas de Mojegüe (1889), 'Título de la acción asignada a don Manuel Aurelio Fuentes en la Compañía Explotadora Huacas de Mojegüe por la suma de cien soles oro, Lima, 30 de Noviembre', *Biblioteca Nacional del Perú. Colección Manuscritos D 5237*.

an intrinsic part of the ‘capital’ of these societies; *Huacas del Inca* included scientists like Luis Carranza and writers like Ricardo Palma, and the society was presided over by Augusto Berns, an engineer, who likewise claimed expertise, thanks to his profession and his experience in the discovery of ancient sites.<sup>208</sup> In Lima, as in Europe and the Americas, the collecting and study of antiquities were inextricably linked to—and at times indistinguishable from—an emerging global market in antiquities.

As much as a collector’s personal attachment to the pieces, as scientific criteria or aesthetic appreciation, a piece’s rarity affected its value: the period’s collecting museums placed the highest value on objects that were most difficult to obtain.<sup>209</sup> Macedo eventually sold the bulk of his collection—including the *khipu* mentioned in his catalogue—to Berlin’s Ethnological Museum. It is today one of five hundred to six hundred remaining Inca *khipu* in museums and private collections around the world. By the time Macedo sold the *khipu*, it was, however, as he had said to Bastian, ‘a jewel’, a rare and unique piece. Macedo’s *khipu* was the second to enter the museum’s collection; Adolf Bastian himself had acquired the first *khipu*, still preserved in Berlin today.<sup>210</sup> Ten years would go by before two extensive collections containing *khipus* would be incorporated into the Berlin museum: the Bolívar collection reached the Berlin museum through Doctor Claus and Doctor Marie Luise Zarnitz Plock. The same Bolívar was almost certainly a donor to the Musée de l’Homme in Paris—he had given a vessel in the shape of an owl from Ancash, today identified as Chimbote,<sup>211</sup> and the likely owner of a collection of Peruvian grave goods, over four hundred black-and-redware Chimú, Lambayeque, and Moche ceramics, sold to the British Museum in 1907 by his descendant Anna de Bolívar.<sup>212</sup> The other collection of *khipus* was given by Arthur Baessler, who had in turn acquired it as part of a larger collection from Macedo’s friend,

<sup>208</sup> Augusto R. Berns (1887), *Compañía Anónima, Huacas del Inca* (Lima: Imprenta de ‘El Nacional’).

<sup>209</sup> Penny, *Objects of Culture*, 52.

<sup>210</sup> I thank Prof. Dr Manuela Fischer at the Berlin Ethnological Museum for pointing me to this earlier acquisition.

<sup>211</sup> Inventory Number 71.1891.43.1, <<http://www.quaibrantly.fr/>>.

<sup>212</sup> See the catalogue of the British Museum, <[http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/search\\_the\\_collection\\_database/term\\_details.aspx](http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/search_the_collection_database/term_details.aspx)>.



Gretzer. Arthur Baessler had been one of the many visitors to Gretzer's house in 1898, when he passed through Lima on his third voyage around the world; the staff of the Berlin Ethnological Museum had recommended he visit Gretzer's collection. Several years later, in 1907, the Berlin museum would purchase a second collection Gretzer had formed after the sale of the first; the museum owns today a total of around 40,000 pieces that had once belonged to Gretzer.<sup>213</sup> Macedo's *kipu*, however, was not arranged next to those given by Bastian, Bolívar, and Gretzer. Shaped by the discourses and practices of 'salvage', the Berlin Ethnological Museum, after its foundation in 1873 and its transfer into its own building on Sesemann Street in 1886, prioritized locating and acquiring artefacts over classifying or ordering them.<sup>214</sup> Even though the museum's rooms were cramped and overflowing by the turn of the century, with Papuan idols squeezed in next to a collection of Benin bronzes and with gateways to Peruvian temples, dugout canoes, North American totems, and Damascian wax dolls crammed into the same courtyard,<sup>215</sup> Macedo's *kipu* was far removed from the commotion. Obeying Macedo's express wish, his collection was displayed in a room of its own, where Carlos Enrique Paz Soldán visited it, still intact, in 1922.<sup>216</sup> When Macedo donated select antiquities to the museum long after the sale was concluded, he infallibly asked to have them arranged in a peculiar order or fashion within 'his' room: 'at the beginning of the ceramics from Peru', or 'on top of the glass cases'. Macedo took pride in having his collection exhibited in Berlin: he asked Bastian to have the words 'Macedo Collection' written 'in large letters' on the upper frame of the showcase that contained the Recuay collection.<sup>217</sup> Not only was the *kipu* exhibited in a context and manner that in some respects resembled its former home in Lima; it served the researchers at the Berlin museum, as it had served Macedo, to illustrate or ground

<sup>213</sup> Corinna Raddatz (1985), *Ein Hannoveraner in Lima. Der Sammler praecolumbischer Altertümer Christian Theodor Wilhelm Gretzer (1847–1926). Ausstellungskatalog* (Hanover: Niedersächsisches Landesmuseum): 7.

<sup>214</sup> Penny, *Objects of Culture*, 52.

<sup>215</sup> This passage is taken from Glenn H. Penny (2003), 'Bastian's Museum: On the Limits of Empiricism and the Transformation of German Ethnology', in Penny, Glenn H., and Bunzl, Matt (eds.), *Worldly Provincialism. German Anthropology in the Age of Empire* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press).

<sup>216</sup> Sociedad Peruana de Historia de la Medicina, *Vida y Obras de José Mariano Macedo (1823–1894)*.

<sup>217</sup> Macedo, 'Carta a Adolf Bastian, París, 19 de Octubre'.

their enquiries into literacy, memory, and communication under Incan rule.<sup>218</sup> The building on Sesemann Street was destroyed during the Second World War, and the surviving objects—Macedo's *khipu* among them—were reunited after the war in the former storage building, in Berlin-Dahlem. There, Macedo's 'jewel', his precious *khipu*, lies to this day, neatly catalogued and accessible for researchers, in the building's extensive storage basement.<sup>219</sup>

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The first decades of the twentieth century in particular saw an unprecedented presence of pre-Columbian material culture in public imagery in Lima. Between 1900 and 1925, excavations by a number of foreign and Peruvian archaeologists identified, defined, and popularized sites, cultures, and styles previously unknown.<sup>220</sup> The figures of two men stand out in these years: Max Uhle, the German archaeologist commissioned to direct and enrich the archaeological section of the National Museum of History from 1906 to 1911, and his Peruvian successor, Julio C. Tello, who would lead archaeological debates in Lima throughout the first half of the twentieth century.<sup>221</sup> During the 1910s and subsequent decades, articles on pre-Columbian materials in widely distributed Lima periodicals popularized elements of the pre-Columbian past, and enabled the selective creation of an imagery drawn from pre-Columbian artefacts and its incorporation into the arts. Horacio Urteaga was among the key figures to popularize archaeology during and after the 1910s. His articles on select aspects of pre-Columbian archaeology were published in popular journals such as *Ilustración Peruana*, as well as scientific periodicals such as the *Revista Histórica* and the *Boletín de la Sociedad Geográfica de Lima*.<sup>222</sup> The journal *Variedades* was particularly important in

<sup>218</sup> (1888), 'Das altperuanische Reich und sein Verkehrswesen', *Archiv für Post und Telegraphie* September. Cited in Radicati di Primeglio, *Estudios sobre los quipus*, 307. See also Urton, *Signs of the Inka Khipu*.

<sup>219</sup> Macedo's *khipu* is listed as object number VA 4319 in the Berlin Ethnological Museum's accession books.

<sup>220</sup> Natalia Majluf and Luis Eduardo Wuffarden (1999), *Elena Izcue* (Lima/Madrid: Museo de Arte de Lima): 23.

<sup>221</sup> Literature on both Max Uhle and Julio C. Tello is abundant, as outlined in the introduction. The relationship between the two has polarized historians of archaeology. Kaulicke, 'Julio C. Tello'.

<sup>222</sup> See for instance Horacio H. Urteaga (1909), 'El Antiguo Perú a la luz de la arqueología y de la crítica', *Revista Histórica. Órgano del Instituto Histórico del Perú* 4; Horacio H. Urteaga (1911), 'Bocetos históricos. El culto de los muertos. Su influencia

shaping the presence of archaeology in the visual arts and informing their discussion by a wider audience. From 1908, the journal published a series entitled 'News from Peruvian Art', sent from Paris by José García Calderón, who sketched a first panoramic vision of Peruvian art, also including pre-Columbian antiquities in the category.<sup>223</sup> Whereas, in the period before the turn of the century, semi-official societies, private collections, and a loosely interwoven web of individuals constructed a diverse set of images and narratives revolving around the pre-Columbian past, by the 1910s, archaeology had moved to the fore of public concerns. A reform of university and school curricula for history teaching was underway, to balance the previous focus on European rather than pre-Columbian history. Students knew 'more about the Vikings [...] than about the Incas', lamented a contemporary.<sup>224</sup> In a public lecture series organized in 1915 at the University of San Marcos, which aimed to enlighten the audience on Peruvian history, politics, and geography, three lectures dealt exclusively with the Incas, while one was devoted to the Spanish conquest, another to the colonial period, and the remainder focused strongly on the nineteenth century, in particular on the Wars of Independence and the War of the Pacific.<sup>225</sup> Perhaps the broadest dissemination of Peruvian history was achieved through schoolchildren. In 1906, some 20 to 30 per cent of children were enrolled in primary schools, many of them the first generation in their family to learn how to read and write. They brought their history books home and much was read aloud for their illiterate parents and other household members.<sup>226</sup> Elena Izcue produced aquarelles of pre-Columbian

en el antiguo Perú', *Ilustración Peruana. Artes, Letras, Ciencias, Deportes* 3 (83); Horacio H. Urteaga (1911), 'Bocetos Históricos. La escritura geroglífica de los antiguos indios', *Ilustración Peruana. Artes, Letras, Ciencias, Deportes* 3 (70); Horacio H. Urteaga (1915), 'Bocetos históricos. Un libro sobre el Perú: La Arqueología Sud-americana de Mr Thomas Joyce', *Boletín de la Sociedad Geográfica de Lima* XXXI.

<sup>223</sup> Majluf and Wuffarden, *Elena Izcue*, 24.

<sup>224</sup> José Galvez (1915), 'La enseñanza de la Historia del Perú en los colegios de instrucción media', *Revista Universitaria. Organo de la Universidad Mayor de San Marcos* 1: 464.

<sup>225</sup> José Galvez (1914), 'La Extensión Universitaria. Programa de los cursos y conferencias populares para el año universitario de 1915', *Revista Universitaria. Organo de la Universidad Mayor de San Marcos* 1.

<sup>226</sup> Jacobsen, 'Public Opinions and Public Spheres in Late-Nineteenth-Century Peru. A Multicolored Web in a Tattered Cloth', 285.

forms and symbols for schoolbooks; partly based on her own private collection and those of Jorge Alexander, Caso de Ribeyro, and Juan Francisco Pazos Varela y Orbegoso, and partly copying from the exhibits at Lima's National Museum, the Cuzco Museum, San Marcos University, and the Victor Larco Herrera Museum in Lima.<sup>227</sup> By the 1920s, archaeology had become widely visible in Lima's public sphere.

Many of the Lima antiquarian collections that were not sold abroad passed into public ownership following the first decade of the twentieth century. The antiquities' trajectories elucidate the continuities with the period before the institutionalization and professionalization of archaeology following the re-foundation of Lima's National Museum—destroyed in the War of the Pacific—in 1905 and the employment of a professional scholar, Max Uhle, in 1906 as its director. As in European and North American museums,<sup>228</sup> private collections, loaned, donated, or purchased, supplied a material basis for Lima's emerging public and state-funded museums. In July 1907, Luis Nicolás Larco deposited his collection of about 700 'Peruvian antiquities' for several months in the Museum of Natural History: the collection consisted of 160 *huacos* from Trujillo and Chimbote, 160 diverse metal artefacts, a collection of wooden idols associated with the Chimú, black and coloured pottery and a—by all accounts—extraordinary embroidered textile, five metres in length.<sup>229</sup> Zoila Aurora Cáceres, the daughter of President Andrés A. Cáceres, owned a collection of around five hundred ceramic, stone, and metal specimens from Ica, Pachacamac, Chancay, Trujillo, and Cuzco that was acquired under Uhle's directorship for the National Museum.<sup>230</sup> In 1921, the government of Augusto B. Leguía purchased the private collection of antiquities formed by Brüning and opened the collection to the public as a regional museum in Lambayeque; Brüning served as the museum's first director.<sup>231</sup> By the early twentieth century, the members of the

<sup>227</sup> Majluf and Wuffarden, *Elena Izcue*.

<sup>228</sup> This is how the British Museum was formed in 1753 and expanded subsequently. Díaz-Andreu, *A World History of Nineteenth-Century Archaeology*, 12.

<sup>229</sup> (1906), 'Carta al Director General, n.d., Lima', *Archivo del Museo Nacional de Arqueología, Antropología e Historia. Colgante 2000–6*.

<sup>230</sup> Tello and Mejía Xesspe, 'Historia de los museos nacionales del Perú', Testimonio 79; Julio C. Tello (2005 [1959]), 'Paracas, Primera Parte', in Daggett, Richard E. (ed.), *Obras Completas vol.II, Paracas. Primera Parte* (Lima: Museo de Arqueología y Antropología de San Marcos).

<sup>231</sup> For its holdings, see Brüning, 'Inventario, in *MNAAH*'.

Geographical Society had brought together a substantial museum occupying a room in its central office: the collection, juxtaposing pre-Columbian antiquities and human remains from all over the Republic and photographs of ruins with fossils and minerals, was transferred to the National Museum in 1906.<sup>232</sup> The archaeological collection formed by Antonio Raimondi—229 pre-Columbian ceramics, wooden and metal artefacts from Ancón, Chancay, Trujillo, and Cuzco, 116 artefacts then identified as Amazonian, and sixty-six crania ‘of diverse provenance’—was catalogued in 1913 by a team of specialists, including Macedo’s grandson, Carlos Morales Macedo, and placed under the care of San Marco’s University Museum of Archaeology in 1919.<sup>233</sup> The collecting of antiquities for museums also remained closely intertwined with the market in antiquities after the professionalization and institutionalization of archaeology in Peru. The same *huaquero* Felipe Morales who supplied Lima’s collectors with antiquities also delivered antiquities to the National Museum under the directorship of Max Uhle.<sup>234</sup> Loans and purchases from Lima antiquities merchants also provided a foundation for the Lima National Museum.<sup>235</sup> The city’s new public museums and professional archaeologists coexisted with and benefitted from Lima’s existing collections, societies, and networks.

Despite Max Uhle’s central involvement in the transfer of objects from the realms of antiquities commerce and private collecting to the museum, he was a key ideologue of the perceived chasm between ‘scientific’ archaeology and ‘amateur’ antiquarianism in Peru: Uhle repeatedly dismissed private collections under the premise that these

<sup>232</sup> On the collection, see Delgado, ‘Memoria que en la última sesión de 1902’, L.U. (1917), ‘La Sociedad Geográfica de Lima’, *Boletín de la Sociedad Geográfica de Lima* 33 (4). On the transfer, Llona, ‘Lista de la colección etnográfica enviada por la Sociedad Geográfica de Lima al Museo Nacional’; Max Uhle (1906), ‘Objetos pertenecientes á la Sociedad Geográfica de Lima, depositados en el Museo de Historia Nacional’, *Boletín de la Sociedad Geográfica de Lima* XX (anexo).

<sup>233</sup> Tello and Mejía Xesspe, ‘Historia de los museos nacionales del Perú’, 52.

<sup>234</sup> The National Museum collaborated with the professional huaqueros such as Felipe Morales. Pedro Bravo (1909), ‘Cuentas sobre las cantidades que se remitieron a Felipe Morales por gastos de excavaciones en Lomas por cuenta del museo, Lima, 29 de Marzo’, *Archivo del Museo Nacional de Arqueología, Antropología e Historia. Legajo 2*; Museo Nacional del Perú (1909), ‘Carta al prefecto del departamento de Ica, Lima, 22 de Mayo’, *Archivo del Museo Nacional de Arqueología, Antropología e Historia. Legajo 47*. For references to the transactions between Morales and private collectors, see Tello, ‘Apuntes, in *AIRA*’.

<sup>235</sup> Tello and Mejía Xesspe, ‘Historia de los museos nacionales del Perú’, 62.

collections lacked any scientific value, stressing the divide between amateurs and post-1906 'scientific' archaeologists.<sup>236</sup> Uhle carried his convictions over from Europe, where the divisions between antiquarianism, archaeology, and history crystallized by the close of the century.<sup>237</sup> The narrative about a rupture between antiquarianism and archaeology, between amateurism and professionalism, and between dilettantism and science, has permeated the historiography ever since, forging a perception of nineteenth-century collections and travelogues as irrelevant to the emergence of the discipline of archaeology. The journeys of Macedo's *khipu* and the many meanings it entailed in the course of its life, however, allow for a glimpse of Lima's antiquarian circles—its learned societies, sociable gatherings, and magnificent collections—and of how its antiquities, its cosmopolitan networks, and its ideas cut across the alleged divide between amateur antiquarianism and professional archaeology. The reconfiguration of the Peruvian nation state around the paradigm of archaeology—the professionalization and institutionalization of the discipline in the first decades of the twentieth century—was not a return, nor was it a rupture or a fundamental innovation: the collecting and study of antiquities had by then had a long history in the city of Lima.

<sup>236</sup> On Uhle's dismissal of the value of private collections, see for instance Max Uhle (1896), 'Monthly Report to the Department of Archaeology and Paleontology of the University of Pennsylvania at Philadelphia, Lima, 18 August', *University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology Archives. American Section, South America—Max Uhle, Container 1*; Max Uhle (1910), 'Carta al Presidente del Instituto Histórico, Lima, 11 de Febrero', *Archivo del Museo Nacional de Arqueología, Antropología e Historia. Colgante 2000–8*.

<sup>237</sup> Levine, *The Amateur and the Professional*, 2.

## Pascual Coña

*Collecting and Colonization in Araucanía*

In 1927, four decades after the conquest of Araucanía by the Chilean state, Pascual Coña dictated his life story to a Capuchin missionary, Wilhelm Ernesto de Moesbach. The friar wrote in his preface to the account that Pascual Coña was ‘a legitimate indigene of the ancient Araucanian race’, and that he died in old age, on the same day he dictated the last lines of his life story.<sup>1</sup> Pascual Coña gave his reasons for bearing testimony as follows.

I am already old; I believe I am more than 80 years old. During this long life I have learned the manners of the people of the old days, I treasure the different moments of their lives; they had good habits and bad ones. I shall speak of all of this now: I shall narrate the whereabouts of my own existence, and also the manner of living of the ancestors. In our days life has changed, the new generation has become Chilean [*se ha chilenzado mucho*]; little by little they have forgotten the [...] nature of our race; a few more years and they might even forget their mother tongue. And when that time comes [*entonces*], they can at least read this book.<sup>2</sup>

Pascual Coña embodies an iconic form of the Indian, one that underlay the imagination of Europeans and Chileans alike in the nineteenth century: the living relic, the ancient, the dying Indian,

<sup>1</sup> P. Wilhelm Ernesto de Moesbach (2006 [1927]), ‘Prefacio’, in Moesbach, P. Wilhelm Ernesto de (ed.), *Lonco Pascual Coña ñi tuculpazugun/Testimonio de un cacique mapuche* (8 edn.; Santiago: Pehuén Editores): 22.

<sup>2</sup> Pascual Coña (2006 [1927]), *Lonco Pascual Coña ñi tuculpazugun/Testimonio de un cacique mapuche. Texto dictado al Padre Wilhelm Ernesto de Moesbach* (8 edn.; Santiago: Pehuén Editores): 25.

aware that the end of his time had come and that only his memories, treasured by the conquerors, would survive him and his kind.<sup>3</sup>

This chapter relates the early period of Araucanian archaeology in Chile between 1853 and the early 1910s, the decades preceding and following what came to be called the ‘Pacification’ of Araucanía. Like the *mascapaycha* or the *kipu*, the image of men like Pascual Coña underwent profound transformations during the second half of the nineteenth and the first decades of the twentieth century. In ways bearing close resemblance to changes in Andean material culture, Araucanians’ bodies and minds became ‘relics’, associated with a bygone past. As in the case of the *mascapaycha* and the *kipu*, this study begins by looking back at the life Pascual Coña and his kind might have led before the Pacification, outlining the history of the ‘free territories of Araucanía’ up to their conquest by the Chilean state. Following the course of the conquest, the chapter moves on to map out archaeological and antiquarian practices and discourses: how evangelization, military campaigns, and the establishment of European, in particular German, settlements supplied the material basis and the paradigm for the study of Araucanian archaeology in Santiago and in the settler communities in and around Araucanía. Araucanian archaeology surfaced as a new field of study with the Pacification, and it entailed new imageries. Towards the end of this period, not only had the study of Araucanian material culture, both past and present, become the province of prehistoric archaeology, archaeological narratives had begun to transform also Araucanians themselves, reconfiguring them into a primitive and vanishing people—men in old age, relics remaining from an already bygone past.

## THE FREE TERRITORIES OF ARAUCANÍA

Araucanía is the territory south of the Bio-Bio River running down to the large Island of Chiloé, just south of Puerto Montt. The historic

<sup>3</sup> I have written more specifically about Pascual Coña and the iconic form of the ‘dying Indian’ in Chile—evanescence and endangerment discourses—during the conquest elsewhere. Stefanie Gänger, ‘The Last of his Kind. Endangerment and Indigeneity in the Conquest of Araucanía, 1879–1882’, in Vidal, Fernando, and Dias, Nélia (eds.), *Endangerment and its Consequences* (forthcoming).



population of the area derived from waves of peoples who spoke a Mapudungun-like language.<sup>4</sup> Even though the prehistory of Araucanía is still poorly understood, the pottery record appears to portray the transformation of subsistence in the area from pure horticulture to a fully agricultural and sedentary way of life.<sup>5</sup> Its inhabitants probably shared a common language, social organization, and religious beliefs with all the people living south of the Mapocho River. Despite a common language, belief system, and settlement pattern within Araucanía, different emphases in subsistence activities and relations to the land led to regional differences.<sup>6</sup> Earthen monuments, ceremonial complexes, and differentiated funerary artefacts in several areas, as well as forts, reveal a high level of complexity and political centralization among the inhabitants of the area in the centuries prior to the Spanish conquest.<sup>7</sup> Even though the attractions of trade with the Incas drew the inhabitants of the coastal valleys of central Chile into the redistributive Incan sphere of influence, it appears that Araucanía did maintain political and cultural autonomy from the Incan Empire. The coastal region north of the Aconcagua River separated Araucanía from the Inca stronghold among the Aymara-speaking Atacama region.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>4</sup> It is also sometimes suggested that the population derived from development of the earlier Paleo-Indian cultures of Monte Verde, near Puerto Montt, or San Vicente de Tagua Tagua, south of Santiago. Mario A. Rivera (1999), 'Prehistory of the Southern Cone', in Salomon, Frank, and Schwartz, Stuart (eds.), *South America. Cambridge Histories Online. The Cambridge History of the Native Peoples of the Americas Vol. 3 Part 1* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press): 758.

<sup>5</sup> For a survey of Araucanian prehistory, see Salomon and Schwartz (eds.), *South America. Cambridge Histories Online. The Cambridge History of the Native Peoples of the Americas Vol. 3 Part 1*, 758.

<sup>6</sup> Kristine Jones (1999), 'Warfare, Reorganization, and Readaptation at the Margins of Spanish Rule: The Southern Margin (1573–1882)', in Salomon and Schwartz (eds.), *South America. Cambridge Histories Online. The Cambridge History of the Native Peoples of the Americas Vol. 3 Part 2*, 140–8.

<sup>7</sup> Tom D. Dillehay (2002), 'Una historia incompleta y una identidad cultural sesgada de los mapuche', in Boccara, Guillaume (ed.), *Colonización, resistencia y mestizaje en las Américas (siglos XVI–XX)* (Quito: Ediciones Abya-Yala): 173.

<sup>8</sup> Jorge Hidalgo Lehuédé (1984), 'The Indians of Southern South America in the Middle of the Sixteenth Century', in Bethell, Leslie (ed.), *Colonial Latin America. Cambridge Histories Online. The Cambridge History of Latin America Vol. 1* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press); Jones, 'Warfare, Reorganization, and Readaptation', 141. On the frontier of the Incan Empire, see Américo Gordon and Tom D. Dillehay (1998), 'La actividad prehispánica de los Incas y su influencia en la Araucanía', in Dillehay, Tom D., and Netherly, Patricia J. (eds.), *La frontera del estado Inca* (2 edn.; Quito: Fundación Alexander von Humboldt & Editorial Abya-Yala).

The inhabitants of Araucanía offered prolonged military resistance to Spanish colonization. After a general Araucanian uprising in 1598, the Bio-Bio River marked the boundaries of Spanish colonial rule. The effective southern border of Spanish control emerged early in the sixteenth century with the creation of a series of small scattered forts linking the early colonial settlements of Buenos Aires, San Luis, Mendoza, Santiago, and Concepción. This frontier changed very little in the seventeenth, eighteenth, and early nineteenth centuries. The relative autonomy of the people the early chroniclers called the *Promaucaes*—probably from the Quechua word *purum awka*, ‘wilderness enemies’—was assured over the centuries in part because, aside from small outposts that served the needs of passing ships, like Valdivia and Chiloé on the Pacific coast, the Spanish presence in the Southern Cone was minimal after 1600, with most activities and resources oriented to the north to support the mining industry.<sup>9</sup> From the early seventeenth century, the Spanish stationed a small standing army in the south to patrol the frontier and the government subsidized ‘friendly *caciques*’. The Spanish threat forged an Araucanian confederacy, an expansive disruptive geopolitical force that increasingly upserted local kinship systems and lineages. The self-referential name ‘Mapuche’ emerged around 1760 among the inhabitants of Araucanía as the result of an increasingly unified sense of identity.<sup>10</sup> Boundaries are porous—they are, ‘constitutively, crossed or transgressed’—and the border between the free territories and the Spanish Empire or, later, Chile, was no exception.<sup>11</sup> Franciscans and Jesuits had been conducting missionary work among the Araucanians from the early colonial period onwards. Political negotiations and diplomatic encounters, together with countless locally negotiated agreements, also contributed to entangle both worlds politically. In particular, the Spanish policy of the *parlamentos*—meetings held regularly from 1612 to 1803 between Araucanian and Spanish

<sup>9</sup> Jones, ‘Warfare, Reorganization, and Readaptation’, 138.

<sup>10</sup> On changes in the social and economic structure of indigenous societies in southern-central Chile after the Spanish invasion, see Guillaume Boccara (1999), ‘Etnogénesis Mapuche: resistencia y reestructuración entre los indígenas del centro-sur de Chile (siglos XVI–XVIII)’, *The Hispanic American Historical Review* 79 (3).

<sup>11</sup> Geoffrey Bennington (2004), ‘Postal Politics and the Institution of the Nation’, in Bhabha, Homi K. (ed.), *Nation and Narration* (London: Routledge): 121.

authorities—marked the colonial coexistence between the colony and the free territories. Marriage alliances within Araucanian groups, with Pampas and Tehuelche bands, and Chilean and European traders and frontier settlements, as well as intermarriage with Chilean and Argentine ‘captives’ created a multifarious network of ethnic relations in and beyond Araucanía.<sup>12</sup> Warfare along the frontier diminished over the course of the seventeenth century and still more in the eighteenth. Cross-frontier trade developed rapidly during these centuries. From the seventeenth century, the inhabitants of Araucanía supplied Chileans with ponchos and cattle in exchange for hardware, wine, and European manufactured goods. Adaptability facilitated the ready acceptance of new goods and technology among the inhabitants of Araucanía.<sup>13</sup> Women were adorned with much silver jewellery, and men’s silver was displayed on their horses in their reins, bridles, and spurs.<sup>14</sup> By the nineteenth century, Araucanian leaders would be buried in the full dress uniform of the Chilean or Argentine military.<sup>15</sup> After independence, the Chilean government continued the colonial policy for several decades: the army watched the frontier and the government subsidized ‘friendly *caciques*’. By the 1810s, independent Araucanía covered the area between the Bio-Bio River and the Laja River to the north, the axis connecting San José de la Mariquina and Panguipulli, as well as extending south of the Toltén River. By the mid-nineteenth century Mapuche groups had also established chiefdoms in Patagonia and the Pampas. When Pascual Coña was born around the year 1848, Mapuche power had reached its zenith, extending from the Pacific almost to the Atlantic.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>12</sup> Jones, ‘Warfare, Reorganization, and Readaptation’, 165.

<sup>13</sup> Jones, ‘Warfare, Reorganization, and Readaptation’, 165.

<sup>14</sup> I thank Magnus Course for sharing his doctoral dissertation with me. Magnus Course, ‘*Mapuche Person, Mapuche People. Individual and Society in Indigenous Southern Chile*’ (Unpublished PhD Dissertation, London School of Economics and Political Science, 2005): 177.

<sup>15</sup> Rolf Foerster and André Ménard (2009), ‘Futatrokikelu: don i autoridad en la relación Mapuche-Wingka’, *Atenea (Concepción)* I Sem. (499).

<sup>16</sup> Martha Bechis (2002), ‘The Last Step in the Process of “Araucanization” of the Pampa’, 1810–1880: Attempts of Ethnic Ideologization and “Nationalism” among the Mapuche and Araucanized Pampean Aborigines’, in Briones, Claudia, and Lanata, José Luis (eds.), *Archaeological and Anthropological Perspectives on the Native Peoples of Pampa, Patagonia, and Tierra del Fuego to the Nineteenth Century* (Native Peoples of the Americas; London: Bergin & Garvey).

## COLLECTING ARAUCANIAN ANTIQUITIES

As Pascual Coña was growing up with his family in Raukenwe—today's Piedra Alta—the collecting and study of Araucanian material culture in Chile was, likewise, in its infancy. Araucanians were presumed not to have produced a monumental record of buildings and precious metal adornments or refined pottery. Their material culture, which bore little resemblance to that of the Old World's classical record, was, up to the 1870s, not a priority, either in nineteenth-century European antiquarianism and archaeology or among the few Chilean citizens interested in the collecting and study of antiquities.<sup>17</sup> Moreover, the limits of Spanish and, later, Chilean dominion constrained access to Araucanian material culture. Prior to the 1850s, few Europeans and Chileans were willing and able to venture beyond the frontier along the Bio-Bio River to study and collect samples of fauna, flora, minerals, or material culture. When Claudio Gay, a French naturalist who had offered his services, was called to set up a Chilean national museum in 1839, he envisioned publishing a comprehensive atlas of Chile, including volumes on the nation's botanical and mineralogical assets, its geographical delimitation, and its population, devoting one volume specifically to the population and culture of Araucanía. The difficulty of accessing the territories, however, made the act of collecting Araucanian 'antiquities' and observations on customs almost impossible—for other early travellers, as well as for Gay. For decades to come, Chileans or foreigners could not pass freely through the territories ruled by 'bellicose Araucanian tribes'.<sup>18</sup> Gay never realized the section of his atlas he had planned to name 'Customs and Uses of the Araucanians' (*Costumbres I [sic] usos de los Araucanos*).<sup>19</sup> Beyond the Bio-Bio River, Gay only visited 'those parts of the Araucanian territory he could penetrate'<sup>20</sup> to study their

<sup>17</sup> For Chileans' preference for Incan antiquities, see Chapter Four. For the scarcity of interest in non-monumental archaeology in and beyond Europe, see Chapter 10 in Díaz-Andreu, *A World History of Nineteenth-Century Archaeology*.

