

South America

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17.1 Introduction

On descending the stairs into the main court of the Pitt Rivers Museum (PRM) several of the cases that greet the visitor exhibit elegant Pre-Columbian pottery and textiles.¹ These demonstrations of the technical skill and artistry of indigenous South Americans are, currently, the largest quantity and range of such material on permanent display in Britain. Other museums with South American material on display in the UK include the British Museum and the Horniman Museum in London, the University of Cambridge Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, the Kelvingrove Art Gallery and Museum in Glasgow, and the Manchester University Museum. The South American collections in all of these museums share a broadly similar history, with the vast majority of the material originating from travellers, traders, administrators and antiquarians of the 19th and early 20th centuries, with only a limited amount of material in the British Museum originating from secure archaeological excavations. To quite a large extent this reflects changes in Britain's political and economic role in the continent with a significant decline in investment and trade during the 20th century, as well as changes in the law and ethics prohibiting the export of artefacts from most Latin American countries from the 1970s. Both the PRM founding collection and the rest of the PRM's archaeological collections are dominated by material from the west coast of South America, with a lesser amount of material coming from the Andean highlands (cf. *Table 17.1*). Consequently, not all areas of the continent are equally represented in the collection (see 17.3.1 below). Nonetheless, the c. 7,039 objects from South America that are defined as 'archaeological' include many groups of material and individual items that have significant research value.

This chapter seeks to characterize the major themes and strengths within the South American archaeological collections. As many items do not yet have the correct cultural affiliation or dating, it is to be expected that there will be some gaps in this analysis. But, it is hoped that our overview will inspire more detailed artefact- and archive-based studies of specific parts of the collection, and that more in-depth research will in its turn add more precision to the identification and description of the artefacts within the catalogues.

17.2 The Founding Collection: Collections from Ancón and Arica

17.2.1 Overview

The following sections provide an overview of the c. 917 'archaeological' objects from South America in the PRM founding collection. These comprise c. 514

¹ PRM Court; cases 18a, 136, 139, 143, 146, 147, 150, 152.

Table 17.1. Chronological overview of South American archaeological cultures and periods.

Period	Dates	Culture(s)
Late Horizon	1476 CE–1534 CE	Inca
Late Intermediate	1000 CE–1476 CE	Chimu, Chancay
Middle Horizon	600 CE–1000 CE	Wari, Tiwanaku
Early Intermediate	200 CE–600 CE	Moche, Nazca, Lima
Early Horizon	900BCE–200 CE	Paracas

artefacts from Chile, *c.* 227 artefacts from Argentina, *c.* 125 artefacts from Peru, *c.* 26 artefacts from Ecuador, 6 artefacts from Brazil, 5 artefacts from Guyana, and 5 artefacts from Colombia. There are no objects in the PRM founding collection from Uruguay, French Guiana, Surinam, or Venezuela, but there are 9 objects recorded as from South America, but with no country of origin recorded.

However, before introducing the PRM founding collection, it is first necessary to account for a very large collection of material from Chile and Peru for which the documentation is confused, and which includes more than half of the PRM founding collection (*c.* 515 artefacts). This material, variously recorded as from Arica (Chile) and Ancón (Peru), comprises more than half of the whole South American archaeological collections (*c.* 3,345 artefacts). These collections – including the *c.* 515 objects from the PRM founding collection that are recorded as from these two locations – are considered in section 17.2.2, before the remaining *c.* 400 South American ‘archaeological’ objects from PRM founding collection are introduced in sections 17.2.3 (Peru) and 17.2.4 (the rest of South America).

17.2.2 Collections from Arica, Chile and Ancón, Peru

The PRM holds *c.* 3,345 artefacts that are recorded as having been collected from mortuary contexts at two locations in the western coastal area of Peru: Ancón, Peru, and Arica, Chile. In the 1870s Arica was part of Peru, but Chile gained control of the area during the ‘War of the Pacific’, and the area has remained part of Chile since the Treaty of Ancón in 1883. Since the Treaty is later than the date at which many of these objects were collected, objects from this Arica are often recorded in the Museum documentation as from Peru. This territorial change, the similarity of the two place-names, and the complex processes through which the collection has formed have combined to create considerable confusion in the documentation of these collections. The site names are mixed up on a number of occasions, and the attribution, in the following description, of objects to one site or another must therefore be uncertain at present. The artefacts appear all to derive from excavations of mummified remains: from the Necropolis at Ancón, from graves exposed at Arica after a devastating hurricane on 8 August 1868, and from other *buacas* or graves in the vicinity of both sites.

The Necropolis at Ancón was both an occupation area and an ancient cemetery, containing burials from the Early Intermediate Period to the Late Horizon (200 BCE–1550 CE), including elaborate Middle Horizon burials of multiple individuals placed in deep-chambered tombs (Kaulicke 1997). While some of the fish-hooks and stone tools within the PRM’s collection probably originate from a nearby area with material from the Pre-Ceramic through to the Early Horizon (2250–200 BCE), the majority of the material comes from the later period burials and includes some Wari influenced textiles as well as pieces of later Chancay style. The area referred to as the ‘Necropolis’ was revealed during extension of the railway to Chancay in the 1870s, a period when Peru was in turmoil leading up to and during the 1879–1884 War of the Pacific with Chile (with British investment in the exploitation of Nitrates being a major factor in the war). In 1874 and 1875, two German geologists, Wilhelm Reiss and Alphons Stübel, excavated at the Necropolis, and they indicated that much of the cemetery had already



Figure 17.1 Undated 'work-basket' or ritual bundle from Arica, Chile collected by William Parry from Arica (PRM Accession Number 1887.1.633). The basket contains a range of items associated with textile production, including seven hanks of white spun camelid yarn, some of which are daubed in red paint, an incised bird bone and a stone spindle whorl.

been looted prior to this date (Reiss and Stübel 1887). Reiss and Stübel excavated a large collection, including pottery, textiles, wood, and human remains, that were subsequently placed in the Museum für Völkerkunde in Berlin.

The collections from Arica and Ancón is made up, perhaps exclusively, of mummified human remains and associated textiles, beads, and ceramic, copper, stone, shell, wood and other organic objects.² The collections generally comprise material of Late Horizon or early Colonial date and include two 'work-baskets' (cf. 17.5.1 below). One 'basket' (1887.1.633, *Figure 17.1*) was collected by William Parry from Arica and uses three bent sticks that are lashed together at the base with walls of white camelid yarn and bands of dyed camelid yarn. It contains seven hanks of white spun camelid yarn, some of which are daubed in red paint, an incised bird bone and a stone spindle whorl. A second work-basket (1895.38.1), recorded as collected from a *huaca* (tomb) near Ancón in 1882, was donated directly to the PRM by Professor Enrico Hillyer Giglioli (cf. 17.5.1 below). It contains a quantity of spindles, needles, combs, cotton and camelid yarns and pieces of fabric (Dransart 1993: 130).

There are *c.* 511 objects from Arica, and 4 from Ancón, in the PRM founding collection. The material from Arica comprises an unquantified assemblage of *c.* 500 shell and seed beads (1884.73.14, 1884.76.128–131); 8 objects – a silver pin, 2 copper pins, 2 copper knives, a woolen bag, an iron point and a copper disc or button (1884.119.564, 1884.119.574–579) – recorded as collected by William Warner Parry from Arica; a spindle whorl (1884.104.17) acquired by Pitt-Rivers before 1878, possibly from the collection of J.G. Wood; and 2 textile fragments from a tomb at Arica, the field collector of which is not recorded (1884.59.1, 1884.69.22).

There are also *c.* 887 artefacts transferred from the OUMNH in 1886 and afterwards: *c.* 400 recorded as from Arica, and *c.* 487 from Ancón (1886.2.1–135, 1887.1.524–525, 1887.1.590–649, 1887.1.712–713, 1887.1.716–717, 1887.33.23, 1887.130.2, 1940.4.01, 2002.63.1, 2003.29.1, 2003.142.1–2, 2003.149.1, 2004.9.1–6, 2004.110.1, 2004.205.1–3, 2005.7.1–2, 2005.86.1, 2007.4.1, 2009.51.1, 2010.35–37). Additionally, there are *c.* 53 objects transferred from the Ashmolean Museum in

² Two of the PRM's copper objects that were found by James Harrison at Arica – a fish-hook and a 'small piece of a cutting instrument' – were the subject of metallurgical analysis at Woolwich in the 1890s (Harrison 1895: 66).

1886, all of which are recorded as from Arica (1886.1,1006–1035). However, the largest single element of the Arica and Ancón collections – an assemblage of *c.* 1,601 artefacts donated by Louis Colville Gray Clarke (1919.59.21–259, 1921.53.1) – is probably all from the Necropolis of Ancón. Also from excavations at Ancón, and donated around the same time are *c.* 131 artefacts donated by Henry Ogg Forbes, possibly excavated in 1912 (1921.22.143, 1921.80.1–2, 1921.92.12–146).

