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# Unbundled: European Collecting of Andean Mummies 1850-1930

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# Unbundled

## European Collecting of Andean Mummies 1850-1930

María Patrícia Ordoñez Alvarez

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María Patrícia Ordoñez Alvarez

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# Unbundled

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# Chapter 1

Introduction

Research in Social Sciences must come from a place of self-reflection (Bourdieu, 1990; Foucault, 2002; Schubert, 1995). It is by questioning our methods, our ways of interaction with the concepts with which we work and the issues we face, that we can engage with, and communicate actively, with the reader. By questioning our practices and knowledge production processes, we can document, in a way, how our own life experiences influence said processes and the results of our research. There is solid justification for the argument that it is not only possible but necessary for social scientists to recognize that there are many interpretations for a single phenomenon, and that knowledge can be read and understood from different perspectives (Clifford, 1988; Schubert, 1995).

This research comes precisely from such an exercise of self-reflection. For a social scientist from Latin America, who has been involved in research with human remains in museum collections both at home and in Europe, it was inevitable to end up questioning not only my personal involvement with these collections but also how I was reproducing and following in the steps of hundreds of others who, in their own way, had taken an interest before me on these contested pieces of the past.

This dissertation is based on the idea that collecting mummies, or any human remains is, quite literally, collecting the other –following the reflections of scholars like Johannes Fabian, Philippe Aries and Peter Mancall. In that sense, not only are mummies bodies turned into "objects[1]," but people turned into narrative. The search carried out for this research within the collections of Andean mummies that are still stored in National European museums, and the effort to contextualize them, takes place in order to understand not only what was collected and how, but why.

This contextualization of remains has compelled the tracking, in very broad terms, of the biography of these mummies, from the moment of death until their transport to their current place of storage. By noting the classification, description and roles within that mummy´s life, is to note also the narratives that are embedded in these mummies and how these have transformed their identity. The definition of identity as constructed by Giddens is that of a symbolic construction of self, culturally dependent and born from opposition (Giddens, 1991). This definition is further explored in the next chapter.

Besides the information that mummified human remains can provide regarding funerary practices and the circumstances of death found within of a population, they also hold an important place in the understanding of the relation between the dead and the living. This last aspect transcends the realm of pre-Columbian interactions (that of the deceased and their relatives), onto the relationship between collector and mummy, and later on between mummies, museums and a wide variety of stakeholders at the forefront

1 Quotation marks are added to the word objects when used to describe animals, human bodies, artwork, etc. that have been collected and inventoried within a particular context and have in that sense transformed into objects (things), though they cannot be described as such outside a collection setting. The following chapter further explores this duality of human remains in museum collections , taking into account the archaeological theoretical approaches to materiality that have led to this interpretation.

of which are the deceased´s descendants.

The resulting interactions between the dead and living at different points in history can be seen under different lights. For the purpose of this research, the specific time period of interest is the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Besides the methodological reasons behind situating the problematic at hand in a very precise timeframe, this frame allows a focus on the historical relevance of the narratives surrounding human remains at this particular time in history. In turn, it addresses how the collecting of human remains both supported and challenged the ideas brought to the forefront by those narratives. The place of Andean pre-Columbian populations in regards to the evolutionary structure purported by scholars at the beginning of the nineteenth century is a clear example of one such narrative and one that is extensively explored in the first chapters of this work.

In that sense, this research provides an important case study of the intricate relationships between Europe and the Andes for the proposed timeline. Andean mummies found in collections at national museums in Western Europe were collected within nineteenth and twentieth centuries, and therefore their collective biography can provide a basis for understanding intercontinental relationships in that time period. Moreover, the holding of human remains in those museums opens a window into a series of presently very relevant discussions on the subject of reinforcing identity (of which repatriation is the most visible issue), of both the collectors and the collected, and on the ethical issues surrounding current museum practices.

The research explores these issues starting from a wider picture of the history of collecting, down to the particularities of the Andean region's development, creating a framework of place and time that allows a better exploration of the issues that surround the collecting of Andean mummies by European national museums from the point of view of archaeology. This is to say that although the research focuses on the biographies of these "objects," it will also try and understand those biographies within broader historical perspectives.

It is the dialogue between what is collected and what is exhibited, and how objects, in turn, become the representation of the "other" that became the primary interest of this research.

Throughout these pages it is apparent that, from the perspective of this study, research in Latin America should not just be self-reflection, but should integrate subjectivity, as an intellectual exercise directed at countering the unequal (colonial) power structures embedded in today's academic knowledge production. As complex as this proposition sounds, what it means is that it is important to find the hidden actors, highlight the importance of the agency of the people whose heritage is collected, both native and mestizo, and to allow, through research a reconfiguration of what was thought of the role of these people in the process. Doing so proved to be challenging. Some links are explicit, such as the correspondence between Peruvian collectors and their European counterparts. Often

times, however, the push to explore a specific site, the local guides, gift giving or antiquities, and the preparation of exhibitions for international display have all had to be seen under a different light, linked to national identity building as well as to personal gains.

As such, the main question posed by this research is: What are the relationships between Andean and Western European nations that can be evidenced by looking at the collections of mummified human remains formed for National Western European Museums from the mid-nineteenth century until 1930 and what do they tell us about those collections today?

From there, this research seeks more particular information such as: What are the regions, cultures and populations represented in Andean mummy collections in Western Europe and what is their relevance in relation to archaeological collections of the same nature in their countries of origin? How does the place of Andean mummies in Western European museum collections, from the time of their acquisition until today, reinforce or not the representation of the Andes in Western Europe? How has the place of Andean mummies within Western European museum collections changed from 1930 until today?

This primary question will be addressed by approaching a series of supplementary questions, the same ones that will be answered in the conclusion chapter. This supplementary questions are: What are the regions, cultures and populations represented in Andean mummy collections in Western Europe and what is their relevance in relation to archaeological collections of the same nature in their countries of origin? How does the place of Andean mummies in Western European museum collections, from the time of their acquisition until today, reinforce or not the representation of the Andes in Western Europe? How has the place of Andean mummies within Western European museum collections changed from 1930 until today. In that sense, the main objectives of this research are focused on gathering the information necessary to answer these primary and secondary questions. Those objectives are organized in three areas:

- The description and comparative contextualization[2] of the Andean human remains extant in European national museum collections.
- The description of the events moments (such as wars) and relationships (economic, military and cultural) between the Andes and Western Europe that led to the creation of these museum collections in the period of 1850-1930.
- The identification of the roles and the scientific and museological interpretation given to Andean mummies within European museum collections, and in turn their relevance – or lack thereof – for the contemporary conception of the Andes in those museums.

2 In this case, the reference is to individual mummies as compared to each other. Similarly, the milieu of Andean mummified remains in Latin American National and Site museums, which have a more nuanced provenience useful for contextualization, are used for this location search.

It is of interest to this research to understand that the political preoccupations of archaeology have affected the way in which material culture has been classified and interpreted, and in doing so, has also permeated the ambit of collections. The link between archaeology, the construction of national identities and the collecting of antiquities is tangible and as visible in contemporary museum practice at it is in the historical record (Shanks, Tilley, & others, 1987).

Nevertheless, it is useful here to specify that, although collecting as a practice was conducted from the beginning of the colonial period in the fifteenth century, the goals behind it were quite different from those that would appear at the end of the eighteenth century and that continue in some measure in different areas of the world in the twenty-first century. The collecting practices of national museums in LA during the late 1990s are an example that will be further explored in subsequent chapters. It is pertinent to emphasize that it is only in the eighteenth century that European military and naturalist voyages start collecting antiquities in the Andes, as a sideline to their activities. It is not until the nineteenth century that expeditions with the sole purpose of collecting antiquities and illustrating them on site became common (Gänger, 2014, 47 -49).

## 1.1 The Andes as a Collected Region

The history of collecting the Latin American archaeological and historical past, and the ethnological present, is linked unavoidably with the history of Europe's first forays into the Americas, and more so, with the encounters between Europeans and indigenous inhabitants of those lands (Bleichmar & Mancall, 2011; Cañizares-Esguerra, 2007).

Precisely, the variety of these encounters gave way to distinct – though most of the time similar – interactions. Therefore, the experiences of conquest and colonization, and later on, of the formation of nation-states throughout the Americas, are as akin as varied. Conceptualizing what the Andes encompass, as a cultural region, is pivotal. The understanding of the Andes as the area surrounding, and influenced by, the mountain chain with the same name, includes the countries of Venezuela, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, Bolivia, Chile and Argentina[3].

Though pre-Columbian occupation of the region was far from homogenous, ample trade routes and exchange systems were in place before and after Spanish colonization (Cañizares-Esguerra, 2001; F. Salomon & Urioste, 1991; Thurner, 1997). Perhaps the best known area is the Inca Empire (Tawantinsuyu by its Quechua name) of the fourteenth

3 Though current geopolitical associations tend to exclude Chile, Uruguay and Argentina from the Andean area, culturally and historically they have shared similar processes. This is due to a political and economic trade history that, starting with Bolivar's Gran Colombia project (1819-1831), consolidated Venezuela, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru and Bolivia in a subgroup within South America. Recent trade agreements like the Comunidad Andina de Naciones (CAN), the Sistema Andino de Integración (SAI) and the Pacto Andino are clear examples of this block unit. Similarly, Chile, Argentina, Uruguay and Brazil have created organizations such as the Merco Sur, though this one has opened to other Andean nations in the last few years.

century. The Tawantinsuyu included territories from central Chile and western Argentina to the south of Colombia. Additionally, we should also take note of earlier chains of more localized interactions like those around the Arica desert, lake Titicaca (Tiahuanaco), the Amazon plains (with people ethnohistorically grouped as Jivaros), the Pacific coast (for example, in the central areas with the Chavin, Moche, and Wari cultures, and in the northern region the Tumaco-Tolita, Manteño and Quimbaya cultures), the Caribbean coast (Tairona) and the Inter-Andean mountain ranges (Isbell, 2008; Isbell & Schreiber, 1978; Silverman & Isbell, 2008).

Language, agricultural traditions, and knowledge flowed within the region at different rhythms during different moments in time. After the conquest, for example, the Spanish crown made use of the preexisting links within the region to establish the three *Virreinatos* (Viceroyalties) of Nueva Granada, Peru and La Plata, and two *Capitanias Generales* of Venezuela and Chile, which remained largely unchanged[4] from the sixteenth to the late eighteenth centuries (Cañizares-Esguerra, 2001). These administrative areas linked the history of the region even further and, eventually, led to the wars for independence that marked the nineteenth century (Cadena Montenegro, 2012; Cañizares-Esguerra, 2001; Thurner, 1997).

During the last two centuries, the Andes would share a series of parallel political experiences, from military dictatorships during the 1970s and 1980s, to indigenous participatory movements during the late 1980s and 1990s, and the current struggles for political representation, of which the "New Latin America Left" governments of the last fifteen years in Venezuela, Ecuador, Bolivia and Argentina are clear examples (Assies & Gundermann Kroll, 2007; Boccara, 2002; Chaves García, 2010; Hernández Alvarado, 2007; Natanson, 2008).

In addition to the similarities found within the Andean region, it is important to also show the diversity that lies within it, starting with the landscape. Although the main feature in the region is the Andes mountain range, several other important features shape the individual countries that constitute it, such as the Argentinian pampas, the Atacama desert and lake Titicaca, the inter-cordillera mountain range in Ecuador and Colombia. Just as important are the changes in climate, vegetation and food sources that diverse sea currents and landmasses foster, allowing each country a considerable level of distinctiveness. If we factor in the human component, the diversity of dialects, indigenous ethnicities or

4 Given the type of control, both economic and political, that the Spanish crown structured in the area, very few important changes were introduced until the period of independence. Most of the changes that did occur had to do not with the larger structure of these Virreinatos and Capitanias Generales but with the local restructuring of the chains of command, economic treaties and internal demographic reorganizations like those consequence of the Reducciones, which come into effect after the second Toledan reforms in the 1700s.

nationalities[5], and cultural identities found within those countries, the Andes mountain range, although very relevant,, is no longer the only predominant aspect. Similarly, it is vital to understand that as Coastal, Amazonian, and highland populations are different from each other, people who live in particular Andean countries are likewise very different. Crudely put, the picture of the snow-capped highlands with llamas and pan flutes does not represent the majority of Andean lives, but rather a section of it, and as such should not be taken as the singular representation of the region, as it has been in Western European imagination until today (Ashcroft, Griffiths, & Tiffin, 1995).

This leads us to ask, how can such a region be represented, explained or even understood outside of its borders? By looking at how the narrative regarding the collections from the Andes changes during the period of 1850 to 1930, it is evident that political self-recognition and internal political conflicts between Andean nations can impact the way their objects are cataloged in Europe. Hence, the process of consolidation of these nations as viewed by their material exports during the period must be addressed. Emphasizing that, though the region is widely heterogeneous, the representations in Europe of its identities have been hugely generalized and homogenized (Ahmed, 2000; Escobar, 2004; Schmidt-Nowara, 2008), to the point where landscapes, languages, cultures, and time periods are clumped together in exhibition rooms that, as stated above, fail to convey the diversity of the region. Mummies, or more broadly human remains, have been classified as "objects" that belong to ethnographic, historical, archaeological and natural sciences, and therefore can be found in museums that concentrate on those subjects.

What is collected, and from whom, has changed repeatedly since the fifteenth century, but the principle of collecting archaeological and ethnographical objects remains constant: the desire to understand the "other" (be it a people, a moment in time or a tradition) (Anishanslin, 2013; Bleichmar & Mancall, 2011; Pearce, 1994). Collections are classified, organized and arranged for public or private viewing, and therefore, they are not only a display of history but intend to reproduce our understanding of it (Bernstein, 1989). These "others" are then not only understood by the collector, but represented to an intended audience in an effort to communicate –and allow them to share– this understanding (Pearce, 1994).

Although the vast majority of the literature for the time period used in this research focuses on the practices of collecting in the New World by European explorers, the research concurs with Kohl, Ganger, Podgorny and others, in stating that, in fact, there is an equally important dimension of local collecting in the Andes (Kohl, Podgorny, & Gänger, 2014). By the eighteenth century, many Americans had joined in collecting the pre-Columbian past, and the evolution of what is collected and sold intersects with what is known from European expeditions.

5 On the subject of indigenous nationalities within a nation state, see the case of Ecuador and the pronunciation by the CONAIE (CONAIE, 1988). The Mapuche Nationality case in (Foerster & Vergara, 2000; Marimán, 2005).

The role of native collectors and more so of indigenous workers who helped loot and extract antiquities has only recently become a preoccupation in history and archaeology. In that regard, there are few sources that give a notion of their involvement. As I have commented elsewhere (Ordonez 2019) the scale of the participation of indigenous people on the looting of archaeological sites is unclear for the first years of the colony, however by the late sixteenth century looting was an activity that occupied primarily people in positions of power: hacendados, encomenderos and the like (Richardson 2001). The workers in the haciendas were very often indigenous communities that had a deep rooted past in those same lands. The changes in land tenure and the encomienda system that followed the introduction of the New Laws of Indias in 1542, facilitated the control of looting by land owners and mine concessions, mostly mestizos. The hacienda system provided an ideal structure to organize the looting of particular sites with more intensity than others, and allowed for specific actors to become collectors of the Andean past. There are very few cases in which workers refused to dig certain areas, in which cases they were penalized or changed for others more willing (Tantaleán 2014).

This trend continued until the late eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth centuries, when independence brought further restructuring of land rights, and most importantly, when the interest of countries such as England, Germany and France in the past and present peoples of the region could no longer be curtailed by the roadblocks of Spanish control.

In that regard it is vital to mention the work of Christopher Heaney in relation to these same topics in the Anglo-speaking world, especially the United States and England as an important complementary research and necessary insight into the topic of mummy collection and the history of human remains collection as a whole, Furthermore, he has drawn meaningful comparisons between Egyptian mummy collecting and Andean mummies, which are not the focus of this dissertation, but that highlight relevant points regarding periods before the nineteenth century.

As Heaney points out: *"As scientific objects, mummies were born of Europe's encounter with two "ancient" bodily knowledges. The first is well known: the embalmed Egyptian dead who were ground into a materia medica named mumia and later were collected as "mummies" themselves. Yet mummies owe their global possibility— of ancient sciences of embalming and environmental manipulation apprehensible worldwide—to the* sixteenth-*century Spanish encounter with the Incas' preserved dead, the yllapa"*. (Heaney 2018) This medical view of the mummy itself is another point that cannot be discussed in this research as it is extensive, but one which Heaney has begun to explore (Heaney 2018).