<sup>18</sup> José Siemiradzki (1894), 'Un viaje de exploración en la Patatogonia', *Anales de la Universidad de Chile* 83: 128.

<sup>19</sup> Diego Barros Arana (1875), 'Don Claudio Gay i su obra. Cuatro artículos', *Revista Chilena* 1–3. The atlas was recently published: Claudio Gay (2004), *Atlas de la historia física y política de Chile*, 2 vols. (Santiago: LOM Ediciones).

<sup>20</sup> Barros Arana, 'Don Claudio Gay i su obra. Cuatro artículos', 474–90.

inhabitants, often where local Araucanian authorities granted him access.<sup>21</sup> Collection and exploration invariably signalled the limits of dominion.

It was only under Rudolph Philippi, from 1853, that the National Museum's collection would expand considerably.<sup>22</sup> By the mid-nineteenth century, new markets had opened for Chilean wheat as a result of the California gold boom, and demand for the rich farmland in southern Chile pushed settlers into the vast and fertile territories of Araucanía. German settlements were established around the exclaves of Valdivia and Osorno, both colonial foundations, and following in 1852, by Lake Llanquihue.<sup>23</sup> Acquaintances and compatriots of Philippi, several among the educated German-speaking immigrants in the southern outpost settlements, remitted plant specimens and naturalist observations, but also material culture they associated with Araucanians' ancient past to the National Museum in Santiago.<sup>24</sup> The settlers sometimes remitted entire archaeological collections to the museum under Philippi's direction, 'of arrow heads and other stone utensils found in Concepción and Puchoco'.<sup>25</sup> Sometimes Philippi, who spent his summer vacations on his family's estate near Valdivia, took with him to Santiago donations from the settlers, as in 1876, 'a stone axe and various plates and vessels, found in graves from the ancient Indians [...] in the province of Valdivia'.<sup>26</sup> Francisco—or Franz—Fonck (1830–1912), who arrived in Chile in 1854 to become the doctor of the colonies of Llanquihue and Puerto Montt, was a personal friend of Philippi's and one of the first donors of archaeological material to the museum—giving 'stone utensils the ancient

<sup>21</sup> Claudio Gay (n.d.), 'Les Araucaniens', Santiago, *Archivo Nacional de Chile. Colección Claudio Gay Vol. 39. 5. fjs 81–83*.

<sup>22</sup> For one of the earliest biographies, see Paul Fürstenberg (1906), 'Dr. Rudolph Amandus Philippi', *Verhandlungen des Deutschen Wissenschaftlichen Vereins zu Santiago* 5 (2). On the history of Santiago's museum under Philippi's directorship, see the work of Patience Schell. Schell, 'Capturing Chile'.

<sup>23</sup> On the early phase of German colonization in Araucanía from 1830 to 1853, see Regine I. Heberlein (2008), *Writing a National Colony: The Hostility of Inscription in the German Settlement of Lake Llanquihue* (Amherst: Cambria Press).

<sup>24</sup> For a comprehensive list of donors to the National Museum, see Leotardo Matus Zapata (1916), 'Las colecciones existentes en la sección de antropología i etnología del Museo Nacional', *Boletín del Museo Nacional de Chile* 9.

<sup>25</sup> Rudolph A. Philippi (1876), 'Museo Nacional', *Anales de la Universidad de Chile* 49: 367.

<sup>26</sup> Rudolph A. Philippi (1876), 'Museo Nacional', *Anales de la Universidad de Chile* 49: 367.

indigenes inhabiting the regions of Puerto Montt had used in another time' in 1861.<sup>27</sup> German colonists in the area around Llanquihue, when clearing the woods for agriculture, encountered 'stone axes, [...] clay vessels, stone pots, clay pipes for smoking, and pan pipes made of slate' underneath the roots of giant, ancient trees by accident. They passed them on to Philippi for his museum or to other colonists who owned, like Fonck, private collections. Carl Martin from Jena, Fonck's successor as doctor in the Llanquihue colony after 1869, relates how Fonck received 'the shard of a clay pot' from a German colonist who had been digging a well many metres beneath the ground.<sup>28</sup> By the 1910s, with the help of his acquaintances in the area, Fonck had gathered more than a hundred perforated stones—half of them broken—the shards of mortars, cups of coarse stone he had discovered in graves, grinding stones—a hundred and fifty of them intact and around eighty broken ones—and the fragments of ceramic vessels.<sup>29</sup> The colonists helped form collections because they had probably seen antiquities or herbaria on display in the Santiago museum, back home in Germany, or at the area's private collectors' residences; their eyes were sensitive to the samples' cultural and scientific significance. Already in 1861, Philippi rejoiced in the German settlers' frequent contributions. Several among them were 'enthusiasts of natural history' and with their help Araucanía had been 'explored better than any other [area] in the Republic except that of Santiago'.<sup>30</sup> From 1885, whenever they had a chance to travel to the capital, German-speaking immigrants met in Santiago's German Scientific Society, a club presided over by the same Philippi, and founded to discuss diverse scientific matters, including archaeological themes.<sup>31</sup> The personality and the connections

<sup>27</sup> Rudolph A. Philippi (1861), 'Carta al Ministerio de Educación, Santiago, 14 de Mayo', *Archivo Nacional de Chile. Sección Ministerio de Educación, Vol. 84*.

<sup>28</sup> Carl Martin (1909), *Landeskunde von Chile. Aus dem Nachlass von Dr. Med. Carl Martin, Puerto Montt (Chile)* (Publikation des Geographischen Instituts der Universität Jena; Hamburg: L. Friederichsen & Co): 364.

<sup>29</sup> Franz Fonck (1910), *La región pre-histórica de Quilpué y su relación con la de Tiahuanacu. Estudio arqueológico basado sobre la colección del autor exhibida en la Esposición Histórica del Centenario* (Valparaíso: Sociedad Imprenta y Litográfica Universo).

<sup>30</sup> Philippi, 'Carta al Ministerio de Educación, Santiago, 14 de Mayo'.

<sup>31</sup> The Society was also destined to 'tighten the bond of language, customs and thinking that connects us Germans everywhere': (1885), 'Verhandlungen des deutschen wissenschaftlichen Vereins zu Santiago. Vorbemerkung', *Verhandlungen des Deutschen Wissenschaftlichen Vereins zu Santiago*: 3. Fonck, for instance, published in the society's organ. Franz Fonck and Hugo Kunz (1893), 'Ein Beitrag zur

of museum directors often proved decisive to the formation of museum collections, in Chile as in other parts of the world in the nineteenth century.<sup>32</sup> Attached to Philippi by a shared language and homeland, the experience of migration, and settlement in alien territory, and, often, their training as scientists back home, the German-speaking settlers in the south supplied the collective and practical labour necessary in the early phase of the National Museum's collecting endeavours.<sup>33</sup>

Around 1862, when Pascual Coña was about 14 years old, he was sent to a Capuchin missionary school by Lake Budi in Araucanía.<sup>34</sup> Capuchin friars had been given permission to evangelize in Araucanía by the mid-nineteenth century, moving southward from Puerto Saavedra. After them came the Salesians, destined to evangelize in the territories south of the Cautín River. Missionaries had, ever since the first Jesuits arrived in Chile in 1593, taken pains to learn the native language—an indispensable tool for evangelization—systematizing Mapudungun into a grammar and compiling a Spanish–Mapudungun dictionary.<sup>35</sup> The Capuchins continued their colonial predecessors' interest in the study and systematization of the Mapudungun language. The Italian Capuchin friar Constancio de Trisobio, founder of the school Pascual Coña attended up to 1866, likewise authored linguistic treatises on Mapudungun. His capacity to translate between Spanish and Mapudungun and the comparative ease with which he moved in Araucanian territories rendered Friar Constancio an important intermediary, not only between Chilean and Araucanian

Kennniss der Steinzeit im mittleren Chile', *Verhandlungen des Deutschen Wissenschaftlichen Vereins zu Santiago* 2 (5). For a detailed discussion of German immigrants' networks with scientific institutions back home, see Stefanie Gänger (2011), 'Colecciones y estudios naturalistas en las colonias alemanas en el sur de Chile, c. 1850–1900', *Historia* 396 (*Instituto de la Pontificia Universidad Católica de Valparaíso*) 1 (1).

<sup>32</sup> See, for instance, Pascal Riviale's observations about the director of the Sevres Ceramics Museum (*Musée de la Céramique de Sèvres*), Alexandre Brongniart. Riviale, 'L'oeuvre archéologique d'Alcide d'Orbigny', 368; Riviale, 'Las colecciones americanas en Francia en el siglo XIX', 32.

<sup>33</sup> For a survey of these debates in the history of science, see James Delbourgo and Nicholas Dew (2008), 'Introduction', *Science and Empire in the Atlantic World* (New York/London: Routledge): 5–6.

<sup>34</sup> Coña, *Lonco Pascual Coña ñi tuculpazugun*, 56.

<sup>35</sup> Andrés I. Prieto (2011), *Missionary Scientists: Jesuit Science in Spanish South America, 1570–1810* (Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press): 36.

military commanders but also for researchers from Santiago.<sup>36</sup> By the mid-1860s, the National Museum and the country's scientific associations were profiting from missionaries' remittances of translations, of transcriptions of local tales and folklore, and of material culture associated with the area's pre-Columbian past. It was not uncommon for missionaries to excavate Araucanian cemeteries, or to have them excavated. In 1861, the missionary father Pablo de Royade remitted a stone axe to Philippi. Royade had also supplied the money necessary to excavate in the 'ancient cemeteries of the Indians of Valdivia discovered recently' to uncover the remains of the people who had inhabited the Republic before the arrival of the Spanish.<sup>37</sup> In 1867, the priest Evaristo Lazo remitted 'objects found in the graves of the Indians discovered near Navidad'—copper lamina, adornments, cooking utensils, and ropes—to the National Museum in Santiago. As in contemporary Europe, the skeletons, pottery, or jewellery often crumbled on exposure or broke under the impact of a roughly handled spade:<sup>38</sup> Lazo failed to send a cranium of the aborigines interred there, he confessed to Philippi, because the bones had fallen to pieces when he touched them.<sup>39</sup> The gathering of cultural information on local populations' customs and ways of living among missionaries was of long standing. Already the early colonial Jesuit missionaries in Latin America had gathered artefacts and observations because it was knowledge they considered, like the Franciscans and the Dominicans, key to changing the ways of life they were recording.<sup>40</sup> Unearthing material culture may have permitted friars like Royade or Lazo to understand Araucanian groups' religious practices and beliefs and to discern or control possible relapses. Their correspondence with the National Museum, however, conveys the impression that, rather than religious fervour, the friars' motives

<sup>36</sup> Francisco Vidal Gormaz refers to the friar's linguistic studies. Francisco Vidal Gormaz (1867), *Exploración hidrográfica de la costa i rios de la Araucania comprendidos entre la Punta Cauten por el Norte i la Punta Chanchan por el Sur, hecha de órden del Supremo Gobierno* (Santiago: Imprenta Nacional): 21. Pascual Coña refers to the trade routes frequented by Father Constancio and the good relations the latter entertained with Araucanian families. Coña, *Lonco Pascual Coña ñi tuculpazugun*, 52–68.

<sup>37</sup> Philippi, 'Carta al Ministerio de Educaci3n, Santiago, 14 de Mayo'.

<sup>38</sup> Levine, *The Amateur and the Professional*, 33–4.

<sup>39</sup> Rudolph A. Philippi (1867), 'Museo Nacional', *Anales de la Universidad de Chile* 29: 619.

<sup>40</sup> Prieto, *Missionary Scientists*, 36–61.



for their archaeological endeavours were of an intellectual and a sociable nature. Several of the missionaries were educated men: once in Araucanía, they found themselves far removed from other friars, and from most Chileans or Europeans.<sup>41</sup> Historians have argued that British country clergymen sometimes engaged in antiquarian practices and discourses because it allowed them to correspond with like-minded individuals in the urban centres, for intellectual stimulation and to escape their daily lives.<sup>42</sup> In their majority from places like Italy or Bavaria, the missionaries in Araucanía had been educated in places where the excavation, collection, and study of things ancient—of classical, but by the early nineteenth century increasingly also of Germanic, Slavonic, or Celtic antiquities—was already a popular pastime, and an affirmation of one's belonging to a community of learned men, on familiar and friendly terms with one another.<sup>43</sup> As for the German-speaking settlers, the missionaries' archaeological and linguistic endeavours may have allowed them to pursue connections, in their relative isolation, with like-minded individuals. As collectors corresponded with one another, requesting information and passing on their discoveries, they forged and remade intellectual and social ties.

In 1866, Pascual Coña moved to Santiago to continue his studies in San Vicente de Paul College.<sup>44</sup> During his time in the Chilean capital, he undoubtedly heard of a series of Chilean military expeditions into the Araucanian territories. By the 1860s, the independence and hostility of the Araucanian 'barbarians' increasingly came to be seen as a breach of Chilean sovereignty and safety, and the conquest of their territories a vital necessity in Chilean public discourse and among Chilean politicians. Even though there was considerable controversy over the means by which the incorporation of Araucanía should be effected, the advocates of violent measures to displace the local population would eventually prevail.<sup>45</sup> In 1868 the Chilean army

<sup>41</sup> Father Constancio, for instance, was the only missionary in the school he had founded and was running; a Friar Gabriel only joined him during the 1860s. Coña, *Lonco Pascual Coña ñi tuculpazugun*, 60.

<sup>42</sup> Sweet, *Antiquaries*, 53.

<sup>43</sup> For the beginnings of 'patriotic' antiquarianism in Europe, see Sommer, 'Choosing Ancestors'. For the social aspects of European antiquarian communities' function, see in particular the second chapter ('Community and Consensus') in Levine, *The Amateur and the Professional*.

<sup>44</sup> Coña, *Lonco Pascual Coña ñi tuculpazugun*, 85.

<sup>45</sup> For a summary of the 1860s debates, Jorge Pinto Rodríguez (1996), 'Del antiindigenismo al proindigenismo en Chile en el siglo XIX', in Pinto Rodríguez,

secured the line marked by the Malleco River and, after years of Mapuche assaults and Chilean punitive raids, a more southerly line was established along the Traiguén River in 1878 (see Figure 3.1). During the campaigns, the National Museum in Santiago came to rely upon the donations of military officials engaged in the conquest and exploration of Araucanía. Military officials regularly supported the National Museum in its collecting endeavours, sending back ‘weapons, household items, and women’s adornments from the Indians of Araucanía’, or stone objects from Valdivia ‘used by its indigenes before the conquest’.<sup>46</sup> Chilean marine officers played a particularly prominent role in the gathering of knowledge about Araucanía from the 1860s. As early as 1862, the Chilean government commissioned an expedition to map the southern territories and explore its agricultural potential, natural environment, the customs among the Araucanians, and their relations with Chileans who had settled in the area—‘observations or objects, anything of importance to science and the convenience of the nation’.<sup>47</sup> In 1871, Rudolph Philippi gave the naturalist who formed part of another such official ‘exploratory commission’, appointed to study the sea and coasts of Chiloé and Llanquihue, detailed instructions for the collection of objects for the National Museum. The naturalist was told ‘by order of the government and following the instructions of Mr R. A. Philippi’ to bring back not only zoological and botanical samples but also archaeological materials. If he found ancient graves, Philippi instructed the naturalist, he should ‘not omit to collect skeletons or at least crania’, but also the ‘metal, stone, and wooden utensils’ he found along with the human material remains, and ‘whatever’ he found ‘in the earth, such as stone axes, ancient pots’.<sup>48</sup> An institution of particular note was the Hydrographical Office, and its organ, the Hydrographical Yearbook (*Anuario Hidrográfico*), which, under Francisco Vidal Gormaz’s directorship from 1874 to 1891, stood out as a means of acquiring and

Jorge (ed.), *Del discurso colonial al proindigenismo. Ensayos de historia latinoamericana* (Santiago de Chile: Ediciones Universidad de la Frontera): 84–95.

<sup>46</sup> Rudolph A. Philippi (1869), ‘Museo Nacional’, *Anales de la Universidad de Chile* 32: 177–8.

<sup>47</sup> Leoncio Señoret (1862), ‘Instrucciones dadas por el Capitán Señoret al Teniente Vidal, n.p., 17 de Marzo’, *Archivo Regional de la Araucanía. Fondo Memorias Ministeriales, Departamento de Guerra y Marina, Vol. 0037*, 43.

<sup>48</sup> Rudolph A. Philippi (1871), ‘Carta a Carlos Juliet, Santiago, 19 de Diciembre de 1869’, *Anales de la Universidad de Chile* 36: 81.

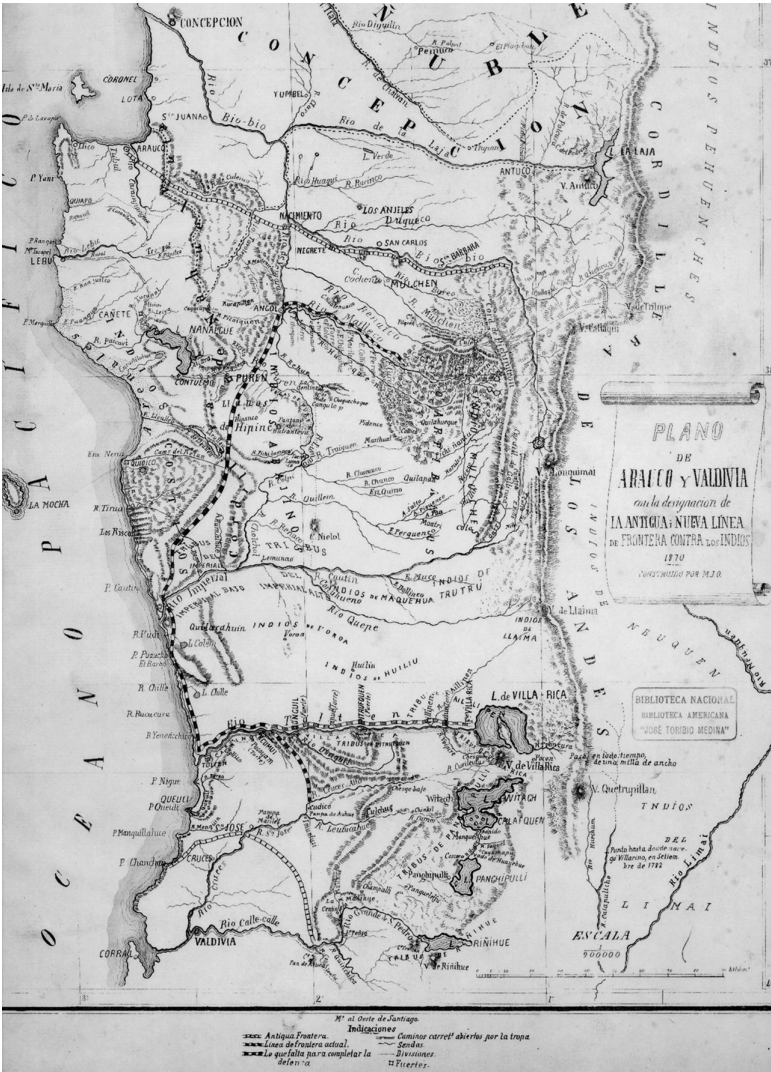


Fig. 3.1. 'Map of Arauco and Valdivia designating the old and the new frontier line against the Indians' (*Plano de Arauco i Valdivia con la designación de la antigua i nueva linea de frontera contra los indios*), 1870.

publicizing knowledge about southern Chile, from Chiloé down to Tierra del Fuego.<sup>49</sup> Military officers in Chile, as elsewhere, were educated men, familiar with the basic paradigms of archaeological research, and were often among the most important collectors and observers of antiquities for private and public collections in the urban centres.<sup>50</sup>

As the army, missionaries, researchers, and settlers advanced into Araucanía, their ideas about the inhabitants of the area underwent profound changes. From the early 1800s on, and in distant parts of the world, a vast array of writings has been devoted to the inevitable disappearance of 'primitive races' caused by the encounter with 'civilization', and to the firm conviction that wherever 'primitive' and 'modern' societies met 'primitive' societies would not resist for long and would give way to modernity.<sup>51</sup> In Chile, discourses about Araucanians' nearing extinction had begun to surface significantly in politicians' speeches, naturalists' treatises, and military reports from the moment the Chilean state contemplated the annexation of independent Araucanía in the 1850s. In 1861, Rudolph Philippi authored an article in a German periodical about the impending 'extinction of the Araucanians'. One noted it everywhere, Philippi wrote, the 'odd fact that the number of Indians has declined steadily'. Even if prosperous and well treated, their superstitious resistance to 'adequate' medical treatment and their proneness to disease continued to decimate the indigenous population. Soon, Philippi concluded, the time would come when they would dissolve into the 'white population', especially if the number of immigrants increased.<sup>52</sup> The idea of evanescence was performative in the sense that it acted on the world as well as described it.<sup>53</sup> Rudolph Philippi had long been involved in campaigns

<sup>49</sup> Zenobio Saldivia Maldonado (2005), *La ciencia en el Chile decimonónico* (Santiago: Ediciones Universidad Tecnológica Metropolitana): 131–40.

<sup>50</sup> See, for instance, the case of the Scottish Highlands, where British military officials studied Roman ruins in the course of military surveying: Hingley, *The Recovery of Roman Britain 1586–1906*, 143–7.

<sup>51</sup> Patrick Brantlinger limits his observations to English-language texts, but his work on 'discourses in extinction' provides a very useful point of reference for my own work. Patrick Brantlinger (2003), *Dark Vanishings: Discourse on the Extinction of Primitive Races, 1800–1930* (Ithaca/London: Cornell University Press).

<sup>52</sup> Rudolph A. Philippi (1861), 'Das Aussterben der Araucanier in Chile', in *Mittheilungen aus Justus Perthes' Geographischer Anstalt über wichtige neue Erforschungen auf dem Gesamtgebiete der Geographie von Dr. A. Petermann*.

<sup>53</sup> Brantlinger, *Dark Vanishings*, 4.

promoting German immigration to the region around Lake Llanquihue, assisting his brother Bernardo Philippi, a colonial agent of the Chilean government in Germany.<sup>54</sup> He addressed a German audience—potential settlers—with this article. Araucanians' impending decline rendered the taking of their land the natural course of events. Philippi was not mourning their demise; Araucanians' end was desirable, for it would remove a threat to settlement and progress in the area. In 1868, Congressman Benjamín Vicuña Mackenna had interfered in a parliamentary debate on military operations in Araucanía. Vicuña Mackenna had held that a victory against the Indian—vicious and barbarian, 'the enemy of civilization'—was then possible: the population of the Republic had grown at a 'gigantic' pace, while Araucanía had long been 'shrinking, in its territory and in its population'.<sup>55</sup> Historians studying evanescence have long argued that the belief that primitive races were doomed, that nature had ordained their vanishing in the face of civilization, was a mantra for advocates of British imperial expansion, American manifest destiny, and British settlers living on colonial frontiers in Australia, New Zealand, and North America: it justified, and it even worked towards, extinction.<sup>56</sup> Chileans pursued frontier colonization in explicit adherence to the New England-style model of settler-colonial progress and westward expansion, premised upon the displacement and even the annihilation of an economically dispensable population.<sup>57</sup> Discourses like Philippi's or Vicuña Mackenna's about evanescence likewise mirrored British imperial and New England literary narratives about 'the last of the Mohicans', or scientific discourses about the 'extinction of the Tasmanians', Charles Darwin's main exhibit in his considerations of racial extinction. In Chile, as in other parts of the world, Araucanians' vanishing of their own accord was, even if

<sup>54</sup> On the Philippi family, see, for instance, Heberlein, *Writing a National Colony: The Hostility of Inscription in the German Settlement of Lake Llanquihue*.

<sup>55</sup> Benjamín Vicuña Mackenna (1866), 'La conquista de Arauco. Discurso pronunciado en la cámara de diputados, en su sesión de 16 de Agosto 1866', in Universidad de Chile (ed.), *Discursos parlamentarios* (1; Santiago de Chile: Dirección General de Prisiones).

<sup>56</sup> Brantlinger, *Dark Vanishings*, 9. On 'manifest destinies' on the American continent, see David Maybury-Lewis, Theodore Macdonald, and Biorn Maybury-Lewis (eds.) (2009), *Manifest Destinies and Indigenous Peoples* (Cambridge, Mass./London: Harvard University Press).

<sup>57</sup> See, for instance, Vicuña Mackenna, 'La conquista de Arauco'.

ambiguous, desirable; it would further military victory, national unity, and settlement.<sup>58</sup>

Towards the end of the campaigns, discourses about Araucanians' death or assimilation, though present throughout the conquest, underwent profound transformations: from the celebration of the demise of 'savagery' as a necessity for social progress they turned, once the campaigns were over and the victory won, to the mourning of that demise.<sup>59</sup> Through the gradual encroachment of settler colonies, the undermining of internal alliances, and increasingly systematic military assaults, the Chilean state gradually advanced into Araucanía. Whereas some Araucanian communities responded with violence to the Chilean penetration into their territory, others opted to seek redress working within the governmental system, and others again migrated east over the cordillera to join the growing encampments in the *pampas*. In 1883, interrupted by the War of the Pacific, the Chilean army returned to finish the campaigns and concluded the conquest of independent Araucanía. Around 1882, discourses lamenting Indians' impending death began to surface: the observation of Araucanians' imminent demise became the principal cause, and lent a new sense of urgency, to the protection and preservation of their remnants. In his 1882 instructions to hydrographical expeditions, Vidal Gormaz ordered his men in 'the Araucanian territories' to study the area's routes, topography, resources, and rivers, but also 'Araucanian ethnography and anthropology', to excavate 'in any place that may enclose objects of interest to our museums', to collect 'measurements of the body in general, principally of the cranium and the limbs and the facial angle'. His men were to observe and make notes regarding the inhabitants' 'physical characteristics, physiological and pathological', Araucanians' weapons, their domestic utensils, clothes, and they were to take notes of their religion, and 'traditions', to point out to the accompanying photographer the 'best objects of study [. . .], the best types of the indigenous race, their houses, and [. . .] ruins', and record their language, compiling 'a small vocabulary of the usual words'. The soldiers and marines were to 'write down any observation', and the acquisitions made were to 'be catalogued and preserved as state

<sup>58</sup> The idea of the Indians' evanescence' is detailed in Gänger (forthcoming), 'The Last of his Kind'.

<sup>59</sup> Brantlinger, *Dark Vanishings*, 5.

property'.<sup>60</sup> Vidal Gormaz also interfered with the renaming of places, prohibiting the common practice of European settler toponymy. 'You will give preference to the indigenous geographical names,' he ordered his men; 'no one has a right to substitute those names for other capricious or more modern ones.' If the authorities had imposed new names, these had to be adopted but his subordinates still were to 'preserve the old ones, recording to which of the [newly given names] they corresponded'. In the last paragraph of his instructions, Vidal Gormaz laid out reasons for his collaborators to collect material evidence of Araucanian cultures:

[...] the planned occupation of Araucanía will inevitably produce the assimilation of the indigenous element in its independent and savage form. Within no time the noble Araucanian race will have disappeared, and it will no longer be possible to study it except through the ancient chroniclers and modern explorers. What is still preserved of it will in the future gain significance in a way we can only have a vague presentiment of at the moment [...].<sup>61</sup>

Araucanian Indians were disintegrating into assimilation and they had to be saved—in words, images, and things.

In 1881, during the last general Araucanian uprising against the Chilean army, Pascual Coña was one of many Araucanians who took sides with the Chilean government. After the conflict, Pascual Coña was involved as a mediator in peace negotiations, interfacing with the Chilean and Argentine governments to free the Araucanian leaders. During that time, in 1882 and 1884, two studies considered foundational to Chilean archaeology and anthropology saw the light in Santiago: Diego Barros Arana's *General History of Chile* and José Toribio Medina's *Chilean Aborigines*. In both studies, Araucanians had become the manifestation of the 'Chilean Indian'. Barros Arana differentiated between three Indian groups in Chilean territory: whereas the Changos in the north and the Indians from Tierra del Fuego constituted ephemeral groups, the 'Chilean or Araucanian branch' was, to Barros Arana, the essential and predominant one.<sup>62</sup>

<sup>60</sup> Francisco Vidal Gormaz (1882), 'Oficina hidrográfica de Chile. Instrucciones impartidas por la oficina hidrográfica', *Anales de la Universidad de Chile* 61: 698.

<sup>61</sup> Vidal Gormaz, *Anales de la Universidad de Chile* 61: 698.

<sup>62</sup> Diego Barros Arana (1875), 'Jeografía etnográfica. Apuntes sobre la etnografía de Chile, por don Diego Barros Arana, decano de la facultad de filosofía i humanidades', *Anales de la Universidad de Chile* 46 (1): 6–11.

Medina's work centred likewise on pre-Columbian Araucanía, treating other parts of Chile, such as Patagonia or Tierra del Fuego, as marginal. Regarding himself as a 'modern antiquary', Medina combined the study of pre-conquest artefacts and human crania, held by the National Museum, in his own collection, and by the collectors Luis Montt and Rafael Garrido, with a reading of the chroniclers—Cristóbal de Molina, Juan de Betanzos and Nuñez de Pineda y Bascuñán. He also deployed the reports of travellers, European settlers, and military men in Araucanía, as well as the work of scientists in the service of the National Museum, in particular that of Rudolph Philippi and of Claudio Gay.<sup>63</sup> Despite Medina's reliance upon earlier studies, in the eyes of both contemporaries and twentieth-century historians his *Chilean Aborígenes*, together with Barros Arana's compilation of the state of the art on the 'Chilean Indians', marked the founding of the disciplines of prehistory and archaeology in Chile, the moment when the conquest of Araucanía was finalized. Medina concluded his *Chilean Aborígenes* by making explicit the temporal coincidence between his publication on Araucanian prehistoric archaeology and the conquest of Araucanía: in just a little more time 'independent Arauco' would disappear from the map of Chile, 'the legendary nation that for centuries has maintained itself indomitable against the superiority of the European race', Medina wrote, would only 'persist by virtue of [...] its memories and its legacy within the soil of its ancestors'.<sup>64</sup> The early 1880s marked the defeat of Araucanía and the beginning of Araucanian archaeology as a discipline. After the end of their time Araucanians would endure but as a memory, through their 'legacy in the soil'. While Pascual Coña and his kind were still negotiating, struggling, and fighting, they had already begun to change in the eyes of men like Medina or, indeed, Vidal Gormaz; they had begun to disappear, and to leave behind only precious relics.