Smaller donations from the two locations include a cuttlefish eye donated by Miss L.A. Newsom, collected from the eye of a mummy at Arica by Abraham Hume (1895.14.1); a set of reed pan-pipes collected from Ancón by 'Dr Lemoine' and donated by Eva Cutter (1903.130.3);³ a ceramic vessel from Ancón donated by Samuel Margerison (1910.73.10); a woolen sling from Ancón donated by Henry Balfour (1911.10.14); a ceramic vessel donated by Geoffrey Sutherland (1947.6.10); two wooden pegs donated by James Archibald Douglas (1949.1.95–96); a fibre object from Ancón from the Wellcome collection, purchased at Stevens Auction Rooms on 22 July 1924 (1985.49.156); and 27 stone spindle whorls and beads acquired from Hampshire County Museums (1994.4.12). A collection of *c.* 17 textile fragments from Ancón, which was part of the 1966 purchases from Ipswich Museum, was excavated by Admiral Frederick George Denham Bedford in 1879 (1966.1.1375–1390).

Apart from the grave goods, the mummified human remains recorded as from Arica comprise 3 mummified heads from Arica (1887.1.61, 1887.33.23), one of which is listed as from the collection of Canon William Greenwell (1887.33.23). Recorded as from Ancón are 2 mummified human bodies – of a child (Mummy III, 1886.2.19) and a new-born baby (Mummy IV, 1886.2.18) – as well as the head of Mummy I (1886.33.22) and a specimen of mummified human hair and skin (1884.2.71). Mummy IV is described as a new-born child, and said to be child of Mummy II which was unwrapped in Peru (see discussion below). Further mummified human remains, from other sites or with no detailed provenance and present, are outlined in sections 17.2.3 and 17.3 below.

The primary and secondary documentation of the Ancón and Arica artefacts is extensive, and requires a full assessment in the future. A partial overview can, however, be provided here. It appears that Commander William Alison Dyke Acland of the Royal Navy excavated four mummies (numbered by Acland I-IV) and their grave goods at Ancón, and that at least three of the bodies, all children, were acquired from Acland by the OUMNH, prior to their transfer to the PRM in 1886. During the late 19th and early 20th century the unwrapping of Egyptian and Peruvian mummies was a fairly frequent public spectacle in England, the USA and Peru. Although Mummy II was unwrapped in Peru (of which only the wrappings and grave goods appear now to be in the PRM) Mummies I, II and IV (1886.2.18–19, 1887.33.22), were publicly unwrapped in Oxford in November 1882:

'University Museum. The Delegates of the Museum announce that four Peruvian Mummies, from Angon near Lima, presented by Commander W. Acland, R.N., have been opened and examined; and that a series of objects of ethnological interest obtained from them are now on view in the University Museum. These objects comprise children's toys, grotesque ornaments, articles of food, and specimens of coloured fabrics, with patterns and figures of animals, characteristic of Peruvian art' (Oxford University Gazette XIII (436), 28 November 1882: 436).

The PRM holds a notebook in the Accessions Register with a useful description of the unwrapping of these mummy bundles with a rough description of the locations

³ Five further cuttlefish beads are possibly not from Arica (2000.76.1, 2004.36.1).

within the mummy bundle where textiles and other artefacts originated, including pottery whistles, weaving implements and hollow reed tubes with substances that could be analysed further.

The field collectors of the material from Arica and Ancón include William Warner Parry, William Alison Dyke Acland ('Commander Acland'), Swinton Colthurst Holland, Lieutenant Mathew (or Matthew) James Harrison, Henry Ogg Forbes, Frederick George Denham Bedford, Charles E. Bryant, 'Dr Lemoine', Abraham Hume. To this list, we might add Ernesto Mazzei, since the work-basket donated by Enrico Hillyer Giglioli (1895.38.1) is probably one of the 18 such baskets described in the *Catalogue of an Archaeological Collection formed in Central and South America by Professor Comm. Ernesto Mazzei*, published by Giglioli in 1891 (Giglioli 1891: 31–3). Former owners of the Arica and Ancón material include – as well as the various museums described above – James Park Harrison, Thomas Joseph Hutchinson (1884.119.574), Canon Greenwell, Lord Cochrane, and John G. Wood.

A much fuller review of published sources, alongside detailed collections-based work, would be required to re-connect these collections with their excavation and curatorial histories. For now, we can note that for Arica one promising line of enquiry is the activities of the crew of HMS *Malacca*, which travelled from Coquimbo to Arica to provide assistance for locals a few hours after the earthquake in 1868. Firstly, one of the officers of HMS *Malacca* was Lieutenant Matthew James Harrison, who is recorded as the field collector of the collection from Arica donated by James Park Harrison to the Ashmolean Museum in 1876 (1886.1,1006–1035). James Park Harrison later published two papers on the PRM's bead collections from Arica (Harrison 1895). Second, while the PRM records William Alison Dyke Acland as the field collector of the Ancón material, another Acland – 'Rev. C.L. Acland' – published a 'Notice of some Peruvian antiquities obtained from a burial-mound at Arica' in the *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* in 1871 (Acland 1871), describing a small collection of stone, copper ceramic and organic artefacts made by G. La-Coste, a midshipman on HMS *Malacca*, 4 of which are now in the British Museum (Am1980,Q.4565-4566). James Park Harrison referred to 'a third collection, exhibited by Sir H.W. Acland, in a table-case in the Nat. Hist. Museum. It was obtained by Captain Acland, R.N., when visiting Arica at a later date' (Harrison 1895: 53, note 1). Thirdly, the Chaplain of HMS *Malacca* was Rev. J.W. or J.E. Parry (Harrison 1895). It is possible that some of the objects from Arica recorded as collected by William Warner Parry (who, while serving on HMS *Excellent* in 1878, collected objects from Canada and Japan which were transferred to the PRM from the Ashmolean Museum and the OUMNH) were actually collected by Rev. Parry in 1868.⁴

Thomas Joseph Hutchinson (1802–1885) is also also a potential field collector for some of the Arica material. Hutchinson was a British Consul in Rosario (Argentina), acting Consul for Uruguay, and ultimately Consul for Callao (Peru), before his return to Britain when he published *Two years in Peru, with exploration of its antiquities* which includes brief descriptions of his own excavations in Peru (Hutchinson 1873; see also Hutchinson 1864, 1865, 1868, 1874, 1875a, 1875b). Some of the artefacts he excavated in Peru were exhibited at the Bethnal Green Museum (Lane Fox 1875: 322), and the potential connections with Pitt-Rivers are discussed further in section 17.2.3 below. At present, Hutchinson's documented connections with the PRM Arica collections are limited to his being the former owner of 2 objects from the PRM founding collection (1884.119.574–575). However, in his account of *Two Years in Peru*, he provided a vivid description of the incident at Arica to which the PRM documentation refers:

⁴ There is also a 'Captain C. Parry' recorded as the collector of another Peruvian artifact from the PRM founding collection (1884.132.218); see 17.2.3 below.

‘One of the most remarkable incidents of this earthquake was the heaving up, in some place not very far from Arica, of a number of bodies, buried in the usual style of interment along this coast – namely, the squatting posture, in which the legs are flexed on the pelvis, and the knees bent in to the chin. They were covered, as usual, with cloth, and padded with cotton frock. They had, as elsewhere, one-half of a bivalve, about the ordinary size of an oyster, attached to the palm of each hand. The usual style of funereal accessories in heads of Indian corn, beans, fishing nets, needles for making the same, and bits of cloth, were likewise thrown up. From some of the skulls the eyes had been extracted and fishes’ eyes put in their place. Of these latter – the eyes of the cuttle-fish – a number were given to me by Mr Bracy R. Wilson, our vice-concul at Callao, who had been many years resident at Arica, and was intimate with all its bearings’ (Hutchinson 1873: 64–5).

It is possible that some of the 11 cuttlefish eyes, recorded as collected from the eyes of mummies in Arica (or simply ‘Peru), may relate to this account by Hutchinson (1895.14.1, 1904.6.1–5, 2000.76.1, 2004.36.1). Further similar connections might be explored. Certainly, one impact of the influential Reiss and Stübel publication on 1887 – at precisely the moment at which the PRM collections were being transferred from the OUMNH, the Ashmolean, and elsewhere, and with Henry Balfour and others very new to curatorial processes – may have been to cause the material from Arica to be re-classified as from Ancón.

It is almost certain that there is further material held in the PRM not currently recorded as from Arica or Ancón that derives from these two locations. For example, there are *c.* 72 artefacts recorded as from Chile or Peru that were donated to the OUMNH by Swinton Colthurst Holland, and transferred to the PRM in 1886 (1887.1.504–534, 1887.1.706–707, 2001.40.1–3, 2004.7.1–3, 2006.52.1–2). Holland was a Lieutenant serving on HMS *Malacca* when it visited Arica after the earthquake, and he donated six photographs of the earthquake to the Royal Geographic Society in (Anon 1870: cxxii). At present, just 4 of these objects (1887.1.525, 2007.7.1–2) are recorded as from Arica, and one (1887.1.524) is recorded as from Ancón: the remaining *c.* 67 artefacts have no detailed region or location recorded. Further collections- and archive-based research would add significantly to our understanding of such collections.

17.2.3 Peruvian Collections in the PRM Founding Collection

There are *c.* 125 ‘archaeological’ objects in the PRM founding collection that are recorded as from Peru. Just 4 of these are recorded as from Ancón, and are outlined in 17.2.2 above. This section provides an overview of the remaining *c.* 121 objects.