Following the previous references, it is relevant here to point out that, though Andean and Egyptian mummies were indeed collected in a similar manner and share similar paths, this intersection will not be explored in this thesis. The limitations of conducting research tied to a particular geographical network, as well as those of the expertise in

Andean human remains of the author, limit the amount of information regarding Egyptian mummy collecting that would enhance the discussions undertaken in this dissertation. It is however, a topic of high relevance and that should be explored in the future, if not by this author, by similar minded professionals.

There is some debate in the literature on whether the majority of the collectors in the Andes during the century were or were not politically motivated in their endeavors. However, as Ganger explains: "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 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" (Gänger, 2014,8). The gradual integration of private collectors into public spheres is also noted in Europe, where magazines focused on collecting, such as the *Conoisseur*, become a portal for the commercialization of antiquities and the transformation of their role in the construction of national identities (Mahoney, 2012,176).

## 1.2 On Contested Objects

By considering objects whose roles may become relevant in the construction of identity, the category of "contested" remains becomes extremely relevant. Used as a keyword to denote objects that incite conflict and are charged with intense emotional responses, while at the same time calling into question the very existence of such "objects" in a collection (Lubina, 2009). Ritual, sacred, or very emotionally charged pieces of material culture fit into this description, as do most – if not all – human remains (Painter-Thorne, 2010). The term "contested" is therefore not static; it can be ascribed to or severed from the same object according to circumstances in a particular moment in time, and in some measure to its role within a particular instance of political discourse (the use of repatriation as a national policy is one of those examples).

Precisely the debates and discussion that surround contested "objects" are what allow for the consideration of these particular parts of a collection as the most representative for understanding the relationships between collector and collected. This research focuses on two aspects of these "objects," their materiality and the narratives they tell. The first is seen through the mummies themselves, while the latter is reflected by the terminology and words that are used to label collection "objects."

The unique place that human remains, and in this particular case mummies, play in regards to these narratives and representations, needs to be understood in terms of the historical contexts that ecompass the moments of their biographies as collected "objects." The metanarrative posed by the question of the origin of the American human being in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries is considered a starting point. This discussion introduces a breaking point in the consideration of the human body as separated by a his-

torical boundary: a medical subject versus a collected subject.

Furthermore, the boundary between object and subject on which human remains seem to fluctuate in archaeology is particularly relevant for the type of human remains that are the focus of this research: mummies. These issues are further explored in the following theoretical and methodological chapter.

The endpoint for this dissertation is the introduction of a series of international pieces of legislation and committees that guard, safekeep and regulate heritage; this includes the creation of the United Nations and all its bodies, such as UNESCO, and those other entities that result from these organizations, such as ICOM and ICOMOS.

This series of changes in the handling of culture, its commerce and perception, in part shifts the nineteenth-century structure that had been in place up until the mid-twentieth century. In consequence, the start of the Second World War becomes a natural stopping point for this dissertation. Further explanation of this will be provided in the following pages.

## 1.3 Mummy Collecting from 1850 to 1930. Positioning the Research in Time.

As explained in the introduction, the main interest of this research is collections of mummies in National and university European museums that come from the Andean region, and that were collected in the period between 1850 and 1930. Once identified, the history of these collections afforded a glimpse at the transatlantic connections of the period that facilitated the collecting, transport, and exhibition of these human remains. From there, it attempts to link this historic formation of collections with their current roles in the museums that hold them.

Nevertheless, this dissertation is not an attempt to rewrite the history of Latin American-European political relationships by means of a reassessment of mummy collections. Rather, it is a comprehensive approach to collecting Andean mummies in Latin America taking into account the history of those relationships. In that regard, though history is considered vital to understand the collections of mummies in Europe as they stand today, the emphasis of this work is not primarily in the historical processes of collecting or on how collecting may have influenced political and diplomatic relationships. This dissertation focuses on the archaeological relevance of such connections, their impact on object contextualization and how much they can help understand museum assortments.

The time frame selected is at the same time broad and limited. It is broad because the nineteenth century encompasses a series of significant political changes in the Americas and Europe, such as the French Revolution and the fall of the Bourbon dynasty, as well as the development of science as we understand it today. However, the period is brief when we take into account the overall history of collecting between these two regions, and particularly in regards to the total amount of mummies exchanged, which appears

small when compared to objects like ceramics or paintings (Gänger, 2014b).

The mid-nineteenth century and beginning of the twentieth-century are crucial when trying to understand the role of museums in the construction of national identities, a practice which has continued to the present. As will be argued in chapter 5, the creation of national museums in Europe and the Andes was almost simultaneous. This indicates a point of convergence and collaboration between those two areas of the world, motivated by communications and by the globalizing political and scientific events of the time. Inspired by Napoleon's public opening of Royal collections and the creation of the British Museum on the basis of private collections, the beginning of the nineteenth century set the stage for what would become some of the most important museums and institutions in the word today (Macdonald, 2012).

Though the particular histories of the museums that form the universe of this research will be described in more detail in chapter 4, there is a parallel between the way Europe and the Americas sought to present their histories during the nineteenth century. The dates of their creation and the type of collections acquired show commonalities born out of a global change in the perception of culture.

It has been argued that South American museums do not really function as such until after the celebrations of the centennial of the discovery of the Americas in 1892, and the accompanying World Exposition in Madrid (Bedoya 2016). Though these museums do not yet function in this periodas they would in later years, the relationships between those incipient museums and their already consolidated counterparts in Europe should not be discounted. Nevertheless, the first instance of transatlantic commonalities can be seen in the origins of the collections that will later be formalized by museums. It is in that sense that first overarching theoretical considerations for this research had to do with the subject of collecting.

The aim of this research is to discuss how the history of the relationship between the Andes and Europe can be perceived through the trade of Andean mummies, which serve as a very specific and localized section of the collecting network. It is by first looking at what the "objects" in and of themselves are saying that we can more accurately reconstruct the narratives that they come to represent in their current holdings. Here is where this research differentiates itself from previous work on the history of collecting: by focusing on specific objects —Andean mummies– and their biographies as a starting point.

Appadurai has contended that by concentrating on the objects exchanged, and not in the way they are exchanged, it is possible to see what links exist between the value and paths of objects and politics (Appadurai, 1994:76). The way these objects, or in Appadurai's terms, commodities, move and are transacted is embedded with meaning given to them by the agents/actors who moved them (Appadurai, 1994, p. 76). This connection between actors and things is the cornerstone of material culture studies in archaeology and is discussed further in the section regarding mummy materiality.

## 1.4 Structure of the Dissertation

In order to further unpack the subjects approached in the pages of this introduction, the current dissertation has been structured into eight chapters. **Chapter 1** is a brief introduction into the relevance of the research and the main questions and objectives posed to understand the subject addressed.

In **Chapter 2**, the Theoretical Framework, concepts and wording used are presented at length, followed by **Chapter 3** where a step-by-step description of the methodology applied for data collection is discussed, as well as the limitations found during the research.

**Chapter 4**, entitled "America Goes to Europe," approaches the history of the formation of national museums in Europe and of the collections on which this research focused.

**Chapter 5**, "Collecting the New World: Travelers, Scientific Missions and the Search for Andean Mummies: Reinventing the Pre-Columbian Past," is dedicated to the relationship between collectors and objects. It describes the distinct roles of travelers, scientific missions, military expeditions and diplomats. A detailed picture is given of each of the collections, in terms of the documentary/inventory information present in each museum.

**Chapter 6** is dedicated to "Rethinking Bodies," or a bio-archaeological approach to the same collections described in Chapter 5. This allows for provenience and cultural reclassifications, as well as a more nuanced view of the demographic component of said collections, how they have been exhibited and stored in their current holdings, and the research that has been conducted with them.

A comparative view of the presented data presented can be found on **Chapter 7**: "The Imagined Versus the Uncovered." The connections and divergences of data among museum databases and archaeological contextualization is discussed here. A further subchapter is dedicated to Andean mummy collections in Latin American museums, located in the same areas from which the mummies of the European Museums originate.

The final chapter, **Chapter 8**, contains answers to the questions posed in this introduction, taking into account the discussion of Chapter 7, and the limitations and issues presented in Chapter 3. These conclusions have led to recommendations regarding new research opportunities with individual collections, as well as with collections in general.

The world of mummy studies is fascinating. To look at ancient human remains, surrounded by their funerary attire and the objects that accompany them in the afterlife, is certainly humbling. The expression of cultural beliefs, of empathy and loving tribute that they carry with them seem sometimes to be forgotten in the rush to dissect them scientifically. Experiences in the storage rooms of more than eighteen museums whose collections were explored in this research has granted a unique perspective. It has also highlighted the importance of discussing these contested materials as often as possible and under the

guidance of as many theoretical premises as available.

This thesis is by no means a finalized work, but rather constitutes the first steps towards understanding these collections, collectively and individually, and trying to lay the groundwork for future discussions and finds. The seven chapters that follow contribute information that has been missing in the discussion on human remains collecting by European national museums, combining historical and archaeological approaches.

# Chapter 2

Theoretical Framework

"Museums and libraries have become heterotopias in which time never stops building up and topping its own summit, whereas in the seventeenth century, even at the end of the century, museums and libraries were the expression of an individual choice. By contrast, the idea of accumulating everything, of establishing a sort of general archive, the will to enclose in one place all times, all epochs, all forms, all tastes, the idea of constituting a place of all times that is itself outside of time and inaccessible to its ravages, the project of organizing in this way a sort of perpetual and indefinite accumulation of time in an immobile place, this whole idea belongs to our modernity. The museum and the library are heterotopias that are proper to western culture of the nineteenth century".

**Michel Foucault (1984), "*Of Other Spaces: Utopias and Heterotopias*"; Architecture / Mouvement/ Continuité October, 1984; ("Des Espace Autres," March 1967 Translated from the French by Jay Miskowiec)**

When Foucault referred to museums as heterotopias he was writing of the museum as an institution in the nineteenth century. This remarks however are as useful to understand museums of the nineteenth century as much as museums today, as has been argued by Van Broekhoven (2013). Heterotopias are spaces of contradiction, of otherness, while at the same time being familiar and ingrained in society. Counter-sites, spaces where other cultures can be found, simultaneously represented, contested, and inverted.

A museum is in essence such a place, where social and political discourses meet with real objects and offer the visitor glimpses of others: cultures, peoples, landscapes, while at the same time existing within contemporary realities, be them from the nineteenth or twentyfirst centuries. The idea of a museum, especially an ethnographic and archaeological museum, as an heteropia is crucial to this dissertation as it guides the possibility of collections being suspended in time, treasured and forgotten, contraposed and isolated in the same exhibit rooms. This idea will again be revisited on chapters 5 and 7 in relation to the separation of objects and the transmutation of mummies within storage rooms. It is also crucially relevant to the discussion of repatriation of collections in museums today, and the role of the modern ethnographic museum, as is argued in chapter 8.

Nevertheles, the main theoretical concerns that cross the research presented in this Ph.D. dissertation have to do with museums in the nineteenth-century. Spaces where the historical, archaeological, and ethical conundrums find an embodied meeting point: mummified human remains.[6]

On the following pages, the problematics described in the introduction are interrogated by combining a traditional historical and archaeological approach to human remains and their collecting. This allows an understanding not only of the narrative sur-

6 The ownership of bodies, their relations to the spaces they inhabit- and in which they transform- has been discussed by authors such as Puwar (2004) and Philips (2013). These discussions have also been undertaken by archaeologist, as is presented later in this chapter.

rounding the mummies after their excavation, but their lives as part of collected, stored and displayed human remains.

The theoretical discussions and premises that have guided this research are explained in this chapter through six subsections. The sections have been created in order to emphasize different points of inflection that rose while looking at the information available in both documental sources and the mummies researched. These sections also highlight the connections between historical processes, political narratives, archaeological practice, and ethical principles, in relation to museum collections in general, and human remains collections in particular – with Andean mummies as a specific type of human remains.



The first section is dedicated to defining terminology and concepts used throughout the research. It presents working definitions that clarify the subjects at hand, as well as short debates on the consolidation of the definitions chosen for this research. Seven key concepts are explored: nation, national museum, collection, identity, human remains, and mummy.

The second section focuses on exploring the practice of collecting as a way of translating knowledge. From the context where they were collected to the museum exhibit and storage room, the objects of any museum undergo several transformations of meaning. This subsection explores how those meanings are created, as a form of identity construction, in relation to their political dimension, and how they shape and create narratives from and about the collected objects.

The thirth section concentrates on the theme of collecting as a historical narrative. As a biased construct, it can offer important insight into the past, but nevertheless may hinder the transfer of information into the present. Following the information presented in the introduction, which briefly situated the collections explored and the historical context in which they were formed, this section contextualizes a broader description of the period between 1850 and 1930 and its relation to the development of archaeological collections and archaeological practices.

Finally, the fourth section focuses on the ethical discussions and considerations that have taken place regarding work with human remains, whether in archaeological practice, museum collections, or medical institutions. The importance of considering the contemporary ethical guidelines that encompass this research, while taking into account the historical processes that have led to those guidelines, is an essential part of this thesis. The discussion and data presented in the next chapters are situated within a particular set of parameters by presenting these theoretical considerations, The exploration of theoretical themes that have surrounded sensitive materials such as human remains in museum collections, both in the past and the present, allows the reader to consider the data presented as inhabiting both the historical and contemporary worlds.

## 2.1 Concept Definitions

The terminology used in this research, as in any other in social sciences, is not casual. It follows the need to present the data discussed within specific lines of argument, and as such should be explained to the reader in as much detail as necessary. The seven working concepts presented in the following section go from the more general to the particular, and aim to clarify their use throughout this dissertation.

The concepts chosen are crucial to understand this research as they frame the object of study of this thesis, both in terms of the museums chosen and the "objects" addressed. The nuanced description of the words used to describe the collections, the collectors, and the cultures involved in those transactions, becomes a necessary step in order to understand the authors position *vis-a-vis* their multiple meanings.

In the first place, it is necessary to address the concept of ***nation*** and the elements contained within it. The term has been heatedly debated in social sciences for as long as it has been used (Ernest, 1882). From Marx's discussions onwards, a nation has been considered in regard to its political presence, the institutions that comprise it, and in relation to a state, a land, and its subjects (Giddens, 1985). For the research presented here, the concept of nation has to do with three definitions: those of Weber, Giddens, and ultimately Smith (1999). Each defined a nation within similar boundaries, but considered, in turn, different spheres in which a nation is influenced and influences.

Max Weber sees the nation as a very subjective and ambiguous definition. Mostly, Weber presented the nation in its simplest terms as a system of administration and law that guides the state, and that has direct incidence and authority over the collective. The modern state is, in that sense, the means of rule over a territory. It is made up of a series of laws that mandate citizenship rights, and broad social and economic responsibilities. A state is the apparatus through which a government executes its power. It can be made up by several institutions, but its most important roles are to operate the bureaucratic system, levy taxes and operate a military and police force (Weber, 1994). This collective is made up of freely associated peoples, the members (usually by birth) that belong to the territory over which it exercises domination (Weber, 1994). Weber also mentions that within this nation there is a feeling of solidarity among its members formed through politics, culture, power, prestige, language, and race.

Sociologist Anthony Giddens proposes a very similar concept. He argues that a nation "only exists when a state has a unified administrative reach over the territory over which its sovereignty is claimed" (Giddens, 1985:119). What Giddens adds to the definition provided earlier is the idea that "the control over a territory with demarcated boundaries (borders), can only be ruled if being sanctioned by law and direct control of the means of internal and external violence"(Giddens, 1985:121).

For this research, both the ideas of Weber and Giddens regarding the nation are particularly important. The first delineates a relation between power, institutions and people, which can be ambiguous and change throughout time, while the second emphasizes the importance of a nation's borders, and the state mechanisms that control and maintain it. Both concepts suggest a sense of belonging to a defined, territorially linked group. This group cohesion, for Giddens, will also be aided by its contraposition to others outside the national borders.

A final definition included in this research's definition of the nation is the one proposed by Anthony D. Smith. In his work, Smith criticizes Giddens in particular for his "excessive emphasis on the role of political institutions, and is too dismissive of the legacies of pre-modern ethnic and cultural ties" (Smith, 1999:102). In that sense, this last definition includes a cultural-historical context in the consideration of the nation, and in particular in the connection of the people to the nation, "a sense of attachment to a country or state" (Smith, 1999:102).