After 1900, the anxious yearning to preserve what could still be saved became the dominant discourse in relation to Araucanians. To study the bodies and faces, the 'physical characteristics' of the remaining 'authentic' indigenes, was a pressing matter, wrote Tomás Guevara (1865–1935), a teacher in the occupied territories and an ethnographer, in his main work, the 'History of Araucanian

<sup>63</sup> Medina, *Los Aborígenes de Chile*.

<sup>64</sup> Medina, *Los Aborígenes de Chile*.



Civilization’, for ‘the time of their complete disappearance was not far off’.<sup>65</sup> In 1913, Guevara edited a collection titled *The Last Araucanian Families and Customs* (*Las últimas familias y costumbres araucanas*). His task, said Guevara as he introduced the volume to readers, consisted of describing the customs that had persisted ‘in the race in the last period of its existence, and those that disappeared upon contact with progress and the necessities of a new life’.<sup>66</sup> To rescue and guard the material remains that could still be found in Araucanía was a matter of urgency, or, as Guevara phrased that same conviction in 1900:

The race is about to become extinct and with them the objects they have used in the different periods of their existence. How many instruments, furniture and pots could one find in their houses, in their possessions and cemeteries! How easily could one form a complete picture of their means of existence and activity, their habits and religious thought!<sup>67</sup>

The concern with the preservation of remnants that is traceable in the writings of Vidal Gormaz, Guevara, or de Moesbach evolved in dialogue with an interconnected transatlantic scientific community. It took up, in particular, the discourses and practices of Northern European and North American ‘salvage anthropology’—there, the discipline of anthropology found a method and a role out of the amalgam of moral and scientific concern with the ‘salvage’ vanishing before the spread of civilization.<sup>68</sup> Guevara’s anxiety rested, like Vidal

<sup>65</sup> Tomás Guevara (1898, 1899), ‘Historia de la Civilización de Araucanía’, *Anales de la Universidad de Chile* 94: 306.

<sup>66</sup> Bruhns and Kelker, *Faking the Ancient Andes*; Tomás Guevara (1913), *Las últimas familias i costumbres araucanas* (Historia de la civilización de Araucanía VII; Santiago: Imprenta, Litografía i Encuadernación ‘Barcelona’): 5.

<sup>67</sup> Tomás Guevara (1900), ‘Museos etnológicos americanos’, in Porter, Cárlos (ed.), *Cuarto Congreso Científico (Primero Pan-Americano)* (Santiago: Imprenta, Litografía y Encuadernación).

<sup>68</sup> The literature on North American and Northern European salvage anthropology is vast. For an early, classical article see Jacob W. Gruber (1970), ‘Ethnographic Salvage and the Shaping of Anthropology’, *American Anthropologist* 72 (6). For a critical reading of salvage, see Marshall Sahlins (2000), “‘Sentimental Pessimism’ and Ethnographic Experience or, why Culture is not a Disappearing ‘Object’”, in Daston (ed.), *Biographies of Scientific Objects*. German-speaking traditions of ‘salvage anthropology’ promoted a particular sense of urgency because, unlike North American scholars prior to 1900, German-speaking traditions did not seek to fix systems of cultural progression but instead to learn from this human diversity before it was eliminated. Penny, *Objects of Culture*, 30–4.

Gormaz's twenty years earlier and like de Moesbach's twenty years later, on a cognitive level; Araucanians' material culture, bodies, and ideas were items of information necessary to form understanding;<sup>69</sup> knowledge to become useful for a purpose as yet unknown, or as Vidal Gormaz would have said, 'in a way we can only have a vague presentiment of at the moment'. Vidal Gormaz, and indeed Guevara, did not endeavour to preserve and to treasure the endangered themselves—to protect them from violence or physical death—but to fix their words and ideas in writing, their bodies in measurements, and their possessions in collections—in short, to preserve not Araucanians' selves from disappearance but their relics and memory in anticipation of their inevitable disappearance.

Over the years of the campaigns, Araucanians were gradually reimagined as one of the world's modern Stone Age peoples, 'forgotten by time, bypassed by the currents of history'.<sup>70</sup> The years of the conquest of Araucanía coincided with the reception of the Three Age System in Chile—and the subsequent differentiation of the Stone Age into the Palaeolithic, or *Drift*, as an age of coarse stone tools, and the Neolithic, characterized by polished stone. By the 1870s and 1880s, Barros Arana, Fonck, Medina, and Vicuña Mackenna, all of whom maintained close academic ties with Europe and North America,<sup>71</sup> were partaking in a transatlantic debate about a deep human antiquity and its traces in the Americas. Medina and others began to

<sup>69</sup> Julien Delord (2006), 'The Nature of Extinction', *Studies in History and Philosophy of Biological and Biomedical Sciences* 38: 659.

<sup>70</sup> Chris Gosden (1999), *Anthropology and Archaeology. A Changing Relationship* (London/New York: Routledge): 1.

<sup>71</sup> Diego Barros Arana worked at the British Museum during the 1850s. Cristián Gazmuri (2006), *La historiografía chilena (1842–1970)* (Santiago: Taurus Historia): 92. Medina travelled extensively as a secretary of the Chilean legation in France, Spain, and England prior to 1877 and frequented Europe's libraries and archives. For Medina's journeys and reading, see L. Briones (1931), 'La obra de Medina', in Universidad de Chile (ed.), *Homenaje a José Toribio Medina con ocasión de su fallecimiento* (Santiago: Universidad de Chile). Vicuña Mackenna, forced into exile by the government of Manuel Montt after his participation in the 1851 uprising against the central government, visited the United States, Mexico, Canada, and several European countries. On Vicuña Mackenna's life, his exile, and political stance, see José Luis Rénique (2007), 'Benjamín Vicuña Mackenna: exilio, historia y nación', in McEvoy, Carmen, and Stuvén, Ana María (eds.), *La república peregrina: hombres de armas y letras en América del Sur. 1800–1884* (Estudios Históricos 46; Lima: IEP).

search for human artefacts and bodies in cave and river deposits that bore the bones of now extinct Pleistocene mammals. As no such association could be traced with certainty, Chileans resorted, like their North American colleagues, to the position that all that was necessary to demonstrate a deep human antiquity in the Americas was to find artefacts that looked ‘primitive’ and that resembled genuine European Palaeolithic finds.<sup>72</sup> When Medina finally discovered stone tools ‘that in their kind and making coincided exactly with those of their type found in Europe’,<sup>73</sup> his find allowed him and those who would follow him on this path to trace a Stone Age equivalent to that of Europe in Araucanía. In a 1903 study on perforated stones Alejandro Cañas Pinochet argued that the southern aborigines had ‘always lived in ignorance of the use of metals’. Based on a sample of 360 perforated stones—sixty-six of which he had gathered on his journeys in the south as a military intendant in the army<sup>74</sup>—Cañas Pinochet concluded the perforated stones found underneath the ground all over Chile testified to their making ‘in full Stone Age’: the polished, spherical ones in the Neolithic, and the coarse and rough ones in the Palaeolithic.<sup>75</sup> The pre-Columbian population in the north of Chile had reached the ‘Bronze Age’: Incan rule had given them knowledge of metallurgy and they had brought forth a refined material culture, ‘gold and silver objects, polished jugs and clay vessels with very fine drawings’. The pottery found in the south, instead, was ‘inferior’, one found no metal artefacts, and stone prevailed over every other material.<sup>76</sup> Authors like Medina, Philippi, and Karl Stolp understood that divergent conditions of preservation partly accounted for the absence of ‘fine

<sup>72</sup> On debates about a deep human antiquity in the Americas, see Brian Fagan and David J. Meltzer (1996), ‘Antiquity of Humankind’, in Fagan, Brian (ed.), *Oxford Reference Online* (Oxford University Press).

<sup>73</sup> Medina, *Los Aborígenes de Chile*, 62.

<sup>74</sup> Alejandro Cañas Pinochet (1903), ‘Las piedras horadadas’, *Actes de la Société Scientifique du Chili* 13: 195. For Cañas Pinochet’s position in the military, Alejandro Cañas Pinochet (1890), ‘Acta de entrega de la Intendencia Jeneral del Ejército del Sur hecha por don Alejandro Cañas Pinochet a don J. Chavez Luco’, *Archivo Regional e la Araucanía. Fondo Memorias Ministeriales, Departamento de Guerra y Marina*, Vol. 0015.

<sup>75</sup> Cañas Pinochet, ‘Las piedras horadadas’, 203.

<sup>76</sup> Medina, *Los Aborígenes de Chile*, 228.

drawings' and 'polished jugs' in Araucanian territories: in the northern desert, 'owing to the lack of rain and the conditions of the land', as Medina was well aware, organic material survived intact, while in the moist and rainy south it was 'reduced to dust' in no time.<sup>77</sup> Still, their understanding prevented neither Medina nor his contemporaries from making meaning of matter, from deciding on Araucanians' primitiveness through the prevalence of stone. And Araucanía not only harboured the remnants of a Stone Age; with time, the allegation of a 'continued use' of stone tools also absorbed living Araucanians—much like their Andean contemporaries—into this ever-more distant past. The inhabitants of the south were, as Medina had concluded already in 1882, 'more backward than those in the north'.<sup>78</sup> Up to the Spanish conquest and far beyond, Chilean scholars argued in his wake, they had not advanced beyond the Neolithic.<sup>79</sup> The Araucanians 'now living' kept stone utensils 'as an inheritance and memory of their ancestors', wrote Tomás Guevara: the grinding stones, mortars, and griddles unearthed 'from the most ancient burials' differed in no way from those that were kept among the inhabitants of Araucanía at present.<sup>80</sup> The 'barbarians' inhabiting Araucanía were averse to change, he wrote in 1900, and their material record was the same 'as centuries ago'.<sup>81</sup> As in the Andes, the professed sameness of Araucanians' material record included its owners and users: the perceived primitiveness of Araucanians' things not only reinforced the sense that they would soon disappear, but helped associate, in the space of years, men like Pascual Coña with a primordial time, and denied him 'coevalness' with modernity:<sup>82</sup> by the turn of the century

<sup>77</sup> Medina, *Los Aborígenes de Chile*, 228, 266. The paradox is traceable in several scholars. Rudolph A. Philippi, 'Museo Nacional', *Anales de la Universidad de Chile* 29 (1867); Karl Stolp (1889), 'Indianische Zeichen aus der Cordillere Chile's', *Verhandlungen des Deutschen Wissenschaftlichen Vereins zu Santiago* 2(1): 36.

<sup>78</sup> Medina, *Los Aborígenes de Chile*, 228.

<sup>79</sup> Ricardo E. Latcham (1912), 'Los elementos indígenas de la Raza Chilena', *Revista chilena de historia y geografía* 5 (4): 313, 73; Medina, *Los Aborígenes de Chile*, 307. See also Aureliano Oyarzún (1910), 'Contribución al estudio de la influencia de la civilización peruana sobre los aborígenes de Chile', *Congreso Internacional de Americanistas* (1; Buenos Aires: Coni Hermanos): 356.

<sup>80</sup> Tomás Guevara (1898–1902), *Historia de la Civilización de la Araucanía*, 2 vols. (2; Santiago de Chile: Imprenta de Cervantes): 295–304.

<sup>81</sup> Guevara, 'Museos etnológicos americanos', 138.

<sup>82</sup> For these reflections on the role of time in ethnography, see Fabian, *Time and the Other*.

Pascual Coña and his kind had already become, as de Moesbach would write during the 1920s, contemporaries 'of the ancient Araucanian race'.

Whereas the difficulties of entering the territories south of the Bio-Bio River and Araucanians' resistance to excavations had long rendered archaeological endeavours difficult, those anxious to 'salvage' Araucanians' disappearing legacy possessed unprecedented access to Araucanian material culture. After their military defeat, the Mapuche faced a process of relocation and placement in reservations by the compulsory acquisition of a land title. An unknown number of people remained outside these reservations, working on Chilean ranches, migrating to the cities, or remaining unregistered.<sup>83</sup> Like many others, Pascual Coña, at the head of his clan, was relocated to a plot of 102 hectares in 1913, in what is today Boyeko, in the locality of Kalbuleo. Several of the landowners, settlers, and administrative staff that flooded the Araucanian territories after the conquest pursued archaeological interests. Stone lancets reached the National Museum from Angol in 1883 and German settlers near Renaico helped enrich the museum's collection of stone axes and stone balls in 1887.<sup>84</sup> Estate owners from near Osorno remitted the fragments of 'small stone axes', vessels, and instruments 'none of which bore pictographic adornments'.<sup>85</sup> Scholars invaded cemeteries that were left unguarded after the conquest, because the relatives of the buried, who would otherwise have sought to protect the graves, had been displaced or had died.<sup>86</sup> Bernardo Gotschlich, a German settler and 'auxiliary naturalist' at Santiago's National Museum who was admitted into Santiago's Society of History and Geography, was often present at excavations in Araucanía, assisting landowners and settlers in their

<sup>83</sup> Alejandro Saavedra (2002), *Los Mapuche en la sociedad chilena actual*, Lom, Santiago, cited in Course, *Mapuche Person, Mapuche People. Individual and Society in Indigenous Southern Chile*, 57–8.

<sup>84</sup> Rudolph A. Philippi (1887), 'Carta al Ministerio de Educación, Santiago, 29 de Abril', *Archivo Nacional de Chile. Sección Ministerio de Educación*, Vol. 632.

<sup>85</sup> Bernardo Gotschlich (1913), 'Llanquihue i Valdivia', *Boletín del Museo Nacional de Chile* 6 (1).

<sup>86</sup> Leotardo Matus Zapata had often met with violent reactions when he sought to prospect graves in Araucanía, because those who lived close to the cemeteries, he explained, were often the descendants of the buried and threatened the scholar to prevent the excavations. Leotardo Matus Zapata (1915), 'Instrucciones para el estudio de la Antropología Araucana', *Boletín del Museo Nacional de Chile* 8 (1): 23.

archaeological endeavours.<sup>87</sup> He related how they had their own terrain excavated, ordering their workers to search the ground with sticks to detect 'spots of lighter earth and hollow sounds', and how feet, hip bones, femurs, and crania 'crumbled' before their eyes as they removed the earth, 'exposing them to the air'.<sup>88</sup> Araucanians' displacement coincided with the time when human bodies, skulls, and bones gained importance in the context of a growing concern with anthropometry and craniometrical observations in Chile.<sup>89</sup> Leotardo Matus Zapata, head of the section of anthropology and ethnology at the Museum of Natural History in Santiago during the second decade of the twentieth century, advised his colleagues that measurement of bones and crania would reveal the most to anthropologists about 'the ancient Araucanians'.<sup>90</sup> Before one could move on to study the living remnants of 'the Chilean race' scientifically, it was necessary to make haste with the search for ancient skeletons and other material remains, 'disappearing little by little', to understand their physical and cultural development in the past.<sup>91</sup> By the 1910s, not only had Matus Zapata found several graves unguarded; the Mapuche youth, educated in Chilean schools and accustomed to value ethnographers' researches over the integrity of their ancestors' burials, opened their families' cemeteries for researchers. With the help of his 'friend' Manuel Manquilef, Matus Zapata gained access to the 'most ancient graves of the cemetery of [Manuel Manquilef's] family' in the reservation of Pelal (Quepe).<sup>92</sup> And anthropologists also had the bodies of living Araucanians at their disposal; they could relate the measurement of the physical remains of the buried to the bodies of men and women; both the elderly and the 'healthy and muscular bodies' of

<sup>87</sup> On Gotschlich's position in the museum under Max Uhle, see Eduardo Moore (1912), 'Documentos oficiales. Oficios, estadísticas, catálogos. Memoria anual', *Boletín del Museo Nacional de Chile* 4. For Gotschlich's membership of the Society of History and Geography, see (1912), 'Actas de la Sociedad de Historia y Geografía', *Revista chilena de historia y geografía* (5).

<sup>88</sup> This passage is taken from a 1913 article written by Bernardo Gotschlich, in which he relates excavations on Emilio Sommer's estate in the Department of Osorno. Gotschlich, 'Llanquihue i Valdivia'.

<sup>89</sup> On anthropometry and craniometry, see Stephen Jay Gould, *The Mismeasure of Man* (2 edn., London: Penguin, 1996).

<sup>90</sup> Matus Zapata, 'Instrucciones para el estudio de la Antropología Araucana'.

<sup>91</sup> Zapata, 'Instrucciones'.

<sup>92</sup> For Manquilef's autobiographical remarks on the incident, see Manuel Manquilef (1911), *Comentarios del pueblo araucano (La faz social)*, 2 vols. (Santiago: Imprenta Cervantes): 5–8.

Araucanian youth.<sup>93</sup> In the decades following the Pacification, the possessions and bodies of the ancient Araucanians—of the dead and those ‘now living’—had become freely available for collection, study, and display.

As ‘salvage’ became the dominant discourse in relation to Araucanians, their precious relics accreted narratives, networks, and institutional structures. The urge to collect and study what was about to disappear prompted the growth of private collections of Araucanian material culture in the hands of men like Francisco Vidal Gormaz and Franz Fonck; it spurred the publication of seminal studies like those of Medina or Barros Arana, and it gave rise to the foundation of learned societies—like Santiago’s Society of Folklore in 1909. Araucanians’ valuable artefacts rendered necessary buildings, finances, and space. When Rudolph Philippi first visited the National Museum in 1851, it contained scarcely any ‘antiquities of the aborigines of Chile’. In the following decades the museum took on such magnitude that by 1908 Rudolph’s son, as his successor as director of the museum, recapitulated that it had become impossible to catalogue the totality of ‘animals, plants, minerals, fossils, Chilean and Peruvian antiquities and ethnological objects’ held at the museum.<sup>94</sup> The prehistory section gained independence from the National Historical Museum to become Chile’s Museum of Ethnology and Anthropology in 1912. The expansion of the National Museum took place alongside the Chilean invasion of not just Araucanía but also the Peruvian and Bolivian territories in the north, as well as Easter Island, Patagonia, and the Straits of Magellan.<sup>95</sup> Araucanians’ precious material culture rendered necessary institutional space, but its growing appeal also entailed an ever-denser network of correspondence and exchange between scholars based in Chile and collectors and students of *etnografía* across the Atlantic and the Americas. Some of the German-speaking immigrants, like Philippi and Carl Martin, had studied at the Royal Prussian University in Berlin, and maintained a steady correspondence with scientists they knew from their time there.<sup>96</sup>

<sup>93</sup> Matus Zapata, ‘Instrucciones para el estudio de la Antropología Araucana’, 23–4, 28, 31.

<sup>94</sup> Philippi, ‘Historia del Museo Nacional de Chile’, 9, 15.

<sup>95</sup> See Rudolph A. Philippi (1866), ‘Museo Nacional’, *Anales de la Universidad de Chile* 28; Philippi, ‘Historia del Museo Nacional de Chile’.

<sup>96</sup> See for instance A. Braun (1868), ‘Brief an Rudolfo A. Philippi, Berlin, 6. Juli’, *Iberoamerikanisches Institut Berlin. Nachlass Rudolf Amandus und Bernhard Eunom Philippi* 2—V. 235.

Fonck, during his repeated stays in Berlin, participated in the conferences organized by the Berlin Society for Ethnography, with papers on Araucanía.<sup>97</sup> Connections among German speakers—no hermetic ‘national’ circuits, but loosely woven webs—were important ‘hubs’ in the networks carrying objects and ideas across the Atlantic. Carl Martin formed a particularly salient collection of ethnographic and archaeological stone tools and a herbarium, which was temporarily put on display at the International Exhibition of 1876 in Santiago; later, it was divided between Santiago’s National Museum and two Berlin museums.<sup>98</sup> Like Martin, Fonck supplied both German and Santiago museums with objects and studies, published widely, and was in touch with a range of ethnographers and naturalists in Chile and the German Empire. Drawing disparate localities together, Fonck supplied Santiago-based researchers like Ricardo Latcham with ‘data from Germany’, while his access to material culture and observations ‘on the spot’ in Araucanía rendered him a desirable correspondent for Berlin scholars like Adolf Bastian and Rudolf Virchow. Fonck’s collection was exhibited at the Chilean Centenary Exhibition in 1910, and he was named an honorary member of both the Chilean Society for History and Geography and of the Berlin Society for Ethnography.<sup>99</sup> The collecting of things Araucanian also entailed networks within Chile: military officers, German settlers, and missionaries assisted one another in their scientific endeavours. Vidal Gormaz was familiar with Friar Constancio’s linguistic studies,<sup>100</sup> and received maps and advice from the settler Carl Martin. Martin also escorted the naturalist accompanying Vidal Gormaz’s commission,

<sup>97</sup> Cárlos Porter (1912), ‘El Dr. don Francisco Fonck’, *Revista chilena de historia y geografía* 5 (4): 432.

<sup>98</sup> Rudolph A. Philippi (1876), ‘Carta al Ministerio de Educación, Santiago, 22 de Abril’, *Archivo Nacional de Chile. Sección Ministerio de Educación, Vol. 138*. On the distribution of Carl Martin’s collection between the Museum für Völkerkunde and the Handelsgeographisches Museum, both in Berlin, see Martin, *Landeskunde von Chile*, X.

<sup>99</sup> On Fonck’s correspondence with Rudolf Lenz, see Francisco Fonck (1896), ‘Carta a Rudolf Lenz, Quilpue, 28 de Diciembre’, *Fondo Rudolfo Lenz, Universidad Metropolitana de Chile. CR FF 2*. On Fonck’s Berlin contacts, his collection, and his membership in societies, see Porter, ‘El Dr. don Francisco Fonck’. See also Orellana Rodríguez, *Historia de la arqueología en Chile (1842–1990)*, 70.

<sup>100</sup> Francisco Vidal Gormaz cites the friar’s linguistic studies in one of his reports. Vidal Gormaz, *Exploración hidrográfica de la costa i rios de la Araucania comprendidos entre la Punta Cauten por el Norte i la Punta Chanchan por el Sur, hecha de órden del Supremo Gobierno*, 21.



Carlos Juliet, in a joint expedition.<sup>101</sup> Sharing ideas about themselves as pioneers in unknown lands, exposed to the same necessities and dangers, military officials, missionaries, and settlers entertained friendly relations and afforded one another intellectual and practical support in their common quest to make sense of Araucanía and its inhabitants. The German-speaking settlers also provided entry points into Araucanía and the necessary infrastructure in difficult and alien terrain for researchers from abroad or Santiago. Fonck put up other researchers at his home and facilitated logistics, carried out excavations with them,<sup>102</sup> or invited them to come down and have a look at his own collection.<sup>103</sup> Anthropological literature has placed the accent on the cultural meaning of material culture, in examining the malleability of things: how the same thing could become sacred or alienable, treasured or valueless, through human interpretation and projection.<sup>104</sup> But things, precisely through the value conferred onto them in 'salvage' discourses, also acted upon the world. Relationships cohered around things, or rather, things accreted personal and academic relationships, they rendered necessary social and physical spaces, and they connected individuals and institutions over their ownership, trajectory, and meaning.

Salvage discourses had been travelling along transatlantic intellectual networks for decades, and yet they were of little influence in Chile prior to the final years of the Araucanian campaigns. The romanticization inherent in salvage was usually possible only after the danger or inconvenience the endangered might once have represented had been overcome: historians have found that gypsies, Cherokees, or Highland Scots were usually romanticized after they had ceased to constitute a danger.<sup>105</sup> As in early nineteenth-century North America, guilt and a concern with the ethics of colonialism

<sup>101</sup> Francisco Fonck (1908), *El doctor Carlos Martin. Rasgos de su vida i labor científica* (Santiago: Imprenta Cervantes): 9.

<sup>102</sup> Porter, 'El Dr. don Francisco Fonck', 429.

<sup>103</sup> Fonck, 'Carta a Rudolf Lenz, Quilpue, 28 de Diciembre'; Francisco Fonck (1911), 'Carta a Ricardo E. Latcham, Quilpué, 9 de Enero', *Biblioteca Nacional de Chile. Archivo del Escritor* 16.

<sup>104</sup> For a useful, critical discussion of the literature on 'things', see Daston, 'Introduction: Speechless', 16–18.

<sup>105</sup> On the ambiguity inherent in European discourses about 'gypsies', for instance, see Klaus-Michael Bogdal (2002), "Menschen sind sie, aber nicht Menschen wie wir". Europa erfindet die Zigeuner', in Gutjahr, Ortrud (ed.), *Fremde* (Freiburger literaturpsychologische Gespräche 21; Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann GmbH).

moved to the fore where Araucanians' presence no longer posed any real threat. Cases of salvage that involve opponents—say, colonizers and anthropologists—obscure the temporal quality inherent in the ambiguity of preserving what is not yet lost but what must be lost if progress is to be achieved. Missionaries like de Moesbach, marine officers like Vidal Gormaz, or settlers like Guevara, who turned amateur ethnographers from the end of the campaigns, personify and lend temporality to the tension inherent in the very concept of endangerment and in the societies that produce this discourse:<sup>106</sup> to the ambiguity of doing and undoing, of destruction and protection, of progress and preservation. Salvage is a lamentation—albeit often a proleptic one—of the irretrievable loss of something or someone precious and valued by societies who feel they are involved in bringing about this loss. The new reverence and nostalgia for the past came in the late 1700s, when humans realized not only the possibility of change in the supposedly static Creation, but also the gradual awareness that these changes could be anthropogenic, man-made. The very repression of 'indigenous' societies, as historians have argued for the Mohicans, the Sioux, or the Apache, roused 'a sense of loss that demanded the preservation of what was disappearing'.<sup>107</sup> Salvage is the consequence of—it comes long after—the sense that destruction or damage has been done. The lamentation of change is not alien to its causation but contained in it; it only becomes possible once change is no longer in danger of being undone.

Araucanians had indeed long harboured a latent potential for romanticization. The possibility of literary narratives about Indians' indomitableness had been born with *La Araucana*, a sixteenth-century epic authored by Alonso de Ercilla about the determined resistance of the Araucanians against Spanish colonization. Ercilla, a courtier to Philip II of Spain and himself involved in the conquest of Chile, depicted the fighting between 'Araucanians' and Spanish conquerors: the Spanish campaigns in Chile by Pedro de Valdivia; the revolt of the indigenous Araucanians and the murder of the Spanish

<sup>106</sup> This 'personal union' is different from the separation historians of North American contexts or Northern European expansion describe, for their case studies, between anthropology and 'colonial masters'. See, for instance, Sahlins, "Sentimental Pessimism" and Ethnographic Experience or, why Culture is not a Disappearing "Object", 159.

<sup>107</sup> Fiona J. Stafford (1994), *The Last of the Race: The Growth of a Myth from Milton to Darwin* (Oxford: Clarendon Press): 242.

leader; as well as the defeat of Caupolicán, the Indian leader. Although critics continue to disagree about Ercilla's meaning, in his account of the indigenous defence Araucanian resistance is heroic. *La Araucana* was to become the most widely disseminated representation of the conquest among the colonizers themselves;<sup>108</sup> it would continue to pervade Chilean intellectual history as its key primordial text. In 1629, Francisco Núñez de Pineda y Bascañán's account of his captivity among the Araucanians, was, like Ercilla's epic narrative, an affectionate portrayal of Araucanian life and character, counterbalancing criticism of Araucanians' cruelty with portrayals of their virtue. Like Ercilla, Núñez de Pineda y Bascañán reified narratives about Araucanians' bravery, positively rereading their indomitability through the lens of antiquity; Araucanians were reminiscent of the early Romans in their virtue.<sup>109</sup> The work of the Jesuit Juan Ignacio Molina had likewise portrayed Araucanians as an intrepid, hardy, freedom-loving nation of warriors. A rebuke against European contemptuous diatribes about Latin America's degenerative nature and its degraded and savage inhabitants, the Araucanians in Molina's defence of America bore close resemblance to the Teutons in Tacitus's *Germania*.<sup>110</sup> The literary image of a heroic, freedom-loving Araucanian, an ancient figure, was taken up with fervour in the context of Chilean patriotism in the decades around 1800. Chileans reached out to and sought inclusion in the symbol of the indomitable Araucanian, the noble valiant, epitomizing freedom and independence from Spain.<sup>111</sup> In the course of the Wars of Independence, however, it became apparent to Chileans that various factions of Araucanian society had chosen alternating alliances with both the

<sup>108</sup> For a comment on *La Araucana* and its reception, see Craig Kallendorf (2003), 'Representing the Other: Ercilla's *La Araucana*, Virgil's *Aeneid*, and the New World Encounter', *Comparative Literature Studies* 40 (4): 398–9.

<sup>109</sup> For an analysis of Núñez de Pineda y Bascañán's *Cautiverio feliz y razón individual de las guerras dilatadas del reino de Chile*, published in 1673, see Brading, *The First America*, 303; Roberto González Echevarría (1996), 'A Brief History of the History of Spanish American Literature', in González Echevarría, Roberto, and Pupo-Walker, Enrique (eds.), *Discovery to Modernism. Cambridge Histories Online. The Cambridge History of Latin American Literature Vol. 1* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press): 171–7.

<sup>110</sup> Brading, *The First America*, 439, 49.

<sup>111</sup> On the role of symbols of indigeneity in Chile and other parts of Latin America during the Wars of Independence, see particularly Chapters 1 and 2 in Earle, *The Return of the Native*.

Royalists and the Patriots.<sup>112</sup> Discourses seeking to associate the Chilean nation with a symbolic noble Araucanian faded ever more after Chileans noted Araucanians' continued reluctance to give up their relative autonomy after Chile's independence. Images of Araucanians continued to oscillate throughout the nineteenth century, wavering between ideas about noble bravery and untamed barbarism, but with the latter prevailing over positive readings. It was only after the Pacification that Araucanians' indomitableness began to be universally reread as bravery, their primitiveness as freedom. A nearly forgotten idiom during the years of warfare against the 'barbarians', the image of the 'noble Araucanian' returned in Vidal Gormaz's 1882 order. The years around 1900 entirely resuscitated literary discourses about an Araucanian ancestor to the nation in narratives that reconfigured Indians' indomitableness into history, a literary anecdote. Chileans began to express their admiration of Araucanians' indomitableness and barbarism; they began to see their own selves in relation to it again, once it became a literary trope, and once those who had embodied it were about to disappear from the face of the earth.

During the first decades of the twentieth century, the ancient Araucanians became Chile's ancestors, through discourses that reconciled the primitive and the belligerent. They came to embody 'the unchanging essence of the past' so characteristic of linear national histories in the period; to be seen as an imagined people 'endowed with a special aura of sanctity, purity and authenticity'.<sup>113</sup> Leotardo Matus Zapata was commissioned by the government to carry out anthropological studies in 'the ancient territory of Arauco' in 1918.<sup>114</sup> The image he conjured in his writings—of an ancient, indomitable Araucanian, an archaeological Indian—had come to prevail in the Chilean imagery around 1900.