Three stone axes (1884.126.145–147) are among the earliest archaeological objects ever acquired by Pitt-Rivers, since they are listed in the earliest catalogue of his collection: his 1862 *Catalogue of Arms* describes the axes as having been found ‘on tertiary beds on the Coast of Peru’ (Pitt-Rivers 1862: items 129b–129d). There are also *c.* 14 objects recorded as excavated by Thomas Hutchinson in Peru: 4 copper axes, a plaited grass sling, a wooden paddle, 7 wooden masks from mummies, and a mummified human scalp (1884.29.13, 1884.55.68, 1884.57.21–24, 1884.67.85–87, 1884.119.558–559, 1884.119.563, 2000.69.1). The sites from which these objects were excavated are mostly not recorded, although the sling and the paddle (1884.29.13, 1884.55.68) are from excavations at Pachacamac, Lima District undertaken by Lord Cochrane, in which Hutchinson participated (Schumacher 1874). These collections may have been among the Peruvian artefacts exhibited by Hutchinson at the Bethnal Green Museum (Lane Fox 1875: 322) before being acquired by Pitt-Rivers, and may have at one point have been in the collections of the Anthropological Institute. Six further objects from the PRM founding collection are recorded as purchased from

the Anthropological Institute in 1880–1881, and may be from Peru: a fibre fishing line (1884.11.64); a human skull (1884.140.444); and 4 ceramic vessels or vessel fragments (1884.62.7, 1884.62.10, 1884.62.12–13).

There are 2 objects – a textile fragment (1884.69.21) and a human skull (1884.86.10) – that are recorded as having been excavated from a grave at La Oroya, Junín Region by Charles E. Bryant in 1871, and purchased by Pitt-Rivers in 1880. Also from Junín Region are 2 stone mace-heads: one from Chanchamayo acquired by Pitt-Rivers before 1874 (1884.127.106), and one recorded as from ‘Provincia de Janja’ (1884.127.105). There is also a human skull from Titicaca, Puno Region, which was probably acquired by Pitt-Rivers by 1874 (1884.86.9).

Further items for which the field collector is recorded include 2 stone axes from *huacas* (tombs) near Popayan Colombia (1884.119.71 and 1884.126.136). Clements Markham (1830–1916) supplied Pitt-Rivers with these 2 stone axes. Markham travelled quite widely in South America particularly in Peru between 1852–1853 and 1859–1861, he was secretary (1863–1888) and then president (1893–1905) of the Royal Geographical Society, and wrote books on travels in Peru, a Quechua dictionary and in 1912 an influential book on *The Incas of Peru*. Thus the South American archaeological element of the PRM founding collection reflects more than the acquisition of exotic curios; it was part of an informed discourse as he contributed to a developing intellectual focus on the diversity of ancient cultures in South America. Nonetheless, the original catalogue entries for this material provide very little cultural detail and the selection and description of the artefacts demonstrates Pitt-Rivers’ focus on materials and technology using the South American material to add to the general evolutionary and typological basis of his thinking, and there is little evidence that subsequent acquisitions from South America ever tried to challenge this approach.

An interesting pair of objects from Peru in the PRM founding collection is 2 Chimú-style pots. One (1884.41.193, *Figure 17.2*) is a black globular pot with relief decoration of pelicans in panels of raised dots (*piel de ganso*), using a human face with pierced ear lobes for the neck. The other (1884.67.13, *Figure 17.3*) is a red pot with exactly the same relief decoration on the body of the vessel as the black pot although it has a very different human head (the juncture of this head to the body of the pot having been disguised through the addition of a necklace). The red pot is smaller than the black pot and has a lower quality finish so that it is possible that the black pot served as the matrix to make a mould for the red pot. Pottery vessel 1884.67.13 is a forgery, possibly using 1884.41.193 as a model. However, the headdress, position of the spout and pierced ears of the black vessel suggest that it is not authentic Chimú either. Both these pots are clearly marked ‘Peru PR Coll’ and a faint inscriptions suggest that they were given (perhaps directly to General Pitt-Rivers, or perhaps to another earlier collection, such as that of the Anthropological Institute) by John Wickham Flower (cf. 17.3.2 below). The pre-1884 date for these within the PRM founding collection marks a surprisingly early example for the production of forgeries, suggesting that there was already a strong market in Pre-Colombian antiquities by this period.

Two ceramic figurines, bound with wool, were probably purchased from Charles Jamrach, and are simply recorded as from a Peruvian grave (1884.140.285–286). There are also 7 objects purchased from Bryce McMurdo Wright which are recorded as possibly from Peru: 2 ceramic dishes, 3 ceramic vessels (2 of which are in the form of animals), a copper ring and a copper axe (1884.40.45–46, 1884.41.4, 1884.41.189, 1884.41.192, 1884.119.561, 1884.140.939).

The remaining *c.* 77 artefacts have no details concerning the collector, source or geographical provenance within Peru (many are only possibly from Peru). These comprise *c.* 11 stone and ceramic spindle whorls; *c.* 32 ceramic artefacts, including figures, rattles and vessels; *c.* 16 copper artefacts, including bowls, chisels, knives and

Figure 17.2 Possible forgery of a Peruvian Chimú-style pottery vessel from the Pitt Rivers Museum founding collection (PRM Accession Number 1884.41.193).

Figure 17.3 Forgery of a Peruvian Chimú-style pottery vessel from the Pitt Rivers Museum founding collection (PRM Accession Number 1884.67.13). Compare with Figure 17.2 which has exactly the same decoration although it has a very different bead.



spikes; 3 marble figurines; 7 stone objects, including axes, mullers and a possible cannonball; 3 textile fragments; a fishing line of plant fibre, a wooden flageolet and a wooden needle,⁵ as well as a human skull and a specimen of human hair from a grave (1884.86.7, 1884.106.47).

Finally, there is a ceramic double whistling vessel, recorded as ‘obtained from the site of Pachacamac in Peru, ‘dug from a site of the old city’ at Huasco (presumably a reference to the mountain of Huasco near Pachacamac)(1884.41.195). The source for this vessel is not recorded, but a 1873 expedition to Pachacamac included Thomas Joseph Hutchinson (Schumacher 1874: 248) (cf. 17.3.2 below).

17.2.4 The Rest of the Founding Collection

There are *c.* 514 ‘archaeological’ objects from Chile in the PRM founding collection, of which 511 are recorded as from Arica, and are outlined in 17.2.2 above. The remaining objects include an obsidian arrow-head (1884.132.218) and an obsidian block (1884.133.123) recorded as from Iquique, Tarapacá Region – a region which, like Arica, was part of Peru until 1883. The arrow-head is recorded as collected by ‘Captain C. Parry’, who also collected PRM founding collection material from Mexico (see Chapter 18).

There are *c.* 227 ‘archaeological’ objects from Argentina in the PRM founding collection. These are mainly made up of a collection of *c.* 221 stone arrow-heads, flakes and borers made by William Henry Hudson from the Rio Negro area of Patagonia, Argentina in 1870 and 1871. These artefacts were purchased by Pitt-Rivers from Hudson along with a letter (currently unlocated) detailing the sites from which

⁵ PRM Accession Numbers 1884.11.64, 1884.35.48, 1884.40.17, 1884.40.47–48, 1884.41.8–9, 1884.41.190–191, 1884.62.4, 1884.62.11, 1884.63.66, 1884.64.2, 1884.64.12–15, 1884.64.23, 1884.64.26, 1884.64.28, 1884.67.1–8, 1884.67.13, 1884.68.74, 1884.68.144, 1884.69.23–24, 1884.86.7, 1884.86.11, 1884.104.98–104, 1884.106.47, 1884.110.18, 1884.110.29, 1884.111.14, 1884.119.226, 1884.119.556–557, 1884.119.562, 1884.119.565–573, 1884.119.580–581, 1884.126.143–144, 1884.127.84, 1884.127.98, 1884.127.126–128, 1884.140.287, 1884.140.580–582, 1884.140.628, 1884.140.863 and 1884.140.941.