Taking into account these three definitions, in all following pages, the use of the term nation includes the importance of the collective, the institutions, the power relations, the territorial borders, and lastly, the cultural-historical belonging to a nation. This last aspect of the nation is by far the most problematic, especially within culturally diverse countries, such as those of the Andean region. The official national discourse of the nineteenth century, by nature of the creation of the nation, excludes indigenous peoples. However it cannot delete their presence or hide the reciprocal actions between peoples. In that regard, the scope of this research includes the interactions between nations, those in the Andes and those Western Europe, between their peoples, and institutions, the most important of which are the national museums.

Following the discussion above, a ***national museum*** must be defined in terms of a nation first, and of its individual attributes second. To begin with, a national museum is, as its name indicates, maintained by a nation, by means of the state. This implies that a national museum is run, partially if not fully, through the allotment of state funds, and as such it is dependent on the correct functioning of the state, and to a lesser degree of the government.

Most of the time, national museums are situated in capital cities, while regional or local governments and foundations fund museums in the periphery. This is not always the case, as can be seen in this research. However, some of the characteristics that national museums share are collection size, its relative historical importance, and its contemporary value.

Not all national museums use the term in their name; some have undergone a reconceptualization of their roles in recent decades and have therefore chosen new names. Other museums use the term as a matter of branding and to belong to a group of nationally funded museums. Examples can be found in Austria in the recently reopened

Weltmuseum Wien, which used to be the National Museum of Ethnology, as well as in the Netherlands where the National Museum of Ethnology is now part of a larger group of three museums, and has been renamed the National Museum of World Cultures.

The concept of nation is also understood to mutate, transform in time. A nation can change its borders and in doing so change part of its history. Archaeological sites as well as cultural proveniences can move from one nation to the other, and in doing so transform the foundational mythos of the nation state. This mutability complicates what can happen to a collection, in terms of classification, or further when contested objects are reclaimed. A site of repatriation will many times have shifted in regards to what is noted as the original collection nation. This will be further explained in chapter 5.

This leads us to the complicated subject of ***collecting***. Many lines of thought in the humanities have looked at collecting from their own vein of study. Psychology, for example, looks at collecting as a manifestation of personal identity (Van der Grijp, 2006). Elsner and Cardinal, in their edited volume *Cultures of Collecting*, have summarized this manner of thought by stating that "As one becomes conscious of one's self, one becomes a conscious collector of identity, projecting one's being onto the objects one chooses to live with. Taste, the collector's taste, is a mirror of self" (Elsner & Cardinal, 1994:3).

The focus on the pathological aspects of collecting on which psychological studies have focused is not a concern for this research (S. Macdonald, 2006; Van der Grijp, 2006). This line of thought does make it apparent that there are important connections to be drawn between the individual impulse to collect and a series of underlying rules and conditions that stimulate collecting outside of the individual scope. Collecting is thus linked to the concept of taste through psychology.

Sociology has also looked at collecting from the perspective of taste. However, in this case, it is taken to be a conflictive notion. Immanuel Kant proposes in *Critique of Judgement*, that taste, is in essence, an antinomy, a judgment of power that is at the same time individual and social, private and public, subjective and objective (Kant in Gronow, 2002: 15). Following this line, sociologists have discussed that taste is indeed not exclusive to the cultural West, but to a society where power is measured not only by relationships but by a person's influence towards objects.[7] A pertinent example is posed by Trever and Pillsbury, who have argued that collecting, in the most overarching sense of the word, was already taking place in the Andes during the Inca Empire with the practice of textile preservation related to Inca mummies (Pillsbury & Trever, 2015: 240).

In that sense, both taste and collecting have been studied a social phenomena, whereby the emulation of the powerful, of what is considered "good taste", becomes standard (Gronow, 2002). Collecting thus becomes the practice of taste possessed, controlled, and showcased. Similarly, Pomian has defined a collection as a series of objects that have been withdrawn from economic circulation, temporarily or permanently, have been given

7 See Bourdieu's discussion on aesthetics for example (Bourdieu, 1990).

a special standing (protection), and are then exhibited (Pomian, 1987).

It is within this social understanding of collecting that both history and anthropology start looking at the assemblage of collections of ethnographic and archaeological materials. The ongoing exchange of such objects that begins during the sixteenth century and peaks during the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth centuries becomes a frame from which to understand the movement of objects, meanings, and knowledge that characterizes the practice of collecting and the development of archaeology and anthropology as sciences, during particular moments in history.

Macdonald has argued that collecting can only be understood as the practice of creating a "collection," meaning the purposeful selecting and identification of objects to become part of a series of things that hold value together rather than individually (S. Macdonald, 2006:82). It is in this respect, that of creating series – and thereon classifications and typologies – that archaeology and anthropology are inextricably linked to the history of collecting. Riviale, for example, has argued that it is with the push to collect both natural and anthropological specimens that starts in the eighteenth century, and that is guided by an incipient classification of the universe according to natural kingdoms during the nineteenth century, that this relationship can be more clearly seen (Riviale in Bleichmar & Mancall, 2011:10). It is by this desire to collect that a globalizing classification of the world will be constituted. It is this classification, in turn, that would allow for the emergence of "science," and thereafter the system of knowledge production from which anthropology and archaeology today organize their studies (Riviale in Bleichmar & Mancall, 2011:225).

Going back to the issue of collections themselves, and following Appadurai and Clifford, anthropology has defined collections as sets of objects that have been taken out of their utilitarian context, and have been revalorized in relation to the other objects that are part of a whole. In that sense, the value of a collection is not measured by its individual parts but only when taken as a whole (Appadurai, 1994; Clifford, 1988). This value can be ascribed from a series of dimensions, for example, the completeness of a collection, its accessibility (private or public), its spatial distribution (in relation to where it is currently situated), the economic transactions that led to its formation, and its historic transcendence (what is collected according to a specific time) (Pomian, 2001).

It is through these dimensions that a collection is no longer a group of objects, but a connecting point to the invisible aspects of social, cultural and political interactions. Collecting is then the transformation of things into objects of signification, where the systems of circulation in which they move at one point or another in their histories become a reflection of a larger history.

The previous definition included the transformation of things into signification within the desire to collect. In practice, those significations are a reflection, on the public

and private spheres, of ***identity***. The term identity is used to refer to social categories[8] and to socially distinguishing features, and sometimes to both at the same time. Identity, in that regard, "refers to the ways in which individuals and collectivities are distinguished in their social relations with other individuals and collectivities" (Jenkins, 1996:4).

There are numerous definitions and studies surrounding the use of the term "identity" in anthropology. It is important to stress that nations, as much as cultures, more often than not, include a plethora of contradicting characteristics as part of the same collective, and hence cannot be essentialized, starting with critiques of essentialism, especially as linked with history and archaeology.[9] Indeed, when considering the processes of formation of nation-states in the Andes, essentialism cannot be applied, as the nation itself is ill suited for definition in those terms.

For the purpose of this research, identity is understood as the concept presented by Giddens: that of a symbolic construction of self, culturally dependent, and born from opposition (Giddens, 1991). It further delimited here by Touraine as a construction that differs when relating to personhood and to a collective (as an ideological construction) (Touraine, 1997). In that sense, the concept of identity is neither static nor singular; rather it may change through time and allow for plurality in self-determination.

Linking the idea of identity with the terminology described earlier, Bloom has described national identity as the "condition in which a mass of people have made the same identification with national symbols – have internalized the symbols of the nation"(Bloom, 1993,52).

For the research presented in the following pages, the idea that the national museum functions as a platform for the expression and construction through opposition of identity is a central one. In that regard, individual identity is superseded by that of the collective, as represented by a nation, and is so showcased in a national museum. This is particularly relevant when discussing human remains, since they embody different identities: as human beings, as representatives of a social group, and as collected objects.

Another fundamental definition for this dissertation is that of ***human remains***. The working definition for human remains used in this thesis is at the same time very precise and very broad. For this research, the term includes the body of a deceased person, be it whole or in parts, regardless of its stage of decomposition. What the body encompasses includes bones, muscles, tendons, organs, teeth, nails, and hair. Any part of the body will be considered a human remain, even when it has been integrated into a different object (for example wigs, carpets, drinking bowls, shirts, drums, etc.).

In contemporary law, the rights that a person has over his or her dead body have been clearly defined as regards to tissue, blood, and organ donations, postmortem exam-

8 A social category is in itself defined by a series of rules, implicit or explicit, and a series of attributes, that the members of a group share, or to expected behaviors that characterize them (Tajfel, 1981).

9 In regards to essentialism it is worth mentioning Edward Said's critic to the field as necessarily colonial, or rather Eurocentric, overgeneralizing and reductionist.

inations, and the donation of bodies, in part or in whole, for scientific purposes. (For a nuanced discussion on this topic see Masters and Skene, 2002). The same considerations have been applied when discussing human remains in this dissertation, especially when referring to the ethical considerations regarding human remains in museum collections.

Building on the aforementioned definition, the main focus of this research has to do with a particular type of human remain, ***mummified human remains or mummies***. This research's working definition for "mummy" follows the definition made by Cockburn: "The term mummification will be used here to refer to all natural and artificial processes that bring about the preservation of the body or its parts"[10] (Cockburn et al. 1998,155). In that sense, not only full bodies but parts of a body that have been preserved are considered as mummified human remains.



Another important definition arises from the discussion regarding the determination of natural and artificial mummification. For the present study, we shall refer to Cockburn's distinction between artificial, intentional/natural and natural mummification, used to classify all human remains found in archaeological contexts (Cockburn et al. 1998).

The main variance between them is the intentional use of preservation techniques for the remains – be those applied balms, organ removal, drying of the remains, etc. – versus the effects of temperature and soil conditions on the preservation of remains. There is some debate in archaeology about whether the extended use of certain sites and burial types and the refinement of burial deposition for body conservation can be seen as examples of intentional use of natural mummification conditions. In the case of the Andes, there is only one example of reported artificial mummification, that of the Chinchorro mummies. The rest of the remains found have been classified as natural or intentional/natural depending on the region and the temporal depth of a burial tradition.

The remains' specific cultural contexts that form part of the different collections studied in this research will be described in following chapters. Given the wide variety of traditions present in the case studies, they are not considered when defining a body as a mummy.

The final term that needs to be explored before addressing the theoretical premises of this research is that of ***authenticity***. Its use implies originality and the idea that something has retained properties as close to their true form as possible. This narrow conception of what is authentic has been widely debated by archaeology and history, recognizing that an object may be authentic in a particular context and at a particular time without having been so in others. In that sense, the definition of authentic within archaeology is subject to an extensive and on-going discussion (Holtorf & Schadla-Hall, 1999; Jones, 2010; Smith, 2001).

10 It is important here to clarify that hair, teeth, nails and bones do not undergo a specific treatment for their preservation. In that regard, they cannot be considered mummies in their own right, but only in association with other parts of the body which have undergone an artificial process, or, in the case of wigs, have been specifically fashioned to be part of a mummy.

In this research, the working definition for "authentic" has been limited to the proximate claim to originality of the objects (Smith 2001,443). In other words, we use the term authenticity to reflect the implicit assumption that what we are seeing is a direct reflection of how it was found in its original context, without intentional modification of content and position, and more importantly, that the relation between two objects (in this case the human remains and their associated artifacts) has not been disrupted (Holtorf and Schadla-Hall 1999).

The seven concepts explored in the previous sections showcase some of the on-going discussion in sociology, anthropology and archaeology. They also highlight the importance of confining arguments within particular definitions, in order to provide clear statements. The following sections present discussions on broader considerations of the issues in this research, as mentioned in the introduction.

## 2.2 Collecting as a Historical Narrative

This research is limited by two critical political shifts, both with impacts on a global scale that dramatically changed the motives and ways of collecting between Europe and the Americas. The first, and perhaps most telling, is the independence and consolidation of nations. The second is the start of the Second World War during the mid-1930s that would culminate in the institutionalization of international cooperation through the creation of the United Nations and its subcommittees in 1945 (Carbonell, 2012; Crane, 1997).

The practice of collecting and its political dimension experienced little change until the late 1930s when the issues surrounding the Second World War had a significant impact on them (Crane, 1997). The gifts and exchanges between institutions, that had become more common at the beginning of the century ceased, and private collecting of archaeological objects by tourists and foreign collectors slowed almost to a halt. By the end of the war, both international relationships and the antiquities market had to rebalance and adjust. In addition, by the 1960s, most countries in the Andes had established legal precedents to prevent the exportation of their cultural heritage.[11] These national drives culminated in the UNESCO Convention on the Means of Prohibiting and Preventing the Illicit Import, Export and Transfer of Ownership of Cultural Property on November 14th, 1970 (UNESCO, 1970).

Given that collecting is a political exercise at a national level, looking at the objects and communications exchanged between collectors becomes a great way to understand the political relationships between Europe and the new American nations, and em-

11 For example, in Peru regulations were formalized by the Decreto Supremo N° 89, enacted on April 2nd 1822, though not enforced regularly until 1911, with the Decreto Supremo N° 2612 ofAugust 19. In Colombia the earliest law is the Ley 103 of 1931, related to the site of San Agustín and reinforced nationally by 1936. In Chile the first drafted law is that of 1925, the "Ley sobre Monumentos Nacionales," which would be reformulated in 1970 as Ley 17.288.

phasizes the role of gift-giving of cultural objects in cementing such relationships.[12]

The aspects of nostalgia, imagination, and amusement that story-telling encompasses must also be considered when looking at collecting as a creation of narratives, (Elsner & Cardinal, 1994; Geurds & Broekhoven, 2013; Hallam & Street, 2013). A clear example of this exercise is presented by Cummins. In his work he considers the practice of collecting pre-Columbian objects during the colonial occupation in Peru as a way to retain historical memory and reinforce cultural heritage (Cummins, 1998). Similarly, Julien (1999) and Sullivan (2007) have attempted to understand European collecting of Peruvian art and archaeological objects (Julien, 1999; Stanfield-Mazzi, 2009; Sullivan, 2007).

Within that understanding, the collections of Andean human mummies in Western Europe, especially by those countries that had a pivotal role in the conquest and colonization of the Americas, garner great importance in grasping these political relations. The way in which these highly sensitive collections were formed, their transition – their re-contextualization – from when they were collected to the role they now play in the museums where they are stored and exhibited, has helped shape the representation of what is known as "the Andes" where they are exhibited. In other words, they allow an understanding of the narrative about the Andes that has been told by the collecting of its mummies.

As previously mentioned, the particular time frame outlined for this research marks the beginning of a transformative political, economic and social period in the Andes: that of independence from the Spanish Crown and the difficult quest to form the present nation-states (Cañizares-Esguerra, 2001; Earle, 2007). It also marks a period of profound evolution of institution of museums, both in Europe and in the Americas. The practice of collecting finds itself in center stage for national identity building, and in entering that stage both objects and collectors initiate a narrative that transcends to modern times (Anishanslin, 2013, 2013; Gänger, 2014b; Kohl et al., 2014; S. J. Macdonald, 2012; Mahoney, 2012; Pearce, 1994).

It has been widely regarded that the Industrial Revolution sparked what would become an era of collecting of mass-produced objects at a popular level, while at the same time encouraging elitist collecting of art and antiquities, and the acceleration of museum formation. Van del Grijp notes that in this period three general tendencies can be noted: the "democratization" of private collections that included archives, exotic plants and animals, antiquities, art and ethnographical objects; the institutionalization of this process through museums, universities, public libraries, botanical gardens and even zoological gardens; and finally the continuous mutual encouragement between the private and public collectors that led to competition and tensions in the formation of these collections (Van der Grijp, 2006).

12 This is especially true for mummies at the beginning of the twentieth century, as will be seen in chapter 3 in detail.

The narratives put forward by what was collected and exhibited by the national museums – of natural history, archaeology and anthropology— in England, Spain, Portugal, France, Germany, Belgium, the Netherlands, Italy, Denmark, Austria, Switzerland and Sweden, become especially relevant. They allow a differentiation between the narrative used within a public institution with a history that begins before the nineteenth century, and that continues to be maintained and supported at the state level, from those narratives that can be told in more secluded settings, such as private collections, smaller institutions like as University museums, heritage centers, or even municipal and regional museums. The museum, in that sense, also holds political responsibilities. According to Tony Bennet, a modern museum demands there "should be parity of representation for all groups and cultures within the collecting, exhibition and conservation activities of museums, and the demand that the members of all social groups should have equal practical as well theoretical rights of access to museums" (Bennett, 2013:9)[13].