<sup>112</sup> Fernando Casanueva (2002), 'Indios malos en tierras buenas: visión y concepción del mapuche según las elites chilenas', in Boccara, Guillaume (ed.), *Colonización, resistencia y mestizaje en las Américas (siglos XVI–XX)* (Quito: Ediciones Abya-Yala): 294.

<sup>113</sup> Prasenjit Duara (2003), *Sovereignty and Authenticity. Manchukuo and the East Asian Modern* (Lanham/Boulder/New York/Oxford: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc.): 27, 29.

<sup>114</sup> Leotardo Matus Zapata (1912), 'Vida y costumbre de los indios araucanos', *Revista chilena de historia y geografía* 5 (4): 362.

The years go by and we witness the disappearance of the primitive inhabitants of Chile. The Araucanian race—this indomitable subject of so many poems and songs, these brave warriors Ercilla has depicted—seems to be saying to modern civilization the historical phrase of the Roman gladiators: ‘*Ave Caesar, morituri te salutant . . .*’ Nothing but feeble remnants of this heroic race remain, which alcohol is seeking to extinguish. In a little time we will only know their history, and our sons, when they study their heroic deeds, will doubtlessly be curious to learn about their life, their deeds and their customs. Surely they will be less curious about the exploits of the Germanic peoples, of the Gauls and the Huns, than about anything that relates to the life and the education of the Araucanians.<sup>115</sup>

Chileans writing in the second decade of the twentieth century perpetuated the idea that nothing but memories would be left behind of that ‘heroic race’, vanishing of its own accord. Not only were Araucanians bound to give way in the face of modern civilization; they were heroic in their vanishing, willingly taking leave from life. French and German nationalism had made Germanic tribes and Gauls into valid models of ancestry by the early twentieth century, constructing an indomitable, ‘barbarian’ ancestor, different from the classical Romans, Greeks, Incas, and Aztecs, the civilized and cultured forefathers.<sup>116</sup> Ercilla’s Araucanians, noble indomitable men, became the Gauls and Huns of Chile’s collective memory, the country’s heroic, primitive ancients.

Those Araucanians who ‘still’ remained were but faint relics of what they had once been. In 1900, Chile sent a ‘tribe of Araucanians with their cacique’ to the Universal Exhibition in Paris. The exhibition programme announced ‘vigorous, agile and proud men’, who were expected to enact ‘their primitive customs’ and allow the visitors to watch their ‘vertiginous and even dangerous races on the famous horses of their land’. Their ‘mock battles with their authentic weapons’ would show the visitors their ‘bravery and skills’. Araucanians

<sup>115</sup> Leotardo Matus Zapata (1918–19), ‘Juegos i ejercicios de los antiguos araucanos’, *Boletín del Museo Nacional de Chile* 9 (1): 163.

<sup>116</sup> Michael Dietler (2008), ‘“Our Ancestors the Gauls”: Archaeology, Ethnic Nationalism, and the Manipulation of Celtic Identity in Modern Europe’, in Murray and Evans (eds.), *Histories of Archaeology. A Reader in the History of Archaeology*; Heinrich Haerke (1995), ‘“The Hun is a Methodical Chap”: Reflections on the German Tradition of Pre- and Proto-History’, in Ucko, Peter (ed.), *Theory in Archaeology: A World Perspective* (London: Routledge).

themselves had become exhibits, their weapons museum pieces, and their fighting and riding 'spectacles' to be paraded.<sup>117</sup> The living inhabitants of Araucanía grew increasingly destitute and ephemeral after 1900, and the period produced images of poverty-stricken, living Araucanians, miserable remnants of the heroic people they had been. A commentator on the exhibition of men and women from Araucanía at the Universal Exhibition in Paris wrote that at the show visitors would witness the 'bravery and skills' of the descendants of Caupolicán, 'the warriors that had defeated the conqueror Pedro de Valdivia'.<sup>118</sup> And yet the Indians on display were but shadows of past glories. The author of the *Mercurio* article commented that the exhibits' physical state was less 'vigorous' than one would expect; the Araucanians on display were 'rachitic, sickly Indians, so different from those indomitable fierce men that Ercilla talks about'.<sup>119</sup> Araucanians were, like living Andeans in the eyes of Lima or Cuzco scholars, ultimately the same people; they were then 'what they were before'. And, like Andeans, they had degenerated from what they had once been: they had neither the bravery nor the strength of their ancestors, but were sick and dying—mere relics of the past, about to disappear.

#### THE LAST OF THEIR KIND

Whereas Araucanians' bodies had been collected for decades among other solid observables as evidence of their past, it was only following the 1910s that scholars in Chile also began to systematically preserve the elusive and the non-material: Araucanians' voices, customary ways of doing things, their memories and minds. Scholars fixed several accounts similar to Pascual Coña's in writing: they interviewed 'old Indians' and questioned the 'ancient families of the south' about burial practices, beliefs, and meanings.<sup>120</sup> As in other parts of the world at that time, scholars in Chile began to collect, to graph or measure exactly those parts of human existence that elude

<sup>117</sup> 'Los araucanos en la Exposición de Paris', *El Mercurio*, 16 September 1900, 5.

<sup>118</sup> 'Los araucanos en la Exposición de Paris', *El Mercurio*, 16 September 1900, 5.

<sup>119</sup> 'Los araucanos en la Exposición de Paris', *El Mercurio*, 16 September 1900, 5.

<sup>120</sup> Gotschlich, 'Llanquihue i Valdivia'.

capture, the varieties of human subjectivity.<sup>121</sup> Araucanians' selves became, like their bodies and possessions, valued antiquities—precious evidence of an almost bygone past.

As in the eyes of Lima scholars, the Indians' close connection with the past—their cultural authenticity—was a direct consequence of, and entwined with, their primitiveness or failure to progress. As in the Andes, in Chilean scholarly discourses, the binomial of authenticity and inferiority was translated into the Indians' peculiar connection with and forgetfulness of the past, their peculiar reliability and unreliability. Wilhelm de Moesbach, in his preface to Pascual Coña's autobiographical account, insisted that he himself was the author of Pascual Coña's autobiography. In fact, de Moesbach figured as the author of the text in the first 1930 edition and it was only in the second 1973 edition that the text was published under the name of Pascual Coña.<sup>122</sup> He had taken great care to meticulously transcribe Pascual Coña's words, wrote de Moesbach, because Coña's mind was unable to grasp the essence of the tales he himself was telling. The indigene was capable of narrating but not of speaking, wrote the friar; he did not understand his own words. The 'authenticity and originality' of the account alone made it valuable ethnographic material.<sup>123</sup> Like de Moesbach, the ethnographer and philologist Rudolf Lenz—originally from Halle near Leipzig, he had moved to Chile in 1890—took care to stress that the storytellers he used were 'exquisitely useful object[s]'; raw material for study, rather than authors, for he doubted 'one could speak of the author in the case of folkloric tales and accounts'. Rather than to the 'Indian Segundo Jara' who dictated the narratives, Lenz felt he owed them to his 'friend Víctor Manuel Chiappa', who had 'discovered' Segundo Jara.<sup>124</sup> The theme of the Indian's disconnection from his own account recurred in several of the period's writings. Guevara's *The Last Araucanian Families and*

<sup>121</sup> On the quest to grasp the varieties of human subjectivity, see Rebecca Lemov (2009), 'Towards a Data Base of Dreams: Assembling an Archive of Elusive Materials, c. 1947–61', *History Workshop Journal* (67).

<sup>122</sup> For a discussion of de Moesbach's attempts to assert his authorship, and to reduce Pascual Coña's role to that of the informer, see Susan Adele Foote (2005), 'Pascual Coña: Testimonios de sobrevivientes', *Acta Literaria* (30).

<sup>123</sup> De Moesbach, 'Prefacio', 23–4.

<sup>124</sup> Rudolf Lenz (1896), 'Araukanische Märchen und Erzählungen mitgeteilt von Segundo Jara (Kalvun)', *Verhandlungen des Deutschen Wissenschaftlichen Vereins zu Santiago* 3 (3): 173.

*Customs* joined accounts by several members of the upper strata of Araucanian society; leaders and their families—‘an Araucanian history written by Araucanians’, as Guevara formulated it. Authenticity and inferiority converged in the ways Guevara framed the accounts: he objectified the authors into ‘media of information’. ‘Indians’ were incapable of logical reasoning, Guevara maintained, and their memory was able to grasp only the most recent events.

It would [...] be absurd to ask from the Mapuche orderly memories from any period in the history of his community; it is not [absurd], however, to deploy his particular aptitude to retain the events his family partook in as a medium of information, transmitted from father to son and remembered with precise detail with regard to the persons [and] places [...].<sup>125</sup>

Relying on his informers’ innate ‘retentive capacity’, Guevara wrote that he had ‘arranged’ a number of stories, obtained in this ‘authentic and direct manner’ ‘narrated by the indigenes themselves’, mostly by a leader, ‘normally old’.<sup>126</sup> On the basis of these ‘unconnected events’ he was able to present a broader picture that would allow an unprecedented understanding of the ‘social constitution of the race’, their customs, and ‘genuine soul’.<sup>127</sup> Researchers collected accounts from ‘Araucanians’ but their writings invariably absorbed the narrator into the account and sought to dissipate his presence. They allowed for Araucanians to be precious sources whilst removing, at the same time, their minds and rights from their words. The theme of the Indian who spoke without knowing what he said closely reflects the interrelation of authenticity and inferiority, of reliability and unreliability; it deployed Indians’ privileged connection with the past for the purpose of scientific scrutiny without releasing them from their inferiority. Men like Pascual Coña or Segundo Jara were excluded from authorship, to become instead ‘exquisitely useful objects’; raw material for study. They were, like their bodies and objects, containers of data to be deciphered by linguists, anthropologists, and archaeologists.

<sup>125</sup> Guevara, *Las últimas familias i costumbres araucanas*, 3.

<sup>126</sup> Guevara premised several of his studies upon oral history delivered by ‘old Indians’. Other than the ‘Last Families’, his ‘History of Civilization in Araucanía’ provides several examples. Guevara, *Historia de la Civilización de la Araucanía*, 279.

<sup>127</sup> Guevara, *Las últimas familias i costumbres araucanas*, 4.



The idea of the old Indian re-enacting ancient skills, customs, and uses ‘in spite’ of himself, pervaded the work of several scholars. Perforated circular stones constituted one of the most common findings in nineteenth-century Chile, and their possible application had given rise to numerous debates in the period.<sup>128</sup> A number of samples were found in ancient graveyards in the area between the Nacimiento and the Toltén River, covering almost all the terrain from the sea to the Andes. Guevara related that ‘the Indians commonly believe[d] that the [stones] served as weapons, and they call them *catancura*, perforated stones’.<sup>129</sup> Guevara discarded their belief because the stones were, so he wrote, too heavy for primitive men, ‘physically weaker than civilised men’, and favoured an alternative interpretation.<sup>130</sup> Citing allusions made by the chroniclers, reverting to the sites where these stones had most commonly been unearthed and to ethnographic observations, Guevara speculated that the perforated stones had been deployed as agricultural tools. The solution was related to Guevara, however, in the form of an ‘enactment’:

Fortunately an old Indian remembered [...] listening to his grandfather, from the past century, talk about these weapons and even having seen one in his possession. Abiding by his memories [*ateniéndose a sus recuerdos*], he carved a wooden stick, perforated it in the upper part with a nail, passed a thin strap through it and introduced it into the perforated stone, wrapped it all up and thus formed the mace [...].<sup>131</sup>

Guevara would often revert to this method of having men and women from Araucanía fabricate utensils, and he supplied his fellow scientists with such ‘antiquities’.<sup>132</sup> The underlying assumption was

<sup>128</sup> Among the scholars who published on perforated stones were Daniel Barros Grez and Alejandro Cañas Pinochet. Daniel Barros Grez (1892), ‘La “Piedra Escrita” de Cauquenes’, *Anales de la Universidad de Chile* 80; Daniel Barros Grez (1893), ‘La Piedra de la Huaca. Carta a Luis Arrieta Cañas’, *Actes de la Société Scientifique du Chili* 3; Alejandro Cañas Pinochet (1904), ‘Estudio arqueológico sobre las piedras horadadas’, *Sociedad Científica de Chile* (Santiago: Imprenta Cervantes). Medina had already summarized the state of knowledge on the stones. Medina, *Los Aborígenes de Chile*, 31.

<sup>129</sup> Guevara, *Historia de la Civilización de la Araucanía*, 286–8.

<sup>130</sup> Guevara, *Historia de la Civilización de la Araucanía*, 286–8.

<sup>131</sup> Guevara, *Historia de la Civilización de la Araucanía*, 286–8.

<sup>132</sup> In a similar case, Guevara had a man fabricate a lancet and passed it on to Francisco Fonck. Francisco Fonck (1910), ‘La lanceta de Quilpué. Estudio de antropología prehistórica chilena ofrecido para el Centenario. El campo etnográfico de Quilpué’, *Boletín del Museo Nacional de Chile* 2 (1): 59.

invariably that a mechanical, physical movement—an unconscious reflection of the past—was more reliable than what these people said. It was ‘complying’ with what he had seen, that the ‘old Indian’ repeated, and thus betrayed the truth about the object. The subconscious act allowed ethnographer-archaeologists to evade and circumvent these men’s minds, and thereby to write their reasoning out of their history. Araucanians, in their inferiority, could not be granted a memory of their own history that would have been superior to Chileans’ knowledge of their past.<sup>133</sup> They could be granted, however, a peculiar and privileged relation with that past, a cultural authenticity transmitted through their bodies and blood.

Those who supplied Tomás Guevara with vocabularies, accounts, and translations for his *Last Araucanian Families and Customs* were often elder Araucanians, men like Pascual Coña; Agustín Montero de Truftruf, who had long mediated Mapuche internal conflicts; or the powerful Araucanian chief Painevilu. Power was concentrated in the hands of a few Araucanian leaders at the time of the Pacification, usually men engaged in directive activities within Mapuche society and accustomed to interfacing with the Chilean government. Like Pascual Coña or Guevara’s narrators, these men were often literate and living in monogamy. They sent their children voluntarily to Chilean schools, and built zinc or wooden houses, such that they would, as Guevara phrased it, ‘pass for civilized men’.<sup>134</sup> men like Agustín Montero de Truftruf, Painevilu, or Pascual Coña understood both worlds. The testimonies for Guevara’s work were structured rather uniformly as *nüttram*, historical relations that initiate with a foundational figure—often the grandfather or great-grandfather of the narrator—and go on to relate the battles, migrations, and festivities that revolved around and forged their lineage and their relationships with others’ kin groups and the Chilean missionaries, authorities, or frontier agents.<sup>135</sup> Each of the narratives, however, laid individual emphases. Montero de Truftruf devoted long parts of his account to explaining Mapuche forms of justice administration,

<sup>133</sup> Eulogio Altamirano (1859), ‘Algunas reflexiones sobre la colonización i conquista de Arauco. Memoria de prueba para obtener el grado de Licenciado en Leyes’, *Anales de la Universidad de Chile* 16: 782.

<sup>134</sup> Guevara, *Las últimas familias i costumbres araucanas*, 9.

<sup>135</sup> Jorge Pavez (2003), ‘Mapuche ñi nüttram chilkatun/Escribir la historia Mapuche: Estudio posliminar de trokinche müfu ñi piel. Historias de familias. Siglo XIX’, *Revista de Historia Indígena* (7): 9–10.

whereas the leader Painevilu included in his narrative an account of his journey to Santiago to warn President Santa María of a Mapuche uprising. As Jorge Pavez has argued, each of these men pursued interests: they sought advantages for themselves under Chilean rule, as seems likely with Painevilu's account, or like Montero they wanted to make the colonizers understand and re-validate previous societal structures.<sup>136</sup> Pascual Coña and the men who participated in Guevara's collection of narratives may well have told their stories willingly, for it gave them an opportunity to speak, and be listened to. Pascual Coña was a literate man and he might have chosen to fix his memories in writing because he wished to address a new, literate generation of Araucanian youth; to tell the history of Araucanian social relations and customs, of Araucanians' knowledge of fauna, astronomy, or agriculture, but also of the role Araucanians played during the years of warfare, in such a way as he wanted to see it transmitted.<sup>137</sup> That he should confide in a Capuchin missionary seems a natural response: educated by the Capuchins, he had lived and worked with them for years. In his memoirs he relates that he felt, at times in his life, estranged from his parents' ways, and more comfortable with the Capuchins than with his own family. Like Pascual Coña, the Mapuche narrators in Guevara's account used the narratives for their own benefit. Familiar with Chilean society, the leaders were looking for ways in which they could secure a place for themselves and the next generation in post-conquest society.<sup>138</sup> Mapuche narrators were portrayed as 'the last families' and perhaps they played the part, because their purported evanescence and authenticity gave them the possibility of telling their own stories, fixing the history of their lineage in writing and making their vision of relations with Chile and the conquest available to a Chilean readership.

Like the 'old storytellers', some of Guevara's young Mapuche 'assistants' deployed the Chilean discourse about their 'primitive authenticity' for their own purposes. The schooling of Mapuche children from the upper strata of Araucanian society in the newly founded Temuco Lyceum, at the heart of formerly independent

<sup>136</sup> Pavez, 'Mapuche ñi nüttram chilkatun', 19–24.

<sup>137</sup> Susan Foote has argued that Pascual Coña may indeed have wished to address a young generation of Mapuche. Foote, 'Pascual Coña', 114.

<sup>138</sup> Pavez, 'Mapuche ñi nüttram chilkatun', 25.

territory, produced a distinctive and salient group of ‘informers’ for anthropology and archaeology. Tomás Guevara, Governor of Mariluán and Intendant of Malleco during the 1890s, was named director of the Temuco Lyceum in 1899. Guevara founded a substantial ‘ethnographic’ museum at the lyceum based on utensils he ordered his students to bring back from their family homes. His knowledge of local tradition and his access to Araucanian material culture allowed Guevara to partake in scholarly debates,<sup>139</sup> and together with the Concepción Lyceum, the Temuco Lyceum had become an important contact for the National Museum by 1912.<sup>140</sup> In his writings, a select group of students would author large sections of Guevara’s substantial anthropological and archaeological studies. Ramón Lienan, for instance, the son of the Mapuche leader of Temuco, and Felipe Reyes Millán, educated in the Franciscan school of Temuco, became the authors of transcripts of proverbs. José Segundo Painemal would later write a history of his family for Guevara, based on documents his father, the influential Araucanian leader Antonio Painemal, supplied.<sup>141</sup> Even before he was named director of the lyceum, Guevara had relied on a web of young, bilingual collaborators. Guevara’s first translator was Lorenzo Koliman, the political son of the prominent Araucanian leader Kolipi. Lorenzo Koliman was educated in a Chilean school and joined the Chilean army in 1879 to fight against Peru in the War of the Pacific; he translated and authored texts for Guevara for several years. Koliman ultimately chose to return to his homeland Purén, marry a Mapuche woman and teach basic literacy in the communities—a return Guevara saw as an example of failed assimilation<sup>142</sup> but one that in fact mirrors the fluid crossing of territorial and cultural formations by Araucanians in the early twentieth century. In the preface to the *Last Araucanian Families and Customs*,

<sup>139</sup> Pavez, ‘Mapuche ñi nüttram chilkatun’, 25. On Guevara’s use of his collection and informers to edge out other colleagues, see Tomás Guevara (1912), ‘Carta a Ricardo E. Latcham, Temuco, 18 de Noviembre’, *Biblioteca Nacional de Chile. Archivo del Escritor* 27.

<sup>140</sup> (1912), ‘Relaciones científicas’, *Boletín del Museo Nacional de Chile* 2 (1).

<sup>141</sup> For these and other biographies of Guevara’s collectors and authors of accounts, see Pavez, ‘Mapuche ñi nüttram chilkatun’, 17–19.

<sup>142</sup> For a summary and analysis of the account, see ‘Mapuche ñi nüttram chilkatun’. For the original account, see Lorenzo Koliman (1913), ‘Coliman ñi che/La familia Koliman’, in Guevara, Tomás (ed.), *Las últimas familias i costumbres araucanas* (Historia de la civilización de Araucanía VII; Santiago: Imprenta, Litografía i Encuadernación ‘Barcelona’).

Guevara thanked in particular Manuel Manquilef—the son of a Chilean woman and an important Araucanian leader, Trekamañ Fermín Mañkelef.<sup>143</sup> Manquilef had been trained in Tomás Guevara's lyceum in Temuco and by 1913 had become a teacher there. Manquilef had collected the accounts with him, wrote Guevara, 'arranged', and edited them. Guevara singled him out by naming him alone among the other 'informers, who with so much good will have supported [the author's] efforts'.<sup>144</sup> Manquilef was then Guevara's most important 'assistant', fundamental to every aspect of Guevara's ethnographic and archaeological work. During the second decade of the twentieth century, relations between Manquilef and Guevara grew tense. Manquilef accused Guevara of appropriating his work without ever acknowledging him as a co-author. Manquilef actively sought to leave the position of 'informer' behind, to be recognized as an author; a subject rather than an object of study. Manquilef's point of friction with Guevara lay also in Guevara's condemnation of the Mapuche to the irredeemable condition of an inferior race. Jorge Pavez has shown how the publication of Guevara's *Psychology of the Araucanian People*, a study that presented a particularly deprecating vision of Araucanians' intellectual capacities, produced the final rupture between the two men.<sup>145</sup> Manquilef opposed the idea of an engrained and embodied inferiority; to him, the idea of innate, racial Mapuche inferiority was a figment of the conquerors' imagination; it lay only 'in the mind of the usurper'. 'We might be a backward people,' he wrote, 'but we are not an inferior race, only one in disgrace'.<sup>146</sup> The alliance between Guevara and Manquilef failed over Manquilef's unwillingness to comply, both with the role of an inferior and that of an object of study.

<sup>143</sup> Together with Manquilef, Matus Zapata excavated 'in the cemetery of the Reservation of Pelal (Quepe), the chief of which is our good friend cacique Fermín Manquilef'. Manquilef, *Comentarios del pueblo araucano (La faz social)*, 5–8.

<sup>144</sup> Guevara, *Las últimas familias i costumbres araucanas*, 4.

<sup>145</sup> Tomás Guevara (1908), *Psicología del pueblo araucano* (Santiago de Chile: Imprenta Cervantes). Jorge Pavez has studied the increasing tension between Manquilef and Guevara. Pavez, 'Mapuche ñi nüttram chilkatun', 26.

<sup>146</sup> The quote is from a speech Manquilef gave at the Catholic Araucanist Congress (*Congreso Católico Araucanista*) in Santiago in 1916. The original in Spanish is: 'La inferioridad de nuestra raza está solo en la mente del usurpador, seremos un pueblo atrasado; pero no somos raza inferior, sino desgraciada.' Cited in Rolf Foerster and Sonia Montecino (1988), *Organizaciones, líderes y contiendas mapuches (1900–1970)* (Santiago: Centro Estudios de la Mujer): 22.

Manquilef employed studies about his own indigeneity to have his say in the Chilean public sphere, through both scientific and political discourses. After his conflicts with Guevara, Manquilef began to author studies under his own name and with the help of a new patron, Rudolf Lenz. Lenz, although giving Manquilef the possibility of writing under his own name, still maintained him in the position of an object of study, as precious raw material. To Lenz, Manquilef's capacity to participate in scholarly debates provided evidence of 'the facility with which the Araucanian assimilates not only general culture, but also European science'. What source material could be more 'impeccable' for the study of Mapuche culture, wrote Lenz in a preface to Manquilef's work, than the writings of 'an immediate descendant of the heroic race exalted by Ercilla, a youth who in his infancy spoke but the Mapuche language?'<sup>147</sup> Like Manquilef, Víctor R. Liberona, a 'young Araucanian' educated in Chilean and German schools, had authored lengthy archaeological and ethnographic studies about Araucanian history. One of Liberona's studies inscribed Araucanian history into Roman and Incan chronologies, whereas another article of his refuted the hypothesis about human immigration to America via the Bering Strait. Liberona published his studies in the journal of the French Scientific Society, a meeting ground founded in 1891 for members of the French colony and Chilean admirers of French culture in Santiago.<sup>148</sup> The editors stressed that Liberona's study revealed 'the soul and feeling of the Mapuche' and that his studies were based 'on traditional Araucanian poems [*cantares*]'.<sup>149</sup> Manquilef and Liberona were both students and objects of study, scientists and scientific objects; their entry into Chile's scientific community was made possible and premised upon their indigeneity. Several of the narrators that had participated in Guevara's *Last Araucanian Families and Customs*, among both the elder leaders and the younger generation organized around the 'ethnographic cabinet' based at Guevara's lyceum, were involved in the foundation of the first Mapuche post-conquest political organizations. Manquilef, together with Lienan and others of Guevara's

<sup>147</sup> Rudolf Lenz (1911), 'Segunda comunicación a los miembros de la Sociedad de Folklore Chileno', *Revista de Folklore Chileno*.

<sup>148</sup> On the French Scientific Society, see Orellana Rodríguez, *Historia de la arqueología en Chile (1842-1990)*, 67.

<sup>149</sup> See the editors' prologue to Vicente R. Liberona (1919), 'Original de un aborígen', *Actes de la Société Scientifique du Chili* 28.

former ‘assistants’, founded the Caupolicán Society for the Defence of Araucanía (*Sociedad Caupolicán de Defensa de la Araucanía*) in 1910.<sup>150</sup> The Caupolicán Society participated, together with the Araucanian Federation under the leadership of Manuel Aburto Panguilef, in the First Araucanian Congress, organized to formally institutionalize Mapuche political representation in 1921.<sup>151</sup> Manquilef became a member of the Chilean Congress in 1926, as a deputy for the Liberal Democratic Party, and functioned as an important mouthpiece for Mapuche land rights.<sup>152</sup> Pascual Coña perhaps had men like Manquilef or Panguilef in mind, when he said that the ‘new generation’ had become Chilean: dressed in suits, bilingual, and familiar with the cultural codes of Chilean society, these young men were swift to constitute an important and visible presence in the Chilean public and political sphere. But even these young men were ready to endure, and even to encourage their association with indigeneity, if it helped them gain the visibility and audibility they sought. Manquilef prefaced his own main work, ‘Comments on the Araucanian People’, with an autobiography detailing his upbringing with his Mapuche grandmother—rather than his Chilean mother.<sup>153</sup> He defended his political position on land reform during parliamentary debates by asserting that his ‘blood’ told him that his anti-division stance was right for ‘his people’. As Joanna Crow has shown, the younger generation of Mapuche particularly made use of and at the same time complicated narratives about indigeneity, shifting between or enacting both Mapuche and Chilean identities simultaneously. Manquilef’s identification with the Mapuche, for instance, was selective. He often sided only with the educated, Spanish-speaking, urban-based, property-owning Mapuche, rather than with the poor, rural, monolingual Mapudungun speakers. Also, in his ethnographic writings, the ‘Commentaries’, Manquilef associated the things intrinsic to his being Mapuche—traditional practices and rituals—only with his childhood,

<sup>150</sup> Pavez, ‘Mapuche ñi nüttram chilkatun’, 29–35.

<sup>151</sup> Foerster and Montecino, *Organizaciones, líderes y haciendas mapuches (1900–1970)*, 13.

<sup>152</sup> On early twentieth century Mapuche political involvement, see Foerster and Montecino, *Organizaciones, líderes y haciendas mapuches (1900–1970)*, 13; André Ménard and Jorge Pavez (2005), ‘El Congreso Araucano. Ley, raza y escritura en la política mapuche’, *Política* 44; Pavez, ‘Mapuche ñi nüttram chilkatun’, 29.

<sup>153</sup> Manquilef, *Comentarios del pueblo araucano (La faz social)*.

not with his present.<sup>154</sup> Bilingual and evangelized men born in free Araucanía—men like Manquilef—utilized their standing as ‘authentic Indians’ to have their say in political debates, consciously manoeuvring their identity. Manquilef and his counterparts ‘played the Indian’ when it suited their purpose.

Manquilef, like the elder generation of Pascual Coña or Agustín Montero de Truftruf, understood that his condition as both raw material for scholarship and as a cultural broker who knew both worlds entailed a certain authority and right to speak and be heard. Because indigeneity seemed on the verge of extinction, because living Araucanians were relics of an almost bygone past, to Chilean scholars living indigenes were precious sources, indispensable to reach a veritable understanding of the conquered and their culture. Archaeology, ethnography, and anthropology were ‘sciences of the archive’, disciplines heavily dependent upon access to repositories of indigenous material culture, and by the time Pascual Coña dictated his life story to de Moesbach in the early twentieth century, also upon access to the Indians’ voices; their testimonies, and inner lives. They entailed the reliance of the scholar upon the indigene who provided stories and objects. They entailed, therefore, not only domination but also a fragile moment of authority for the conquered. Archaeology and ethnography, just because their agents were so avid about, so dependent upon tracing, the ‘authentic Araucanian’, provided forums in which the inhabitants of occupied Araucanía were granted an opportunity to speak for themselves and their kind.

\* \* \*

From the scion of a powerful people, an enemy, and an equal in war, Pascual Coña became the living relic of an almost bygone past—himself an antiquity and an object of archaeological study. Within the lifespan of a generation, Araucanians’ pre-Columbian and contemporary material culture, physical characteristics, and mental disposition converged into one and the same temporality and was henceforth studied in conjunction. Between the middle of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century, living Araucanians’ objects, bodies, and minds, came to be considered precious remnants of a distant, archaeological past, and, therefore, about to disappear.

<sup>154</sup> Joanna Crow (2010), ‘Negotiating Inclusion in the Nation: Mapuche Intellectuals and the Chilean State’, *Latin American and Caribbean Ethnic Studies* 5 (2).



Archaeological practices were thus inseparable from the study of living Araucanians: from the study of their material objects, sets of beliefs, and views of the world, today associated with cultural anthropology.<sup>155</sup> Just like his people's material possessions and their bodies, Pascual Coña and other Araucanians who had survived the campaigns were reimagined as timeless and adrift in modernity, assigned to a futureless past. By the beginning of the twentieth century, Pascual Coña and his kind had become, like Sahuaraura, dwellers on the threshold: they were, like the old Inca, the last of their kind.

<sup>155</sup> For a discussion of the relationship between anthropology and archaeology, see Gosden, *Anthropology and Archaeology*.

## The Valdivia Jug

### *Archaeology over the War of the Pacific*

In 1893, Eugenio Larrabure y Unánue, Minister of Foreign Relations of Peru, was once more involved in negotiations about the peace treaty of Ancón that concluded the War of the Pacific (1879–84). Having been Minister of Foreign Relations in 1883–4, Larrabure was present when, following the Peruvian defeat in the War of the Pacific against Chile, the treaty was first signed. The Treaty of Ancón sanctioned the Chilean annexation and occupation of large swathes of Peruvian and Bolivian territory in and around the Atacama Desert. Tensions and aggressive rhetoric marked the peace negotiations after the War of the Pacific; many Peruvians felt the treaty was humiliating.<sup>1</sup> That same year, 1893, Larrabure published a study entitled *The Conquest of Chile by the Peruvians*. In addition to being a politician, Larrabure was also one of Lima's most salient antiquaries, and a friend of Macedo's. His study on 'the conquest of Chile' referred to the Incan conquest of what was in 1893 Chilean territory. Based in particular on the archaeological study of a jug found near Valdivia among 'the Araucanians', which 'exhibited a combination of Incan ornaments with others of indigenous origin' (see Figure 4.1), Larrabure argued that the Incas had not only conquered Chile. The 'Peruvian warriors' had been the bearers of civilization and progress in 'Chile'; they had 'carried their victorious arms to the humble huts of the savage Araucanian [...] and left behind a trace of their

<sup>1</sup> A recent study that captures tensions in the aftermath of the War of the Pacific is William E. Skuban (2007), *Lines in the Sand: Nationalism and Identity on the Peruvian-Chilean Frontier* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press): 171.