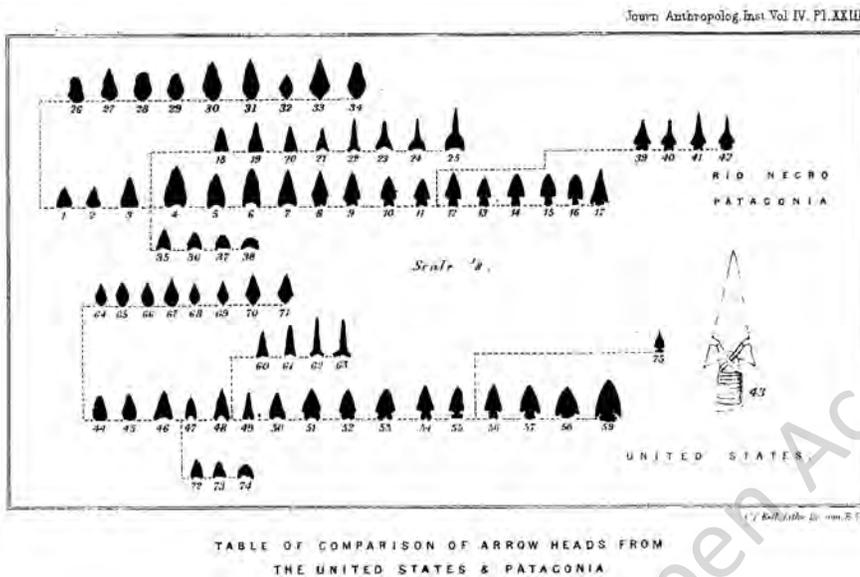


Figure 17.4 Illustration published by General Pitt-Rivers in 1875 comparing arrow-heads from U.S.A and Patagonia (Lane Fox 1875: plate XXIII).

they were collected, which formed the basis of Pitt-Rivers' 1875 paper 'On a series of about two hundred flint and chert arrow-heads, flakes, thumbflints and borers from the Rio Negro, Patagonia; with some remarks on the stability of form observable in stone implements' (Pitt-Rivers 1875). The paper compared the Patagonian material to similar arrow-heads from North America, in order to assert a shared technological evolution (Figure 17.4). Also from Argentina there are 6 flint flakes simply recorded as from Patagonia, acquired from John Lubbock (Lord Avebury) (1884.132.124–129). These may, or may not, derive from the Hudson fieldwork in Rio Negro.

There are 26 'archaeological' objects from Ecuador in the PRM founding collection. There are 6 artefacts collected by Clarence Buckley in 1871: a stone vessel and a ceramic vessel found 'with some bronze implements' from a grave at Cuenca, Azuay Province (1884.62.3, 1884.128.73); a copper axe and 2 stone axes from Macas, Morona-Santiago Province (1884.119.72, 1884.126.188–189); and a ceramic bowl with painted decoration from the Napo River (Rio Napo) (1884.64.19). There are 6 more objects from Macas, the collector for which is not recorded: a copper adze, 3 stone axes, and 2 stone mace-heads (1884.12.43, 1884.119.423, 1884.126.151, 1884.126.187, 1884.126.191, 1884.127.102), one of which was possibly purchased from Bryce McMurdo Wright (1884.12.43). There are also 3 ceramic vessels and a ceramic head from graves in Tumbes Region (1884.40.49, 1884.62.6, 1884.67.9, 1884.67.14) – one of which (1884.62.6) is recorded as having formed part of Pitt-Rivers' purchases from the collection of the Anthropological Institute in 1881 – and 3 ceramics from unrecorded locations within Ecuador (1884.62.5, 1884.62.8–9). There are also 7 copper and stone axes that are recorded as probably from Ecuador, 3 of which were purchased from Bryce McMurdo Wright (1884.119.421–422, 1884.126.154, 1884.126.193, 1884.126.205, 1884.127.103–104).

There are 6 'archaeological' objects from Brazil in the PRM founding collection. These comprise 5 stone axes from Santos, São Paulo acquired from Richard Burton, who was in São Paulo in the 1860s (Burton 1869: vi) (1884.126.125, 1884.126.148–150, 1884.126.172), and a stone axe collected from the Madeira River by H.G. Williams (1884.126.194).

There are 5 'archaeological' objects from Colombia in the PRM founding collection. These comprise 2 stone axes from a mound at Popayán, Cauca (1884.119.71,

1884.126.136) and 3 stone axes from an unnamed huaca at Sasaima, Cundinamarca (1884.126.137–139). A gold nose-ring, recorded as from 'New Granada' (1884.84.20), appears to have come to the Museum in 1884, but is no longer in the collection. Museum documentation indicates that the object was either returned to Pitt-Rivers' private collection in 1884, or stolen from the Museum in the late 1960s.

There are 5 'archaeological' objects from Guyana in the PRM founding collection, all of which are stone axes (1884.126.152–153, 1884.126.190, 1884.126.221–222). None have any further detail of geographical provenance or field collection recorded, although two are from the collection of John Lubbock (Lord Avebury) (1884.126.221–222).

Finally, there are 9 'archaeological' objects in the PRM founding collection that are recorded as from South America, but with no detail of their country of provenance: 4 stone axes, a stone mace-head, and a stone burnisher or whetstone purchased from Bryce McMurdo Wright (1884.126.185–186, 1884.126.195, 1884.126.220, 1884.127.100, 1884.129.22); and a stone grinder and 2 mace-heads with no further detail (1884.10.29, 1884.127.99, 1884.127.101). There are no 'archaeological' objects in the PRM founding collection from Bolivia.

Although much of the PRM founding collection material came from auction houses and unnamed sources, some of it reflects the social networks that Pitt-Rivers was developing, with a notable part of the collection coming from individuals who had acquired the objects in South America themselves and were thus able to provide Pitt-Rivers with some information about their original context. This included Charles E. Bryant (who worked for the mint in Peru), Thomas Hutchinson, Clements Markham and William Hudson – not to mention John Lubbock (cf. 17.3.5 below).

17.3 The Development of the Archaeological Collections After 1884

17.3.1 Introduction

The following sections provide overviews of the 'archaeological' material from each of the countries of South America. More than half of the South American 'archaeological' collections – some 3,762 of the *c.* 4,715 – are from Peru. These are discussed in section 17.3.2, before considerations of the *c.* 1,297 objects from Chile (17.3.3), the *c.* 739 objects from Ecuador (17.3.4), the *c.* 573 objects from Argentina (17.3.5), the *c.* 83 objects from Bolivia (17.3.6), the *c.* 51 objects from Guyana (17.3.8), the *c.* 43 objects from Colombia (17.3.7), and the *c.* 13 objects from Brazil (17.3.9). The *c.* 45 archaeological objects from the island of Tierra del Fuego (which is divided between Chile and Argentina are discussed in section 17.3.10).

As well as these collections, there are smaller collections from Paraguay, Venezuela and Uruguay. There are 4 'archaeological' objects from Paraguay, all of which are from the Paraguayan Chaco: 2 fragments of ceramic pipes donated by Seymour H.C. Hawtrey (1902.67.18–19), and 2 ceramic sherds collected by Andrew Pride of the South American Missionary Society, and donated by him in 1903 (1903.20.8–9). There is just one 'archaeological' object from Venezuela: an undated stone plaque from the collection of Adrien de Mortillet, transferred to the PRM from the Wellcome Collection in 1985 (1985.52.301). There is also just one 'archaeological' object from Uruguay: stone axe with no detailed provenance, which was transferred from the OUMNH in 1902 (1902.89.6). There are no 'archaeological' objects from Surinam or French Guiana.

There are also *c.* 15 objects recorded as from South America, but with no country of origin recorded. Nine of these are from the PRM founding collection, and are discussed in section 17.2.4 above. The remaining 6 objects comprise a carved bone hair pin that is possibly from the Tradescant Collection, and was transferred from the Ashmolean Museum on 27 April 1888 (1886.1.1123 .2); 4 carved stone plaques from

the collection of Adrien de Mortillet, transferred to the PRM from the Wellcome Collection in 1985 (1985.49.26, 1985.49.64, 1985.49.78, 1985.49.143); and a stone disc doanted by Henry Martin Gibbs in 1900 (2009.96.1).

17.3.2 *Peru*

There are *c.* 3,817 'archaeological' objects from Peru, of which *c.* 130 are from the PRM founding collection (4 of which are recorded as from Ancón; see 17.2.3 above). A total of 2,372 of the Peruvian 3,762 objects are currently recorded as from Ancón (see 17.2.2 above). This section considers the *c.* 1,325 Peruvian 'archaeological' objects that are not from the PRM founding collection, and are not recorded as from Ancón.

Some 50 of these objects were acquired by the PRM before 1900. These early additions to these Peruvian collections include a ceramic water-bottle acquired by the Ashmolean Museum by an exchange with the collection of Henry Christy in 1869, and transferred to the PRM in 1886 (1886.1.1036), and a carved stone head collected by William Acland and transferred from the OUMNH in 1886 (1886.2.125). There is a collection of *c.* 32 artefacts – including ceramics, textiles, leather sandals, and specimens of pigment (1887.1.504–534, 1887.1.706–707) – that are recorded as excavated from an unnamed site of a grave in Peru by Swinton Holland, at some point before their donation to the PRM in 1886. As noted in 17.2.4 above, these may derive from excavations at Ancón or Arica, Chile. Three human skulls (1887.33.19–21) and 2 mummified human heads (1887.33.18, 1887.33.31) were transferred from the OUMNH in 1887 with very little documentation. One of the skulls (1887.33.19) is recorded as from Pachacamac, and one was presented by 'R. Darbshire' (1884.33.18). There is also a human skull with no detailed geographical provenance within Peru (1895.52.11) which was purchased from the collection of Charles Ottley Groom (notoriously known as the Prince of Mantua; see Davenport-Hines 2004), possibly at a sale of his collection at Stevens Auction Rooms in 1895, by William Downing Webster, and sold to the PRM in 1895 (1895.52.11). There are 2 ceramic vessels (1892.67.26, 1892.67.931) from Peru that are from the collection of John Wickham Flower. These are in addition to the 2 vessels (1884.41.193, 1884.67.13) that are recorded as acquired from Flower by Pitt-Rivers to form part of the PRM founding collection (discussed in 17.2.3 above). Vessels 1892.67.26 and 1892.67.931 may also possibly derive from the PRM founding collection, although at present they are recorded as transferred from the OUMNH in 1892. Another specimen of human hair, from a mummified body, was transferred from the OUMNH in 1895 (1895.63.1). Two gold objects – a figure of a bird and a gold disc (1898.39.1–2) – recorded as collected from a huaca at Huacho, Lima Province, were donated by William Hare Maunsell in 1888. A ceramic figure, from the collection of 'Colonel North', was purchased by the PRM from George Fabian Lawrence in 1898 (1898.66.21).