Precisely, one of the main differences between these types of institutions, and therefore the collections housed within them, is the permanent character of the public collection. Private collections can be dismembered, sold and dispersed according to personal histories – death and economic misfortunes for example – while national institutions are built to transcend the individual lives of their founders (Van der Grijp, 2006). As is clearly put by Van der Grijpt: "The nation-state makes itself both subject and object of this new cult [of collections as knowledge] by founding, maintaining and extending museums, and by representing in them its own history, both national and colonial, as well as its own culture, the natural history, the activities of the different professional groups within the frontiers, the big men produced by the nation, and its major products" (Van der Grijp, 2006).

For the purpose of this research, it is relevant to understand not only the history of scientific knowledge production that led to the formation of the mentioned collections but also to look at the political, economic, and social circumstances that strengthen that history, and the discussions regarding concepts and terminology that have shaped the understanding of said history by social scientists.

Over the last thirty years, many paradigms of knowledge production have changed. The introduction of concepts such as modern and postmodern, postcolonial and de-colonized, globalization and hybridization, to name a few, have shifted interpretations of the world which had, in many ways, remained unchanged since the nineteenth century

13 This is not always the case. Especially for the last point, in regards to the theoretical rights of access to museums, Bourdieu has argued, particularly in regards to art museums, that "is the accumulated effect of exposures and experiences in upbringing and schooling that generates adult cultural dispositions. Rather than originating in 'virtues inherent to the person,' these form within the fields of 'unequal education' and socialization though which individual trajectories pass" (Bourdieu, Darbel, & Schnapper, 1991: 111-112). In other words, if life experiences have not taken a person to a museum frequently, they are less likely to go to a museum.

(Coronil, 2004; Dube, 1999; Escobar, 2004; Loomba, 2015; Quijano, 2000).

The creation of narratives about the Andes from the collections of pre-Columbian and colonial antiquities is a relevant window into these issues, as mentioned earlier. Besides looking at the narrated histories of collections in terms of identity and representation, it is important to look at them simultaneously in terms of their political weight. This, following Appadurai's view of commodities, which ascribes the notion that all collections are commodities, and as such, inherently political (Appadurai, 1994) [1986]: 57). Collections are born and imagined through trade and through value systems that change and shift with the cultural body in which they are embedded (S. Macdonald, 2006; Pearce, 1994).

In those terms then, it is of vital importance to understand the political process in which these collections were circulating during the time period studied by this thesis. The best approach to understanding these issues requires that Andean collections be viewed through the traditional power relations that were involved in their formation, and the possibilities for resistance to those relations as highlighted by Stanfield-Mazzi, 2009). Methodologies and strategies born in Europe and transformed within Latin America provide the most appropriate theoretical framework to address these issues, such as postcolonialism and more precisely the idea of "Coloniality."

As a starting point, it is useful to contemplate the theoretical and methodological shift in the thinking of the social sciences from colonialism to postcolonialism. The first is a product of institutionalized repression, which systematically suppresses specific ideologies, knowledge and associated symbols that were not part of the European global mind-frame; while at the same time appropriating (expropriating) from the colonized the knowledge that helped to reinforce the colonial enterprise (Quijano, 2007).

Colonialism cannot be understood separately from modernity. At the same time that Europe was expanding its control over the Americas; within its borders the idea of a rule of rationality, of the modern, was being consolidated. As Quijano puts it, "Such confluence between coloniality and the elaboration of rationality/modernity was not in any way accidental, as is shown by the very manner in which the European paradigm of rational knowledge was elaborated" (Quijano, 2007).

Taking into account the importance of national identity building during the period of 1810-1850, the founding of cultural institutions like national museums became necessary. In these institutions, what is stored, collected, and exchanged becomes part of the political identity of the new nation and consolidated by the end of the period. This founding presence of the national museum makes it a key piece to understanding the development of collecting relationships between Europe and the Americas.

After the political and organizational changes that started in the nineteenth century with the independence of colonized lands, the idea of a world that was now "postcolonial" took root. Simply put, postcolonialism is a current of thought that tries to look

at knowledge production through its political production, both in terms of what was produced from and by the people that live in countries that are no longer colonized, and how the previously existing power relation created the subjugation of knowledge that was not created in Europe (Escobar, 2004; Quijano, 2000).

Nevertheless, adhering to the later conceptualization of postcolonialism that emerged in the 1970s through critical studies of the effects of colonialism on knowledge production (especially literature), by making use of postmodern perspectives, the picture becomes more nuanced. In fact, both the postmodern and poststructuralist premises became pivotal to understanding postcolonialism (Coronil, 2004). In that sense, the biggest contribution of postcolonial studies is to see colonialism as an inextricable constituent part of the world we now live in, while at the same time contesting modernity and the presupposition that knowledge is exclusively western (Coronil, 2004; Quijano, 2000).

Though the initial conceptualization of the West, as argued by Said, is in large part reductionist (Said, 1979; Said, 1985), now it is used to refer to that technological, political and economic influence that radiates not from one but multiple centers, including Europe, the United States, Japan, Australia, the Soviet Union and China, in what Duvignaud has termed a variety of "macro sociological" contexts (Duvignaud, 1973).

Postcolonialism is therefore not a corpus of intellectual production aimed at understanding the world after colonization, but rather a critique of modernity and the colonial construction of knowledge. It has been argued that this critique can be made visible by postmodernism, post-occidentalism and postcolonialism, according to the areas of the world where it is produced, be it Europe, Asia, Africa or Latin America (Mignolo, 1993). In that sense, postcolonialism seems hard to define, too broad-reaching. It can be argued that the use of the literal meaning of postcolonialism, as a large umbrella to encompass any study conducted in the "Third World," has contributed to its criticism, and therefore relevance, in social sciences.

Postcolonialism has been accused of not recognizing the persistence of power structures that remain very unbalanced, made more visible by the concepts of imperialism and neo-colonialism, that maintain relations of dependency (Coronil, 2004). Though this thesis is in agreement with this critique, it is also in agreement with Escobar when he argues that a way to get past these issues is, rather, epistemological: questioning the idea of modernity as an "intra-European phenomenon" (Escobar, 2004). This reconceptualization of modernity allows us to appreciate those practices and knowledge that had been made subaltern to modernity, and made invisible, but which are still present. It is this way of looking at the postcolonial world that has been grouped as "coloniality," and its manifestations of knowledge, power and being that imperialism/neo-colonialism tries to contain (Escobar, 2004).

Furthermore, coloniality is an important part of modernity; it is linked with the idea of oppositions between the First and Third Worlds, for example. As Escobar explains, "The conceptualization of modernity/coloniality is grounded in a series of operations that

distinguish it from established theories" (Escobar, 2004). These concepts include locating modernity as a consequence of the European discovery of America and the subsequent colonies that started in 1492, and not as a phenomenon born at the end of the eighteenth century with the Enlightenment. As such, it is constituted by colonialism, postcolonialism and imperialism, since it cannot be understood as anything but a series of constructs designed to exercise dominion over non-European, and hence "a conception of Eurocentrism as the knowledge form of modernity/coloniality—a hegemonic representation and mode of knowing that claims universality for itself, derived from Europe's position as center" (Escobar, 2004). In this regard, the production of Indigenous Methodologies, methodologies that include indigenous thought, worldviews, and approaches to practices, is fundamental[14].

In that sense coloniality has been understood, especially by Latin American authors, as a complex or multi-faceted concept. It includes the recognition of a global power model tightly linked to capitalism: coloniality of power, as explained by Quijano (Quijano, 2000); an understanding of the cultural dimensions, cultural differences of the "subalternisation processes effected by the coloniality of power" seen as global coloniality by Mignolo (Mignolo, 1993); and the idea of a coloniality of being, as the "ontological dimension of coloniality" as explained by Nelson Maldonado-Torres (Maldonado-Torres, 2004).

These concepts and their discussion are particularly relevant in the case of Latin America, and especially in understanding the history of knowledge production regarding the Andes. As Cañizares-Esguerra so lucidly argues: "The struggle of Latin American intellectuals to correct what they considered to be stereotypes about Latin America circulating among the North Atlantic public survived through the nineteenth century. In fact it still continues" (Cañizares-Esguerra, 2001).

It is important here to mention that internal colonialism, the dominion of one culture over other within the same nation, is still a prevalent situation in Andean nations. The voices of indigenous peoples, hindered by lack of representation on political spheres, continue to be silenced by others.

Today's museum collections still reflect nineteenth-century notions, be they of classification, exhibition and research, but those notions are not necessarily at odds with the ones presented and continuously used in Latin America and particularly in the mummies' source countries.

## 2.3 Materiality Translated

What is collected, and from whom, has changed repeatedly since the fifteenth century, but the principle of collecting archaeological and ethnographical objects remains constant: the desire to understand the "other" (be it people, a moment in time, a tradition,

14 Further reading on the topic include Linda Tuhiwai's "Decolonizing Methodologies", and Larry Zimmerman's "Liberating Archaeologies: Liberation Archaeologies and WAC."

etc.) (Anishanslin, 2013; Pearce, 1994). Collections are classified, organized and arranged for public or private viewing, and in doing so display not only history but reproduce an understanding of it (Anishanslin, 2013; Bernstein, 1989; Pearce, 1994). These "others" are then not only understood by the collector, but represented to an intended audience in an effort to communicate —and allow them to share– this understanding (Pearce, 1994). It is through the dialogue between what is collected and what is exhibited that objects, in turn, become the representation of the "other."

This research is based on the understanding that museums, as the physical repositories of collections, become collectors themselves. As in private collections where objects are selected, organized and exhibited according to the collector's scale of value, in a museum objects too are classified according to an invisible set of values. According to Macdonald, a museum is "*an institution of recognition and identity par excellence"* (S. Macdonald, 2006:4). The collections exhibited and stored in a museum obey a selection of specific cultural products that are linked to the official discourse; identities are either omitted or affirmed. These are the narratives transmitted both through spatial and language cues to the public visiting the museum's rooms.

Many authors have explored the link between language and power (Bourdieu & Thompson, 1991; Fairclough, 2001), language as a reflection of personal identity (Edwards, 2009), and social identity (Heller, 2003). For this research, the most interesting part of language is its malleability, a property most visible through the practice of translation, by which meanings can be created or adjusted in order to communicate across cultures. Language has been recognized as not only a social construct, but also as being framed in temporal and geographically specific manners. The words used and read are chosen from those discourses available at a specific point in time (Denzin & Lincoln, 2008:349).

Once objects are integrated into a museum, they are cataloged and renamed according to specific classifications. The language used to describe them becomes part of their identity. Susan Bassnet has argued that translational studies are a useful tool to understand the nuances of power relationships. By understanding the words and synonyms used and the way meanings have been adapted, we can start to see intentionality in what words communicate. Translation, she says, is "never innocent" (Bassnett, 2013).

Accession books, museum inventories, object labels and descriptions are interspersed with such translations, as are many other documents written about museum collections and the practice of collecting. For example, in the nineteenth century, travelers, missionaries and ethnographers all adopted linguistic styles that would distinguish their writings from one another (Denzin & Lincoln, 2008:353). Museums have adapted their language –and therefore the tools they use to communicate a certain narrative– through two key terms: poetics and politics (Karp, 2012; Lidchi 1997 in Mason in Macdonald, 2006:20). The first term is the meaning conveyed through the ordering and unification of the elements in an exhibit –to create authenticity, for example– while the second is the intention-

ality or role of the exhibit on a social scale. An entrance into this discursive world has been found by examining the words used to describe the collections examined in this research,.

Traditional historiography has provided most of the literature on the history of museum and collection formation by approaching the subject through a timeline of collection making, their impact on the state-making process (Mahoney, 2012), and between whom and when these exchanges took place (Olmi, Impey, & Macgregor, 1985). More recent work by way of micro-histories and connected histories has offered a different perspective on the connections and interactions that impact this collection-making process (Anishanslin, 2013; Françozo & Strecker, 2017). This information is clearly valuable. It shows trajectories and voices intentions by giving names and places to the people who collected the objects we now see displayed. The aforementioned literature has, for example, been of great importance to identify two big moments of museum creation in the time frame on which this thesis focuses, between 1849 and 1884 and later from 1890 to 1931 (before and during the colonization of Africa by European nations) (Shelton in Macdonald, 2006, 65). However, for the most part, history has seen collecting as a process, and therefore the objects that make up part of that process are largely ignored, considered only as examples of traceable trajectories, or iconic[15] collecting strategies.

With a few exceptions where researchers have tried to link objects directly to the history of collection making (Gänger, 2014b; Kohl et al., 2014), objects have been largely up-staged by their collectors. It is only recently that authors like Ganger have taken a similar stance to those of Bruno Latour and Johanness Fabian to argue that the collecting of antiquities should be seen not just as an objects, but as a category. Therefore, it is only through looking at the objects agency within categories that we can understand their circulation and relationship with nation-making and knowledge production processes (Gänger, 2014: 6).

More recently, the notion of collecting as not only classification –lived and experienced– but as a narrative has become prevalent. In that sense, collecting becomes an expression of the desire of humankind to tell stories, where objects take the place of words (Elsner & Cardinal, 1994:103). For Elsner and Cardinal, this narrative creates a history of collecting that recounts the way in which human beings "have striven to accommodate, to appropriate and to extend the taxonomies and systems of knowledge they have inherited" (Elsner & Cardinal, 1994: 2). If one is to consider that collecting is a narrative of what surrounds us, then the notion of collecting as a reflection of the collector's identity, projected into the objects he collects, mirroring tastes and experiences, must also be contemplated, as has been argued by Elsner & Cardinal, (1994).

15 In the sense of collecting icons as well as strategies for collecting that would become iconic of the period, such as those implemented by scientific missions in the late nineteenth century by intellectual societies and institutions in France and Germany.

Collected objects are separated from their original contexts and become re-contextualized by placing them within new narratives. The collection in itself, as a group of associated objects, stops being textual narrative and is turned into material reality "in which the objects attain the function of memory trace" (Van der Grijp, 2006). At the same time that collection occurs, new identities are created; firstly, that of the individual as a collector, and later by reflecting the narratives of the world on the objects collected.

The term ***narratives*** is used throughout this research as interchangeable with that of ***accounts***, ***descriptions*** or perhaps more accurately ***histories***. Several narratives can be read from any particular object, with an emphasis on those that address identity.

In those terms, collecting antiquities is a form of identity construction. Since the focus of this research is the collecting practices of national institutions, it follows that it concentrates on the role of antiquities collecting in the formation of the identity of a nation. Museums are considered a platform on which two narratives meet regarding the same object, that of the national trajectory and the relation of that trajectory to the others (Carbonell, 2012:75). Both narratives are influenced by the representation of the other in a specific way, understanding that precisely that portrayal embodies relations of power, authority and meaning, be they of complicity or resistance, and shapes the perception of self (Carbonell, 2012: 75). The task of identifying these narratives involves understanding the abstraction of identity into objects, which in turn become actors in a play, "staged to be read as if they were the relics or effect of that abstract identity" (Preziozi in Carbonell, 2012: 88). In that sense, the museum also becomes a location where knowledge is translated from object to meaning, but especially from foreign meaning to local understanding. Indeed, in considering collecting and exhibiting as synonymous to translations, it follows that most museum exhibitions in Europe where this research has been conducted exist to make knowledge from other cultures translatable to "western" understanding. In this case in particular, that western understanding is itself embedded in a particular historical context, and therefore, a particular historical narrative.

On those terms, and having explored the way materials are translated into different meanings according to the dominating zeitgeist of where they are held, it is useful to consider the practice of archaeology, in particular its relation to human remains.

There are close to 300 years of professional archaeological and anthropological practice that have dealt with the description and classification of human remains. Human remains have been seen as both object and people, and as such, their handling in museum collections has been complicated. The variables taken into account have changed in order to accommodate the transformations of scientific and non-scientific knowledge. The way researchers have used them and the way they have been presented or hidden from the public has also undergone drastic transformations, directly linked to what is perceived as ethical and suitable for a targeted audience.

Within the humanities, Igor Kopytoff has advanced this stance significantly by arguing that it is the biography of things that leads us to meanings. According to Kopytoff, things and people can be equally questioned, in terms of their status, life journey, and how its/their identity has changed through time according to their roles or usefulness during each of those stages, all of which are culturally defined (Kopytoff, 1986: 66–68). Things move from one stage of circulation to another through their lives, objects in collections, for example, are now outside of the commodities circulation system, but they can go back into it if they are sold, exchanged or deaccessioned.[16] The control of access to or restriction of those means of exchange, for any commodity, but especially for antiquities, is politically managed, and by observing the point at which things enter or leave the systems of exchange, pieces of that political interaction can become visible.