Fig. 4.1. A drawing of the Valdivia jug. José Toribio Medina, *Los Aborígenes de Chile*, ed. Carlos R. Keller (Santiago de Chile: Fondo histórico y bibliográfico José Toribio Medina, 1952 [1882]), Illustration 180.

entrepreneurial and progressive spirit'.<sup>2</sup> Into the sixteenth century, 'Chile [...] was but a province of Tahuantinsuyu'. It owed its scarce pre-Columbian infrastructure, industries, and edifices entirely to 'the ancient Peruvian civilization'. Referring to the War of the Pacific, Larrabure closed his study decrying how those same 'savages' the Incas had subdued now came to humiliate Peruvians:

Which powerful causes have had their effect so that the humble vassals [...] could become the present's sovereign lords? Why, four centuries later, have the descendants of these same Incas that subjected the Chilean people and put up their tents beyond the Bio-Bio River not been able to throw the sons of the same Chilean mitimaes, that came humbly to [...] pay their tribute, out of their territory?<sup>3</sup>

<sup>2</sup> *The Conquest of Chile by the Peruvians* was first published in 1893, in Eugenio Larrabure y Unánue (1893), *Monografías histórico-americanas* (Lima: Imprenta de Torres Aguirre). It was republished in 1935. Eugenio Larrabure y Unánue (1935), 'La conquista de Chile por los peruanos', in Larrabure y Correa, Carlos (ed.), *Manuscritos y Publicaciones de Eugenio Larrabure y Unánue* (2; Lima: Imprenta Americana).

<sup>3</sup> Larrabure y Unánue, 'La conquista de Chile por los peruanos', 466.

With his study, Larrabure interfered in a debate that marked anti-quarianism and archaeology in Santiago and Lima around the turn of the nineteenth century. Several scholars of the period formulated their insights into the expansion and impact of the Incan Empire into and on what was then Chilean territory. While scholars in Chile prior to the War of the Pacific had praised the Inca for bringing 'the light of civilization' to Araucanian barbarism, by the time Larrabure presented his construal of the Incan conquest, Chilean scholars would defy the notion that the 'foreign invaders' had civilized a previously lawless people. The culture of the 'ancient Araucanians' was 'singular and primordial' and it had 'consolidated its peculiar traits long before Peruvian influence'.<sup>4</sup>

Beginning with the Valdivia jug as the object that embodied contacts between Incas and Araucanians to contemporaries, this last chapter seeks to understand how the jug became a Peruvian antiquity and its ornaments to Chileans symbols of the past of a foreign, enemy nation. Although scholars based in Chile and Peru defended different interpretations, by the time Larrabure published his study, both groups would consistently replicate the same connection Larrabure had drawn: between the Incas and the Peruvians, as well as between the Araucanians and the Chileans, and the analogies he assumed between these pre-Columbian peoples' assets and those of present-day Chileans and Peruvians. To all of the scholars involved in the debate, identification with a selectively read and constructed indigenous ancestry had, by the first decade of the twentieth century, become central to their nation state's identity and imagery.

The War of the Pacific between Peru, Bolivia, and Chile broke out over control of the economically profitable nitrate beds in the Atacama Desert. As a consequence of the War of the Pacific, Chile annexed the entire Bolivian coast, which is today the Chilean region of Antofagasta, and the Peruvian province of Tarapacá, in perpetuity and unconditionally. The Treaty of Ancón further awarded Chile the right to administer the adjacent Peruvian provinces of Tacna and Arica for a period of ten years, after which the inhabitants, via a plebiscite, would chose their nation of formal citizenship. The War of the Pacific marked the beginning of a long period of animosity

<sup>4</sup> Martin Gusinde (1917), 'Medicina e higiene de los antiguos araucanos. Trabajo presentado al Congreso Católico Araucanista de Santiago en Diciembre de 1916', *Publicaciones del Museo de Etnología y Antropología de Chile* 1 (1).

between Chile and Peru, particularly on the side of the defeated.<sup>5</sup> Historians have rightly stressed the importance of these hostilities in Peruvian–Chilean relations during the republican period. The result of this emphasis, however, in conjunction with an enduring national framework in historiography, has been more than a century of historical output that has only served to exacerbate this antagonism. Much of the resulting historiography has painted the republics as two countries that have as their only connection a shared hostility.<sup>6</sup> This last chapter is an entangled history of archaeological activities in Chile and Peru through what has long been thought of as the dividing line between both republics: the War of the Pacific. Inspired by the debates revolving around the Valdivia jug, it interweaves the thematic and argumentative threads from the preceding chapters through the lens of the conflict. It reveals the interconnectedness and the similarities between scholarly and political ideas in the two nation states, hitherto neglected in the historiography. The identification with a pre-Columbian ancestor through the discourse of archaeology in both Chile and Peru is only one of the many commonalities the archaeological debates show. They reveal shared concerns about race, nationality, and territoriality, as well as about authenticity and

<sup>5</sup> Bolivia continues to suffer from its landlocked situation caused by the War of the Pacific, and the claim for devolution of territory, or recently, the construction of a canal giving Bolivia access to a coastal port, has constantly resurfaced in political relations between Chile and Bolivia. See for instance, 'Chile analiza salida de Bolivia al mar por túnel de 150 km', *La República (Lima)*, 12 de Mayo 2009. As for Peru, in particular the Chilean looting of the Peruvian National Library and the taking of precious books to Chile has raised debates between the two countries in recent years. 'Chile/Perú: diplomacia de libros', *BBC Mundo*, 30 de Marzo 2007. On *revanchism* over the War of the Pacific in Peru and Bolivia today, see also Bruce W. Farcau (2000), *The Ten Cents War: Chile, Peru, and Bolivia in the War of the Pacific, 1879–1884* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press).

<sup>6</sup> Historians have only recently begun to challenge these antagonistic and binary histories, either by contributing studies on both countries in collective volumes on South America, or by writing increasingly 'entangled' histories of the political relations between them. For an example of a collaborative volume on the common theme of 'Republicanism' across South America, see McEvoy and Stuyen, *La república peregrina*. For an 'entangled' history of the two countries, see Eduardo Cavieres and Cristóbal Aljovín de Losada (2005), 'Reflexiones para un análisis histórico de Chile—Perú en el siglo XIX y la guerra del Pacífico', in Cavieres, Eduardo, and Aljovín de Losada, Cristóbal (eds.), *Desarrollos políticos, económicos y culturales* (Valparaíso: Ediciones Universitarias de Valparaíso). See also Sergio Villalobos (2002), *Chile y Perú. La historia que nos une y nos separa. 1535–1883* (Santiago de Chile: Editorial Universitaria).

sovereignty, about civilization and progress; they reveal, it is argued here, as much about what separated Chile and Peru as about what entangled them.

## AN INCAN CIVILIZATION FOR SOUTH AMERICANS

The Valdivia jug cited in Larrabure's *The Conquest of Chile by the Peruvians* was 'the property of Mr Philippi'. It had been unearthed near the museum director's estate in the Valdivia area.<sup>7</sup> Philippi usually passed on what he privately owned to the National Museum, so that by the 1870s the jug in all likelihood found itself on display among a vast array of man-made artefacts and samples of natural history from Chile, the Americas, and the rest of the world.<sup>8</sup> The museum's 'Gallery of Antiquities' juxtaposed Spanish trophies taken during the Wars of Independence, a bronze Roman-style helmet, Greek antiquities, minerals from Vesuvius, Egyptian mummies, Chinese artefacts, Incan pre-Columbian pottery, and metal antiquities from Bolivia, Peru, and Chile. If he were only given the funds, Philippi wrote in 1876 to the Ministry, he would acquire Babylonian, Assyrian, and Egyptian antiquities, and not limit his acquisitions to 'the remains of the ancient Chileans' and things from South America.<sup>9</sup> Philippi was evidently not building a national museum seeking to portray a linear and unique national ancestry or a condensed vision of a nation's territory and its assets. The Roman helmets and Egyptian mummies were not a flaw in the system—they were the system.<sup>10</sup> Philippi's preference for the remnants of monumental cultures found on Peruvian and Bolivian territory and antiquities of the ancient 'civilizations' of Rome, Babylon, or Egypt

<sup>7</sup> For the jug, see illustration 180, in Medina, *Los Aborígenes de Chile*, 429.

<sup>8</sup> Patience Schell has examined the 1878 and the 1897 catalogues and maps from the National Museum in detail, and my analysis here is based on her findings. Schell, 'Capturing Chile', 53–61.

<sup>9</sup> Rudolph A. Philippi (1876), 'Carta al Ministerio de Educación, Santiago, 26 de Noviembre', *Archivo Nacional de Chile. Sección Ministerio de Educación, Vol. 138*.

<sup>10</sup> This is inspired by Miruna Achim's argument that the Mexican National Museum aspired to be a cabinet—a miscellaneous collection—not to portray a linear national ancestry. Miruna Achim (2010), 'Setenta pájaros africanos por antigüedades mexicanas: canjes de objetos y la formación del Museo Nacional de México (1825–1867)', *L'Ordinaire latino-américain* 212.

suggest that the builders of the Chilean museum intended to link the Chilean nation with the great civilizations of the Old and the New World: with the Babylonians and the Assyrians, the Romans and the Greeks, but also, as Patience Schell has argued,<sup>11</sup> with America's monumental past: with Incan culture. Philippi's collection, long before Araucanians became Chile's only ancestors, sought to depict the nation by virtue of its association with the encompassing and inclusive symbol of the grandiose, ancient 'civilization'.

Philippi was an enthusiastic collector and student of 'Peruvian antiquities'.<sup>12</sup> He admired them for their 'elegance, their shape, the fineness of the work, and the colours'.<sup>13</sup> The Valdivia jug in Philippi's possession was fine and elaborate in its making, evenly shaped and polished, and covered with geometrical forms.<sup>14</sup> It harmonized with the classical and Andean antiquities that grounded the museum's collection at the time: it would have pleased the observers' eyes in the same way the 'Peruvian' or 'Roman' antiquities surrounding it did. Even before Philippi had taken on the directorship of the National Museum, the institution boasted a collection of colourful and elaborate Southern Andean pottery.<sup>15</sup> Claudio Gay, the museum's first director, had been an admirer of Incan antiquities, and he travelled to Peru to study Incan ruins and paid homage to Cuzco.<sup>16</sup> Under Philippi, the National Museum further invested in the acquisition of precious gold ornaments the buyers associated with Cuzco's imperial history.<sup>17</sup> The museum also frequently received donations of

<sup>11</sup> Patience A. Schell, 'Exhuming the Past with the Future in Mind: History Exhibitions and Museums in Late Nineteenth-Century Chile', *Relics and Selves: Iconographies of the National in Argentina, Brazil and Chile* (Last accessed 22 August 2012) <<http://www.bbk.ac.uk/ibamuseum/texts/Schell03.htm>>.

<sup>12</sup> See, for instance, his studies of the 'Peruvian Antiquities' held by Chile's National Museum. Rudolph A. Philippi (1875), 'Algo sobre las momias peruanas'; *Revista Chilena* 1, Rudolph A. Philippi (1877), 'Descripción de los antiguos vasos peruanos obsequiados al Museo por el coronel Márcos Maturana', *Anales de la Universidad de Chile* (51).

<sup>13</sup> Philippi, 'Descripción de los antiguos vasos peruanos'.

<sup>14</sup> Medina, *Los Aborígenes de Chile*, 360.

<sup>15</sup> The collection of pottery from the Southern Andes, in its majority from Bolivia, was 'quite complete' before Philippi's arrival. Rudolph A. Philippi (1861), 'Carta al Ministerio de Educación, Santiago, 20 de Mayo', *Archivo Nacional de Chile. Sección Ministerio de Educación, Vol. 84*.

<sup>16</sup> Barros Arana, 'Don Claudio Gay i su obra. Cuatro artículos', 498.

<sup>17</sup> In 1858, under Philippi, the National Museum purchased a collection of gold adornments found 'in an Inca grave in Cuzco'. See (1858), 'Informes', *Anales de la Universidad de Chile* 15: 283.

'Peruvian antiquities' from Chileans travelling in Peru: José Toribio Medina gave clay vessels to the museum, and 'three idols and various metal utensils from the time of the Incas', found in various parts of Peru. The Chilean diplomatic corps in Peru and Bolivia likewise remitted Incan antiquities to the Chilean National Museum.<sup>18</sup> Chilean collectors shared Limeños' fascination with closed forms: the military official Coronel Marcos Maturana donated sculptured vessels from Ancash in Peru—a man with a dog's head, a disfigured face, a man carrying a woman, and vessels depicting 'fantastic scenes in relief'.<sup>19</sup> Chilean collectors also endowed museums abroad with 'Peruvian' antiquities. Vicuña Mackenna owned a small private collection of pottery from Trujillo, Peru, which he gave to Paris's Musée de l'Homme.<sup>20</sup> Maturana bestowed red and black ceramics from Huaraz in Peru and 'other provinces of that same country', to 'figure among the curiosities' of the Louvre Museum. He had chosen these antiquities for remittance, Maturana wrote, because they were 'excessively rare', because of the ceramic arts employed in their making, and because they were virtually intact and retained their bright colour, owing to the hot and dry environmental conditions in the area where they had been unearthed.<sup>21</sup> As in Lima or Paris, Andean antiquities were collected, given, and displayed in Chile for their lively colours and intact shape, for their appeal to aesthetic sensibilities and inquisitiveness, and for the stories contained in them.

Up to the 1870s at least, in the eyes of many in Chile's scientific community the Inca were also the antiquity of Americans. Several of the settlers, military officials, and naturalists active from the mid-century gathered at the meetings of Santiago's American Archaeological

<sup>18</sup> Philippi, 'Museo Nacional'.

<sup>19</sup> Philippi, 'Descripción de los antiguos vasos peruanos'.

<sup>20</sup> The antiquities are registered with the inventory numbers 71.1886.177.1, 71.1886.177.5, 71.1886.177.6, 71.1886.177.7, 71.1886.177.8, 71.1886.177.11, and 71.1886.177.13. The artefacts are today in Paris's Quai Branly Museum. The catalogue entries are online, <<http://www.quaibrnly.fr/cc/pod/recherche.aspx?b=1&t=1>>.

<sup>21</sup> Marcos Maturana (1877), 'Lettre à Félix Ravaisson-Mollien, Directeur du Musée du Louvre, Santiago du Chili, 31 décembre', *Archives des musées nationaux. A 8 1878*. Maturana donated to the Louvre three times—nineteen ceramics in May 1876, eighteen in December 1877, and, four weeks later, another five. With the exception of the first donation, which never arrived at its destination, the pots, today identified as Chimbote, were passed on to the Musée de l'Homme in 1887. Pascal Riviale (1996), *Une siècle d'archéologie française au Pérou (1821–1914)* (Paris/Montréal: L'Harmattan): 393.



Society (*Sociedad Arqueológica* [sic] *Americana*), founded in 1878: the museum director Rudolph Philippi, the German doctor Francisco Fonck, Vicuña Mackenna, Santiago's mayor between 1872 and 1873, and the marine officer Francisco Vidal Gormaz. Luis Montt, one of the convenors, proposed in the first meeting of the *Sociedad Arqueológica* to study 'the data and documents on the Chilean or Araucanian race that still occupies part of our territory and the archaeology of which is most at our disposal to unravel', but at the same time also the archaeology of other 'ancient American races'.<sup>22</sup> Montt lamented that too much of what had been published on the subject of American antiquities had been done by Europeans. 'We, the Americans,' he wrote

who find ourselves in the presence of ancient races, [and who are] up to a certain point their heirs, can study better than superficial foreign observers the ethnographic, philological and other problems that the American world presents.<sup>23</sup>

Even when it was becoming clear Simón Bolívar's political projects would not materialize, Americanist ideals persisted and forged a sense of a shared history and origins among the Latin American republics.<sup>24</sup> Americanist and nationalist discourses coexisted in some intellectual circles throughout the republican period, and the Santiago Archaeological Society was one of its manifestations: the Society was a Chilean project, but it sought to forge an American rather than an exclusively Chilean archaeological record. In 1878, shortly before the outbreak of the War of the Pacific, Santiago's Archaeological Society mounted an exhibition of pre-Columbian artefacts divided into four sections: the first section displayed stone mortars and axes, arrowheads, and coloured clay vessels found between Atacama and Chiloé, and the second over a hundred perforated round stones of different shapes and colours as well as some shells and bones from the province

<sup>22</sup> Luis Montt (1880), 'Prospecto', *Revista de la Sociedad Arqueológica* 1 (1): 3.

<sup>23</sup> *Sociedad Arqueológica de Santiago*, 'Sesión preparatoria'.

<sup>24</sup> On Americanist projects and discourses in Peru and Chile, see Carmen McEvoy (1997), *La Utopía Republicana. Ideales y realidades en la formación de la cultura política peruana (1871–1919)* (Lima: PUCP Fondo Editorial). See also, for the resurgence of Americanist ideals during the 1910s and 1920s, Martin Stabb (1969), *In Quest of Identity. The Latin American Essay of Ideas, 1890–1960* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press): 59–75, 111–18. For a study of Simón Bolívar's thinking on a Pan-American union—a containment to and excluding the United States—and the subsequent genealogy of the idea, see Sara Castro-Klarén (2003), 'Framing Pan-Americanism: Simón Bolívar's Findings', *The New Centennial Review* 3 (1).

of Colchagua, just south of Santiago. The third and the fourth sections showed pottery 'from the ancient indigenes of Peru', found on Peru's north coast, with head busts that were 'real portraits' and figurines of humans. The author of the catalogue showed interest in the perforated stones and arrowheads from Chilean soil, but he prided himself upon the Peruvian items of pottery, which were, as he wrote, 'among the finest pieces one can present of that kind'.<sup>25</sup> Other contemporary public exhibitions also juxtaposed remnants from Peru with antiquities found on Chilean soil. When Vicuña Mackenna had a historical exposition of the colonial period organized in 1873, the section holding pre-Columbian antiquities brought together a mace attributed to the Araucanian hero Caupolicán—the leader murdered by the Spaniards in Ercilla's *La Araucana*—with diadems and amulets from Incan Cuzco, as well as Peruvian *huacos* and elaborate vessels.<sup>26</sup> Peruvian and Chilean antiquities alike were part of the same archaeological record, which Americans shared and owned. The same rhetoric conveyed through the selection of the exhibits held by Santiago's Archaeological Society was reflected in the discourse of the only volume of the Society's journal, published in 1880. The journal contained articles on Chilean and Araucanian 'antiquities', but also on their Ecuadorian, Bolivian, and North American counterparts.<sup>27</sup> And, although the Society had its basis in Santiago and among Chileans, it counted among its correspondents and honorary members several Peruvians: José Mariano Macedo and Antonio Raimondi, as well as the San Marcos professor José Sebastian Barranca.<sup>28</sup> Also, outside the context of the society,

<sup>25</sup> Sociedad Arqueológica de Santiago, *Catálogo de Antigüedades Americanas*.

<sup>26</sup> Benjamín Vicuña Mackenna (1873), *Catálogo razonado de la Exposición del Coloniaje* (Santiago: Imprenta de Claro y Salinas): 100. On the exhibition, see Schell, 'Exhuming the Past with the Future in Mind'.

<sup>27</sup> On Chilean and Araucanian antiquities, see (1880), 'El Araucano antiguo i el Araucano moderno. Coyagtun entre el cacique Ancatemu i el padre Millaleubu', *Revista de la Sociedad Arqueológica* 1; Rudolph A. Philippi, Nicolás Acosta and Luis Montt (1880), 'Antigüedades', *Revista de la Sociedad Arqueológica* 1 (1). For a summary of the articles and illustrations in relation to Bolivian, Ecuadorian, and North American antiquities, see also Orellana Rodríguez, *Historia de la arqueología en Chile (1842–1990)*, 33.

<sup>28</sup> Sociedad Arqueológica de Santiago, 'Sesión preparatoria'. José Mariano Macedo preserved the certificate documenting his membership until his death; it is currently in the hands of his descendants. Rudolph A. Philippi and Sociedad Arqueológica de Santiago (1878), 'Diploma', Santiago, *Colección Manuscritos de José Mariano Macedo*.

collectors and students of pre-Columbian antiquities in Chile and Peru maintained correspondence, exchanging writings and commenting on each other's work before the war.<sup>29</sup> Studies published in Peru were reviewed in Chilean journals,<sup>30</sup> and Chilean scholars published in Peruvian periodicals.<sup>31</sup> In a variety of scientific organs, Chileans promoted an American rather than a Chilean programme for the study and collection of pre-Columbian remains.<sup>32</sup> Just like the Santiago Archaeological Society, pre-war networks evidence not just how 'antiquities' could appeal to and encompass multiple nationalities. They evidence also how their shared appeal and inclusiveness linked scholarship and ideas across national borders.

Americanism converged with the urge to associate Chile with an Incan civilization that had left only scarce traces on Chilean territory. Historians have long discussed the extent to which a classical canon of European history has dominated teaching and learning in the South American republics: they have argued that the histories of Germany and France, as well as those of ancient Rome and Greece, surpassed by far interest in the history of the American continent.<sup>33</sup> However, although, or rather, because, school curricula were structured in that way, they coexisted with what historians have called a 'local classicism'; an interest in the monumental cultures of South-

<sup>29</sup> See for instance the correspondence between Sebastián Lorente and Diego Barros Arana. Sebastián Lorente (1861), 'Carta a Diego Barros Arana, París, 29 de Noviembre', *Biblioteca Nacional de Chile. Doc. 59-2111*; Sebastián Lorente (1861), 'Carta a Diego Barros Arana, París, 31 de Agosto', *Biblioteca Nacional de Chile. Doc. 59-2111*; Sebastián Lorente (1861), 'Carta a Diego Barros Arana, París, 31 de Diciembre', *Biblioteca Nacional de Chile. Doc. 59-2111 59-2115*. See also Daniel Barros Grez (1904), 'Dos capítulos de un libro inédito. Carta LIX a José Toribio Polo. El pilar esculpido del subterráneo de Chavín.—Interpretación: La Tríada Incásica', *Actes de la Société Scientifique du Chili* 14.

<sup>30</sup> Diego Barros Arana (1861), 'Bibliografía Americana. Historia antigua del Perú por don Sebastián Lorente (Paris i Lima, 1860)', *Anales de la Universidad de Chile* 19.

<sup>31</sup> José Toribio Medina published studies about the inhabitants of Araucanía in a Peruvian periodical. José Toribio Medina, 'Los Araucanos y la astrología', *El Correo del Perú*, 26 de Diciembre 1875.

<sup>32</sup> See for instance a comment by Adolfo Fabry. Adolfo Fabry (1860), 'Antigüedades Americanas. Últimos trabajos a ellas relativos', *Anales de la Universidad de Chile* 17.

<sup>33</sup> Jochen Meissner (2002), 'The Authenticity of a Copy: Problems of Nineteenth-Century Spanish-American Historiography,' in *Across Cultural Borders. Historiography in Global Perspective*, ed. Eckhardt Fuchs and Benedikt Stuchtey (Lanham et al.: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc.): 35.

and Mesoamerica.<sup>34</sup> As is evident from Incaist discourses in Cuzco, analogies in their political organization and material record enabled a comparison with the ancient civilizations of the Old World that allowed the Incas to become a local, classical past. For most of the nineteenth century, however, the Incas were not just Cuzqueños' and Peruvians' antiquity; they were also that of South Americans. The Incas had long occupied an ambivalent place in the hierarchies of cultures and civilizations, in between the inferiority associated with American Indians and the superiority attributed to ancient civilizations. Nineteenth-century theories from various parts of the Andes and the Southern Cone sought to exploit this ambiguity to validate the Incas as ancestors. Vicente Fidel López, an Argentine thinker, argued based on comparative linguistic analysis that Quechua was an ancient Aryan language caught in a stage of transition, and that Incan culture, and as a consequence its Argentine heirs, still bore the potential to evolve to the highest stage of civilization.<sup>35</sup> Countries like Chile or Argentina, whose territories bore only scarce traces of the painted pottery and elaborate vessels, aqueducts, and grandiose ruins that allowed an association with classical cultures, sought inclusion in Incan antiquity. As historians have found for revolutionary France, archaeological discourses associated the nation with classical civilizations, although the latter resulted in an association with symbols and material culture whose provenance was to a very limited extent in France's territory. These symbols still allowed for association because they were a metaphor of civilization, connected with but not limited to a specific land or people—Greece, or as in South America, Peru.<sup>36</sup> Just like classical Greek or Roman artefacts, Incan antiquities appear to have been transcendent and inclusive into the

<sup>34</sup> Majluf, 'De la rebelión al museo: genealogías y retratos de los incas, 1781–1900,' 258.

<sup>35</sup> For a detailed discussion of Vicente Fidel López's argument, see Mónica Quijada Mauriño (1996), "Los incas arios", historia, lengua y raza en la construcción nacional hispanoamericana del siglo XIX, in *Historia y Universidad: homenaje a Lorenzo Mario Luna*, ed. Enrique González González (México, D.F.: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México). López was, fittingly, also a donor of 'Peruvian antiquities' to the Louvre and engaged in debates about Peruvian archaeology. Vicente Fidel López (1891), 'Dos cartas sobre Arqueología Peruana. D. Vidente Fidel Lopez al Dr. J.J. von Tschudi', *Boletín de la Sociedad Geográfica de Lima* (8).

<sup>36</sup> Díaz-Andreu, *A World History of Nineteenth-Century Archaeology*, 78–80.

1870s; they appear to have appealed to intellectuals, collectors, and antiquaries in more than one nation state. Antiquities proceeding from Peruvian territory or associated with its monumental cultures were labelled 'Peruvian' in both Chile and Peru, but they were still available for association with Chileans. Just as with classical antiquities in revolutionary France, the elaborate antiquities associated with monumental 'Peruvian' cultures constituted a metaphor to Chileans, not one of race, language, or territory, but the metaphor of an American civilization Chileans could partake in.

The Santiago Archaeological Society, its exhibition, and its journal were short-lived. The project lasted a little over two years and was not taken further after 1880. The society had brought together the country's most significant figures in archaeology: the collector Rafael Garrido; the director and head curator of the National Museum Rudolph Philippi and his son, Federico; and José Toribio Medina, as well as the marine officer and collector Francisco Vidal Gormaz.<sup>37</sup> All these men's interest in the pre-Columbian remains persisted beyond 1880; it even increased substantially. In Chile and Peru, the War of the Pacific dealt a decisive blow to Americanism, and elicited the consolidation and hardening of ethnic nationalism.<sup>38</sup> Rather than a vanishing interest in archaeology, it appears that what put an end to the American Archaeological Society in Santiago after the War of the Pacific was its Americanist agenda and its idea of an American civilization and a shared pre-Columbian past.

Archaeological interest in 'Peruvian' civilizations dwindled only gradually in significance after the War of the Pacific in Chile; it persisted into the twentieth century and coexisted with the growing interest in Araucanian antiquities and antiquities from the formerly Peruvian territories in Chile's new 'Greater North'. Whereas collections formed in Cuzco or Lima were often sold to Philadelphia or New York, Paris or Berlin, the Chilean National Museum had the means to contain antiquities collected on Chilean territory and even to acquire Peruvian collections. In 1897, the Chilean Museum purchased the collection of the Peruvian Nicolás Sáenz.<sup>39</sup> The sale was much lamented: not only among the Berlin and New York

<sup>37</sup> For a list of members, see Sociedad Arqueológica de Santiago, 'Sesión preparatoria', 14.

<sup>38</sup> McEvoy and Stuen, *La república peregrina*, 554.

<sup>39</sup> Philippi, 'Historia del Museo Nacional de Chile', 23.

museums that had wished to purchase the collection, but also, and in particular, among Lima's intellectuals.<sup>40</sup> The Sáenz collection contained colourful and refined pottery and textiles, as well as elaborate metal and wooden antiquities from the Southern Andes of Peru. According to Sáenz, and in the eyes of his buyers, the objects bore witness to the 'most advanced epoch' of the 'civilization of the ancient Peruvians'.<sup>41</sup> The Chilean National Museum did not cease to acquire Peruvian antiquities and its collection of these stood out among its holdings: it was admired by visitors from around the world, and Chileans continued to enrich it and pride themselves on it.<sup>42</sup> The invasion of Peruvian territory induced Chilean soldiers, officials, and administrators to collect or to take existing collections of pre-Columbian antiquities in Peru precisely because these objects were desirable and attractive to Chileans. The military men, explorers, and civil servants took refined pottery and metal antiquities as spoils of war because they had probably seen such objects on display; their eyes were sensitive to the pieces' cultural significance.<sup>43</sup> Peruvian antiquities were taken to Santiago during the war precisely because they were associated with cultures Chileans had long identified not only with the vanquished Peruvians but also with the paradigm of civilization and with the Chilean nation.

The rich archaeological record that came with the annexation of Peruvian territory did not, however, bring about a tightened cultural association between the Chilean nation and the material record in Peruvian territory. On the contrary, the north was appropriated solely through a discourse of progress and scientific advance. The dry desert area and the salt contents of its soil arrest bacterial growth and facilitate rapid desiccation, thus ensuring organic preservation.<sup>44</sup> Due to the exceptional conditions in the territories, human remains and the antiquities of numerous pre-Columbian societies have been preserved virtually intact. The post-war period coincided with a time

<sup>40</sup> Larrabure y Unánue, 'Instalación solemne el 29 de Julio de 1905', 129.

<sup>41</sup> Sáenz, 'Carta a Adolf Bastian, Lima, 6 de Octubre'.

<sup>42</sup> Philippi, 'Historia del Museo Nacional de Chile', 23.

<sup>43</sup> On Chilean looting in Peru during the War of the Pacific, see Gänger, 'Conquering the Past', 695.