The material acquired by the PRM after 1900 came from a number of difference sources, including J.H. Spottiswoode, Henry Ogg Forbes, Henry Boyle Townshend Somerville, George Fabian Lawrence, Frederick Wolff Ogilvie and William Heneage Ogilvie, James Archibald Douglas, Jana Valencic, Louis Colville Gray Clarke Puttick and Simpson, Stevens Auction Rooms, the Wellcome Historical Medical Museum, and Yvonne K. Zwodziak-Southall. Where recorded, most of this material comes from the looting or excavation of funerary contexts. There are single ceramic vessels from the collections of Acland (1911.3.4), Edward Burnett Tylor (1917.53.524) and John Evans (1928.68.42). Many of the collections have no detailed provenance recorded, but the sites and regions that are recorded include the Chillón Valley, Nazca Province, La Libertad Region, and Chancay and Tambo Inga in Lima Province.

17.3.3 Chile

There are *c.* 1,297 'archaeological' objects that are currently recorded as from Chile, of which *c.* 514 are from the PRM founding collection. Some 973 of these objects (including *c.* 511 objects from the PRM founding collection) are from the site of Arica, and are discussed in section 17.2.2 above. The 3 Chilean 'archaeological' objects that are not recorded as from Arica are discussed in section 17.2.4 above. The PRM also holds *c.* 56 objects from Tierra de Fuego, which are currently recorded as Chilean, but some of which may derive from the Argentinian regions of Tierra de Fuego. These are discussed in section 17.3.10 below.

There are *c.* 220 Chilean objects that are not from the PRM founding collection, and are not recorded as from the site of Arica or from Tierra del Fuego. Just 3 of these were collected before 1900: a human skull and a mummified human body from Antofagasta Region, and a second mummified body from Tarapacá Region, all of which were donated by John Arthur Gibbs in 1899 (1899.57.1–3).

The remaining artefacts (acquired by the PRM after 1900) are mainly made up of three collections. There are *c.* 99 bone fish-hooks and tools, stone arrow-heads, stone beads and perforated shells, recorded simply as collected in Chile, that were purchased by Amelia Laversuch of Southsea in 1923 from 'Captain Hollbrook' (or 'Holbrook'), and purchased by the PRM in 1928 (1928.54.1–98). There are *c.* 48 objects from Antofagasta and Río Loa, Quillagua that were donated by 'Mrs Jones' in 1933 (1933.24.4–10, 1933.24.25–60) (Pusch 1988). There are also *c.* 27 stone arrow-heads that were transferred from the Ashmolean Museum in 1969, some of which are from Iquique, Tarapacá Region, and some of which are recorded as collected by Richard Jacques (1969.34.110–115, 1969.34.559–577).

17.3.4 Ecuador

There are *c.* 739 'archaeological' objects from Ecuador, of which *c.* 26 are from the PRM founding collection and are discussed in section 17.2.4 above. All of the remaining *c.* 717 artefacts were acquired by the PRM after 1910. In contrast with the material from coastal regions of Peru and Chile, the Ecuadorian collections – which are also from the Pacific coastal region, but from areas in which organics are rarerly preserved – mainly comprises ceramics. The majority of the collection is made up of *c.* 502 objects donated by Louis Colville Gray Clarke, including *c.* 300 ceramic spindle whorls; *c.* 98 ceramic figures, fragments of figures, and human and animal heads (many broken from larger vessels); and *c.* 74 ceramic stamps, 2 stone tools, and a figurine cast (1920.81.1–505, 1921.67.84, 2004.38.1). All but 57 of these objects are recorded as being from Manta, Manabí Province, while the others are simply recorded as from 'Ecuador'. The other material includes an assemblage of *c.* 112 artefacts excavated from La Tolita, Esmeraldas, by Ronald Hawks Thomas (1925.21.117–230); *c.* 64 objects donated by Alan James Ruthven-Murray (1929.63.1–54); and a single stone axe from the collection of John Evans (1928.68.46).

17.3.5 Argentina

There are *c.* 573 'archaeological' objects from Argentina, of which *c.* 227 are from the PRM founding collection and are discussed in section 17.2.4 above. The PRM also holds *c.* 56 objects from Tierra de Fuego, which are currently recorded as Chilean, but some of which may derive from the Argentinian regions of Tierra de Fuego (see 17.3.10 below). Some 451 of the *c.* 573 Argentinian objects are from Patagonia, including all of the *c.* 227 artefacts in the PRM founding collection. All of the objects from Patagonia are stone arrow-heads or other stone implements. The Patagonian

material acquired by the PRM after 1884 comprises a stone arrow-head and a stone borer donated by John Roger in 1891 (1891.6.1–2); 9 stone scrapers donated from the estate of John Lubbock (Lord Avebury), per the British Museum, in 1917 (1917.36.9–17); 3 stone arrow-heads from Rio Negro and Chubut Province donated by W.R. Lively in 1921 (1921.5.1–3); c. 85 stone tools collected by Rev. Percy Estcourt Class and his wife ‘from an old Tehuelche campsite’ near Trelew, Chubut Province, and from Puerto Madryn in the same region, and donated in 1925 (1925.71.1–85); c. 24 stone tools collected by Richard Lydekker at Santa Cruz, possibly in 1893, acquired by John Evans, and donated to the PRM (some per the Ashmolean Museum) in the 1920s and 1960s (1928.68.33–41, 1969.34.375–389); c. 58 stone tools collected by Walter Baldwin Spencer and Jean Hamilton, and donated from Spencer’s estate in 1930 (1930.65.1–50); c. 35 stone arrow-heads from Rio Negro donated from the estate of Walter Woodbine Parish in 1950 (1950.4.43–78); and 3 stone arrow-heads from Rio Negro (1994.47.1–3), and a stone bolas (2009.167.1), for which no further documentation exists. The Spencer material derives from his last expedition in 1929; the larger part of that expedition’s collections are held in Melbourne, but the PRM holds a copy of his 1929 diary entries describing the expedition.⁶

It is significant that such a large part of the Argentinian collections, as they were developed by Pitt-Rivers and Henry Balfour, is made up of material from Patagonia. Tierra del Fuego (see 17.4.10 below) was an important region around which debates concerning human social evolution developed in the second half of the 19th century, inspired especially by Darwin’s account of the ‘degeneration’ of South American populations in this region and based on his famous visit to Patagonia on HMS *Beagle* in 1833. Peoples such as the Selk’nam (Ona) were considered to be living in a state of ‘savagery’, and some of the historic documentation of the PRM collections describes the material culture as that of ‘savages’. This is one case – given the idea of living Stone Age peoples – in which boundaries between ‘archaeological’ and ‘ethnographic’ collections overlap in complex ways, including, for example, ‘ethnographic’ objects such as a bow and quiver from Tierra del Fuego collected by Swinton Colthurst Holland (1887.1.527), as well as the stone tool collections. John Lubbock was actively involved in these debates, and the presence of Patagonian material from his collection both in the PRM founding collection (1884.132.124–129), and in the material that came to the PRM after his death (1917.36.9–17), testifies to this. Similarly, the material from John Evans’ collection was originally collected by the British palaeontologist Richard Lydekker during his trip to describe mammalian and reptilian fossils housed at the then newly founded Museo de La Plata, Argentina in 1893 (e.g. 1928.68.33–41, 1969.34.375–389). A major part of the significance of these collections lies not in their potential as evidence of stone tool technology, but in their place in the history of the imagining of Patagonia and Tierra del Fuego as ‘the uttermost end of the earth’ (McEwan *et al.* 1998), and the effect that this had on the development of archaeology as a discipline.

Apart from the material from Patagonia, there are c. 122 ‘archaeological’ objects from Argentina, from three sources. There is a single stone axe donated by Louis Colville Gray Clarke (1919.1.7), and 11 ceramic sherds collected from Pucará de Tilcara, Province of Jujuy by E.H. Nye, and donated to the PRM by Arthur Griffith in 1930 (1930.39.5–15). The remaining material is an assemblage of c. 110 artefacts collected by H.D. and C.L. Hoskold, and was originally given to the Cotteswold Naturalists Field Club before being presented to the PRM in 1947 (1947.7.01–085, 1988.5.1, 2003.37.1–4). This collection was made between 1882 and 1885, and is primarily from the Province of Catamarca, with some material from La Roya Province. A report, published in the *Proceedings of the Cotteswold Naturalists’ Field Club*, provides a

⁶ PRM Manuscript Collections, Spencer Papers, Box 7, Items 8–10.

useful description of where each of the pottery, stone, metal, slag and cloth objects came from (Hoskold and Hoskold 1895). While some of these entries only provide a broad site location (e.g. 'vase found in an Indian tomb in the Province of Catamara', 1947.7.02), others are more detailed with a significant number excavated within the villages of La Troya and Belen. The majority of this material appears to be from the Late Period (900–1470 CE) with some of it in the Santa María style, including a fairly rare copper alloy plaque (1988.5.1, see Gonzalez 1992). Given the fairly tight provenance for this collection, it would benefit from a more detailed study.