In that sense, political interactions are crucial because politics are power relations, perceived by the rules of social control they entail. The practical manifestations of politics can be seen in ascribing value to things (production cost versus market price), and the tensions this produces. For Appadurai and many others, these politics take many forms, including those of display, authenticity and demand, and they affect the circuits within which the objects move (Appadurai, 1994:90).

A main difference between Kopytoff and Appadurai's discourses is that they state there is a clear difference in the way objects and people are considered. For both, things are commodities, while people are individuals. The former are meant to be owned, while the latter are not subject to ownership or possession. Though slavery is seen as the exception to the rule, as an "intellectual and moral problem in the West" (Kopytoff, 1986:84), here it is argued that human bodies have been and are still being commodified through collecting.

Human remains in museum collections are a complicated issue precisely because of their apparent dichotomy as commodities and people. Theoretical approaches of material culture studies in archaeology from the last 30 years have tried to discuss this issue from the perspective of embodiment. The philosophical discussions that led to the creation of the term embodiment are particularly enlightening for this research.

A direct line can be drawn between the sociological practice theories of Bourdieu and Giddens and the way archaeology has looked at the impact of material structures in the

16 Deaccessioning is the process followed by a museum to dispose permanently of an object or series of objects from their collections, as well as to document the reasons why those elements are no longer stored in the museum collections. Deaccessioning takes place, for example, when objects are no longer supporting the museum's mission statement, when they can no longer be stored, preserved and used, or when their authenticity or physical integrity is in doubt. In that sense, it is argued that the sale, trade, or indefinite loan for research activities of museum collections can only take place if the overall result is the advancement of a museum's mission statement. Associations such as ICOM have created codes of ethics in relation to the practice, where the main ethical considerations are the prohibition of selling objects to museum members and stakeholders, or the transfer of those objects to the same groups and their relatives; and the need control and regulate the use of the proceeds from sales or actions of the items (Lewis, 2003).

world and in people, or in other terms embodied practice (Ahmed, 2000; Crossland, 2012). The body becomes the conduit for the reproduction and integration of social and material structures, for Bordieu through the habitus (Bourdieu, 1990), while for Giddens it is through specific structures (Giddens, 1991). The impact of Foucault's perspectives on the lived body has likewise impacted archaeological perceptions of human remains (Hicks & Beaudry, 2010).

Crossland very clearly summarized the impact of these theoretical approaches on how the human body is thought of in archaeology (Crossland, 2012). She argues that in archaeological practice there are two currents that look at bodies in very different ways. In the first, bodies are social constructs and therefore past bodies become artifacts that need be understood only in conjunction with the social practices in which they are embedded and as reflection of identity –meaning as part of the understanding of mortuary treatments, in relation to grave goods, etc. The second perspective, the bio-archaeological approach, places the human body as a source of data in itself about the living – diet, living conditions, demographics, etc. This division stems from the birth of archaeology and anthropology as products of enlightened thought, again going back to the division of the world in a dichotomy between nature and culture, the physical and the subjective (Thomas 2004 in Crossland 2012).

Archaeological theory first started to concern itself with the body in relation to sex and gender, and from there, with the importance of considering the body as constructed through life experiences, as established in the previous paragraph. A very good example of archaeological thinking of bodies through their materiality can be found in the works of Joanna Sofaer. Gender and age can be used as a platform to discuss how these two seemingly opposed perspectives of the human skeleton can, in reality, find a common ground through methodology (Sofaer, 2006). Crossland and Sofaer both recognize that this division, at times highly problematic, begins with the separation of body and mind that can be traced to the consideration of the dead as no longer socially active, and therefore assumed to be no longer capable of agency. It is important to understand, however, that while it is precisely considering dead bodies as such that allows for archaeology to excavate burial contexts and conduct bio-archaeological analysis, it simultaneously conflicts with the interpretations that archaeology is exploring while researching those same contexts.

There are several examples in which the dead are seen to have agency (Hertz 1960 in Crossland, 2012), but perhaps the most relevant for this thesis is the example of the Inca royal mummies, in which a dead body is considered to both have a stake among the living and to be a conduit with the world of the death (Salomon, 1995; Sillar, 1996). Tim Ingold explains this cases by saying:

*Although the materiality of the corpse is situated within a discursive field that brings it into being as a corpse and as an object that can be excavated and dissected, at the same time el-*

*ements of the corpse's materiality escape and disrupt this field, contributing to the perception of the corpse as active and 'enminded'* (Ingold 2000a: 170 in Hicks & Beaudry, 2010).
It has been argued that the more a body resembles the living after death, the harder it is for it to be considered an object, in the medical and the anthropological fields alike (Garret, J. Harris, 1988; Walker, 2000). There is a pronounced gap between the practice of archaeology and the discourse built around human remains, but it is precisely through the consideration of their agency in relation to the living, past and present, that perhaps some of these gaps may be narrowed. The relationship of the living with the dead is a subjective one, led by emotional responses in regard to death, and in that sense, no observation of human remains is completely devoid of feeling. Bio-archaeologists say the dead speak through their bones, for example, and hence they still have a role in contemporary society.



## 2.4 The Role of Ethics in Regard to Human Remains Collections

Much has been written regarding the ethical considerations of human remains in museum collections; an ongoing debate on the use and display of these remains in the context of a museum has existed since 1990. Three main issues that have been included in this debate and will be the center of our discussion are: 1) the exhibiting of human remains in museum contexts; 2) the conservation and protection of human remains in museum contexts; and 3) the claims for repatriation and reburial of human remains that are part of museum collections.

During this research the aim is to emphasize that to talk about ethics is also to talk about cultural perceptions and about views that can be colored by historical processes such as colonialism, national conflict and times of war. In fact, discussions regarding what is ethical or not are very often enveloped within highly political national discussions regarding identity and heritage, and can, therefore, be hard to discuss in a "one-size-fits-all" fashion. Nevertheless, for the particular case of human remains, at least one consideration is clear and can be universally recognized: when we discuss human remains, we are actively engaging with our thoughts about the dead and death in the present (Macdonald, 1998).

The push given by strong social movements who openly addressed the need for ethical standards to be written down and put into practice would ultimately lead to the creation of the Native American Grave Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA) in the 1990s. Vast literature can be found on the motivations, struggles, and acknowledgment of NAGPRA at a national and international level Rose (1996), Clark (1996), Nash and Colwell-Chanthaphonh (2010). Undoubtedly, the impact of this legislation has dramatically changed the relation between archaeologists and other social scientists with human remains.

This social interest provided the momentum for international organizations such as the International Council on Museums (ICOM), the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) and the World Archaeology Congress (WAC) to establish standards and recommendations for subscribing nations to deal with the safekeeping and protection of heritage that includes human remains. Similarly, professional associations such as the Society for American Archaeologists (SAA) have developed ethics and practice codes that are in line with this movement.

Since then, national and international agreements have been reached, taking into account the views of a variety of stakeholders. Given this situation, we are left to wonder why are there still so many challenges when dealing with the use of human remains in professional practice? One reason may be the broadness of the agreements. Because of the nature of the institutions that are behind them, these agreements serve as general guidelines of professional conduct, more so than directives for practice, and therefore there is flexibility in their enforcement. While there is awareness that respect and honorable treatment should be given to the remains, that their wishes should be honored as well as those of their descendants, and though the involvement of formerly-ignored stakeholders is embraced, there are still considerations and actions to be taken regarding human remains collections on a case by case basis (Larsen and Walker, 2005; Walker, 2000).

There are three pieces of legislation or treaties drafted by world organizations regarding to human remains research, conservation, and preservation. Of these, the proceedings of the World Archaeology Congress (WAC) meeting in 1989 in South Dakota, US, named The Vermillion Accord on Human Remains, was the first (The Vermillion Accord on Human Remains, 1989). This accord covers in six points the ideals represented by WAC regarding the importance of human remains, highlighting the importance of dialog with native communities and the consideration of the research value of contested human remains. A year later at WAC's meeting held at Barquisimeto, Venezuela, the issue of human remains and archaeological practice was addressed again, this time as part of the Code of Ethics of WAC.

UNESCO has included funerary remains to the list of protected cultural property in all its declarations concerning the protection of material culture since 1964, having a special consideration in 1978 "Recommendation on the Protection of Moveable Cultural Property," and more recently in 2001 an entire subchapter of Rule 5 of the "Convention on the Protection of the Underwater Cultural Heritage" (Carducci, 2002; Dromgoole, 2003).

On a national scope, the consideration of the ethical and procedural issues of working with human remains has been varied. For the most part, it has been addressed through the creation of institutional codes of ethics, by the regulations of national museum associations, and by professional associations. Particular emphasis has been given to the topic of repatriation of contested human remains (Márquez-Grant, Litherland, & Roberts, 2012).

There are plenty of laws that regulate excavation and research on human remains in countries that have dealt or are dealing with armed conflict and civil war in Latin America. Such is the case of Guatemala, El Salvador, Colombia, Peru, Chile, Uruguay and Argentina (Marquez- Grant & Fibiger, 2011). However, those provisions deal exclusively with forensic contexts where the current political implications of the remains make them subject to a variety of different legislations.

If social scientists are considering anonymity as a tool to protect victims and informants and to try and keep patent the political layer of research in the present, it is necessary to consider how the former codes of ethics and practice for dealing with human remains need to change to ensure the same respect. There are very important differences between the conceptions of ownership of human remains among the existing legislation. The definition of consent as seen by NAGPRA and the Human Tissue Act, (regulations regarding the property of living and dead human tissue as ruled by the UK in 2004) is a clear example of this contradiction. While remains older than 100 years and procured before the enactment of the regulations can be stored and kept by an institution, for recently discovered remains, there is no time frame that can supersede the needed consent from the descendants.

Considering the usefulness of medical research collections all over the world, and the use they have had for the creation of forensic anthropology standards for calculation of age, ancestry, sex and stature of individuals, then the holding of vast quantities of human remains should be an uncontested necessity. However, given the advancement of medical imaging techniques that make some of the measuring and identification of traits more precise, as well as allowing for the data to be stored permanently in a variety of digital forms, we need to question if there is still a real need to keep physical specimens in collections and, even more so, if there is a reason to enlarge those existing collections. Are endless rows of boxes with human remains neatly stored in human remains repositories really needed? (Albertti & Hallam, 2013; Balistreri, 2014) If so, are these remains being treated with respect and dignity or are there additional measures that should be taken to assure this happens. If the conclusion is reached that there is no need to have human remains repositories in institutions, then the question becomes, as has been pointed out by (Aranda, García, Díaz & Díaz, 2014), what should happen to them?.

Most of the remains in holding cannot be identified, they belong either to unclaimed or unidentified victims of crime, as well as to ethnographical collections that have no recorded provenance and therefore cannot be repatriated to a specific group of descendants. What is the best practice in those cases? Consider for example the numbers of people that donate their remains to science, including forensic research facilities such as body farms all over the world (Bass, Bass, & Jefferson, 2004; Mertens & Garrett, 2003). Can we argue the same ethical principles for the holding and storing of those remains as we do for the unidentified? It may be safest here to once again advocate for a case-by-case approach.

Furthermore, assessing these various claims for repatriation is a complex matter involving permutations of three variables: the age of the skeletal material, the time at which the material was unearthed (ranging from the present to, most commonly, the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries), and the manner of death (at its extremes either natural death or murder). These three variables can be thought of as three independently operating sliding scales (Page 2011; Jenkins, 2012).

To further complicate the matter, there is fierce opposition to the idea of repatriation from some scientific lines. The significance of archaeological and anthropological remains outside and beyond of the groups to which they belong to has been quoted as a reason to "question the wisdom of handing back remains to indigenous groups" (Quigley, 2001). This is further reinforced by opinions such as the one by Jane Buikstra, a preeminent forensic anthropologist, who argues that "in addition to piecing together the past, collections of human remains are necessary to train forensic anthropologists to carry out identification procedures" (Buikstra, 1981).

The history of collections of human remains, particularly in Europe and the US, has to do with the housing of specimens for medical examination and anthropological studies (Quigley, 2001). The fact that these collections are still in use for ends other than archaeology complicates the applicability of the law and expands the debate of repatriation to a case-by-case basis, taking into account not only the legality of the claims but the value ascribed to remains by the scientific community. It is in those specific cases where the Vermillion Accord and subsequent agreements are particularly relevant. However, the fact remains that "In some European museums, the skeletal collections are not at risk of being lost, but in danger of not being fully utilized" (Quigley, 2001:124).

The debate around the exhibition of human remains revolves around two arguments: education and entertainment. While most museums will emphasize the educational value of the display of human remains like Egyptian mummies and Bog mummies, there is an increasing trend of showcasing the human remains for entertainment value. That is the case for example of exhibits like "Mummies of the World" or "Body Worlds" (Page, 2011).

The popularization of forensic anthropology by TV series like Bones and C.S.I. has also had an impact on public opinion regarding human remains and their value. Several surveys conducted in museums show that over 60% of the visitors in archaeological museums expect to see human remains (Kilmister 2003;57, Brown, 2011). However, in the same studies, it was shown that: "Of the 80% of respondents who were comfortable viewing ancient remains, over half (54.7%) of these would be sensitive to viewing modern remains" (Kilmister 2003: 61).

Arguments in favor of displaying human remains have to do with the increasing audience interest in topics such as archaeology, history, and science. This has been shown from visitor studies conducted during exhibits such as that of Lindow Man at the Manches-

ter Museum (Brown, 2011), the surveys conducted by Kilmister at the British Museum, Manchester Museum and Petrie Museum (Kilmister, 2003); and the analysis of visitors to the Body World Exhibit of 2007 in London (Albertti et al., 2009).

The main argument against the display of human remains in museums is that, through exhibition, we transform bodies into things and people into objects (Brooks and Rumsey 2006:138 in Cassman et al. 2006). Furthermore, the contexts in which we display them have been manufactured and can only serve the purpose that the curator has decided for them (Albertti et al. 2009:137). Another relevant argument has to do with Article 2 of the Vermillion accord. The displaying of the dead is most of the times a direct disregard to the wishes of the deceased themselves, though admittedly for some archaeological traditions it could be harder to establish. As articulated by Brooks and Rumsay: "Bodies in museums are 'recontextualized human remains' – they have been removed from their place of burial into what is seen as 'another sacred context where they are preserved for a different function" (Brooks and Rumsey 2006: 261 in Cassman et al. 2006).

There are many instances in modern history where human remains have been used in exhibits even against the explicit desires of the individual to which they belonged. For example, the case of Charles Byrne, whose "giant" remains have been exhibited at the Hunterian Museum and have formed part of the collection since the eighteenth century despite his specific instructions to be buried at sea. The ultimate fate of his remains continues to be a topic of discussion in British medical and museum journals (Doyal, Muinzer,et. al., 2011; McAlister, 1974). In a similar fashion, the cases of Sara Baartman and Julia Pastrana, whose bodies were on display while living in a series of freak show-like events and after death continued to be exhibited until their repatriation and reburial decades later.

It is of interest to note that, in these cases, emphasis was made on collecting as much information as possible regarding the body by means of destructive and non-destructive analysis before reburial. As has been noted before, digital images and biological information gathered from individuals by anthropological means can be viewed as valid replacements for their physical counterpart. The question to be asked then is what are the limits and regulations to which those images and samples should be subjected?

Radiological instrument advancement has afforded higher resolution images. Access to equipment by an increasing number of anthropologists has allowed for a close relationship between anthropologists and archaeologists with radiologists, diagnosticians, pathologists and radiographers. In turn, these relationships have led to multiple interdisciplinary research projects and a series of important publications on the use of medical digital imaging for anthropology and archaeology (see for example Beckett 2014; Beckett and Conlogue 2009; Previgliano et al. 2003).

The issue is far from resolved, but the advancement of technology, and more importantly of museum collaboration with source countries and native groups, is opening new discussions and allowing for a transformation of human remains exhibitions. Indeed,

the U.N. Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (2007) has gone a long way in bringing the viewpoint of these groups into consideration. Further, Article 12 of said declaration establishes that "States shall seek to enable the access and/or repatriation of ceremonial objects and human remains in their possession through fair, transparent and effective mechanisms developed in conjunction with the indigenous peoples concerned" (UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, 2007).