<sup>44</sup> Sonia E. Guillén (2005), 'Mummies, Cults, and Ancestors: The Chinchorro Mummies of the South Central Andes', in Rakita, Gordon F.M. et al. (eds.), *Interacting with the Dead: Perspectives on Mortuary Archaeology for the New Millennium* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press): 142-9.

when archaeology became closely related to the quest for the origins of humanity, and the extraordinarily well-preserved remains in the 'Greater North' promised to help solve these questions. In 1912, the Chilean government hired Max Uhle, who had by then become 'one of the most competent Americanists of the time', to work specifically in the annexed territories.<sup>45</sup> The call for Uhle was closely related to Chilean competition with Peruvian but also Bolivian and Argentine cultural politics.<sup>46</sup> Uhle was convinced that the desert was a unique space that had treasured archaeological remnants, 'extremely valuable material' which allowed the scientist to trace 'the ascent of man [. . .] from his primitive state to the high level of culture the Spaniards found'.<sup>47</sup> Uhle discovered the remains of 'primordial' and extraordinarily 'primitive' peoples in the country's new north, just as social evolutionism sparked a search for the origins of mankind, traceable in the remains of the most 'primitive' people. Taltal and Arica in particular became landmark sites of archaeological investigation into the American Palaeolithic.<sup>48</sup> Chile appropriated the north through the rhetoric of science rather than through association with its ancient history: the northern territories granted Chile an object of interest to foreign scholars as well as a vehicle for presenting the emerging nation as a producer of archaeological knowledge.<sup>49</sup>

#### ANTIQUITIES COLLECTING, ARCHAEOLOGY, AND NATIONAL ANCESTRY

The War of the Pacific did elicit an increasingly ethnic reading of Chilean nationality, but it was not in terms of the monumental

<sup>45</sup> Martin Gusinde (1916), 'El Museo de Etnología y Antropología de Chile', *Revista chilena de historia y geografía* 19 (23): 24. See also Patricia Ayala (2008), *Políticas del pasado: indígenas, arqueólogos y estado en Atacama* (San Pedro de Atacama: Línea Editorial IIAM): 67.

<sup>46</sup> Gusinde, 'El Museo de Etnología y Antropología de Chile', 44.

<sup>47</sup> Max Uhle (1922), *Fundamentos étnicos y arqueológicos de Arica y Tacna* (2 edn.; Quito: Imprenta de la Universidad Central): 4.

<sup>48</sup> Orellana Rodríguez, *Historia de la arqueología en Chile (1842-1990)*, 107-11.

<sup>49</sup> Patience Schell has shown how the Chilean National Museum acquired 'oriental' objects, Egyptian mummies, and Chinese artefacts, to thus participate in international scientific discussions. I have made a similar argument for the archaeological study of the annexed Peruvian territories. Gänger, 'Conquering the Past'; Schell, 'Capturing Chile', 57.

peoples associated with Peru. Instead, the post-war period saw discourses about continuity between Chile's present-day population and ancient Araucanians. In the reports reaching Chileans from the front during the War of the Pacific the warrior spirit associated with Araucanians resurged as a motif of identification and solidarity. Chilean authors compared their commanders to mythical Araucanian figures: in the words of Daniel Riquelme, the correspondent of the Chilean periodical *El Heraldo* during the War of the Pacific, Chilean commanders were 'brave' like Araucanians, or 'beautiful like a furious Caupolicán'.<sup>50</sup> The War of the Pacific coincided with the Chilean victory over Araucanian territories and both converged to make an Araucanian identity once more, and to an unprecedented and new extent, available and appealing to Chileans. The visualization and comprehension of the national territory and history through the ancient material record became the priority of the National Museum and of archaeological scholarship in Chile. After the 1880s, the National Museum and exhibitions would increasingly prioritize objects found in Chilean territory. By the first decade of the twentieth century, Federico Philippi stressed that the museum directorate had taken particular care to gain a complete picture of Chile through the archaeological exhibits and samples of natural history. His assessment subdivided the museum's holdings into 'national' and 'foreign' antiquities, and the 'national' antiquities had by 1908 come to outnumber the 'foreign' ones.<sup>51</sup> In 1882 and 1884 the first volume of Diego Barros Arana's *General History of Chile* and José Toribio Medina's *Chilean Aborigines* were published. Although he was building on previous studies, Medina lamented that the scarce remnants in Chilean territory had still aroused much less interest than the monumental remnants of the civilizations of Mexico or Peru among

<sup>50</sup> A compilation of Riquelme's articles were published after the war. Daniel Riquelme (1884), *Bajo la tienda: Recuerdos de la campaña al Perú i Bolivia* (Santiago: La Libertad Electoral): 91–140.

<sup>51</sup> Note the growing importance of 'national' indigenous artefacts within the museum by the 1880s, compared to their earlier marginality: Philippi, 'Museo Nacional'; Philippi, 'Historia del Museo Nacional de Chile'. See also the complaints by the Archaeological Society in 1880 about the lack of state support for their project: Sociedad Arqueológica de Santiago, 'Sesión preparatoria', 14. A count in 1898 resulted in a list of 1503 'Chilean' and 1757 'foreign' antiquities, according to Federico Philippi's categories. Federico Philippi (1898), 'Carta al Ministerio de Educación, Santiago, 13 de Mayo', *Archivo Nacional de Chile. Ministerio de Educación, Vol. 1215*.



Chileans and elsewhere. The remnants of the 'Chilean aborigines' were precious, Medina contended, because graves and buried remains constituted an 'authentic source of information' on 'our aborigines'. The first part of Barros Arana's *General History* from 1884 delineated the genesis of the 'Chilean Indians' as 'ethnographically uniform', or 'of one single family', as he construed them.<sup>52</sup> Just like Barros Arana, Medina forged a pre-Columbian unity connected through a continuing line with the Chilean present. Medina's book drew a linear connection between the origins of human population on Chilean soil through the Araucanian peoples to the Spanish conquest, while Barros Arana's monumental *General History* traced the origins of the nation back to the savage tribes of the 'Chilean Indians', and continued it through sixteen volumes into the nineteenth century. During the 1880s, Chilean scholarship came to centre on national prehistoric archaeology. It began to concentrate on the indigenous people that had inhabited the Chilean territory for the prime reason that they were 'ours'; they were united through the territory they shared with modern-day Chileans.

In 1882, Philippi's Valdivia jug surfaced from among the antiquities of Andean, Greek, and Roman origin in the National Museum, and found its way into Medina's *Chilean Aborigines* as one of the atlas's many illustrations.<sup>53</sup> Like Viquña Mackenna before the War of the Pacific, Medina had been an Americanist and 'Peruphile', fond of the history and archaeology associated with Peru.<sup>54</sup> And still in his *Chilean Aborigines*, Medina praised Incan dominion: Chile had been one place where 'the sovereigns from Peru could exercise their intelligent system of conquest': they had brought 'advancement, progress and felicity' to their subjects in the north of Chile.<sup>55</sup> Like Medina, Diego Barros Arana argued in his *General History of Chile* that from the Copiapó Valley down to present-day Santiago 'foreign dominion' taught their subjects the basic principles of agriculture, the exploitation of minerals, and the art of pottery. Further south the light of civilization could not extend its influence so decidedly, 'altering the

<sup>52</sup> Diego Barros Arana (2004 [1884]), *Historia General de Chile*, 16 vols. (2 edn., 1; Santiago: Editorial Universitaria/Centro de Investigaciones Diego Barros Arana).

<sup>53</sup> Medina, *Los Aborígenes de Chile*.

<sup>54</sup> Viquña Mackenna is referred to as 'filoperuano', 'peruphile'. Gazmuri, *La historiografía chilena (1842-1970)*, 125.

<sup>55</sup> Medina, *Los Aborígenes de Chile*, 337-8.

ancient barbarism only slightly'.<sup>56</sup> Colonial writers—the chroniclers and other early observers—had advanced rather divergent views on the expansion of Incan rule: while Garcilaso de la Vega affirmed that Incan occupation never reached beyond the Maule River—that is, about 200 kilometres south of what is today Santiago de Chile—other chroniclers either asserted, like Cieza de León and Montesinos, that the Inca had advanced far south beyond the Maule River or, like Ercilla, that they had hardly moved beyond the Maipo River which runs westward from the Andes about 150 kilometres north of the Maule River. William H. Prescott was among the first modern historians to raise the issue of the Incan Empire's southern expansion in 1847, affirming that the Maule River marked the Incas' southern borders.<sup>57</sup> Whereas the majority of researchers up to the present day have followed the line of Prescott, Medina and Barros Arana, and most Chilean scholars in their wake, disputed the assertion that the Maule River marked the frontier between Incas and Araucanians: they maintained that the Maipo River constituted the frontier of Incan expansion. Even though the Incas were to Medina and Barros Arana, as for Larrabure a decade later, bearers of civilization and progress, they insisted on the relative inviolacy of Araucanian territories. As fixed in the epics, Barros Arana wrote, the 'heroic', 'indomitable barbarians' that inhabited Chilean territory detained them from advancing further, obstinately 'defending their independence and their soil'.<sup>58</sup> The 'real incorporation of the country into the customs, laws, and language, etc. of the invaders never extended beyond Santiago', wrote Medina in the *Chilean Aborigines*, and he adduced the pottery record to substantiate his argument. Whereas in the area under Incan dominion the pottery resembled genuinely Peruvian ceramics in its fine polish, elegant shape, and beautiful colours, the pottery from the area south of the Maipo River was coarse and hardly symmetrical in its form, reminding the observer of the material culture used 'in the Stone Age'. The pottery from Valdivia—and the image of the Valdivia jug in his atlas served to illustrate Medina's reflections—allowed for the conclusion that 'the Indian potters were ahead of those in other parts of the territory in their art', 'thus

<sup>56</sup> Diego Barros Arana (1930), *Historia General de Chile* (2 edn., 1; Santiago de Chile: Editorial Nascimento).

<sup>57</sup> Gordon and Dillehay, 'La actividad prehispánica de los Incas', 185–6.

<sup>58</sup> Barros Arana, *Historia General de Chile*, Part 1, Chapter 1, 57, 63.

representing a centre apart'.<sup>59</sup> The Valdivia jug gave, with its fine design and its symmetrical shape, no sign of an Incan intrusion. To Medina, it was only evidence of an eccentric community of potters; of separate artistic development. Even though the Incas were still a civilizing and a cultured people to Medina and Barros Arana, they had not invaded Araucanian territory: because Araucanians were becoming 'ours' to Chileans by 1882, they remained untouched by 'foreign dominion'.

Peruvians also diverged from William Prescott's influential assertion that the Maule River marked the Incas' southern borders. But unlike Chilean scholars, who held the Inca had not advanced beyond the Maipo River, scholars in Peru argued the Inca had advanced south far beyond the Maule River, into Araucanian territory. In 1908 and 1909, more than two decades after Medina's *Chilean Aborígenes*, the Pan-American Scientific Congress in Santiago, involving scholars from Peru and Chile, saw a lively discussion about 'the actual reach of Incan influence had in Chile'.<sup>60</sup> Scholars working in Peruvian institutions unanimously defended the wide-reaching and profound impact of Incan invasion on Chilean and into Araucanian territory.<sup>61</sup> Pablo Patrón, relying on a selective reading of the chroniclers, listed the useful plants, domestic animals, and foodstuffs of 'Peruvian origin', and words and place names that betrayed Quechua and Aymara origins to elucidate the vast extension and long duration of Incan dominion in Chile.<sup>62</sup> Max Uhle, at the time still in the service of the Peruvian government, likewise presented a paper on the expansion of the Inca Empire at the Congress. Drawing on the image of the Valdivia jug in Medina's *Chilean Aborígenes*, Max Uhle held that 'the Inca had advanced south beyond the Maule River'. The geometric forms covering the jug's polished surface were of an 'obviously Incan character' to Uhle. They bore witness to Incan expansion beyond the Maule, for otherwise it was 'hard to explain wherefrom the people of

<sup>59</sup> Medina, *Los Aborígenes de Chile*, 359–60, 63.

<sup>60</sup> Latcham comments in an article on the 'discussion raised in one of the sections of the Fourth Scientific Congress [...] on the actual reach that Incan influence had in Chile'. Ricardo E. Latcham (1909), 'El comercio pre-hispánico en Chile i otros países de América', *Anales de la Universidad de Chile* 117: 241.

<sup>61</sup> Pablo Patrón (1908–09), 'Influencia del dominio peruano en Chile', in Porter, Carlos (ed.), *Cuarto Congreso Científico (Primero Pan-Americano)* (XVII; Santiago: Imprenta, Litografía y Encuadernación): 101–80.

<sup>62</sup> Patrón republished his papers in the bulletin of Lima's Geographical Society after the Congress. Pablo Patrón (1909), 'Influencia del dominio peruano en Chile', *Boletín de la Sociedad Geográfica de Lima* 25 (3).

Valdivia could have received ornaments of so obviously Incan character'.<sup>63</sup> Larrabure took up Uhle's argument about Incan ornaments on the Valdivia jug in *The Conquest of Chile by the Peruvians*. In Larrabure's hands, the jug became the symbol of an Incan victory over the 'savage Araucanian'; of an Incan civilization of Araucanía. Ceramics like the jug, combining Incan and local ornaments, Larrabure wrote, could not stem from 'simple neighbourhood but evinced a long and intense contact'.<sup>64</sup> Archaeology was becoming the inseparable companion of history, Larrabure cited Uhle, because history was of little value where archaeological proofs could not verify its tales.<sup>65</sup> Resorting to a discourse of archaeological positivism—the discipline's association with scientific 'objectivity'—Larrabure worked his argument through the jug: the truth it spoke was too obvious to admit of opposition or protest. To Peruvian scholars by the 1900s, the Valdivia jug had come to symbolize the savage Araucanians' subjection and civilization by the 'ancient Peruvians'.

The longstanding theme of the Incas as despots and usurpers was taken up with new vigour in Chile during and in the aftermath of the War of the Pacific. Ideas about Incan tyranny had variously resurfaced across South America ever since the times of Viceroy Toledo: by way of solidifying Spanish claims of sovereignty in the Andes, the writings of Sarmiento de Gamboa and other chroniclers had already described the Incas as 'evil tyrants', and their government as suppressing any form of personal freedom.<sup>66</sup> Cultural advancement and sophistication continued to be synonymous with Incan civilization to scholars in Chile into the twentieth century.<sup>67</sup> Chileans ranked pre-Columbian antiquities in the same way someone like Larrabure had in *The Peruvian Conquest of Chile*: moving towards the south, ceramics were more coarse and unpolished, whereas to the north they were finer, Larrabure wrote, more delicate and sophisticated, thus openly

<sup>63</sup> Max Uhle (1909), 'La esfera de influencia del país de los Incas', *Revista Histórica. Órgano del Instituto Histórico del Perú* 4: 37. A first version of the paper was presented at the Pan-American Scientific Congress in Santiago. Max Uhle (1908–9), 'La esfera de influencia del país de los Incas', in Porter, Carlos (ed.), *Cuarto Congreso Científico (Primer Pan-Americano)* (XIV; Santiago: Imprenta, Litografía y Encuadernación).

<sup>64</sup> Larrabure y Unánue, 'La conquista de Chile por los peruanos'.

<sup>65</sup> Larrabure y Unánue, 'La conquista de Chile por los peruanos'.

<sup>66</sup> See MacCormack, 'Cuzco, another Rome?', 422–5.

<sup>67</sup> Ricardo E. Latcham (1915–16), 'Costumbres mortuorias de los indios de Chile y otras partes de América', *Anales de la Universidad de Chile* 127–30: 853.

declaring their distinctively 'Peruvian origin'.<sup>68</sup> As Chilean writings on Araucanía reveal, Chileans shared Larrabure's and other Peruvians' ideas about how cultural advancement manifested itself in material culture, how humanity advanced, and how this evolution was linear and traceable in the increasing complexity of, among other things, the pottery record. Chileans did not question the sophistication of Incan material culture, nor the idea that the Incas were a more advanced people that had civilized others. In colonial and republican Peru and Chile, discourses about the Incas had long been oscillating between the poles of paternal rule and despotism, sophistication and decadence, benevolence and oppression. In the first part of his *General History*, Barros Arana described how the Incas were driven by a 'civilizing mission', and how their mission was effected through an 'absolute and despotic but extraordinarily benign power'. The soldiers of the Incas committed no crimes against the local population, Barros Arana wrote, because 'passive and absolute obedience' constituted the basis of Incan rule. In Barros Arana's writings the Inca could be seen either as civilizers or as 'foreign' despots, their subdued population as civilized or as passive.<sup>69</sup> With the War of the Pacific, the idea of Incan despotism came to prevail. During the Chilean invasion of Peru, Chilean soldiers camped near Pachacamac and many took a stroll around the site, leaving descriptions of the ruins.<sup>70</sup> 'Miserable' remnants of ancient glories, the ruins of Pachacamac, still reminded the Chilean soldiers of Old World civilizations. A Florentino Salinas from Aconcagua, for instance, compared the ancient site of Pachacamac to the oracle of Delphi, in Greece.<sup>71</sup> Only, the Inca were no longer the authors of the ruins; rather, they had become their 'usurpers'. Benjamín Vicuña Mackenna, also stationed near Pachacamac, marvelled at the ruins, 'the temple, fortress and cemetery of a formidable and prehistoric race, prior evidently to when the lineage of the Incas usurped power'.<sup>72</sup> Vicuña Mackenna had, a few years

<sup>68</sup> Larrabure y Unánue, 'La conquista de Chile por los peruanos', 262.

<sup>69</sup> Barros Arana, *Historia General de Chile*, Part 1, Chapter 1, 64; Medina, *Los Aborígenes de Chile*, 334.

<sup>70</sup> See Daniel Riquelme (1967), *La Expedición a Lima* (Santiago: Editorial del Pacífico): 66.

<sup>71</sup> Florentino Salinas (1893), *Los representantes de la Provincia de Aconcagua en la Guerra del Pacífico. 1879-1884* (Santiago: Albion): 146.

<sup>72</sup> Benjamín Vicuña Mackenna (1881), *La campaña de Lima. 1880-1881* (Santiago: Rafael Jover): 397.

earlier, exhibited Incan antiquities intermingled with Araucanian ones in Santiago. By 1881, to him, the Incas had come to be associated with unjust usurpation. The War of the Pacific merely tipped the balance: a sense of rejection of and difference from monumental Andean cultures took hold in post-war Chile. High culture came to be coterminous with decadence, and civilization with despotism; the Peruvian Incas became foreigners and usurpers.

Chilean scholars would later challenge several of Medina's and Barros Arana's assumptions about the Incas as civilizers, but they would invariably share their view that there could have been no infringement upon Araucanian territory.<sup>73</sup> While Barros Arana had still allowed for a slight alteration of 'the ancient barbarism'<sup>74</sup> in the southern territories, after 1900, scholars in Chile clung ever-more tenaciously to the inviolacy and authenticity of Araucanian culture, people, and territory. Aureliano Oyarzún, although he acknowledged that pre-Columbian material culture in the north was 'derivative of Peruvian civilization', maintained Araucanians had never been subject to Incan governance; commerce or exchange alone accounted for findings of Incan-style antiquities in the south of Chile.<sup>75</sup> Scholars in Chile insisted that Araucanians had possibly assimilated much of their 'northern neighbours' skills and had perfected their pottery and weaving techniques—thus accounting for Incan symbolism in the south—but that they had invariably preserved their own, characteristic culture. As Martin Gusinde phrased it, the culture of the 'ancient Araucanians', 'our ancestors', was 'singular and primordial' and it had 'consolidated its peculiar traits long before Peruvian influence'.<sup>76</sup> Chilean scholars' concern was not with an Incan invasion of Chile's central valley around Santiago: Oyarzún and Gusinde clung tenaciously to the virginity and purity of Araucanian territory and culture. Araucanians' pristine and untouched land became, at the same time, coterminous with the inviolacy of their race: the collectors

<sup>73</sup> For a summary of the discussion, see also Orellana Rodríguez, *Historia de la arqueología en Chile (1842–1990)*, 77.

<sup>74</sup> Barros Arana, *Historia General de Chile*.

<sup>75</sup> For Oyarzún's numerous publications on the subject, see Oyarzún, 'Contribución al estudio de la influencia de la civilización peruana sobre los aborígenes de Chile'; Aureliano Oyarzún (1912), 'El Trinacrio. Conferencia leída por su autor en la sesión celebrada por la Sección de Etnología en el gran salón de la Biblioteca Nacional el 25 de Noviembre de 1911', *Revista chilena de historia y geografía* 2 (5).

<sup>76</sup> Gusinde, 'Medicina e Higiene de los antiguos araucanos'.

in the service of the Museum of Ethnology and Anthropology in Santiago began to stress in their reports that the bodily remains they unearthed in Araucanía were from 'pure Araucanians'.<sup>77</sup> While the 'Peruvian' invaders were becoming, by virtue of their association with the *ancien régime* and Incan rule, synonymous with corruption, decadence, and degeneration,<sup>78</sup> Araucanians came to be imaged as the pure and primordial inhabitants of an untouched land.

Historians have scrutinized very similar concerns about ethnic and cultural purity in nineteenth-century German nationalist discourses. German discourses are generally traced back to the *Germania*, a work by the Roman author Tacitus. Holding up a critical mirror to a decadent Roman world, Tacitus depicted the tall, blond Teutonic warriors of the north by contrast as a people that had maintained its ancestral purity of blood and culture in the lands it had always inhabited. In Germany, ethnic discourses defined the nation against France as the assimilating land of 'civilization' (*Zivilisation*). Germany, in contrast, was a nation of pure, organic 'culture' (*Kultur*) that had grown in isolation from the foreign. Germans proved willing to gaze into the Tacitean mirror when in search of an image of themselves as pristine and powerful.<sup>79</sup> Most of the scholars involved in the construction of a 'singular and primordial' Araucanian ancestor in Chile were part of family networks stretching across the Atlantic from Chile to Germany. The Philippis, father and son, mounted the Araucanian collection in the National Museum with the help of German settlers in the south. Martin Gusinde, one of those who forged ideas about an Araucanian ancestor who had 'consolidated its peculiar traits long before Peruvian influence',<sup>80</sup> had come from the German Empire to work in the service of Chile's National Museum with Max Uhle and Aureliano Oyarzún. Philippis—father and son—Gusinde, Uhle, and Oyarzún had a fundamental impact on

<sup>77</sup> See entry no. 452, in (1913–25), 'Libro de Registro del Museo de Etnología y Antropología de Chile', Santiago, *Colección Documental del Archivo Histórico del Museo Nacional*.

<sup>78</sup> McEvoy and Stuken, *La república peregrina*, 541–3.

<sup>79</sup> Brian Vick observes in his analysis of concerns with ethnic and cultural purity in nineteenth-century Germany that—although Tacitean motifs enjoyed popularity—many Germans questioned autarkic visions. Brian Vick (2003), 'The Origins of the German Volk: Purity and National Identity in Nineteenth-Century Germany', *German Studies Review* 26 (2).

<sup>80</sup> Gusinde, 'Medicina e Higiene de los antiguos araucanos', 87–8.

Chilean prehistoric archaeology, and whereas Uhle, Gusinde, and Philippi were German-born and trained, Oyarzún was married to Federico Philippi's daughter. Parallels between Chileans and Germans and between Peruvians and Romans were made particularly explicit during and in the aftermath of the War of the Pacific. Authors of Chilean war accounts drew analogies between the Chilean invasion of Lima—the seat of the highest imperial institutions under Spanish rule—and the 'Germanic' taking of Rome, its invasion by the Huns.<sup>81</sup> In these imageries, the Chilean invasion marked the fall of a decadent empire. The War of the Pacific, in conjunction with the defeat of Araucanía, elicited a new reading of the Chilean nation; a reading that bore close resemblance to—and was strongly influenced by—nineteenth-century German discourses about ancestry. Chileans read their nation against the corruption of Incan civilization; they gazed into the Ercillan mirror, seeing a decadent Incan world in the aftermath of the War of the Pacific. Chileans were no longer the heirs of classical cultures; they were now descended from those who had overcome and defeated them. Chilean thinkers clung to the purity of Araucanian culture and the virginity of its territory because by 1900 Araucanía had become the ancestral heartland of the Chilean nation. Through the construction of a primitive Araucanian ancestor, the ancient Indian became the authentic repository of the Chilean nation state.

The war, its course, and its aftermath would sharpen awareness of territoriality, nationality, and ethnicity in Chile, but also, and perhaps even more acutely, in Peru. In the decades following the war, the indigenous legacy was at the core of Peruvian nationalist propaganda aimed at reviving feelings of belonging in the annexed regions. Patriotic folk songs, poems, and slogans reified Peruvian national identity through references to the homeland and the Andean or Incan pre-Columbian past.<sup>82</sup> The underlying message was that the annexed area could not but belong ethnically and culturally to the Peruvian nation, the legitimate successor to this past. The defeat reinforced the identification of the Peruvian nation with an Andean cultural legacy but, unlike before the war, the Incas increasingly embodied the Peruvian nation alone. Rather than an all-encompassing civilization, they became a racial ancestor, the ancestors of present-day Peruvians through

<sup>81</sup> Riquelme, *Bajo la tienda*, 91, 140.

<sup>82</sup> Skuban, *Lines in the Sand*, 62, 76.



blood and territory. The Quechua legacy of the southern provinces annexed by Chile and the racial integrity of the Peruvian nation were invoked to reclaim the unity of the 'fatherland': the inhabitants of Tarapacá, Tacna, and Arica were also Peruvians, 'brothers, descendants of the glorious Quechua stock. Our ancestors conquered and civilized [the annexed territories], and they bequeathed [them] to us'.<sup>83</sup> As in other parts of the world in the period around 1900, to Peruvians, 'race' became coterminous with nationality or a people developing over time,<sup>84</sup> a given that underlay and was materialized in a nation state. Peruvians' ideas about the 'glorious Quechua stock' reflect the idea that the blood and spirit of a nation could be traced back to its beginnings,<sup>85</sup> that the 'racial soul' of every people was distinct, homogeneous, unalterable, and constantly reproduced by heredity.<sup>86</sup> The racial nation was unique, there was only one of its kind; it constituted a bounded, homogeneous group of human beings. If the unity of the 'Quechua stock' within one nation state was a given, the Chilean occupation constituted an offence against ancestral borderlines established by maps of ethnic belonging:<sup>87</sup> it tore apart a people thus intended by nature. Whereas Chileans reconfigured Araucanian 'primitiveness' into purity and virility, Peruvian authors, in a different reading of the same text, portrayed the Chilean invasion as a barbarian assault on a civilized people. Peruvian accounts of Chilean cruelties against the civilian population in the occupied cities during the war referred to the murderers and looters as 'Araucanians'.<sup>88</sup>

<sup>83</sup> Jorge Polar (1900), 'La patria es una realidad natural, moral y jurídica. Tesis presentada por el señor Jorge Polar al optar el grado de Doctor en la Facultad de Ciencias Políticas y Administrativas', *Anales Universitarios del Perú* 27: 175.

<sup>84</sup> Charles A. Hale (1986), 'Political and Social Ideas in Latin America, 1870–1930', in Bethell, Leslie (ed.), *C. 1870 to 1930. Cambridge Histories Online. The Cambridge History of Latin American Literature Vol. 4* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press): 397.

<sup>85</sup> For international, political debates, see Glenda Sluga (2006), *Nation, Psychology, and International Politics, 1870–1919* (Basingstoke: Houndmills). For the case of nineteenth-century Germany, see Ingo Wiwjorra (1996), 'German Archaeology and its Relation to Nationalism and Racism', in Díaz-Andreu, Margarita, and Champion, Timothy (eds.), *Nationalism and Archaeology in Europe*, 164–88 (London: UCP Press).

<sup>86</sup> Hale, 'Political and Social Ideas in Latin America', 399.

<sup>87</sup> Víctor M. Maúrtua (1919), *La cuestión del Pacífico* (Lima: Imprenta Americana).

<sup>88</sup> For a description of cruelties committed by the 'Araucanians' during the War of the Pacific against the Peruvian people, see Mariano Felipe Paz Soldán (1884), *Narración histórica* (Lima: Imprenta y Librería de Mayo): 499.

Peruvians deployed the main polarization of nineteenth-century Latin American thought, the struggle of civilization against barbarianism, to discredit Chileans.<sup>89</sup> The descendants of the 'Quechua stock', Peruvians alone, were civilizers and civilized, their opponents but barbarians.

Larrabure's argument about the Incas and the Aymara as bearers of civilization and progress, enfolding the Valdivia jug, implicitly engaged with contemporary Chilean rhetoric. Chileans legitimized the conquest of Peruvian territory, and their right to govern it, by virtue of images of 'fruitfulness', of ideas about how the annexed territories owed their progress and development to Chilean work and capital. As Carmen McEvoy has observed, Chileans contended that the desert had been 'fertilised by the sweat of working men' and 'irrigated by the blood of [Chile's] heroes'.<sup>90</sup> Chileans had brought the north into progress, but at the same time the north was the site of Chilean modernity, of Chilean military triumph, and of anticipated export resurgence.<sup>91</sup> Whereas modernity characterized the Chilean state, decadence typified the Peruvian government. In this light, Larrabure's archaeological claim that all progress and entrepreneurialism, all evidence of advanced civilization in pre-Columbian Chile, stemmed from contact with an 'ancient Peruvian civilization' appears as a response to the Chilean pretence. His discourse about a civilizing and modernizing Peru countered the idea of connecting Chile, and Chile alone, with modernity. His compatriots' discourses reflected similar ideas. Mariano Ignacio Prado, in a speech delivered in 1906 at the Lima Historical Institute, contended that Peru was superior to its neighbouring republics because its soil treasured the remains of the Incas, 'one of the most ancient and most grandiose civilizations'.<sup>92</sup> Incan civilization reflected, even after the defeat, what

<sup>89</sup> Carmen McEvoy has argued that polarizations marked discourses during the War of the Pacific. Carmen McEvoy (2007), 'República nacional o república continental? El discurso republicano durante la Guerra del Pacífico, 1879-1884', in McEvoy and Stüven, *La república peregrina*.

<sup>90</sup> McEvoy, 'República nacional o república continental?', 538.

<sup>91</sup> Lessie Jo Frazier, 'Memory and State Violence in Chile: A Historical Ethnography of Tarapacá, 1890-1995', (Unpublished PhD Dissertation, University of Michigan, 1998): 39.

<sup>92</sup> Mariano Ignacio Prado y Ugarteche (1906), 'Discurso de don Mariano I. Prado y Ugarteche, presidente del Instituto', *Revista Histórica. Órgano del Instituto Histórico del Perú*: 404.

Peru ought to be: a civilized and a civilizing nation. It accounted for the superiority of the Peruvian nation over its neighbours. Larrabure, in *The Conquest of Chile by the Peruvians*, posited a natural continuity between the Incas and modern Peruvians, suggesting that, had not 'powerful causes' broken the connecting line between both, Peruvians would have been—they were meant to have been—the victorious and the conquerors, the civilized and the progressive in the War of the Pacific, because they were descended from the more civilized and progressive people, the Incas. The Chilean victory in the War of the Pacific was thus depicted as unnatural; it went against the grain of nationality, of ancestry, and of race.