17.3.6 *Bolivia*

There are *c.* 93 'archaeological' objects from Bolivia, none of which are from the PRM founding collection. Some 51 of these are recorded as collected at Tiwanaku (Tiahuanaco), near Lake Titicaca in La Paz Department: 3 ceramic vessels, 3 copper pins, and a ceramic figure (a modern forgery) of a 'sky god', collected by Rev. Percy Estcourt Class and his wife (1925.69.1–5, 1925.71.87–88); a carved stone figure (also a modern forgery) collected by Percy Harrison Fawcett (1931.42.27); 14 stone arrow-heads collected by 'Mrs Jones' (1933.24.11–24); 12 ceramic vessels excavated by James Archibald Douglas at Isla del Sol, Lake Titicaca in 1911 (1949.1.40–50); another ceramic vessel donated by Douglas, from Copacabana (1949.1.75); and a carved stone animal figure and 11 bronze ex voto figures from the Wellcome Institute collection, mainly from the collection of Adrien de Mortillet (1985.49.76, 1985.1673–1683, 1985.52.2862–2863).

There is also a string-work vest recorded as collected from a grave near Colcha by A.A. Fergusson Leeds (1911.44.1); 4 stone arrow-heads purchased from William Downing Webster, and simply recorded as from 'Bolivia' (1912.83.6–6); a carved stone figure of a llama acquired in La Paz by Louis Colville Gray Clarke (1919.1.4); a stone axe also acquired by Clarke, from a mound excavated at 'kilometre 117 on the Potosi-Sucré railway' (1931.63.1); and a woollen sling collected by Percy Harison Fawcett (1931.42.14). Finally, there is an unquantified assemblage of stone beads (strung together as a necklace), a stone pendant, 2 bone fish-hooks, 2 specimens of raw copper, and *c.* 20 stone arrow-heads (1952.4.22–26) recorded as from 'Cabrizos', collected by Alexander Edward Fergusson Leeds, and donated to the PRM in 1952.

17.3.7 *Guyana*

The PRM holds *c.* 51 'archaeological' objects from Guyana, 5 of which are from the PRM founding collection and are discussed in section 17.2.4 above. The material includes 6 undated ceramic vessels donated by Edward Im Thurn in December 1885 (1885.9.2–6); a jaguar bone necklace (1889.14.5) and a ceramic whistle (1895.11.40) both also donated by im Thurn, in June 1895; a jaguar bone flageolet from the collection of Greville John Chester, transferred from the Ashmolean Museum in 1886 (1886.1.979); 2 stone axes from the collection of John Wickham Flower (1892.67.765–766); a stone axe from the collection of Alexander James Montgomerie Bell (1921.91.234); and 6 stone axes from the collection of John Evans, variously acquired from John Lubbock, William Phelps and possibly other sources, during the 1860s and 1870s (1928.68.45, 1928.47–49, 1949.1.104–105). There are 10 stone axes and a fragment of a stone grinder that are recorded as collected by an unnamed 'native' for William Henry Campbell, sent to John Lubbock (Lord Avebury) through Joseph Dalton Hooker, and passed to the PRM per the British Museum in 1917 (1917.36.8, 1917.36.72–81). These are recorded as from Rupumuni River and from 'Upper Essequibo River'. There are also 5 ground stone tools from 'Rupununi' donated by James Williams in 1941 (1941.3.91–96); 10 atefacts (charcoal fragments, painted stones, a wooden club, 2 stone axes, and a hollow stone object of unknown

use) donated by Audrey Butt-Colson in the 1950s (1954.2.50, 1954.2.137, 1958.3.133–137); and a stone tool collected by Leslie Rooney in the Upper Mazaruni region in the early 1950s (1994.10.21).

17.3.8 Colombia

There are *c.* 43 archaeological objects from Colombia, 5 of which are from the PRM founding collection and are discussed in section 17.2.4 above. The remaining 38 artefacts include *c.* 25 drilled stone beads found at the bottom of Lake Guatavita, Cundinamarca Department when it was drained, and donated per the British Museum in 1913 (1913.1.1–25). There is a gold nose ornament (1919.28.5) and a modern forgery of an ancient ceramic bowl (1922.8.9) that were donated by Louis Colville Gray Clarke. A stone axe ‘found during agricultural operations at the headwaters of the Putumayo River’ (1923.88.293) and an assemblage of 5 artefacts (2 shell ornaments, a natural stone, a ceramic figure, and a ground stone object) from a tumulus recorded as located on the ‘Bogota Plains’ (1925.21.9–13) were donated by Ronald Hawksby Thomas in the 1920s. There is also a ceramic cylinder, a ceramic head, and a ceramic spindle whorl collected from Frios, Tolima by ‘G.E. Turner’ and donated to the PRM by Robert Powley Wild in 1932 (1932.11.82); and a ceramic figure and a ceramic stamp from Antioquia, donated by the Canonesses of St Augustine, Westgate-on-Sea, Kent in 1972 (1972.6.1–2).

17.3.9 Brazil

The PRM holds *c.* 13 archaeological objects from Brazil, 6 of which are from the PRM founding collection and are discussed in section 17.2.4 above. The remaining 7 objects comprise a stone axe recorded as from Tocantins River, transferred from the OUMNH in 1902 (1902.89.5); a stone axe collected from a Perixel shell-mound at Laguna, Santa Catarina and donated by Antonio Carlos Simoens Da Silva in 1912 (1912.23.1); a stone spear-head found on the river-bed of the Musiguassu River at São Paulo around 1884 by ‘W.J. Hammond’, and donated from his estate in 1921 (1921.62.1); a stone axe from the collection of Lucas White King, acquired by Louis Colville Gray Clarke from William Downing Webster, and donated to the PRM by Clarke in 1921 (1921.67.83); a stone axe from the collection of John Evans (1928.68.43); a stone axe (or possibly a natural stone) found during drilling works in the valley of the Sao Antonio River and donated by ‘G.R. Nicolaus’ in 1930 (1930.37.1); and a ceramic sherd collected during hunting at Rio do Sono, and donated by David Maybury-Lewis in 1957 (1957.2.23B).

17.3.10 Tierra del Fuego

The PRM holds *c.* 56 archaeological objects from Tierra del Fuego, none of which are from the PRM founding collection. Tierra del Fuego is divided between Argentina and Chile. The PRM documentation is currently weak for material from Tierra del Fuego, but at present all 56 objects are recorded as from Chile. The collection includes an unquantified assemblage of perhaps 19 worked stones and sea-lion teeth from a midden deposit on Elizabeth Island in the Straits of Magellan, collected by Henry Nottidge Moseley while serving on HMS *Challenger* on 19 January 1875 (1887.1.694, 1949.1.106; cf. Moseley 1892). A sandstone object, shaped in the form of an axe with a bevelled edge, was collected by Gordon S. Gunn while serving on HMS *Alert* in 1880, and is recorded as a ‘morpholith obtained from Fuegians in Magellan Straits’ (1933.17.1). An assemblage from ‘an old Yahgan midden’ on Navarin Island, was collected by Sir Walter Baldwin Spencer on his last journey in 1929 – fieldwork that was described in a published account in 1931, edited by R.R.

Marett and Tom Penniman, with contributions by James Frazer and Henry Balfour (Spencer 1931; cf. 17.3.5 above). The assemblage comprises *c.* 18 stone tools, awls and wedges made from various kinds of animal bone (1930.65.51–63, 1930.65.68–72). An assemblage of 6 stone tools collected by ‘Mrs G.R. Nicolau’ in 1926–1927 from a site of former gold dredging opposite Punta Arenas, Tierra del Fuego was donated in 1930 (1930.37.2).

17.5 Discussion

17.5.1 Overview

The South American archaeological collections represent an important resource for the study of the history of archaeology, in transatlantic perspective, during the 19th and early 20th centuries. The collections are not characterized by large assemblages from documented archaeological excavations, nor photographs and plans documenting archaeological sites, nor monumental sculptures imported across the ocean. Instead, the collections developed according to major themes in the archaeology of technology, and comparative world archaeology – from mummification, to stone and copper technology, to representational art. There was a period of energetic collecting at the start of the 20th century, with some individuals such as Louis Clarke actively seeking to purchase material in order that the PRM might have ‘representative series’, as well as the PRM making use of dealers, sales rooms and auction houses to acquire material. A large part of the collection, however, was acquired because the developing fame and character of the PRM, and the wide networks of the Curator Henry Balfour, attracted donations from individuals and institutions that considered the PRM an appropriate repository for ethnographic and archaeological artefacts. This may have been particularly true for South American material and many individuals have chosen to offer the PRM material they collected or inherited. This is presumably why the wife of Col. Percy Harrison Fawcett gave the llama-wool sling (1931.42.14) that he had acquired in Bolivia before his last, ill-fated expedition.