## 2.5 Chapter Conclusions

This chapter has explained the main concepts and theoretical premises that guide this research. As stated in the first few lines, its primary aim has been to emphasize different points of inflection that arose while looking at the information available in both documentary sources and the mummies researched. A few key points should be highlighted in those discussions.

The first has to do with the idea of collecting as the transformation of things into objects of signification, where the systems of circulation within which they move at one point or another of their histories becomes a reflection of History. In that sense, the research that is presented in the following pages is both archaeological and historical; it is the archaeology of a series of museum collections.

Furthermore, questioning national museum collections as platforms for the expression, and construction through opposition, of identity is particularly relevant, especially when discussing human remains, since they embody different identities: as human beings, as representatives of a social group and as collected objects.

It is also relevant to underline the importance of looking at these collections in light of nineteenth-century contexts, as well as compared to one another. All the collections researched show commonalities born out of a global change the perception of culture. Therefore, it is by first looking at what the "objects" in and of themselves are saying that we can more accurately reconstruct the narratives that they come to represent once in their current holdings.

Centering on collected objects as the starting points of this research highlights the relevance of the objects exchanged as witnesses of the links that exist between objects' value and paths and politics. It is of vital importance to understand the political process in which these collections are circulating. The best approach to understand these issues requires that Andean collections be viewed through the traditional power relations that formed them, and the possibilities for resistance to those relations.

The way these objects, or in Appadurai's terms, commodities, move and are transacted is embedded with the meaning given to them by the agents/actors who moved them. This is vital in understanding archaeological materials, in particular when looking at museums as collectors, translators, and communicators of object's meanings. Finally, it is also vital to take into account that the particular subset of objects looked at, mummified

human remains, have been seen as both object and people, and as such, their handling in museum collections has been complicated.

The issues pertaining to collecting, exhibiting and storing human remains are far from resolved. This thesis points at the history of their collecting at a national level as means to re-contextualize them in museum collections, as a starting point to embark on further discussion in terms of their roles and permanence in those collections.

From this point onwards, appears a description of the data collected, as well as discussions on how this information, both documentary and archaeological, can be seen.

# Chapter 3

## Methodological Framework

"Everything has its history as every person has his own biography."
**Briggs, 1988: 27**

"The biography of an object should not be restricted to an historical reconstruction of its birth, life and death. Biography is relational and an object biography is comprised of the sum of the relationships that constitute it."
**Joy, 2009: 552**

The previous chapter emphasized the importance of looking at documents and objects as complementary sources of information for the study of museum collections. Following that line, the methodologies for this thesis come from two areas: history of museums and bio-archaeology.

Even though the information obtained from both sources, documentary and material, are complementary, the methodologies used to obtain that information are diverse and specific. For this research, each mummy included in a museum collection is interrogated in terms of its biography, both documentary and as an object. In other words, the data collected is found by looking at the objects themselves – their archaeological and biological properties – and at what has been said and written about those objects.

The information gathered concentrates on two areas, Western Europe and the Andean region, the former as a place where the collections are stored and have been exhibited and the latter as a place of collecting and comparison. In consequence, the aims and type of research in each area are different. Whereas in the European museums, detailed accounts of each mummy and its collecting history are described, in the second region, connections and comparisons between extant collections, as a whole, are important. This joint approach to Andean mummies, both in their source region and at their current locations, provides a complete panorama of the collections and allows an answer to the hypothesis created for this research. This is relevant as one of the aims of this research is to draw a line of comparison and discussion in terms of the political importance of archaeological remains, in particular archaeological human remains, through history and within current political debates in the region.

It has been argued that when looking at specific holdings in museum collections, it is important to start by considering the biographies of each individual "object," from its point of origin to its integration in the collections, to then proceed to understand its history. However, not all individuals can be traced with the same level of detail given their state of preservation or the documentation available. Similarly, because this research attempts to present an overview of the mummy trade in the nineteenth century and the history of the collections formed from them, in certain instances the focus has been on collections as a whole and not on individual cases. In that respect, except for some specific mummies, who are particularly important examples for the arguments presented, the

biographical approach has been applied to collections or sub-collections as a whole.

When looking at Western European museum collections, the focus is on the recorded origin of the collection and the history of its acquisition by the museum. This information is reviewed and compared with the evidence of material culture. It is important here to clarify that the association between mummies, documents and artifacts has been implicitly assumed to be authentic – since that is how the museums received them after the purchase. However, there is no guarantee that any or all of the objects were actually part of the mortuary context of the mummies, and were not added at a later time by sellers. The same consideration should be extended to those textiles or ornaments that accompany the remains that could be easily placed or removed.



This chapter offers practical explanations and examples of the methods followed to obtain the information. Consequently the description of the information collected can be divided into sections according to the materials on to which they pertain. The chapter's organization obeys distinctions in methodologies, and presents an overall look at the data set. The methodologies that will be described here follow this logic: once the collections had been identified, by means of online catalogs, direct contact through museum professionals, and following particular temporary exhibitions, research visits to the collections were planned and agreed upon with the museum curators in charge of the mummies.

On every research appointment, two types of information were gathered: documentary information and visual examination of the remains. The documentary information includes data in regards to their provenience (geographic and cultural), the process of collecting (where, by who, when) and the administration once in the museum collection (introduction to a museum, history of storage and use, current location) as well as information on associated artifacts of the remains. The visual examination of the mummies allowed contextualization of the remains and the construction of biological profiles – aided in some collections by paleo-imaging.

The first section is dedicated to the description of the museum's selections that comprise the research, including the dates visited and the number of mummies seen in each of the available collections. The second section, which is based on methodologies used for the study of museum history, uses the documentary information obtained from museum archives and from museum catalogs – both online and physically. This section builds upon literature on museum studies and museum anthropology and presents an introductory overview of the foundation and formation of the featured collections .[17]

The third section details archaeological and bio-archaeological methods used to describe the individuals in each of the collections, as well the associated artifacts preserved with them. The bio-archaeological subsection presents methods that aim to create biological profiles when possible, and an overview of their preservation, conservation and

17 A nuanced and more complete history of each collection is presented in the following chapter and further discussed in chapter 5.

storage conditions. Other materials like textiles, metals, ceramics and wood objects are inspected and described only when necessary –directly linked to mummies and helping with their contextualization.

The fourth section delineates the agreements reached with the institutions that allowed this research to take place. These agreements include the reports sent to each institution after visits, the disclosure of information and photographs taken of storage facilities and human remains, etc.

A final section is dedicated to the limitations found with the methodologies used. These limitations have to do with the practical application of the methodologies.[18]

## 3.1 The Collections at a Glance

As has been stated in previous chapters, the creation of the concept of science as it was established in the nineteenth century, gives way to a series of knowledge production pursuits, divided by their objects of study (e.g. archaeology, ethnology, art), and to new ways to exhibit what has been collected (Bennett, 2013). The areas and timeframe in which this research is situated were explained in the previous chapter. Of the total countries of Western Europe, those that existed by the second half of the nineteenth century, and had a relationship with the young nations in the Andes are included in this research. It is through nation-sponsored enterprises – be they of collecting or to create the physical repositories for those objects collected – that the most important collections are established. In time, those collections become national museums, the main focus of this research.

There are a number of types of national museums that are formed during this period. Some have remained stable, others have had their collections dismembered and reassembled in line with the separation of knowledge that is developed during the Illustration. Natural sciences, art, ethnography, history and archaeology are separated into specialized museums.

In some cases, like that of the old Trocadéro museum of Paris whose collections were formed at the beginning of the nineteenth century, this reorganization has taken the collections to two modern versions of anthropology and ethnographic museums at the Musee de l'homme and the Museee du Quai Branly, respectively. Founding ethnographic collections such as those in Leiden and Vienna are now transformed into the collections of World Museums, which seem to announce a new way to handle and think about this type of heritage. While other collections remain largely unchanged, with mummies still on their nineteenth-century display cases, such as in the Museu do Carmo in Lisbon. There are many more that have been widely studied, like those at the Ethnographic Museum in Berlin, or the Museo de America in Madrid, while others remain unseen and sometimes

18 Other issues that have risen from the data collected in terms of this research's limitations are addressed in the discussion chapters 5 and 7, when appropriate, and in detail during the conclusions and recommendations in chapter 8.

hard to access like those at the British Museum and Museo Luigi Pigorinni.

At least one national museum per country has been selected, in an effort to get a representative universe to understand the issues of collection, classification, and exhibition of Andean mummies during the time period this research encompasses. Interestingly, while looking for and finding these museums, it became evident that mummy collections relevant to the narrative of the period are not only concentrated on national museums, though these institutions do have the larger number of mummies. This indicates that although state-sponsored research and collecting expeditions were common, private initiatives to collect are also an important universe to take into account. Academic collections, especially, have an overlap in terms of collectors and areas collected by national institutions and therefore should not be discounted. This could originate from the closeness of academic life and national sciences, as well as in the importance of social circles where antiquities collecting –and the antiquities market– were held in high regard (Reitlinger, 1970).



Collecting motivations in academic and private circles are in some regards different from those of national-oriented initiatives. Aesthetics and taste are important considerations,[19] as well as opportunities to collect, for example, in the case of private collectors dictated by their positions as military or diplomatic personnel.[20] In consequence, the present museum sample includes two university collections – Pitt Rivers Museum in Oxford, and the University of Coimbra – in order to differentiate and document these different notions (motivations) in collecting.

Three other museums outside of traditional National museums have been considered. The first is the nineteenth-century skull and mummy collection of Mr. Quatrefagues, formerly at the Garden of Sciences in Paris, later part of the Musee Gimme in Lyon and currently held at the fantastically modern Musee des Confluences in Lyon. The second is the collection of the Archaeological Museum in Mannheim. These mummies have been traveling for the last three years as part of the "Mummies of the World" exhibit, developed and curated in Mannheim and exported to several countries in the EU. The third is the collection of the Museo Reverte Comma of Forensic Anthropology, that was displayed as part of a special "Mummies and Death" exhibition at the Parque de la Ciencia in Granada, Spain. These collections have been chosen to showcase two very different approaches in the use of Andean mummies collections in current exhibits, be they temporary or permanent, as well as to exemplify the importance of the exchange/donation of mummies within national institutions during the late nineteenth Century and the beginning of the twentieth in France, Spain and Germany, respectively.

19 For considerations on taste and the importance of its role in private and public collecting see the previous chapter.

20 For more information on that topic, see chapters 5 and 7.

**Table 1:** Museums and Collections Visited.

| Museum | Country | # Mummies | Last date visited |
|---|---|---|---|
| Weltmuseum Wien | Austria | 17 | Jul-15 |
| Royal Museum of Arts and History | Belgium | 7 | Mrt-16 |
| Nápstrek Museum | Czech Republic | 5 | Jun-16 |
| Nationaalmuseet Denmark | Denmark | 7 | Okt-16 |
| Quai Branly | France | 22 | Okt-15 |
| Museum of Confluences | France | 13 | Jul-15 |
| Ethnologische Museum. Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Dahlmen | Germany | 69 | Nov-15 |
| Reiss-Engelhorn Museen (Mannheim) | Germany | 10 | Mrt-16 |
| Rijksmuseum Volkenkunde | Netherlands | 8 | Aug-15 |
| Museu Universidade do Coimbra | Portugal | 2 | Jun-16 |
| Museu Arqueológico do Carmo | Portugal | 2 | Jun-16 |
| Museo de America | Spain | 9 | Mei-16 |
| Museo Universitario de Antropología Forense, Paleopatología y Criminalística de la Escuela de Medicina Legal de la Universidad Complutense de Madrid, Prof. Reverte Coma. (On exhibit at the Parque de las Ciencias-Granada) | Spain | 15 | Jul-15 |
| Museo de Arqueologia y Etnologia de América, Universidad Complutense de Madrid | Spain | 1 | Jul-15 |
| Musée d'ethnographie de Genève | Switzerland | 11 | Mei-16 |
| Pitt Rivers Museum. Anthropology and World Archaeology | U.K. | 14 | Mrt-15 |
| British Museum | U.K. | 22 | Mrt-15 |
| **Total Number of Museums Visited** | **Countries** | **# Mummies** | **Years** |
| 17 | 11 | 237 | 2 |

Seventeen is the final number of museums and collections visited. A detailed list of where and when these collections were seen is presented on the table above.

Three further collections were identified but could not be visited. Those held at the Five Continents Museum in Munich and the World Museum in Gothenburg, discussed at length in other publications, and in the first case repatriated fully by the time of this dissertation (Gustafsson, 2001; Rosendahl, 2007; Rosendahl et al., 2007). Though they will be mentioned briefly, they have not been taken into the detailed accounts. The collections used by the Swiss Mummy Project, which collaborated with the MEG museum and with universities in Bern and Zurich has not been taken into account either given that their historical context is not clear enough to be introduced into the time period that this thesis explores.

Of the unvisited museums, only the remains of the Gothenburg collection are taken into account in this dissertation.

In all of these museums, mummies, or more broadly, human remains, have been classified as "objects" that belong to the ethnographic, historical, archaeological and natural science worlds, and so can be found in museums that concentrate on those subjects.[21]

A total count of mummies present in the collections described above is 237 individuals. This number is gleaned from all entries in the inventories of the museums.[22] Of the 237 remains listed in this dissertation, 215 were available for inspection. The reasons vary in regards to why the remains could not be seen. One is the case when remains are included in the inventory, though the object itself is absent and only drawings of the original remain. Another is when though the database shows the presence of these remains, they have not been photographed and therefore could not be linked to actual remains seen in storage. Similarly, some remains had been photographed and CT scanned, so there was no need to inspect them individually. Other remains simply could not be located at the time of visit to the storage facilities.[23]

The remaining 215 elements are divided into remains that could be seen personally, and those that had to be seen through catalog entries and inventory descriptions with photographs. In the case of the Berlin collection, the remains were seen as a whole and inspected in terms of their general characteristics during the museum visit, but not individually. However, because there was a large body of information on the remains already published and available from databases, all inferences for individual descriptions are based on a combination of the inventory pages provided by the curator, as well as existing publications about the collection.

**Table 2:** Total number of mummies included in research.

| **Type of inspection** | **# remains** |
|---|---|
| Remains individually inspected | 151 |
| Remains seen but not individually inspected | 74 |
| Remains not found | 10 |
| Remains not seen but included from literature | 2 |
| **Total number of remains** | **237** |

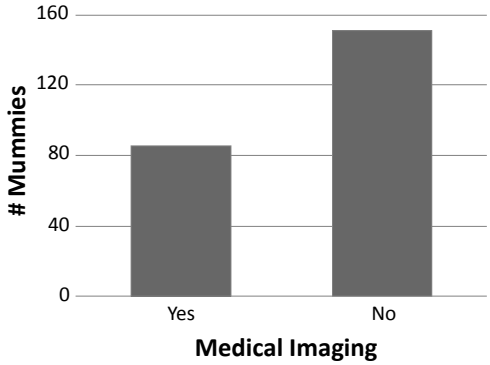
21 A national art museum that has a mummy collection has not been found, but then again there is a fine line in the classification of "primitive art" and archaeological objects (especially those of the classical cultures of Greece and Rome), so its existence may be possible. Similarly, artistic representations of mummies are common in the temporary exhibition rooms of national museums and certainly make up a large selection of gift-shop merchandise and publications.

22 For further description of the 237 remains, refer to chapters 6 and 7, as well as to the database presented in Annex 1.

23 Further description of the total remains, the work conducted and the state of preservation is found in chapter 6.

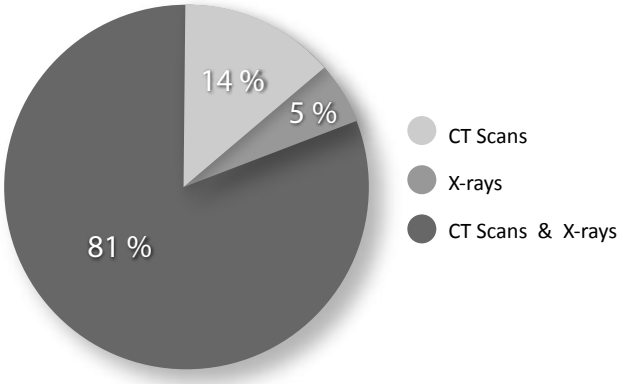
Of these 237 remains, a number of mummies had been X-rayed or CT scanned before or during the writing of this thesis. The introduction of medical digital imaging to the interrogation of human remains is further discussed in the following section on non-destructive research. Nevertheless, the total number of remains subject to medical imaging accounts for 86 individuals. The total remains can be seen in the graph below.