The borderland conflict between Chile and Peru drew sharper lines around territories, but also between 'citizens' and 'foreigners'. The post-war period witnessed increasingly essentialist and racial discourses about national ancestry, as both states found themselves in the process of affirming their territorial rights against each other. Historians have shown that, as borderlines replaced more flexible boundaries and 'rough edges' around the world during the nineteenth century, states sought to legitimize their borders in new legal, cultural, or racial terms to claim their eternal and irreversible sovereignty over a given territory.<sup>93</sup> The negotiation of borders found its particular expression in South America, in the 'question of boundaries' (*cuestión de límites*), as the process is generally referred to. Borders were drawn and moved in the aftermath of independence and throughout the nineteenth century. Borderlines were not only decided upon according to defeats and victories in wars but also in subsequent diplomatic negotiations. The respective governments and elites commissioned and carried out archival and archaeological investigations to determine the historical boundaries between nation states. Even under the Spanish Crown during the late eighteenth century, the archives of Seville and Chapultepec (*Archivo General de Indias de Sevilla* (1785) and the *Archivo General de Chapultepec* (1792)) had been founded as political 'weapons', in order to corroborate the Spanish right to the American territories under the assault of English propaganda.<sup>94</sup> In

<sup>93</sup> Michiel Baud and Willem Van Schendel (1997), 'Toward a Comparative History of Borderlands', *Journal of World History* 8 (2): 214–17.

<sup>94</sup> On the making of borders through archival research, and the 'archive as weapon', see Irina Podgorny, 'Fronteras de papel: archivos, colecciones antropológicas y la cuestión de límites en las naciones americanas', *Historia Crítica* 44, 2011, 56–79.

continuity with the late colonial use of the 'archive as weapon', men such as Víctor Maúrtua or González de la Rosa in Peru, and Benjamín Vicuña Mackenna in Chile corroborated their political arguments in the border disputes and negotiations between Chile, Peru, and Bolivia before and after the War of the Pacific through archival and archaeological documentation they found in their own research.<sup>95</sup> Vicuña Mackenna, González de la Rosa, and Maúrtua were more than just politicians; they were also antiquaries: men with a longstanding interest in pre-Columbian material culture and historical documents. Political and scholarly involvements were interrelated; one was symptomatic of the other. As these men drew borderlines around the spaces the 'Peruvian' and 'Chilean' people had occupied ever since the pre-Columbian period, racial ideas about Peruvians' and Chileans' continuity with the past intertwined with debates about territoriality. The idea of race is always a place where people configure their relations to themselves and to others,<sup>96</sup> and so is nationalism. Border conflicts after the War of the Pacific converged with global intellectual history to forge a racial ancestor to the Chilean and to the Peruvian nations. Incas and Araucanians came to constitute the origins of Peru and Chile, distinguishing one unique territory and people from another.

Discourses about the pre-Columbian past in post-war Chile and Peru gradually narrowed into the national. Patriotic antiquarianism, revolving around the Incas in Peru and the Araucanians in Chile, was traceable prior to 1800. As in Europe, where the Napoleonic Wars brought forth interest in a 'local past' in occupied areas such as Germany, patriotic antiquarianism surfaced in Peru and Chile as Creoles sought to define themselves against Spanish colonialism: Inca antiquarianism emerged visibly in the context of late eighteenth-century patriotism in Peru, and references to Araucanía grew strong in Chile during the struggle for independence.<sup>97</sup> And yet, patriotic antiquarianism coexisted and was interwoven with antiquarian traditions appealing to classicist and universalist notions of an ancient

<sup>95</sup> Manuel González de la Rosa (1879), 'Los límites de Chile en Atacama fijados por la historia', *Revista peruana* 1; Maúrtua, *La cuestión del Pacífico*; Luis Risopatrón (1906), *La línea de frontera en la Puna de Atacama* (Santiago: Imprenta i Encuadernación Universitaria).

<sup>96</sup> Catherine Hall (2002), *Civilising Subjects. Metropole and Colony in the English Imagination, 1830–1867* (Cambridge: Polity Press): 8.

<sup>97</sup> See Sommer, 'Choosing Ancestors', 235.

'civilization' in Chile and Peru during most of the nineteenth century. It was only during the 1880s and 1890s, in Chile and Peru as well as in Europe, that these civilizations gradually ceased to be inclusive. Historians have shown how in Germany voices protesting against the study and collection of classical antiquities gained ground in the last decades of the nineteenth century: German intellectuals and politicians increasingly advocated an emphasis on the national past in education and research and, in that vein, propagated the study of and teaching about 'national' Germanic ancestors. In 1890, the German Kaiser Wilhelm II, even though he personally was an admirer of the oriental and classical Greek civilizations, asked for lessons on ancient Greece and Rome to be reduced and for a greater emphasis on the teaching of Germanic prehistory: 'We must take everything German as a foundation; we should educate national young Germans and not young Greeks or Romans.'<sup>98</sup> In the remainder of Europe, ancient remains found on national territory—in most cases, non-monumental, 'primitive' finds—likewise gained relevance in relation to the archaeology of the great civilizations of the ancient world because ethnic nationalism, founded on a common race, history, and language, moved to the fore, pushing back discourses about the nation as a unity based on individual rights, the sovereignty of the people, and popular freedom. Whereas until the mid-nineteenth century the past undisputedly acknowledged as at the root of the European nations was classical antiquity, states and individuals were no longer exclusively interested in Greek and Roman sculptures; specialized museums of local and 'national' antiquities, or departments within the existing ones, were opened throughout Europe and the teaching of the national past made its appearance. In the course of the nineteenth century, antiquities would widely cease to be—in Germany as well as in Greece, France, Chile, and Peru—a metaphor of civilization and instead become a metaphor of a territory and a people, of the soil and of race.<sup>99</sup>

Defeat on one side and victory on the other forged new nationalist discourses that defined Chile and Peru through and against each other. The War of the Pacific disintegrated Peruvian territory and deprived the Peruvian economy of substantial parts of its main source

<sup>98</sup> Wiwjorra, 'German Archaeology and its Relation to Nationalism and Racism', 168.

<sup>99</sup> Díaz-Andreu, *A World History of Nineteenth-Century Archaeology*, 20–2, 79–80.

of revenue, guano and nitrate exports. The Chilean invasion and occupation of Lima made the defeat total and devastating in the eyes of the population. The effects of the war on Chile, on the contrary, reinforced a sense of superiority. The War of the Pacific, together with the annexation of Araucanía, enlarged Chilean territory by more than one-third, stimulated agricultural, industrial, and shipping activity and pulled the country out of its pre-war economic stagnation; in particular, it reinforced a prevailing belief in the nation's racial and cultural superiority over Bolivia and Peru.<sup>100</sup> Chile's victory over the Peruvian–Bolivian Confederation in 1839 had already proved to Spanish America that Chile had turned from the poorest colony into a military power. The Chilean defeat of the Confederation inaugurated a period of national rivalries in which Chile emerged as a continental leader. Stability invited economic growth and advances in the arts and higher education. Even before the War of the Pacific, Chileans viewed their nation as superior to the other former Spanish colonies, as sharing a future with Europe. Historians have observed how Chileans, while trying to emulate European culture, distanced themselves from their Latin American neighbours.<sup>101</sup> Chilean thinkers stressed the common origins and trajectories among the Latin American nations in order to underline the differences in the states' recent development and thus highlight Chilean successes. As Diego Barros Arana contended in his *History of the War of the Pacific*, the Latin American nations were 'born of a common origin, conquered by the same race, they speak the same language, practice the same religion, are subject to uniform legislation, and they were raised in the same feelings and the same ideas'.<sup>102</sup> And yet, Hispanic American republics subsequently followed quite diverse paths, 'their progress has been very different', as Barros Arana phrased it. Whereas Chile, despite its poor origins, had achieved an exemplary degree of order, industriousness, and prosperity comparable to that of the 'template republics'—to a degree that astonished 'authors in the Old World'—Peru, the seat of the

<sup>100</sup> Brian Loveman (1999), *For la Patria. Politics and the Armed Forces in Latin America* (Wilmington: SR Books): 50.

<sup>101</sup> Patience Schell has made this argument for the museum sphere. Schell, 'Capturing Chile', 60.

<sup>102</sup> Diego Barros Arana (1880), *Historia de la Guerra del Pacífico (1879–1880). Ilustrada con mapa i planos* (2; Santiago: Librería Central de Mariano Servat): 8.

vicerealty in the colonial period, found itself ruined, disintegrated and corrupt.

Debates about race and ancestry in Chile and Peru, about whether one's nation was civilized and progressive, about whether it was rooted in primitive origins and was developing towards modernity, were not idle occupations. In her analysis of peace negotiations after the First World War, Glenda Sluga stressed the selectivity inherent in granting 'self-determination' to some but not all of the groups that claimed it. In post-First World War negotiations, it remained the prerogative of 'experts' and policymakers to define whether a people's 'self' was sufficiently 'developed' to take charge of its own fate, and to validate hierarchies centred on the notion of a people's different 'developmental stages', its perceived level of 'civilization'.<sup>103</sup> The period around 1900 saw the reign of positivism in Latin America and in other parts of the world; the idea that the scientific method represented man's only means of knowing. Both race and nation would be corroborated and constituted by the social sciences, among them prehistory and archaeology.<sup>104</sup> In particular, the ideas of Herbert Spencer were broadly received among Latin Americans. Spencer's thought had an anthropological dimension that was lacking in other thinkers. His evolutionary system was based on the development of particular societies, and his writings abounded in comparative data on specific customs, beliefs, rituals, and ethnic characteristics.<sup>105</sup> Politicians were so often antiquaries, and antiquarianism and archaeology was deployed politically in Peru and Chile, because nationality, race, and ancestry—a coherent story of progress from primitive to modern—was vital, even imperative, as a prerogative to these states' political existence and rights in the international community. During the second half of the nineteenth century in particular, both Chilean and Peruvian governments sought to attract the coming of a European intelligentsia, of engineers, naturalists, or teachers, to secure technological progress. Max Uhle entangled the archaeologies of Chile and Peru in various ways: he classified the archaeological record in Chilean territory through a comparison with sites and styles found in Peru; he filled both national museums with pre-Columbian remains;

<sup>103</sup> Sluga, *Nation, Psychology, and International Politics, 1870–1919*.

<sup>104</sup> On the relation between race, nation, and language, see also Díaz-Andreu, *A World History of Nineteenth-Century Archaeology*, Chapter 12.

<sup>105</sup> Hale, 'Political and Social Ideas in Latin America', 397.

and he fostered the institutionalization of archaeological techniques, in particular stratigraphy, in both academies.<sup>106</sup> Mainly, however, through his research Max Uhle provided both nation states with an archaeological chronology traceable in the layers of the material record; a timeline reaching back to primitive origins and forward through developmental stages up to the Spanish conquest. Uhle has long been associated with the popularization of stratigraphy in Peru and Chile—a method that allowed scholars to precisely confirm sequences of events and change through time and to thus work archaeological finds into evolutionary theory.<sup>107</sup> The chronological sequences and developmental phases established by Uhle proved highly influential, and a young generation of researchers, particularly in Peru, adopted Uhle's chronology, for to them it confirmed 'pre-established sociological laws'.<sup>108</sup> To the elites in both countries, he embodied a particular expertise and best archaeological practice standards; an association with Europe's scientific and technological lead.<sup>109</sup> Modernity has developed simultaneously in Europe and Latin America, but the mirror of Europe, and later, North America, has always accompanied the unfolding of the modern imaginary in Latin America. Europe remained the site and the yardstick of 'modernity' to the elites of Chile and Peru, for it was believed to have realized societies governed by criteria of efficiency and productivity, capital accumulation and industrialization, urbanization, and, also, a historical development towards a homogeneous nation state.<sup>110</sup> Uhle's presence, his methods, and his Europeanness converged

<sup>106</sup> Dauelsberg, 'Dr. Max Uhle: Su permanencia en Chile de 1912 a 1919', 374.

<sup>107</sup> Stratigraphy would be essential for the acceptance of human antiquity in Europe. Díaz-Andreu, *A World History of Nineteenth-Century Archaeology*, 391–2.

<sup>108</sup> For the reception of Uhle's theories in this context, see for instance Pedro Irigoyen (1910), 'Inducciones acerca de la civilización incaica. Tesis presentada para optar por el grado de Doctor', *Revista Universitaria. Organó de la Universidad Mayor de San Marcos* 1 (36): 33–5.

<sup>109</sup> Historians have found that European experts, or experts trained in Europe, often achieved remarkable concentrations of power in Latin American countries because of their association with European scientific expertise. Laurence Whitehead (2006), *Latin America: A New Interpretation*, ed. Dunkerley, James (1 edn., Studies of the Americas; New York: Palgrave Macmillan): 39. For Uhle's exploitation of his association with German science, see Gänger, 'La Mirada Imperialista? Los alemanes y la arqueología peruana'.

<sup>110</sup> For reflections on Latin American ideas about modernity, see José Mauricio Domingues (2008), *Latin America and Contemporary Modernity: A Sociological Interpretation* (New York: Routledge): xv. See also José C. Moya (2007), 'Modernization,



to help both nation states define and visualize the origins of their nation and its trajectory through time, premised upon a judgement acceptable to the international community.

Latin American nations required an indigenous ancestry to root them in the American soil, but America's indigenous peoples occupied the lowest ranks in the period's racial hierarchies. The nineteenth century saw the development of racial classification and the ideas of superiority and inferiority attached to each 'race'; it witnessed the first attempts to justify on a scientific basis the physical and mental superiority of Europeans over Africans, Asians, and American Indians.<sup>111</sup> A variety of classifications coexisted, but one broadly received in Latin America was Gustave Le Bon's ranking of Indo-European races as superior, with the Anglo-Saxon 'sub-race' above the Latin.<sup>112</sup> Civilization constituted, just like nationalism or race, a means of marking the 'self' from the 'other', but during the Enlightenment and long into the nineteenth century civilization had appeared universally attainable. During the late nineteenth century, civilization became absorbed into nationality and race, and previous ideas gave way to the notion that only certain 'races' were capable of becoming civilized. With the era of high imperialism in European history, symbolized by the British occupation of Egypt in 1882 and the subsequent scramble for Africa, international society and its legitimacy structures underwent a profound change. The 1880s witnessed an ever-closer intertwining of the narratives of European and American progress with race and geography; where civilization had seemed universally attainable, the 1880s brought forth a European discourse of civilization that now definitely excluded non-Western societies, as Cemil Aydin has found, 'because of the inferiorities of their religion or their standing as members of the coloured races'.<sup>113</sup>

Modernity, and the Trans/formation of the Atlantic World in the Nineteenth Century', in Cañizares-Esguerra, Jorge, and Seeman, Erik R. (eds.), *The Atlantic in Global History, 1500-1800* (New Jersey: Pearson Education); Whitehead, *Latin America*.

<sup>111</sup> See Elazar Barkan (2003), 'Race and the Social Sciences', in Porter, Theodore M., and Ross, Dorothy (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Science. Cambridge Histories Online. The Modern Social Sciences Vol. 7* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press): 679.

<sup>112</sup> Hale, 'Political and Social Ideas in Latin America', 399.

<sup>113</sup> For this argument, see Cemil Aydin (2007), *The Politics of Anti-Westernism in Asia. Visions of World Order in Pan-Islamic and Pan-Asian Thought* (New York: Columbia University Press).

In theory, following the dictates of history, race, and social psychology, Latin American nations with their indigenous populations were unable to realize modernity and civilization as in the 'advanced' countries of Europe and the United States. The limitations of evolutionary theory forced them to view their societies as inferior on a unilinear scale of civilization.<sup>114</sup> In the wake of these theories, both Chile and Peru struggled to define and conceive of their nations accordingly: both sought to delineate a national and racial ancestry that provided them with legitimate Indian ancestors without at the same time exposing them to the threat of racial and thus national inferiority.

Racial theories in post-war Chile sought to forge a narrative of superiority for the nation state. During the War of the Pacific, reports sent back to Chile stressed physical and cultural differences between Chilean soldiers on one hand, and Peruvians and Bolivians on the other. When Chilean soldiers paraded through the streets of Lima, wrote one Chilean, their 'virile bearing and majestic obstinacy' stood out among the 'dark masses'; many spectators believed at first they were seeing Europeans, wrote the Chilean author, such was the contrast with the 'Indians'. While the brave Araucanians came to stand for the Chilean nation, Chileans were still portrayed as being white and of European appearance. The coexisting pretences of Chilean whiteness and links with Araucanian indigeneity converged in post-war racial studies about the Chilean nation into scientific discourses that sought to rationalize a union of both. Particularly influential was Nicolás Palacios, whose work the *Chilean Race* [*Raza chilena*] became immensely popular in Chile. Palacios participated in the triumphant entry into Lima, and according to biographers the experience induced him to trace the roots of Chilean 'formidability'.<sup>115</sup> Palacios posited in 1904 that the Chilean people were a racial fusion of Araucanians and Visigoths, the Germanic elements among the Iberian colonizers. Only the bravest among the peninsular colonizers came to conquer Chile, argued Palacios; those descended from the Visigoths, a Germanic people that had inhabited the Iberian Peninsula prior to the eighth century. As with the Goths,

<sup>114</sup> Hale, 'Political and Social Ideas in Latin America', 413.

<sup>115</sup> Miguel Serrano (1988), 'Nicolás Palacios, un pensador excepcional en el mundo de habla castellana', in Serrano, Miguel (ed.), *Nicolás Palacios, Raza Chilena. Libro escrito por un chileno para los chilenos* (Santiago de Chile): XVII.

Araucanians were a 'patriarchal race' due to their reported military strength and genius, different from other indigenous groups on the continent. The gendered nature of these discourses premised Araucanian superiority upon the culture's perceived 'virility', evident in their military superiority and bravery. Authors related that Chilean soldiers were initially afraid of finding in the Bolivian and Peruvian 'Indians' the equivalents of those 'fierce and indomitable Araucanians' they had fought earlier. They were 'eternally relieved' to find no similarity whatsoever between them and Andean indigenes, who were incapable and unwilling to fight.<sup>116</sup> Palacios' peculiar version of 'racial nationalism' had lasting influence, and others followed Palacios, tracing the Chilean population back to similar fusions between Araucanians and superior European races.<sup>117</sup> These authors' arguments invariably revolved around the idea that the fusion between Araucanians and Germanic ancestors had brought forth a triumphant, brave, and virile Germanic people that was ultimately homogeneous. Latin American nations sought to confront and undo the alleged racial inferiority of their nation states in various ways: the hope that constructive miscegenation would do away with non-Europeans prevailed in several countries, such as Brazil, whereas the idea that miscegenation would create an entirely new *mestizo* people emerged in other contexts, such as Mexico.<sup>118</sup> In the Chilean version of constructive miscegenation, Chileans were a new, white race that had absorbed and assimilated the best of a bygone Indian people, the ancient Araucanians.<sup>119</sup>

Chilean and Peruvian debates about racial inferiority and superiority conditioned each other. 'What is the scientific origin of the superiority of the Chilean race over the Peruvian?', asked a follower of Palacios in 1919. In his reply, he outlined that the indigenous race of Chile was superior to other indigenous races in America and that it had crossed with other superior, European races.

<sup>116</sup> Riquelme, *Bajo la tienda*, 88.

<sup>117</sup> For one of Palacios's followers, see Todor Dimitrijevič (1919), *Las dos razas. La chilena y la peruana ante el juicio de cien escritores extranjeros* (Santiago: Sociedad Imprenta y Litografía Universo): 12–13.

<sup>118</sup> On racial theories in Latin American nation states and thinking about *mestizaje*, whitening, and constructive miscegenation, see Stepan, *The Hour of Eugenics*.

<sup>119</sup> Nicolás Palacios (1904), *Raza chilena. Libro escrito por un chileno para los chilenos* (Santiago de Chile). On Palacios' uses of Gustave Le Bon's theories and of Palacios' work in the context of immigration in Latin America, see Hale, 'Political and Social Ideas in Latin America', 409.

In Peru, the contrary has occurred. The Indian of the Inca was already degenerate when the Spanish came and the conquest of Peru overnight is thus explicable. Because Peru was densely populated at that time, the Spanish blood almost disappeared and the Peruvians inherited only the vices of the conquerors. In modern times, the blacks and the Chinese have helped degeneration still further.<sup>120</sup>

Unlike Chile, where racial make-up was made to account for a victory, Peruvian discourses about race in the post-war period were phrased as diagnoses of 'racial inferiority' and a quest for its remedies.<sup>121</sup> Peruvian elites witnessed, as well as a disastrous defeat at Chilean hands, peasant guerrilla troops rising up against Peruvian landlords and authorities in the last phase of the war. In the aftermath of the conflict, Peruvian elites did not blame only a lack of civic virtues and patriotism among the population for the defeat; they held its racial inferiority responsible for the fact that Peru had been overpowered.<sup>122</sup> Peruvian ideas about their population and ancestry in the post-war period rested on the same assumptions as Chilean criticisms: they revolved around an Incan despotism that had resulted in the passivity and degeneration of Peru's present-day population, as well as around the pernicious influence of Asian and African immigration and the defects of the Spanish—or 'Latin'—conquerors.<sup>123</sup> Theorists of race such as Clemente Palma or Javier Prado y Ugarteche diagnosed that inferior 'Chinese', 'Indian', and 'black' races in Peru posed an obstacle to Peruvian progress and modernization.<sup>124</sup> To Clemente Palma and many of his Lima contemporaries after 1900, the Indians' 'inferior condition', 'decrepitude', and unsuitability for civilization were innate, and an abyss separated them from the

<sup>120</sup> Dimitrijevič, *Las dos razas*, 69.

<sup>121</sup> As in other parts of Latin America, Peruvian thinkers around 1900 saw themselves as 'diagnosticians of a sick continent'. Hale, 'Political and Social Ideas in Latin America', 399–400. For positivist discourses about the 'sickness' of the American continent, or as it is sometimes referred to, the 'surgical approach', see also Stabb, *In Quest of Identity*, 3–32.

<sup>122</sup> See Nelson Manrique (1981), *Campesinado y Nación. Las guerrillas indígenas en la Guerra con Chile* (Lima: Centro de Investigación y Capacitación).

<sup>123</sup> For a study of racist ideas about African and Asian influences as well as the desired European immigration, see Pilar García Jordán (1992), 'Reflexiones sobre el Darwinismo social. Inmigración y colonización, mitos de los grupos modernizadores peruanos (1821–1919)', *Bulletin de l'Institut français d'études Andines* 2 (21).

<sup>124</sup> Clemente Palma (1909), *El porvenir de las razas en el Perú* (Lima); Javier Prado (1941), *Estado social del Perú durante la dominación española* (2 edn., Colección de libros y documentos referentes a la historia del Perú; Lima: Librería e Imprenta Gil).

'perfectible races'.<sup>125</sup> Isolated 'indigenous peasants' in the Andes, contemporaries believed, had 'eluded every sociological transformation' and had stagnated in their evolution.<sup>126</sup> As in Europe and European colonial contexts, a racial taxonomy based upon measurements of the skull, known as craniometry, became popular in Peru.<sup>127</sup> Scholars such as the president of the Geographical Society, Luis Carranza, carried out archaeological investigations<sup>128</sup> as well as anthropometric and craniometrical observations of the indigenous population.<sup>129</sup> To Carranza and others, measurements of crania revealed that the native population had not reached the 'plenitude of their development'.<sup>130</sup> Ultimately, Chilean and Peruvian racial theories rested on the same hierarchies and world orders: on the idea of European superiority and the exclusive nature of Europe's modernity. Both ultimately sought a solution for their nation's perceived racial heterogeneity, a barrier to modernity.

In both Chile and Peru, the 1880s and 1890s witnessed a prevailing sense of hopelessness over indigeneity. The hardening of nationalisms in the post-war period in Chile and Peru coincided with a new racism that eliminated the space for living American Indians in a modern nation state. The idea of Indians as living relics of the past pervaded the antiquarian and archaeological discourses and practices in Cuzco antiquarian circles, in the Chilean incorporation of Araucanía, and in Lima discourses about the Andes: to virtually all collectors involved,

<sup>125</sup> Palma, *El porvenir de las razas en el Perú*.

<sup>126</sup> Francisco Tudela y Varela (1908), 'El problema de la población en el Perú: discurso de apertura del año universitario 1908', *Revista Universitaria. Órgano de la Universidad Mayor de San Marcos* 1 (20).

<sup>127</sup> Barkan, 'Race and the Social Sciences', 696. In Peru, craniometry gained considerable popularity. See for instance Abraham Moises Rodríguez (1897), 'Reflexiones antropológicas relativas al hombre universal, al americano y al peruano. Tesis presentada á la Facultad de Ciencias por el Bachiller don Abraham Moises Rodríguez para optar el grado de Doctor en Ciencias Naturales', *Anales Universitarios del Perú* 25: 399–404.

<sup>128</sup> Luis Carranza (1988), 'Arqueología. Curioso monumento tumular en Tarma', in Nuñez, Estuardo (ed.), *La ciencia en el Perú en el siglo XIX* (Lima: Eddili).

<sup>129</sup> Luis Carranza (1887), 'Apuntes de un viajero. De Huancayo á Izcuchaca', *El Ateneo de Lima* 3 (31); Luis Carranza (1887), 'Apuntes de un viajero. De Izcuchaca á Lircay', *El Ateneo de Lima* 3 (32); Luis Carranza (1887), 'Apuntes de un viajero. De Lircay á Ayacucho', *El Ateneo de Lima* 3 (33); Luis Carranza (1888), 'De Ayacucho a Andahuaylas', *El Ateneo de Lima* 5 (55).

<sup>130</sup> Luis Carranza (1988 [1885]), 'Apuntes sobre la raza indígena. Condiciones físicas e intelectuales del indio', in Nuñez, Estuardo (ed.), *La ciencia en el Perú en el siglo XIX* (Lima Eddili): 121–30.

living Indians held a peculiar connection with the past that evinced, at the same time, their failure to evolve from it. Survivals of the pre-Columbian past, they echoed a bygone time in their material culture, their beliefs and practices. And yet in Cuzco and Lima on one hand, and in Araucanía and the Atacama Desert on the other, the idea that Indians were living relics was applied to very different ends.

In the conquest of Araucanía, a violent conflict and settler colonialism that sought Indians' displacement, reduction, or death, Araucanians' alleged connection with the past was interpreted as evidence of their evanescence under the assault of civilization. Chileans allowed only the symbol of the 'ancient' Araucanians into their nation state's imagery and racial composition. The ancients' supposed descendants were perceived to be marginal and external, and their death impending and constituent to the formation of a homogeneous and white Chilean nation. The late nineteenth century produced a number of writings that posited the scarcity and marginality of Indians in Chilean territory: whereas the indigenous groups in the 'centre' of the country had long ceded or been absorbed into the Chilean nation, very few indigenes had survived and they were concentrated on the margins of Chilean territory. As Diego Barros Arana put it as early as 1875, military posts increasingly encircled and reduced Araucanía, and in Patagonia and Tierra del Fuego only some 'scattered savages' survived. Outside these areas, Barros Arana continued, 'the indigenous race has disappeared'. Chile was populated 'by one race alone in which a more or less pure European element predominated'.<sup>131</sup> Although Richard Latcham and other scholars questioned the idea of a 'white' Chile, the idea had firmly taken hold in Chile's public imagery by the early twentieth century. As in the Chilean conquest of Araucanía, archaeological and anthropological discourses in the Atacama Desert were articulated around the idea of disappearing indigeneity. Often, those thinkers who shaped ideas about Araucanía were the same who studied and conquered the Peruvian and Bolivian territories annexed in the War of the Pacific which came to be the 'greater north' of Chile. Francisco Vidal Gormaz, for instance, had ordered scholars to accompany the armies in the south to gather information on Araucanian cultures, for they were 'about to become extinct'. Under the same premise, Vidal advocated the study of

<sup>131</sup> Barros Arana, 'Geografía etnográfica. Apuntes sobre la etnografía de Chile, por don Diego Barros Arana, decano de la facultad de filosofía i humanidades', 6–11.

indigenous customs in the north, for according to him they were about to give way to modern Chilean industry.<sup>132</sup> After the War of the Pacific, the works of Max Uhle, Tomás Guevara, and Richard Latcham in relation to the greater north of Chile signalled the complete integration of indigenous groups in the case of the Changos and the scarce presence of survivors in the plain process of assimilation in the case of the Ayamara and Atacameños.<sup>133</sup> As in Araucanía, in the Atacama Desert evanescence was not only a discourse; it received validation in reality. Whereas in Araucanía scholars witnessed the deaths brought about by the Chilean conquest, the Atacama Desert was indeed sparsely populated outside the cities and mining centres.<sup>134</sup> Chango and Atacameño societies lived in small communities, and as Rudolph Philippi observed before the war, they had adopted Spanish rather than speaking indigenous languages and wore clothes ‘common to the city’.<sup>135</sup> In the Atacama Desert, the discourse of evanescence was to some extent corroborated by the factual ephemerality of cultural practices perceived as ‘Indian’ and a negligible population. The discourse of evanescence survived into the second half of the twentieth century, along with living populations classified as Indians in the Atacama Desert. Evanescence was then reformulated into a perceived need to protect and preserve Atacameño culture in its ‘originality’, a ‘museographic vision’ of indigenous groups in the Atacama Desert that, once more, was premised upon an understanding of these cultures as precious ‘relics of the past’.<sup>136</sup> Throughout, the discourse of indigenous evanescence reflected both the reality of and ideas about the nation state Chileans were imagining for themselves: a Chile inhabited by a racially homogeneous and white people. Whether they occupied the formerly Peruvian

<sup>132</sup> Francisco Vidal Gormaz (1881), ‘Estudio sobre el puerto de Iquique’, *Anuario Hidrográfico de la Marina de Chile* 7: 24.

<sup>133</sup> Hans Gundermann Kröll and Héctor González Cortez (2005), *Sociedades indígenas y conocimiento antropológico. Aymaras y Atacameños de los siglos XIX y XX* (Arica: Universidad de Tarapacá).

<sup>134</sup> See for instance Mateo Paz Soldán on the population of the Department of Moquegua and its four provinces, Moquegua, Arica, Tarapacá, and Tacna. Paz Soldán, *Geografía del Perú, obra póstuma de D.D. Mateo Paz Soldán, corr. y aum. por su hermano Mariano Felipe Paz Soldán*, 501–12.

<sup>135</sup> Rudolph A. Philippi (1860), *Viage al Desierto de Atacama en el verano 1853–54* (Halle: Librería Eduardo Anton): 15, 19, 36.

<sup>136</sup> See Patricia Ayalya’s analysis of Gustave Le Paige’s relation with Atacameño populations during the 1950s to 1970s. Ayala, *Políticas del pasado*, 63, 109.

territories, Araucanía, or Patagonia, people classified as Indians existed only on the fringes of Chilean territory. Their existence was portrayed as external to the Chilean nation; for it was—and would long be—considered quite dispensable.