However, the strengths of the collection include the ceramics, textiles and metals of the Pacific coast, the acquisition of which result as much from the histories of British involvement in trade, mining and railway construction as they do from any coherent accessioning policy within the PRM. An interesting example of this is the collection of *c.* 63 artefacts made by James Archibald Douglas (1884–1978): from sites including Cuzco (Peru), Arica (Chile), and Isla del Sol and Tiahuanaco (Bolivia) (1945.10.129, 1947.12.2–3, 1949.1.40–97, 1950.3.2). During his early career Douglas undertook geological research along the line being excavated for new railways in Peru and Bolivia for the W.E. Balston Expedition (1910–1912), the results of this research being published in three sections (Douglas 1914, 1920, 1921). The PRM collection comes from this time, but Douglas did not donate it until the late 1940s, after he had become a professor in the Geology Department of the University of Oxford. It is well known that many of the archaeological sites of Peru and Bolivia were looted during this period of railway construction, including Tiahuanaco where some of Douglass material comes from.

A key factor within this is the role that auction houses played in acquiring and distributing collections. Some 694 ‘archaeological’ artefacts now in the PRM were purchased from Puttick and Simpson’s auction rooms, mainly in 1933 (1933.75.1–48, 1933.84.1–2, 1933.85.1–102, 1935.68.13, 1951.2.32, 1952.7.17, 1985.49.125), while *c.* 122 were purchased from Stevens Auction Rooms (1902.82–83, 1904.48.3, 1951.2.33, 1985.49, and 9 objects within 1985.49). The potential profit through sale at these auction houses was clearly well understood. For example, as announced in *The New*

York Times on August 26, 1901 Spenser St John, the British former ambassador to Peru, planned to sell 400 pieces of pottery that he had acquired in Peru at auction in London (a few of these pieces were later donated to the British Museum by Alfred Walter Francis). More detailed research into the sales made through the Puttick and Simpson saleroom and Stevens Auction rooms could help to reveal their pattern of acquisitions: much of it coming from Trujillo, Ancón and Paracas areas.

The collections of the British Museum and Cambridge University Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology have a shared history with that of the PRM with fairly similar strengths in the ceramics and textiles of coastal Peru. Very little of this material comes from well-recorded excavations, with much of it relating to late 19th-century naval and trading activities (particularly in relation to Peru, Chile and Argentina, which helps explain the significant collections in Manchester and Glasgow). In some cases, such as the Spottiswoode and Wellcome collections, material that was originally held together has been split between the institutions, and some collectors such as Henry Ogg Forbes and Louis Colville Gray Clarke collected material for all three institutions. All these institutions also acquired material from the same auction houses, with material from the same looting episodes being split up and acquired by different museums. In some cases paired objects are housed within the collections of different institutions (such as Chimu vessels made in the same mould), and there is at least one instance (1884.69.23) where off-cuts of a cloth in the PRM are located in the British Museum and the Cambridge University Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology. This shared history means that a very useful piece of research would be a collaborative investigation of the South American collections housed in Oxford, London and Cambridge. The sharing of archived information would create a richer understanding of the provenance and range of material held in these institutions, and the resulting database would facilitate future research and exhibition planning.

As well as the early forgeries from the collection of John Wickham Flower, which came into the PRM founding collection (see 17.2.3 above), a number of other forgeries and copies came to the PRM's collections after 1884 including the figurine (1925.69.1) described as a 'sky god' that is recorded as having been 'excavated' from near Tiiahunaaco, Bolivia (see 17.3.6 above), but which is more accurately described as a tourist item rather than a forged copy. The history of the developing market for fakes, forgeries and tourist art is an exciting area in which future research into the South American archaeological collections could be developed.

As well as these general themes, four specific aspects of the South American archaeological collections warrant further discussion: the textile collections (17.5.2 below), the *Khipus* (17.5.3), the pottery (15.5.4), and the musical instruments (15.5.5)

17.5.2 Textiles

One area that has particular promise for future research is that of textile production. The PRM has c. 589 'archaeological' textiles from South America, both entire garments and textile fragments. All of these originate from the coast of Peru and northern coast of Chile, where they survived due to the exceptional dry preservation conditions. The collection includes many styles such as Paracas (e.g. 1952.7.64 and 1933.75.33), Middle Horizon period Nazca fabrics showing Wari influence (1933.75.15, 1934.70.10 and 1952.7.52), Chancay (1952.7.40 and 1952.7.68), Chimu (1934.70.17 .1 and 1933.75.29) and Late Horizon (e.g. 1952.7.35, a miniature slit-necked shirt of natural cotton, decorated with punched-out fish of silver and copper alloy sheet metal and fringe of star-shaped metal pendants). Linda Mowat, Penny Dransart and Ann Rowe have in the past identified some of these textiles on the basis of style, but in many cases it is difficult to give them secure attributes, partly because coastal cultures have

Figure 17.5 Unfinished Inca-style cap from Arica, Chile with the ball of wool used as the foundation of the coil work construction still attached (PRM Accession Number 1887.1.525).



been more fully defined for pottery than other artefact types and in some cases the textile style zones do not fully concur with pottery style zones or periods. While some iconographic features and techniques are culturally specific, a strength of the PRM collection is the plainer textiles and cordage, which are difficult to attribute if they do not already have good provenance. The collection requires an extensive programme of documentary and archival research to enhance the understanding of provenance wherever possible, and a programme of photography and online publication of high-quality images, so that researchers in Peru and elsewhere could achieve a more detailed comparison to other examples.

As well as a strong collection of textiles, the PRM also has an outstanding collection of tools and materials from the coast of Peru that were used for dyeing (more than 20 samples of mineral colorants), spinning (*c.* 751 spindle whorls and spindles, some with the yarn still on), and weaving (*c.* 50 rods or ‘winders’), as well as samples of dyed wool and *c.* 29 balls of yarn in different colours. There are also unusual items such as the unfinished Inca-style cap (1887.1.525 .1, *Figure 17.5*), which still has the ball of wool used as the foundation of the coil work construction attached; coloured stitching in dark brown, mid-brown, yellow and green has been added to form a hook and step motif (Dransart 1992: 143). While very little of this material has precise provenance much of it does at least have indications of the region that it came from. For instance, there were some weaving tools (referred to as ‘winders’), bone spindle whorls (bodkins), and yarn fragments found when William Acland’s Ancón mummy bundles were unwrapped in Oxford. Similarly, the material collected by Mathew James Harrison from Arica in 1868 includes spinning tools and balls of yarn.

Of particular note are a small number of 6 textile tool kits, including 2 in rectangular reed ‘work-baskets’, that contain a range of items associated with textile production. One of these baskets (1941.2.115) from the collection of H.G. Beasley, described as being that of ‘an Inca princess found in a tomb in the mountains of Peru’, contains 19 spindles, mostly painted with coloured stripes, and painted pottery spindle whorls, bundles of raw cotton, and 3 spools of cotton yarn. A second work-basket (1895.38.1), from a *huaca* near Ancón, is discussed in 17.2.2 above. A third basket, from Arica (1887.1.633), is discussed in 17.2.2 above. A fourth, rectangular work-basket (1919.13.25 .1) acquired by L.G.C. Clarke contains a torn coarsely-woven



Figure 17.6 Ancient Peruvian work-basket from the Wellcome collection (PRM Accession Number 1952.7.89), containing balls of dyed cotton thread, bunches of vicuña wool, 104 spindles, some with spun yarn still wound round them, painted pottery whorls, and bundles of raw cotton and woollen yarn in red, yellow, blue, brown, pink and black.

garment, a piece of painted cloth, 11 spindles with whorls, 2 small hanks of cotton, a piece of torn cloth decorated with feathers, and a sling. A coloured tapestry bag (1920.59.3 .1), which L.G.C. Clarke acquired from Chancay, also contains small balls of cotton. A sixth work-basket (1952.7.89) *Figure 17.6* originally from the Wellcome collection, is simply recorded as from the ‘Coastal Region’ of Peru, and contains balls of dyed cotton thread, bunches of vicuña wool, 104 spindles, some with spun yarn still wound round them, painted pottery whorls, and bundles of raw cotton and woollen yarn in red, yellow, blue, brown, pink and black.

There are further Peruvian work-baskets in British museums, several of which contain spinning, weaving and sewing tools as well as balls of wool and spun thread in various colours: The Cambridge University Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology has an example⁷ from Mrs G.F. Walters, which was found with mummies in small adobe burial house at Canta (70 km northeast of Lima); the Victoria and Albert Museum has a work-basket⁸ excavated from a burial in Casma, Peru in 1888 that was donated by Captain R.J. Symonds, and which is reported to include glass beads (Smith 1926: 35), which would place it in the early colonial period; and the British Museum has at least 2 work-baskets including one donated by Miss E Tucker⁹ which contains balls of wool, spindles and bone needles from an Ancón grave.