**Graph 1:** Number of Remains subject to medical imaging vs. not imaged.




Of those, complementary Computed Tomography (CT) scanners and both digital and film X-rays are the most common methods used.

**Graph 2:** Percentage of Medical Images Conducted by Type.




The presence of these studies has allowed for more detailed collecting of demographic data, bundle construction data, and even conservation data (Beckett, 2014; Herrmann & Meyer, 1993). Concerns regarding the impact of these types of studies on the long-term preservation of the remains, because of radiation exposure that could degrade DNA data, as well as the demands on the mummies that transportation can imply, are further discussed in the limitations section of this chapter, as well as in the conclusions. It is important to note, however, that these concerns are not exclusive to mummified human remains but to most human, animal, and natural remains in the archaeological record.

## 3.2 Agreements with Museum Collections

After information was gathered from the mummies and associated objects, the catalog/inventory entries were analyzed regarding each individual's background from the moment of their accession into the museum. Though most museums visited have digitalized their catalogs and part of that information is today readily available online, some information has not been included in the digital formats or is only available through museum inventory databases.



As mentioned earlier, a full report of initial finds is given to each museum after a visit. Some photography is included in the main text of the reports, to highlight special diagnostic traits of the remains, but the bulk of the images have been given separately to the museums and will only be used here when a specific trait of the remains needs to be highlighted. In order to be able to document the collections in detail, photography was taken of the objects, storage facilities and the process of packaging/unpacking of the remains. Museums have different ways to handle photographic requests and they limit the types of photos that can be taken (for example, both the Dahlem museum and the Nápstrek museum do not allow pictures of their storage facilities to be used in any publication, at the Nápstrek museum, in particular, no storage photos or photos of the packaging of the mummies were allowed). In order to facilitate the interaction with the museums, the author created a document on the "Agreement Regarding the Use of Photographic Material" (see annex section). Because of the constraints of the use of photographic material from museum collections due to copyright, but mainly because of the considerations when showing sensitive images of human remains, this dissertation will use photographic evidence only when necessary to support arguments of contextualization and storage, but not within the annex section as additional documentary material. This is a personal decision of the author, both because of personal views on presenting images of human remains in literature and to adhere and respect the decisions of curators from the different museums who have allowed work with the collections under their charge.

Extensive debates on the ethical use of human remains images have taken place over the past decade (Graf et al., 2007). The author personally believes that mummified human remains should not be shown/exhibited out of respect, not only for their descendants (however removed they may be), but also out of consideration for the individual himself/herself who cannot decide. Photographs of mummified remains should only be presented when there is a need to show a biological or cultural feature that aids in their contextualization and recognition as an individual. Medical images, much as with modern subjects are less contentious and could/should be used more frequently when addressing archaeological human remains. Similar considerations stand in regards to skeletonized human remains: whether to show the individuals or their photographs should be assessed on a case-by-case basis.

## 3.3 Collections Research - Documentary Information

Documentary information on the remains was found in two major sources. The first related exclusively to the inventory of the collection, with tools such as accession books and intra-museum digital catalogs such as TMS or MERLIN. The second source was documents associated to the remains or the collections.

The use of digital databases and inventories for museum collections has been discussed at length (Wanning, 1991). In most cases, the information registered is beneficial in terms of the condition of the remains, photographic information, seller names and links to biographical information, as well as ascribed cultural proveniences. However, the data available is not standardized, neither in relation to keywords nor the available information on each object, a fact that has also been discussed in the literature (Dannélls, Damova, Enache, & Chechev, 2011; Dyson & Moran, 2000).

The second group of documents is far less standardized and in that sense can either offer more or less information than a regular catalog entry, depending on the collection, or rather, on the activity related to the collection's past and present functions. In that category, details about the storage facilities and state of the remains that were gathered through conversations with the museum personnel currently in charge of the collection are included.

These interactions include the correspondence of previous museum curators or directors regarding the collections or a portion of them; the letters sent with the objects as donations or as a prelude to those donations; curator and conservator briefs on the handling of the remains to be used within the museum; or other published materials on parts of the collections –for example previous X-ray examination of the remains, books written on particular collectors, etc.

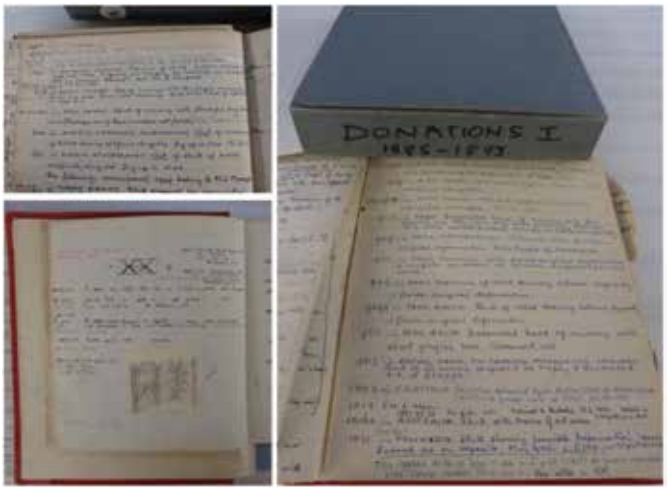
Not all museums use all the available alternatives for information databases. Of the seventeen museums visited, seven had freely accessible public online catalogs . Similarly, ten museums have digitized all the information on their inventories and previous catalogs into online databases that can be accessed on site with the aid of curators or archival specialists in the museum libraries. Ten museums have accession books available for consultation in their facilities. These books have original annotations from the moment the remains were introduced to the collection, as well as added notes from curators who succeeded the moment of collecting. Finally, seven museums have published materials on their mummy collections, ranging from catalogs, visitor booklets, academic research studies, journal-published papers, as well as books.

In most cases, museums use various types of databases at the same time. While online repositories are in use to make collections more accessible to the public, other digital repositories serve as tools within the museum. Digital software has been used to keep the collections up to date for searches within the collection, to include material de-

scriptions, as well as to maintain communication between various areas of the museum.[24] At the same time, accession books keep a historical account of the moment of collection. Seven museums use all three types of databases: online catalogs, digital inventories, and accession books.

Different museums have different ways to manage their databases. Here are some examples of the type of data found on each type of document.

**Image 1:** Examples of acession book entries. Pitt Rivers Museum.




Accession books and museum archives were consulted in their original language. Translations were made by the author when dealing with Spanish, English, and French; by the curator and collections personnel in the case of Danish documents; and by Jose Fernando Ramirez (Siegen Universität) and Marie Kolbenstetter (Universiteit Leiden) in the case of documents written in German.

Except for the archival research conducted in Denmark, photographs of the archival documents were taken and it was on the basis of those copies that the translators worked. It is in this second group of documents that some of the intentionality behind donations or apparent handling of the remains are made visible, as is further discussed in chapter 5.

Biographical information on the collectors listed in the archival research has also been an important source to consider. Many of the personalities linked to the collections were recognized in scientific, diplomatic, and even artistic communities. This allows a condensation of collecting moments before the integration of the collections to a museum (which would be the date registered for the remains on the accession books), or to pinpoint specific regions or even sites visited by the collectors during their lifetime and where

24 For example, to make notes of when pieces have been moved from storage to exhibit, when a specific treatment was applied or when the conservation department has noted a need to intervene on a piece.

they would have likely collected these mummies. Even if the collector has not visited a certain area, their relationships with institutions whose focus is on the Americas may lead to inferences regarding the possible proveniences of the human remains later donated by those individuals to museum collections. Examples include diplomats who receive gifts from American national museums or military envoys that became recipients of antiquities and mummies as spoils of war. This is particularly interesting in the case of British naval officers who were on the Chilean side during the War of the Pacific, and who subsequently brought home several mummies from the Peruvian desert, originally located in the area of Arequipa to Lima. Further details on those cases will be presented in the following chapter.

### 3.3.1 Determination of Geographical and Cultural Provenience

Several diagnostic traits were considered within the methodology of this dissertation in order to re-contextualize the mummified remains; document information was the first step. Roughly 82% of the total remains that had been assigned a provenience in archival data had inaccurate information, either because it was insufficient, or because it had changed through time. A contextualization outside of the probable country of collection was not possible in a majority of remains. Of those, a small number of previously unclassified remains could actually be assigned a cultural affiliation merely on the basis of their associated artifacts.[25]

One of the first searches in the documents had to do with the provenience cited in the documents. Most of the mummies, more than half of the total, have been classified as Peruvian, followed by Chilean Argentinean, Bolivian and Colombian. Physical maps, as well as current online maps of the Andes, were explored to identify changes in borders, as well as to try to locate the sites and regions mentioned in the documents.

In some cases, the sites are no longer archaeologically recognized, or their names have been changed, so they could not be found. In other cases, the mentioned site name has been taken from a larger region, with no precise necropolis or archaeological feature mentioned. This is particularly true for the remains that come from Lima, very often noted as originating from the Rimac valley, the Lima region, or the surrounding area of Callao and Lima.

Nevertheless, a list of names in order of Country, Province, City and Site was made to try and locate the most likely origin of the remains. Once that information was introduced into a database, the next step was to introduce information regarding the remains' cultural affiliation supposed by the collector.

Notably, very few archaeological cultures are mentioned in archival information. As seen in the table below, a lot of them are no longer recognized today. That is the case, as mentioned earlier, of those such as *Ancon* and *Atacameña*, which referred to a area and not a culture. Another classification that was not taken into account was that of *Pachacamac,*

25 This information is presented in detail in chapters 6 and 7.

**Table 3:** Cultures documented vs. Cultures recognized archaeologically today.

| Culture annotated in document | Recognized archaeologically today |
|---|---|
| Ancon | No |
| Arica | No |
| Atacameña | No |
| Chinchorro | Yes |
| Chancay | Yes |
| Inca | Yes |
| Chimu | Yes |
| Chiu-Chiu | No |
| Ichma | Yes |
| Pachacamac | No |
| Paracas | Yes |
| Tihuanaco | Yes |
| Wari | Yes |

which refers to the archaeological site, and not to a cultural affiliation.

As with proveniences, cultural filiations have been listed and included in a database. An initial assessment of the correspondence between location and culture was made. If there was no match, then a note was made to recheck it after the visual inspection of the remains.

### 3.3.2 Collector Information

Most inventories and databases record the sellers and collectors of the remains. In some cases, this is done to link a collection to a specific scientific enterprise, government funds, or to note the amount of money spent on each collecting expedition.

In several instances, the list made with the collectors shows names of illustrious scientists of the time, as well as travelers and renowned benefactors. All the collectors and sellers have been noted, and in turn classified in terms of their line of work at the time of collecting (if known), as well as the comments made by curators at the time of integrating donations into a collection.

Three groups were identified: scientific sources, private sources, and military or diplomatic service sources. The first group includes collectors paid by or hired by the museum, as well as scientific researchers, ethnologists, archaeologists and the like, who had collected remains during their lifetime and donated them to a museum before or after

their death. The second is made up of private individuals, of whom little is known, and who are noted as being "benefactors" of a museum or a collector. The last group includes servicemen in active duty during the border wars that took place in the Andes during the mid-to-late nineteenth century, the majority with British links, as well as diplomats stationed in Chile, Peru, Colombia and Argentina, who had donated remains collected during their civil service.

Some of the biographical information regarding the collectors was already available as part of museum inventory and databases. However, in other cases, online searches had to be made for information on their travels, the dates when they visited the Americas, as well as their official titles when in the Andes.

Few collectors had published during their lifetimes or had had their life's work researched, but some notable examples are: Wilhelm Gretzer (1847–1926), Arthur Baessler (1857- 1907), Thomas Hutchinson (1820-1885), Adolf Bastian (1826- 1905), Max Uhle (1856- 1944), Alphons Stübel (1835- 1904) and Willhem Reiss (1838-1908).

When no information was available on a collector or seller, they were assumed to be private donors. Unsurprisingly then, some sellers of antiquities may be present in more than one collection. Examples of these cases are further explored in chapter 5.

It is also worth noting that at least three naval scientific expeditions are recorded as collectors. Those are the *Expedición Malaspina* (1789–1794), the *Expedición del Pacífico* (1862- 1866), and the *Fragata Novara* Expedition (1857- 1859). In those cases, they were listed as scientific collectors and their biography was taken as that of the expedition.

## 3.4 Collections Research - Object Examination Information

### 3.4.1 Osteo-archaeological Examination of Remains

The total number of mummies has been divided into three groups according to their type: closed bundles, unbundled individuals, and disarticulated remains; and from there into further subgroups in relation to their state of preservation (good, medium, bad) and diagnostic traits (presence or absence). An individual report for each collection was created, precisely dividing the information presented into the previously mentioned categories, starting with the fully closed bundles, then surveying those mummies that had been somewhat unbundled, and finishing with heads and hands which can be difficult to contextualize given their lack of associated materials. Documentation starts with the largest bundle and moves onward to the smallest, and similarly from fully bundled to fragmentary.

These tools are used as a means to ascertain age at death, sex and any noticeable pathologies present in the individuals that would also provide a general demographic look

at the collections.[26] The instruments used were simple straight calipers, measuring tape and rulers. No samples were taken and no destructive examinations were carried out.

### 3.4.2 Methods for Ancestry Determination

As is standard when considering archaeological remains from the Andes, this research considered that American Indian ancestry would be dominant in cranium traits.

The estimation of ancestry in forensic anthropology is extremely complex, first because the markers on which it is based are exclusively found in the skull and have some variability, and second because the determination of an individual's ancestry is also dependent on cultural variants that cannot be seen on the skeleton. With the advent of DNA testing, skeletal estimation of ancestry has been losing ground, especially to ancestry informative markers (AIMS), which can point out not only the most likely ancestry but also the amount of miscegenation in an individual. Nevertheless, in this case, the remains researched come from areas assumed to be largely indigenous and pre-Columbian.



### 3.4.3 Methods Used for Estimation of Age at Death

The age of an individual in social archaeology is made up of a person's biological age, as well as cultural age. The latter refers to moments in life when a person is considered very young or very old, and the activities and treatment they receive in consequence. In this research, only the biological age of the individuals in the collections is taken into account.

There are several techniques to estimate age at death consistently and reliably. However, these techniques depend on the condition and preservation of the remains, as well as accessibility for measurements.

Age was assessed through dental development patterns and, when possible, through suture closure and epiphyseal fusion. For the former, both the sequence of formation and eruption of teeth among American Indians (after Ubelaker 1989a as found in Buikstra and Ubelaker 1994) and the Scott system for scoring surface wear in molars (after Scott 1979: 214, as found in Buikstra and Ubelaker 1994) were used.

For cranial suture closure, the criteria stated by Meindl and Lovejoy 1985 was used (as found in Buikstra and Ubelaker 1994). For epiphyseal fusion, the methods detailed in the Juvenile Osteology Field Manual edited by Cunningham, Scheuer and Black (Cunningham, Scheuer, & Black, 2016) and in the Osteology of Infants and Children by Baker et al. 2005 (Baker, Dupras, & Tocheri, 2005) were used.

26 More in-depth analysis of biological traits has been performed by the use of medical digital imaging. Consideration for those types of analysis and recommendations have been proposed to the individual museums according to their necessities, in some cases specific mummies have been imaged already and those images and reports are taken into consideration in this research. In others the author conducted paleo-imaging as separate projects. The information provided to the museum as part of that particular project is also integrated in this research.

The estimated ages were plotted within a range to account for variability. The older the individual, the less accurate the age estimations, and therefore, ranges are used to express variability. Concise age at death estimations are possible during skeletal growth until the last stages of development (Albert & Maples, 1995). In time, once the skeleton is no longer growing, age ranges must be expanded to compensate for inaccuracy. Adult age estimation, once all elements are fused, relies on degenerative changes. These changes are highly influenced by activity, sex, genetic and cultural variation (Algee-Hewitt, 2013).

Because life expectancy in pre-Columbian contexts is assumed to be shorter than modern standards, these degenerative changes also vary in ranges within what has been described in forensic and medical literature today. In turn, in archaeological samples, estimates of skeletal or dental age at death of adults have resulted in underestimation of adult ages and underestimation of young adult ages (Aykroyd, Lucy, Pollard, & Roberts, 1999).

In consequence, for this research three very broad age categories have been used: infant, juvenile and adult. The added impediment for age scoring implied by the presence of tissue and cloth, and that it was not always possible to get paleo-imaging records, is the reason why these categories are so broad.