Historians have found that even at the height of racial biological thinking in Spanish America, neo-Lamarckian views which stressed the influence of the environment on evolution, rather than Darwinism, proved fundamental in many parts of the region.<sup>137</sup> Around the turn of the century, the nature of racial discourses among Peruvian intellectual elites changed. Those forms of racism that posited an irredeemable biological and innate inferiority of Indians, as well as Africans and Chinese, exemplified in Clemente Palma's writings, among others, were—although not suppressed entirely—displaced by ideas about the possibility of assisting and bettering Indians.<sup>138</sup> Lima politicians and scientists had long questioned racial theories. Macedo's notebooks retain his doubts about Samuel Morton's hypothesis that a ranking of races could be established by physical characteristics of the brain, particularly the size. Pointing to inconsistencies in Morton's connection between the cranial index—the ideal ratio of maximum width to maximum length of the skull—and intellectual capacities, Macedo wrote that, even if one admitted that the Indians' anatomy was inferior, it could not be deduced that the inferiority of 'the physiological or the intellectual be its necessary consequence'.<sup>139</sup> Even if Lima intellectuals believed in innate inferiority many chose not to abandon the notion that physical defects could be corrected through cultural influences and practices. Some Lima politicians and scientists proposed regulatory reforms to 'improve' Indian hygiene, morality, productivity, and discipline in the long process of assimilating them into a homogenizing nation and bringing them into progress and history.<sup>140</sup> Others suggested the

<sup>137</sup> Nancy Stepan, Peter Wade, and others, have observed this. For a survey of the literature on the coexistence of neo-Lamarckian and Darwinist ideas, see Earle, *The Return of the Native*, 16.

<sup>138</sup> Carlos Aguirre (1998), 'Crime, Race, and Morals: the Development of Criminology in Peru 1890–1930', *Crime, Histoire et Sociétés* 2 (2): 17–18.

<sup>139</sup> Macedo, 'Memorandum Histórico'. For an overview of Samuel Morton's work and the history of craniology, Stephen Jay Gould (1996), *The Mismeasure of Man* (2 edn.; London: Penguin).

<sup>140</sup> Jorge Polar, later Minister of Education, was among the defenders of the idea that education and 'civilization' would remedy indigenous conditions of 'inferiority'.



possibility of ‘constructive miscegenation’; the idea that ‘crossing’ with a sufficient number of whites would redeem the population. The collector and politician Javier Prado y Ugarteche suggested ‘the immigration [...] of the superior, strong, vigorous races’, which—upon crossing with a local population that he considered to be ‘paralysed’ and ‘impotent’ to change—would bring industriousness and progress. Unlike in Brazil and other parts of Latin America, relatively few intellectuals in Peru would actually rely on ‘constructive miscegenation’.<sup>141</sup> But even if they did not trust the effects of ‘crossing’, most Lima intellectuals believed in the uplifting effects of Creole tutelage—reforms, policies, and education—as means of incorporating the Indian communities out of their perceived stagnation. Limeños did not disagree with Chileans over the idea that the Indian was lagging behind. They disagreed, however, over whether Indians could still find the road to progress, whether they could be reformed. Whereas in Chile the Indian’s cultural stagnation foreshadowed and constituted the groundwork for evanescence, in Peru, discourses about cultural stagnation justified Creole tutelage of the Indian.<sup>142</sup>

Gonzalo Portocarrero has argued that the gradual retreat from biological racism in Peru around 1900 was the result of the awareness among Peruvian ideologists that biological racism left no hope for the future of the country. Lima intellectuals, so it will seem, discredited biological explanations because if the ‘Indian question’ was social, Creole tutelage and care would potentially solve it, but if it was biological, elimination and displacement would be its only possible remedies. Indigeneity as a category and Indian labour constituted foundational and necessary elements of the Peruvian economy and population: up to the guano boom, Peru depended economically on

Jorge Polar (1900), ‘Aptitudes políticas de nuestra raza. Tesis presentada por el señor Jorge Polar al optar el grado de Bachiller en la Facultad de Ciencias Políticas y Administrativas’, *Anales Universitarios del Perú* 27. Other positivists among Peruvian thinkers similarly argued degeneration was reversible. Carlos Wiesse (1888), ‘Discurso pronunciado por el catedrático de la Facultad de Letras, Dr. Carlos Wiesse, en la ceremonia de apertura del año escolar de 1886’, *Anales Universitarios del Perú* 14.

<sup>141</sup> For Prado’s writings on immigration, see Fanni Muñoz Cabrejo (2001), *Diversiones públicas en Lima, 1890–1920. La experiencia de la modernidad* (Lima: Red para el desarrollo de las ciencias sociales en el Perú): 59; Prado, *Estado social del Peru durante la dominación española*, 315. On theories of miscegenation in Latin America and Europe, see Stepan, *The Hour of Eugenics*, 135–70.

<sup>142</sup> I take the argument that Creole power is justified through a paternalist rhetoric from Majluf, *The Creation of the Image of the Indian*, 43.

Indian tax revenue. As a consequence of that necessity, the division of Peruvian society along the Indian/non-Indian fault line continued to ground relations between state and society. Almost two-thirds of the population was registered as Indian in 1827, and Indian population numbers persisted over the nineteenth century, conveying the impression that Peru did not share in the broad bio-cultural process of *mestizaje*. The guano boom allowed for the abolition of tribute in 1854, but caste divisions transcended this moment. Indian tribute was reintroduced once more under the government of Mariano Ignacio Prado (1876–9) under a new guise, the ‘personal contribution’. The reintroduction of the Indian contribution was couched in racial terms, premised upon the idea that the Republic needed to coerce the congenitally lazy Indians into the labour market by imposing a monetary head-tax.<sup>143</sup> The outright elimination or displacement of the Indian population was not an option that Peruvian politicians and intellectuals could realistically consider; Peru’s social, economic, and demographic structures rendered discourses about indigenous evanescence both counterproductive and absurd. Indians’ perceived cultural stagnation was therefore interpreted differently: unlike in Chile, where the idea that the Indians were adrift and amiss in modernity implied their impending disappearance, in Peru it suggested the necessity of Creole governance as a means of integrating the Indian communities and halting their perceived decline.

In effect, Chile was, together with neighbouring Argentina and Uruguay, exceptional both in effectively displacing ‘Indians’ and in producing ideas about evanescence and endangerment in Latin America.<sup>144</sup> Because the ‘New England’ type of settlement colonialism is often prevalent in our imagination, indigenous evanescence and ‘salvage’ have become commonplaces in the history of anthropology. However, outside the British New England colonies, Canada, and Australia, economic dependence on indigenous or imported labour force entailed very different ideas about the future of indigeneity. In Spanish America, and other exploitation colonies—in British India, French

<sup>143</sup> For a survey of these developments, see Larson, *Trials of Nation Making*, 146–55; Walker, *Smoldering Ashes*, 11.

<sup>144</sup> On the erasure of indigeneity in Uruguay, Gustavo Verdesio (2003), ‘An Amnesic Nation: The Erasure of Indigenous Pasts by Uruguayan Expert Knowledges’, in Castro-Klarén, Sara, and Chasteen, John Charles (eds.), *Beyond Imagined Communities: Reading and Writing the Nation in Nineteenth-Century Latin America* (Washington: Woodrow Wilson Center Press).

Indochina, German Togo, or Japanese Taiwan—autocratic government by a mother country entailed a paternalistic solicitude for the native population. Most Spanish American successor states perpetuated, like Peru, the paternalistic discourse of tutelage over a population that was very much alive, levying tribute on the colonized rather than displacing them. Their discourse was paternalist rather than militant, and revolved around the improvement or civilizing of the Indian population because unlike in Chile or Argentina, where the majority of politicians and scholars opted for the appropriation of Indian territory without its population, the process particularly of making the Andean space profitable, comprehensible, and governable was intrinsically intertwined with the process of coming to terms with its people. Peruvian elites sought, they had no other option than to seek, the inclusion of the Indian into national life.<sup>145</sup>

Larrabure implied an idea of the nation and racial ancestry that, like contemporary Chilean readings, encompassed the country's elites and its Europeanized classes in its continuity. Lima scholars combined the symbolic 'Indian' of the present with pre-Columbian Incan subjects. The discourse that Incan civilization accounted for the servility and lethargy of the 'Indian masses' made a strong central government seem necessary, to take care of the degraded subjects. Archaeological debates around the idea that despotism had rendered the Peruvian 'popular' masses servile and passive ultimately supported the idea of the need for Creole tutelage of the Indian of the present, the reason for the elites' rightful supremacy. Francisco García Calderón, a central ideologue of Peru's elite around 1900, formulated the political project of the period in his 1907 *Contemporary Peru (Le Pérou Contemporain)*. Considering himself a spokesman for the intellectual aristocracy of Lima that embodied the Peruvian nation in his eyes, García Calderón argued that the educated classes should exercise a benevolent dictatorship over the 'popular masses'.<sup>146</sup> Post-war identification with the 'civilizing' Incas placed Peruvian elites in the succession of Incan rulers; Peruvian elites inherited Incan rulers' 'civilizing mission'. Prasenjit Duara has

<sup>145</sup> Majluf, *The Creation of the Image of the Indian*, 46.

<sup>146</sup> For a discussion of García Calderón and his main work, see Nelson Manrique (2000), 'Modernity and Alternative in the Andes', in Schelling, Vivian (ed.), *Through the Kaleidoscope. The Experience of Modernity in Latin America* (London/New York: Verso): 127–8.

argued that Europe's 'civilizing mission' embodied not a wish to simply conquer and subject, but the wish that this conquest was desired by, or desirable for, those who were to be conquered and subjected. The discourse of civilization embodied a right, even an obligation, to take power over the other.<sup>147</sup> Elite claims to continuity with Incan sovereigns in the name of 'civilization' in Peru were one of the ways in which elite rule was naturalized and made to seem desirable, for the subjects as much as for the ruling populations. Discourses about Incan civilizing despotism and Indian stagnation acquired efficacy in the Peruvian context because they made sense of Creole supremacy. Limeños chose to embrace neo-Lamarckian views which stressed the influence of the environment on evolution because the figure of the authentic Indian, an Indian that was pristine only because he had stagnated, had not progressed nor evolved, constituted, rather than a threat to Creole rule, its ultimate legitimacy. Rather than being used to justify violence, cultural stagnation was adduced in Peru to cement and naturalize a social order. The authentic—the archaeological—Indian, then, only seemingly undermined Creoles' sovereignty; in effect, it grounded its justification.

In the end, however, Peruvian elites in their tutelage of the Indians, and Chilean elites in their war against Araucanians, faced the same anxieties over their cultural and political legitimacy. In 1815, about a decade before the final independence of Peru from the Spanish Crown, Simón Bolívar wrote a now famous letter discussing the status of the Spanish-descended and American-born Creoles that were leading the patriotic armies. For Bolívar, the difficulty in finding a political order for the Spanish colonies lay in the contradictory position of the Creoles that were—and this, Bolívar and other Creoles did not doubt—to govern the American republics in the future.

[W]e are [...] neither Indian nor European, but a species midway between the legitimate proprietors of this country and the Spanish usurpers. In short, though Americans by birth we derive our rights from Europe, and we have to assert these rights against the rights of the indigenes, and at the same time we must defend ourselves against the invaders.<sup>148</sup>

<sup>147</sup> Prasenjit Duara (2004), 'The Discourse of Civilization and Decolonization', *Journal of World History* 15 (1): 2.

<sup>148</sup> Simón Bolívar (1951 [1815]), 'Reply of a South American to a Gentleman of this Island, Kingston, Jamaica, 6 September', in Lecuna, Vicente, and Bierck, Harold A. (eds.), *Selected Writings of Bolívar* (New York: The Colonial Press): 110.

Creoles ruled over indigenes, and their sovereignty rested on both being Europeans, and thus capable of self-rule in the face of Europe's imperial powers, and also their identification with indigenous America, as the justification for their independence from Spain. The quest for political and cultural legitimacy cut across social constellations, economic and demographic differences, and divergent events in Cuzco, Araucanía, the Andes, and Atacama: it persisted beyond disciplinary reconfigurations and scientific paradigm shifts. Private and incipient public collections in the hands of the elites other than those in Cuzco, Lima, Araucanía or Santiago are also traceable in Puno, a city on the Peruvian shores of the Titicaca Lake, and in Bolivia, Mexico, and Colombia.<sup>149</sup> These areas shared with Peru and Chile immediate pre-conquest cultures comparatively well known through written sources—the Chibchas in Colombia, the Aztecs in Mexico and Tiahuanacu, and the Incas in Bolivia. At the same time, considerable sectors of the population in all of these countries were classified as 'Indians', while the people who governed these nation states claimed Hispanic or European descent. The fact that in all of these places the elites collected and studied antiquities they associated with the pre-Columbian period urges us to recognize that surrounding themselves with the antiquities, interpreting them, and putting them on display had an important purpose to serve in these countries.

Anxieties about ancestry and race underwrote and found their expression in the collecting and study of antiquities. The discourses and practices of archaeology allowed for a peculiar identification with American indigeneity. The middle and upper classes in Cuzco, Santiago, and Lima chose the European practice of collecting and studying pre-Columbian remains to seek an association and proximity with indigeneity. In Cuzco, as in Lima, Temuco, and Santiago, elite

<sup>149</sup> See for instance the collections of Miguel Garces and Nicolás Saénz. An inventory of the Garces collection was drafted by the owner upon the collection's sale to the American Museum of Natural History: Garces, 'Inventario'. For the Saénz collection, see the catalogue authored on the occasion of the collection's remittance to the Paris Universal Exhibition. The manuscript of the catalogue is not dated, and could be either related to the 1878 or the 1889 Paris exhibition. Saénz, 'Catálogo'. For the case of Colombia, see the recent history of nineteenth-century collecting and antiquarianism by Botero, *El redescubrimiento del pasado prehispánico de Colombia*. For Mexico, see also Díaz-Andreu, *A World History of Nineteenth-Century Archaeology*, 183. For Bolivia, Teresa Gisbert has pointed to Creole collections in La Paz. Teresa Gisbert, Silvia Arze, and Marta Cajías (1987), *Arte textil y mundo andino* (La Paz: Gisbert y Cía).

thinkers, scholars, and politicians were not seeking to be or to become Indians: they only sought discursive continuity with an indigenous ancestor through the discourse of race and nation. In Chile and Peru, the authenticity of the nation came to reside in the ancient past of Araucanía and of the Andes. The collection and study of antiquities allowed them to relate to the American ancient past while passing over living Indians' presence in silence. Appropriation of indigenous ancestors was not possible because living Indians were severed from this past: it was possible because they formed part of it. Historians of anthropology have long argued that uses of time in anthropological discourses are made for the purpose of distancing those who are observed from the time of the observer.<sup>150</sup> The connection with the indigenous past distanced the symbolic Indian from its observer, relegating him into the past. In all four cases, in Cuzco as much as in Lima, in Araucanía, and in the Atacama Desert, living and pre-Columbian Andeans and Araucanians dissolved into one another. Rather than being separated and dissociated from pre-Columbian peoples, these groups were like, and ultimately identical to, 'their ancestors'. The Indian populations of the Andes, Araucanía, and the Atacama Desert were but relics. Peruvian elites thus inherited the Incan rulers' civilizing mission, as much as Chileans inherited the ancient Araucanians' bravery. Descent from an Indian ancestor rooting the nation in its territory, and this ancestor's subsequent death or dissolution into elite culture, was the only road towards modernity offered to Chile and Peru in this period.

Archaeology distils a modern sensibility. Archaeology in Chile and Peru, as in Europe and its imperial dominions, emerged from a nexus of modern ideas: a classificatory mode of knowledge; the formulation of narratives of social and technological progress; the rise of the belief that new knowledge could be made from material things; and the idea of the naturalness of bounded human groups, of races, that materialize in the nation state.<sup>151</sup> In Chile, as in Peru, archaeology surfaced precisely when the distinctive physical endowments of each territorial unit became a privileged object of identity formation: archaeology took shape in the context of geographical and scientific exploration and it forged bounded territorial spaces through demarcation and

<sup>150</sup> Fabian, *Time and the Other*, 25.

<sup>151</sup> Julian Thomas (2004), 'Archaeology's Place in Modernity', *Modernism/Modernity* 11 (1): 17, 31.

cultural and racial specificities that validated claims to separate-ness.<sup>152</sup> Archaeology also distilled modernity because it rationalized a peculiar vision of indigeneity that allowed Peruvian and Chilean elites to circumvent living indigenes while at the same time rooting their identity in an imagined indigenous ancestry. In Chile and in Peru, the possession and comprehension of the remnants of the pre-Columbian past rooted the countries' elites in the territory as they visualized indigeneity as a relic of the past. The collecting and study of pre-Columbian remains allowed for continuity between a modern nation and an indigenous people, for the origins of something new and unique in this ancient past.

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Ethnohistorians and archaeologists currently assume that the Incan Empire extended as far south as what is today Santiago de Chile. The archaeological record reveals that, even though the Araucanian territories did maintain a political and cultural autonomy, some of its inhabitants opted for or were coerced into collaboration with the Incas. Archaeological, linguistic, and documentary records give evidence of movement, exchange, and communication beyond Santiago.<sup>153</sup> there were cord registries akin to Incan *quipus* in use in Araucanía upon the arrival of the Spanish, Incan *yanacunas* had exploited gold mines in the area,<sup>154</sup> and while linguists have distinguished words of Quechua origin in the Mapudungun language,<sup>155</sup> archaeologists have identified cups, plates, jugs, and statuettes from the Valdivia area—more than 500 kilometres south of the Maule River—that indeed reveal Incan imperial influence. Whereas most white Valdivia pottery is of post-conquest making, excavations during the 1980s have yielded pre-Columbian Valdivia pottery, which is coarser, with red paintings on brown ground and brown on dark off-white ground, bearing a design evidently of Incan imperial origin.<sup>156</sup> Late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century debates about the extension of the Incan Empire into what was then Chilean territory are not of significance here, however, because of what they asserted or misunderstood; they matter because of what guided their authors'

<sup>152</sup> Whitehead, *Latin America*, 30.

<sup>153</sup> See Hidalgo Lehuédé, 'The Indians of Southern South America'.

<sup>154</sup> Gordon and Dillehay, 'La actividad prehispánica de los Incas', 188.

<sup>155</sup> Gordon and Dillehay, 'La actividad prehispánica de los Incas', 188.

<sup>156</sup> Gordon and Dillehay, 'La actividad prehispánica de los Incas', 188.

archaeological analysis and arguments. They matter because other than conflict and animosity they reveal that Chileans and Peruvians strove for the same future, spoke the same language, and shared the same concerns.

In the three decades following the War of the Pacific, Chileans and Peruvians delineated their nation states and national ancestries against each other through the discourses and practices of prehistoric archaeology. Ancient Araucanians came to constitute Chileans' ancestors, and the Incas those of the Peruvian nation state. The symbols of the two pre-Columbian groups epitomized these states' authenticity, and thus their rights to political sovereignty. The debates about polar opposition between Incas and Araucanians, and Peru and Chile, disclose animosities. They also disclose, however, how Chile and Peru shared a pursuit for origins and originality, and how the same pursuit linked both with nation states around the world. The significance of the disciplines of archaeology and prehistory during the decades around 1900 lay also at the crossing of evolutionist and nationalist thought, as well as of ideas about civilization and race. All of these were in turn tied up with the paradigm of European modernity. The ruling elites in Europe, in Europe's colonial dominions, and in the postcolonial successor states collected and studied ancient remains to forge a modern identity for themselves, an identity rooted in origins that granted authenticity and uniqueness and thus modernity and a right to existence for their nation state. Historians have argued that the quest to measure up to European ideas about modernity—as much as criticisms of it—among emerging nation states around 1900 produced discourses about ancestry and national history that granted both compatibility and specificity to a nation state's past; the period witnessed the co-production of both similarity and difference.<sup>157</sup> Nationalism and the paradigm of modernity posited not just the necessity of uniqueness and particularity. Evolutionism, nationalism, and the paradigm of modernity also entailed a universal claim: they posited that human societies functioned and changed, abiding by rules that were common to them all. It was precisely the fact that there had come to be only one road towards modernity for

<sup>157</sup> Sebastian Conrad and Shalini Randeria (2002), 'Einleitung. Geteilte Geschichten—Europa in einer postkolonialen Welt', in Conrad, Sebastian, and Randeria, Shalini (eds.), *Jenseits des Eurozentrismus. Postkoloniale Perspektiven in den Geschichts- und Kulturwissenschaften* (Frankfurt am Main: Campus Verlag): 20.



them all around 1900 that elicited struggles and brought forth hierarchies.<sup>158</sup> Chile and Peru, as well as other nation states around the world, also argued in debates and fought in wars because their aims and aspirations, their intellectual models and ideas, had come to be so closely related.

<sup>158</sup> Díaz-Andreu, *A World History of Nineteenth-Century Archaeology*, 377–8.

# Conclusion

## *Relics of the Past*

Historians went astray when they assumed that a scholarly interest in pre-Columbian material culture was largely a European phenomenon during the nineteenth century, and that Latin Americans came to participate in the collecting and study of pre-Columbian antiquities only during the twentieth century. Many collected and studied the antiquities of the pre-Columbian past throughout the nineteenth century in Peru and Chile—particularly in Cuzco, among the city's elite, among Lima's bourgeois sphere, over the territories of Araucanía after their occupation by the Chilean nation state, and in the context of the War of the Pacific. From the collectors' bequests, from their letters and manuscripts, and from newspaper clippings, surfaces a hitherto virtually unknown world of antiquarian and archaeological collections and erudition, largely outside the national museums and the universities. This world was predicated on the antiquarian and archaeological endeavours of some of the time's better-known museum directors and university professors, most of them trained naturalists—men like Rudolph Philippi, Mariano Eduardo de Rivero y Ustariz, or Antonio Raimondi—but it also encompassed men and women whose lives have long evaded the attention of historians of science and knowledge: women like Ana María Centeno, 'indigenous intellectuals' like Justo Apu Sahuaraura Inca, or military officials, lawyers, and doctors; men like Francisco Vidal Gormaz, José Lucas Caparó Muñiz, and José Mariano Macedo, who collected and studied antiquities in the hours they could spare from their occupational duties.

The inclusion of 'amateurs'—or rather, the focus on a time when antiquarian and archaeological employment in Peru and Chile barely existed—allows for a new, back-projected horizon, a more wide-ranging and comprehensive picture of the history of collections and archaeological scholarship, but it also sheds light on a meaningful connection between the realm of learning and that of the individuals'

lives—their beliefs, professions, and allegiances. Their training and employment—as engineers, lawyers, or naturalists—informed the antiquaries' methods, approaches, and interests. Their collections and scholarship also made sense of, sustained, or arose from their political beliefs, racial anxieties, or visions of the society they lived in. Because the states of Peru and Chile were little involved in antiquities collecting—because individuals fashioned its spaces, supplied the funding, and wrought its contents—politics and ideology, patriotism and nationalism, were but one, and usually not a foremost, cause for collecting: men and women collected because a collection's prestige would redound to the owner's advantage, because antiquarianism had become an affirmation of taste and of scientific curiosity by the late nineteenth century, a testimony to one's education. They collected because they sought intellectual stimulation, inclusion in Lima's upper circles, or because they pursued economic interests in the market for antiquities.

Much of the history of collecting and learning in Cuzco, Lima, or Santiago is understandable only with reference to Peruvians' and Chileans' place in and their relations with the wider world—above all, with Europe and, from the late nineteenth century, North America. Antiquities collectors travelled widely, or were accustomed to receiving visitors from afar. Several of them were migrants: they moved across continents and thus drew disparate localities together. Not only did collectors and scholars coming from both sides of the Atlantic cross the sea, some of them on numerous occasions in their lives; so did their ideas and the pre-Columbian antiquities they traded, studied, or cherished. Collectors in Peru and Chile were abreast with and a part of scientific debates that spanned the Atlantic and the Americas: they received and remitted publications or data, and they bestowed, loaned out, or sold antiquities and images of them to their correspondents and to archaeological societies and museums in Europe and North America. They were familiar with the same collections and museums as Europeans or North Americans were, either from their visits or from descriptions; they had read the same books—the chroniclers, Rivero's and Tschudi's *Peruvian Antiquities*, and the papers delivered at the Congresses of the Americanists—and they shared scientific concepts, aesthetic categories, and disciplinary and institutional models. The collectors' ideas about history, nationality, and ancestry, about race and evolution, likewise remain incomprehensible without a wider, global framework. Pre-Columbian

material culture and its 'continued use' came to symbolize living Indians' sameness with their 'ancestors' in Peru and Chile—their stagnation in and connection with the past—in a reverberation of changes in the conception of human difference and a global reconfiguration of indigeneity along the lines of European racial thinking. World history is not so much a history of the world than a history of how what is seemingly confined and of little consequence to distant places is ultimately a product of and related to ideas and people at a distance. Chilean and Peruvian collections and studies of the pre-Columbian past were part of a closely knit web of ideas that stretched across the Atlantic, into Europe's imperial and former possessions and beyond. They were inconceivable without the ideas that ran along the veins of Europe's imperial and postcolonial networks, and served to interweave the world, around 1900.

The collecting and study of pre-Columbian antiquities was not only tied up with the wider world and with Europe. Peruvian and Chilean practices and discourses in relation to the pre-Columbian material culture were associated with a Creole anxiety that was particular to the region and tied up with the social and cultural legacies of the former Spanish colonies. While in the eighteenth century, pre-Columbian objects had been unsightly idols to some, 'curiosities' to others, and to again others, heirlooms or utensils, in the eyes of the elites at least their temporality had been sealed by the end of the nineteenth century—as precious and valued antiquities, the relics of a long bygone time. Like the *mascapaycha* or the *kipu*, the lives of men self-identifying as Incas in Cuzco and as Mapuche in Araucanía mirror the changes in the temporality of indigeneity over the course of the nineteenth century. Due to the exceptionally late formal colonization of Araucanía and the century-long assimilation of Indian elites in Cuzco into Hispanic culture, the situation of Incan and Araucanian descendants differed fundamentally: whereas Incan families had long been a part of and constituent in the functioning of the Peruvian state and its intellectual life, Araucanian groups had seen themselves, and were commonly seen, as external and hostile to the Chilean nation. Whereas nineteenth-century Incan descendants invoked a noble ancestry, discourses about Araucanians revolved around ideas about primitiveness and savagery; and whereas Cuzco saw the downfall of a class, Araucanía saw that of a people. And yet, both the Incan and Araucanian elites living in the nineteenth century shed light on the effects of a distinct conjunction that effected a relegation of Incan and Araucanian cultures

to the past: between a real defeat, the end of an era, the abolishing of the *kuraka* office in Peru and the conquest of Araucanía—a peculiar moment in the reconfiguration of indigeneity—its association with inferiority—on a global scale, and the ‘Creole dilemma’ in the aftermath of independence—the necessity of appearing both European, and thus capable of self-rule in the face of Europe’s imperial powers, and identifying, at the same time, with indigenous America, as the justification for freedom from Spain. As Creoles came to see themselves as the heirs—if not the descendants—of their countries’ pre-Columbian past, narratives emerged to make sense of living ‘Indians’, still seen as the genuine descendants of this ancient past: the trope of men ‘in old age’, exemplified in Sahuaraura or Pascual Coña, constituted a symptomatic discourse, and so did related ideas about ‘sickliness’ and degeneration, applied to Araucanian youth and others quite evidently not ‘in old age’. Both these discourses corroborated visions of Araucanian and Incan cultures as intrinsically and integrally ancient; for their descendants, in their feebleness, were mere relics, about to disappear as well. Incan and Mapuche elites partook in the changes that transformed understandings of these groups, both corroborating and challenging them. Men like Sahuaraura and Pascual Coña, like Angel Vega Enríquez and Manuel Manquilef, acted on the threshold between indigeneity and European or Creole culture: they referred to themselves as Indians but most of them were trained in state schools; they were cosmopolitan in their thinking and contacts, and, as such, members of the ‘Republic of Letters’ as Chileans and Peruvians who claimed Hispanic or European descent. They helped and partook in the process in which artefacts in use among people, family graves, and personal heirlooms were reconfigured into antiquities in the collections because they were a part of, and thought like, the cosmopolitan, Europeanized Chilean and Peruvian elites who replaced Incan elites and colonized Araucanía. In conveying images of themselves as ‘the last of their kind’, as precious relics and as authentic Indians, they found a new status and space for themselves in the Chilean and Peruvian societies. Their discourses not only undermine the binary thinking about Indian and Creole, subaltern and elite, primitive and modern, that continues to pervade much of the historiography about Chile and Peru; their existence elucidates at the same time how ideas about ‘ancient’ Araucanía or the Incan past, and about Indians as relics, travelled and gained ground among all those who were part of the same class and cultural context.

The comparative and entangled approach uncovers shared features, longstanding causes, and commonalities, but it also points to specifics—to what was distinct about each of the four related constellations. While the collectors' place in the wider world and on the South American continent matters, there were always ideas, people, and objects that would not 'circulate'; that were inwardly directed, fragmenting, and excluded from or reluctant about processes of homogenization. In Cuzco, men and women collected, marvelled at, and interpreted Incan antiquities years before anyone cared to set aside Araucanians' possessions, because longstanding analogies with the ancient civilizations of the Mediterranean allowed for a comparatively early 'local classicism' around Incan antiquities in the former imperial capital; because antiquarianism was an element of Cuzco regionalism long before Andean and Araucanian antiquities came to stand for the nation states of Peru and Chile; and because Incan objects had become available for collection as 'antiquities' by the 1830s while those of the Araucanians had not—yet. The Indian's cultural stagnation was diagnosed in Cuzco, Lima, and Santiago, but it was interpreted in different ways. Chileans have not invariably sought to erase or elude Araucanian cultures' existence, nor has Peru invariably sought to assimilate Andeans into the nation, and yet, the representatives of each context adopted conspicuously distinct visions of the role indigeneity was to play in their society: thereby, discourses about race became either tenacious or fragile, insurmountable or permeable. Unlike the *mascapaycha* or the *kipu*, the story of the Valdivia jug is not about the making of an antiquity, but about how the jug began its life as an American relic, and ended it as a national one: discourses about the nation that had pervaded Andean or Araucanian archaeology only on the margins, as the last chapter argues, surfaced and sharpened in the context of the War of the Pacific; both over the violent encounter and the decades of animosities it brought about. The collection and study of antiquities in Cuzco, over Araucanía, in Lima, and over the Atacama Desert, reveals not only how much of the body of scholarly and cultural ideas that predominated in these areas was constituted through the communication of ideas with others, but also that there were always ideas that were not communicated and not shared, and that were historically contingent, particular to their time and place.

The discipline of archaeology, when it gradually came to be institutionalized and professionalized in Peru and Chile towards the end

of the period under scrutiny, superseded and absorbed earlier practices and discourses of collection and study, as was the case in Europe and other parts of the world. Peru and Chile looked back into long-standing antiquarian and archaeological traditions that had emerged and changed along with European and North American scientific developments and conceptions of human difference and antiquity; with the social and cultural legacies of the former Spanish American colonies; and with constellations that were historically contingent, specifically tied to a place, and that had little to do with the wider world, or even a neighbouring country. Archaeological and antiquarian collections and erudition in Peru and Chile came into being, developed, and flourished owing to a variety of concerns and ideas. Some of these were static and endemic, while others were mobile and global in their reach. The archaeology of Peru and Chile took shape at these crossings.

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