Attention to the research potential of the PRM work-baskets has already been drawn by Penny Dransart (1992, 1993). The baskets provide a context for the assemblage of artefacts inside them, and since the tools and materials appear to have been assembled at a specific moment in time. This provides a unique resource to study the tools and skills of individual artisans, but also into the ‘enhancements’ of material added by a looter or collector. Potential for analyzing variations in the size, weight and decoration of tools in relation to the quality of spinning and dyeing (Tiedemann and Jakes 2006; Zhang *et al.* 2007) could make future research into these items a pioneering approach to the role of individual artisans within textile production.

17.5.3 *Khipus*

Khipu is the Quechua word for knot, and *khipus* are a series of knotted or coloured cotton cords, on which the Inca used the number, position and colour of the cords

⁷ Cambridge University Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology Accession Number 1931.29.

⁸ Victoria and Albert Museum Accession Number T.312-1910.

⁹ British Museum Accession Number Am1937,1011.25.a.

together with the different kinds of knots to record information (Urton 2003). An Inca *kipu* 1931.32.1 was acquired for the PRM by Henry Ogg Forbes and is a well-preserved large and complex example that has approximately 300 strings in various colours, including a green/blue hue. Most of its strings have three sets of knots, some with dual coloured strings and it includes both s- and z-ply strings. The Ogg Forbes *kipu* was acquired in Peru around 1928 by a Mr. Hope-Jones who, according to accompanying documentation held by the PRM, acquired it from 'a man deeply interested in archaeological research, under whose own hand it was actually dug up at Lurin near Pachacamac, no great distance from Lima'. Today it is on permanent display in the Court of the Museum. A further *kipu* (1925.55.2) in the PRM collection was exchanged from the Erland Nordenskiöld collection in Gothenburg and was also said to come from Pachacama. As the majority of the approximately 600 known *kipus* held in museum collections lack any provenance, the fact that these come from 'near Pachacamac' provides at least some context. The PRM's *kipus* were recorded by Marcia and Robert Ascher (1972), as AS8 and AS9, however research on Inca *kipus* is developing rapidly and a more detailed recording of the PRM examples could contribute to this developing research (see Gary Urton's Khipu Database Project).¹⁰ The PRM also holds a model of a Peruvian *kipu* made at the Museum by Henry Balfour (2004.26.1).

17.5.4 Pottery

The PRM collection holds at least 1,400 ceramic 'archaeological' objects from South America, including figures and heads, spindle whorls, beads, whistles (see 17.5.5 below), and perhaps *c.* 448 vessels of various forms. This includes *c.* 92 vessels from the Pacasmay region, north of Trujillo, Peru, from larger collection purchased by J.H. Spottiswoode, (1921.78.1–92). The Spottiswoode material consists largely of Chimú pottery, but also includes some Cupisnique, Moche, and Inca ceramics. It was originally given to the British Museum: who kept 272 items, including most of the non-Chimú pieces, and split the remainder of the collection amongst various institutions, particularly the PRM and the Cambridge University Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, as well as a few other vessels that went to the City of Bristol Museum and Art Gallery, the Liverpool Museum and Salford Art Gallery. The PRM vessels are largely Chimú and Chimú-Inca (i.e. from the Late Horizon when the Chimú were incorporated into the Inca state, e.g. 1921.78.16, *Figure 17.7*). There are already two papers by Linda Mowat [née Cheetham] (Cheetham 1987, Mowat 1988), who undertook the cataloguing of the 92 Spottiswoode pots in the PRM and who was particularly interested in exploring the use of moulds within Chimú pottery production, identifying a small number of paired vessels made in the same mould.

There are *c.* 30 more Chimú and Chimú related pots within the PRM collection, including a pottery head with pierced ears (1925.21.157) excavated from a mound at La Tolita, Esmeraldas, Ecuador which appears to be a locally made pot with very strong Chimú influence, and an authentic Chimú-Inca vessel from the PRM founding collection (1884.41.191, *Figure 17.8*). As well as the Spottiswoode collection there are further Chimú and Chimú-Inca pots in other British collections, again reflecting the strong British trading links in the late 19th and early 20th century when many Peruvian Coastal sites were being destroyed. There are also around 30 Nasca polychrome pots and 10 Moche sculptural vessels, as well as other styles such as Tiahuanaco and Inca. Although all these pieces lack a secure archaeological context there is a growing amount of research into the iconography and technology of Andean pottery, with

¹⁰ <http://khipukamayuc.fas.harvard.edu/>



Figure 17.7 Peruvian Chimu-Inca pottery vessel (PRM Accession Number 1921.78.16), produced in the Late Horizon when the Chimu were incorporated into the Inca state.



Figure 17.8 Peruvian Chimu-Inca vessel from the Pitt Rivers Museum founding collection (PRM Accession Number 1884.41.191).

some of this research using dated excavation contexts to re-assess the chronological and cultural affiliation of unprovenanced museum material. For instance, current Doctoral research undertaken by Kirsten Halliday looking principally at the British Museum's holdings (*c.* 900 Chimu and Chimu-related pots and 100 Chimu style textiles) will help to put this material in a stronger context. Ideally, all of the complete or near complete pots would be fully photographed (front, sides and rear), as there is an increasing amount of work being done on the iconography of Moche, Nazca, and Chimu pottery. As with the textiles, the easy availability of high-quality photographs online would greatly facilitate researchers access to this material.

17.5.5 Musical Instruments

The collection includes *c.* 91 'archaeological' musical instruments from South America, mainly from Peru and Ecuador. These include 9 bone flutes; a box-rattle from Nazca, Peru (1920.5.7); 9 ceramic double whistling vessels; 2 ceramic end-blast trumpets; a



Figure 17.9 Ceramic 12-tube panpipe with imitation binding bands in black, from Nazca, Peru (PRM Accession Number 1922.8.8).

set of ceramic pan-pipes (1922.8.8); ceramic and copper pellet-bells; 4 ceramic rattles; 3 reed flutes (1921.22.122, 1933.75.6–7); 2 sets of reed pan-pipes (1903.130.2–3); a wooden flageolet (1884.111.14); and a 50 ceramic whistles. The whistles include 7 from the Austrian ethnomusicologist Erich Moritz von Hornbostel (1877–1935). One musical pot that is of particular interest is the 12-tube ceramic set of pan-pipes from Nazca, painted with imitation binding bands in black (1922.8.8, *Figure 17.9*) acquired by Louis Clarke. To make this work successfully as a musical instrument would require great skill from the potter. Gruszczynska-Ziółkowska (2009) has recently described how these may have been made using a complex system of fine clay mixed with cotton or camelid wool to form tubes of consistent diameter and then encasing the tubes in a clay matrix in order to ensure the correct pitch. This work points to the extraordinary range of innovations developed by South American potters and museum collections offer great promise in further elucidating the range of techniques that were in use.

17.5 Conclusions

As with other regions of the world, the PRM's collections from South America challenge the distinctions between 'ethnographic' and 'archaeological' objects in thought-provoking ways. Does this division represent a chronological dividing line marking European contact (pre and post- Columbus), or does it reflect the mode of acquisition (through excavation or field collection as opposed to objects that were being used by living people)? It is clear that some of the 'amulets' in the ethnographic collections are of Pre-Colombian origin (indeed some Pre-Colombian figurines '*illas*' and '*conopas*' remain in active use in the highlands of Peru and Bolivia today). The collections also include excavated material that is of European origin – such as the glass beads excavated from graves in Arica (1887.1.617) – whereas the bow and quiver from Patagonia originally owned by Swinton Colthurst Holland (1887.1.527) must have been collected from living people, but represent a key element of the imagining of these living people as 'Stone Age' in character.

Such divisions were almost certainly of little concern to Pitt-Rivers or Henry Balfour, but they came to be of importance in the development of Archaeology and Anthropology as disciplines in Oxford, and more generally in the UK, where New World archaeology has occupied an ambiguous place since at least the mid 20th century.

From an earlier date, social evolutionary conceptions of civilizations such as the Inca meant the Americas offered important comparisons and alternatives to that of Europe and Asia. These concerns are visible not only in Lubbock's Patagonian stone tool collections, but also in Henry Balfour's acquisition of Andean *kehipus*, as a marker of civilization. Here, the 'archaeological' collections need to be considered alongside the hafted spears, arrows and axes that are currently defined as 'ethnographic' – since the collecting practices actively sought to collapse temporal distinctions between the deep past and the remote present. Across Europe, collections from the prehistory of the Americas are more frequently housed within ethnographic collections. The history of 'archaeological'/'anthropological' distinctions at the PRM from the 1940s, which coincided with the marked post-war reduction in archaeological collecting beyond the UK, is an important area for future research and reflection. Future research into the South American collections will almost certainly need to incorporate material from both the archaeological and ethnographic collections (e.g. Andean weaving techniques, or the ritual use of amulets), or else to have a very restricted temporal and cultural focus where only a small part of the archaeological collection is relevant (e.g. Nazca pottery or Paracas weavings).

Future research will need also to look beyond the Museum, examining the PRM material alongside the South American collections at the British Museum and the Cambridge University Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology. A close analysis of the inter-related history of these collections would reveal a largely untapped route into the early history of South American research work within the context of Britain's political and economic ties to Latin America. The South American holdings of each of these museums provide material to support public interest, teaching and research and it is hoped that these collections will be even more actively used in the future.

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