Particularly crucial is the need to refine methods for accurately estimating age in older adults and to standardize aging techniques across observers.

Here all individuals under two years of age are considered infants. Given their overall size, incomplete teeth eruption and no epiphyseal fusion or suture closure, they are harder to age visually. Individuals from two to seventeen years of age have been classified as juveniles. All other individuals, from twenty onwards have been classified as adults.

Setting the physical adult threshold at twenty years of age allows for third molar eruption, and root completeness to be an easy observable marker. On the same line, most long bone epiphyses have fused and could be used to define the end of the young adult category.

Some extra information has been noted for the museum reports, such as ranges within the adult categories of young adult and older adult. However, that information is not particularly relevant for our interpretations and is not explored further here.

### 3.4.4 Methods Used for the Estimation of Sex

Sex was determined specifically through the scoring system for sexually dimorphic cranial features (after Acsadi and Nemeskeri 1970, as found in Buikstra and Ubelaker 1994), assessing numeric values from 1- 5 for the available features (Acsádi & Nemeskéri, 1970).

Sexually dimorphic characteristics in the pelvis were scored following the directives of Buikstra and Ubelaker (Ubelaker & Buikstra, 1994). Most of the time, the position and articulation of the remains only allowed for scoring of greater sciatic notch, and pelvic angle and aperture.

Other sex-related features such as long bone measurements and vertebral measurements, among others, were not taken into account because of the articulated status of most remains, as well as the covered condition of a majority of the areas, which made scoring difficult.

### 3.4.5 Step by Step Protocol for Mummy Examination

As described earlier, a protocol or a series of actions to be followed, was created each time a new collection needed to be described. The actions ranged from simple observation in terms of measurements to the application of the ageing and sexing methods described above.



The first steps have to do with the overall condition of the remains and how they are stored. This is followed by the assessment of changes made to the original mummies, associated artifacts, biological profiles, and finally light inspection.

There are six steps to the protocol:

1. The first step is to photograph the mummy in its current storage position and to take a picture each time the object is moved from its original storage condition. For example, a photo of the closed container of the mummy, the paper and ribbon wrapping of the mummy, and finally the mummy itself. At this point, if any other associated materials are kept with the mummy, they are also noted.
2. The second step consists of observation and measurement of the mummified human remains. General length, breadth and height of the remains are noted. All textiles and original supporting structures (like cradles and rope) are measured, taking the bundle as a whole into account.
3. A third step is to note if the current state of preservation is close to the original. Probable removal or addition of layers, dislocation of limbs, removal of decoration artifacts, sampling, etc. are noted. A ranking between mummified (mostly covered by tissue), partly mummified (some areas of the body contain tissue) and skeletonized (no visible tissue) is also made. Individuals within a closed bundle context are considered mummified unless tactile or visual examination implies some degree of skeletonization, in which case they are noted as partly-mummified.
4. The fourth step consists of describing and taking notes of any associated artifacts within the same storage unit as the mummified remains.
5. As a fifth step, a description of the visible traits for a biological profile of each of the individuals is attempted, depending on the need of a particular collection –some of them have already been researched in terms of bio-anthropological data.
6. Finally, a light examination is conducted, in order to record the presence or absence of possible resins or other covering substances. A flashlight was used when looking under or inside mummies, as well as to highlight some conditions of their preservation. The general smell of the bundle, as well as any insect or fungal activity, is also noted in detail at this stage.

Recent research conducted on mummies held in European collections is focusing on possible varnishes applied to these human remains as part of their introduction/preparation for the European market. The varnishes are found on mummies prepared for an exhibit, as well as those that were collected as part of scientific expeditions that also collected naturalist specimens. The reasons behind the process, so far explored, are the prevention of further deterioration (to preclude insect or fungal activity, for example), both before and after their arrival in museum collections; and for aesthetic purposes, adding a special "shine" to the objects that would be on exhibit. The exact composition of the varnishes/resins applied to the remains varies through time and are not uniform; two separate studies in different mummies collected in the same period (second half of the nineteenth century) have identified varieties of pine resin as the most common (Carminati, Begerok, & Gill-Frerking, 2014). The use of gas chromatography – mass spectrometry (GC-MS) testing – has been the only method used to identify these resins and that in itself may constitute a limitation for further research given the destructive sampling method that could be needed. The author is working to develop a method and database for comparison on these resins, both to enhance what is known of the process, and to help solve the issues of decomposition and odor that could be associated with its occurrence on some collections and some individuals.

### 3.4.6 Non-destructive Methods in Bio-archaeological Research

One of the first decisions taken on the course of this research had to do with the type of analysis to be conducted on the remains. The discussion in archaeological sampling has been dominated between the advantages and disadvantages of destructive versus non-destructive sampling.

The former includes any procedure that will damage or permanently change a specimen. These include sectioning, scrapping, or drilling human remains for isotope, carbon or collagen testing. It also includes the dismounting or disarticulation of mounted remains that have been glued together.

In turn, non-destructive refers to techniques of analysis that do not damage macroscopic physical attributes of materials (be they from their external morphology or internal structure). Similarly, beam techniques and neutron activation analysis are considered non-destructive. In broad terms, a non-destructive technique is one that, including sample preparation, allows further analysis without impacting any future results or use.

For the case of human remains, DNA testing, as well as isotopic sampling can be attempted in order to contextualize them. However, both techniques require the extraction of sections of bone or other tissues, and that would damage the original mummy as it is at the moment. Though the information is certainly valuable, for this thesis' goals, no destructive technique was justifiable. Therefore, only non-destructive techniques were used, in particular what has come to be known as paleo-imaging or paleo-radiology.

Paleo-imaging is the use of X-rays and advanced medical imaging instruments, such as computer tomography and endoscopy, for the evaluation of ancient human and animal remains. Diagnostic radiology is applied to the interpretation of these images in order to detect ancient diseases or to describe mortuary practices not visible through other methods. In recent times, the use of not one but several of these techniques to complement each other has allowed for exciting finds in terms of mummification and ancient pathologies.

A study reports that from 1985 to the present, at least one mummy CT publication has come out yearly, and each year they become more numerous (Cox, 2015). These publications range from descriptive case studies to publications that specifically address facial reconstructions, pathologies, and new approaches and applications of the technology. Interestingly, pathological reports are the least common, though CT technology is used primarily for pathology diagnosis on living subjects. The CT scan recognized to be the first pathology diagnosis performed on a mummy is that of Ötzi the Iceman (Holden, 2001). However, the most famous is that conducted on the remains of the mummy of King Tutankhamun to attempt to determine the cause of death of the boy king (Timmann & Meyer, 2010).



As will be emphasized in later chapters, the resources used to both exhibit and look into the mummified remains have changed dramatically over time. The introduction of video and touchscreens allows the public to interact with objects in a different dimension than the traditional exhibition. In that regard, the advances in medical imaging technology have proven immensely useful for museums that want to exhibit mummies. Similarly, the number of interdisciplinary researchers that use medical images to interrogate pre-Columbian human remains has risen significantly in recent years (Cox, 2015).[27] Furthermore, these researchers have concentrated their efforts in museums that have questions regarding the authenticity and originality of the remains in their collections.

## 3.5 Collections Research - Associated Artifacts

As mentioned above, the diagnostic traits considered within the methodology of this dissertation to be able to re-contextualize the mummified remains were various. Textile and artifact examination are the second factor considered.

Following the steps above, artifacts are described in relation to the body, as well as in relation to its current storage. When stored with the remains, or when directly linked to the mummies by catalog entries, each artifact is noted separately but linked in a general database to the human remains.

27 The creation of specific venues for the presentation of mumwmy research such as the International Congress on Mummy Studies, as well as national efforts like the German Mummy Project or the Swiss Mummy Project, are clear indicators of this research enthusiasm.

The artifacts have been described following typological indicators used for their original classification in the museum, starting with their material to diagnostic features. [28]Though these classifications have been performed differently by each museum according to their protocols, four general groupings were identified: ceramics, textiles, metals, and all other materials. Evidently, the last group contains objects that vary from wood to stone, to seashells and seeds, etc. Given that they are fewer, they are grouped together in order to separate them from the other three categories, and these three overarching classifications are kept in the analysis. Once the collection has been divided into these types, the remains are taken one-by-one to an examination table (when possible) to be described.[29]

### 3.5.1 Textiles' Descriptions and Methods for Possible Provenience Identification

In the great majority of cases, the diagnostic trait used was the type of textiles associated to, or directly in contact, with the mummified remains. That is not particularly surprising when considering that out of the 237 individuals in the collection, a total of 132 (or 59%) of individuals either included, or were associated to, textiles. Furthermore, another 8% included textile imprints, which implies that the textiles of the bundles were removed from the remains during or right after collection.

There are multiple sources in Andean archaeology dedicated to the description of textiles in funerary and non-funerary contexts (Brommer eds, 1988; Dauelsberg 1972; Hora, 2000; Reid, 2005; Millones and Schaedel, 1980). The same can be said for the metal artifacts of the region (González, 2003; Guaman Poma de Ayala, 1980; Mignone, 2010; Reinhard & Ceruti, 2005). The available literature has been used when considering the aspects of the mummy's bundles and artifacts that needed detailed descriptions.

Once the mummy is measured, textile patterns, types of weave and associated textile materials, as well as the construction of the bundles, are all taken into consider-

28 The discussion on what are types, how archaeologists use typologies and the usefulness of classification in archaeology is quite extensive. It is as much a philosophical issue as is it is one of practice. As Adams and Adams have tried to point out "Properly understood, typological concepts have no fixed or inherent meaning apart from their use, which varies from typology to typology and from person to person. It is therefore impossible to talk about types and typologies except in subjective terms. We cannot speak of the concepts; we can only speak of our concepts." (Adams and Adams, 1991: 3). In that sense, what the author has tried to do by referring to the classification of the objects set by a museum's separation of objects, guided mainly by storage necessities, is to use a preexisting classification that allows the information collected to be compartmentalized in order to later interpret it. Again, as Adams and Adams put it, "Spatial and temporal ordering of data is not, is not intended to be, and should not be mistaken for, explanation […]. It is wholly pre-theoretical. It is the necessary preliminary step which brings the archaeologist to the point where the ethnologist, the sociologist, and the political scientist all begin" (Adams and Adams 1991:3).

29 Some mummies are too big and heavy to be moved to the examination table, so they have been described in their original packaging. Other are in closed display cases (some from the nineteenth century) and therefore cannot be moved. Regardless, light examination and description to the greatest possible extent was conducted.

ation. A rough sketch is made when necessary to highlight bundle construction and textile overlay.

Several studies on textile weaving and dyeing have been conducted and published with Andean material, both within museum collections and from site material (Brommer eds, 1988; De la valle & Gonzalez Garcia, n.d.; Reid, 2005). From those, perhaps the most detailed and relevant for contextualization has been the work conducted by Ann Peters with Peruvian and Chilean textiles. Peters looks at the textile tradition from the perspective of the *longue durée*, and therefore is extremely useful to contextualize materials that lack specific points of origin. When looking at textiles, Peters is also "looking at diversity or standardization in form as an indicator of whether garment types reference particular, local identities or equivalent social roles within a larger political system" (Peters, 2014).



**Image 2**: Example of field notes. Included sketch and notes are taken from each mummy.

After establishing the annotated and cultural provenance, textiles covering bundles were compared to those in the existing literature for the same region and cultures. If found to agree, the provenance was ratified. If the textiles did not match, then a suitable new probable or cultural[30] provenance was suggested.

Cases of positive identification of textile patterns and reclassification of remains in this research have to do with examples such as the ones presented below. In these cases, either design, materials or the shape given to the textile – like the first case of the "shields" found with remains at the Weltmuseum Vienna – help to place a mummy in a specific region or culture.

In this first example, Image 2., the shields are placed intentionally next to the head of an unbundled mummy. The remains in of themselves are kept in storage inside a wooden case from the early twentieth century, with other artifacts around them.

30 In the cases where no agreement between document and artifacts was found, the closest match was used, be that of mummies found in a location such as Lima, or for a culture like Wari, Nazca, or Paracas, even when It was not possible to determine a specific geographic location.

**Image 3:** Chancay mummy with diagnostic textiles. Weltmuseum Vienna.

These textile shields are very diagnostic of Chancay, as are the double-headed zoomorphic representations in the headband across the forehead of the remains. Though the shields could have been placed in a non-authentic association on the case where they now stand, they still match with other textiles on the remains.

**Image 4:** Separated mummy head with Chancay textile turban. Quai Branly collection, Paris.

A similar case is seen with fragments of mummies such as heads, where headbands and turbans have been kept in place. Above, Image 3, shows one such example in remains from the Quai Branly collection. Below, another of the diagnostic examples in the collections is related to the type of textile used to construct the mummies. In the picture below, an example of a mummy bundle created with a reed basket, sewn around the remains.

**Image 5:** Tiahuanaco style mummy bundle. Reed basket constructed around remains. Quai Branly collection, Paris.

### 3.5.2 Metallic Objects' Descriptions and Methods for Possible Provenience Identification

Metallic objects, in general, were not useful for identification because the majority of remains did not have associated metal elements directly available for inspection.

The only case where they were useful was in the Rijksmuseum Volkenkunde collection. These findings are described at length in the work conducted for the RMV in 2014 (Ordoñez Alvarez, 2014).

In most cases, the metal objects that could be directly associated with the remains were copper rings and copper bracelets, both of which are very common and hard to identify.

**Image 6:** Hand and head detail with metal objects. The hand on the left belongs to a known Chancay mummy from the Quai Branly collection. On the right, the detail of the copper mask on a bundle from the central coast of Peru, probably form the middle horizon. Weltmuseum collection.

### 3.5.3 Descriptions and Methods for Possible Provenience Identification of Earthenwares and Other Associated Objects

Few collections have associated earthenwares that could be seen at the same time as the inspection of the remains. Those that could be observed were all cataloged for very specific cultures and therefore helped to confirm a specific cultural determination for mummies. Nevertheless, it is useful to emphasize here the importance of determining an authentic relationship between artifacts that can be sold as associated with the collection although they do not come from the same context.

Other useful associated objects are those made of wood, like bows, gourds, seashell necklaces, and the like. Of these, the majority was not diagnostic.

**Image 7:** Assortment of textile, ceramic and wooden objects associated with mummified remains. Andean central coast. Quai Branly collection, Paris.

A notable exception is found with the gourds integrated to remains that indicated a possible provenance of central coastal Peru. Those remains, coupled with textile evidence, have been tentatively re-contextualized to the Lima region, as similar attributes have been seen on previous research papers (Ordóñez, Beckett, Nelson, & Conlogue, 2015).

**Image 8:** Mummified child remains with gourd positioned near the midsection of the body, probably from the Lima region. Weltmuseum collection, Vienna.

For others, such as the Chancay and Wari mummies, associated wooden or metal face masks have also been used as diagnostic.

**Image 9:** Mummies with face masks. The left side is part of the permanent exhibit at the Museo de America, Madrid. The right side is at the storage facilities of the Ethnology Museum in Berlin.

## 3.6 Research Limitations

Having explained the process of data collecting and the theoretical premises that guide that process, it is helpful here to annotate the limitations that have become apparent during the course of this work.

### 3.6.1 Methodology Limitations

The main difficulties found with the application of the methodologies described earlier have to do with the diagnostic markers available with the remains. More than half of the remains examined lacked a trait that could be considered sufficient to contextualize them. That includes textiles that were plain, bundling or burial techniques that were not specific to a area or culture, and lack of associated artifacts.

Remains without associated artifacts, naked or unbundled, are almost impossible to contextualize. Mainly because, visually, there is no trait that can help classify them within a certain region or period, much less culture. Since mummification in the Andes is mainly unintentional or semi-artificial, there are very few studies on mummification techniques, except in regards to *Chinchorro* mummies (which are artificial) and the *Chachapoya* case studies, reported by Sonia Guillen, which presented antiseptic smells (Guillén, 2004). More recently, with the advancement of paleo-imaging, studies have been conducted regarding the existence of evisceration indicators, organ removal, and pathological indicators. However, none of those studies has yet pointed to a way in which remains whose provenience is not reported could be identified.

In consequence, only remains that had specific markers could have their provenience researched or double-checked. That implied that a large number of mummies remain unidentified.

Moreover, the issue of the authenticity of the link between mummies and associated artifacts remains problematic. In some cases, the association seemed implicit, while in other cases it may be contested. As is argued in detail in chapter 7, many of the mummies have undergone significant changes since integration into the collections. Therefore, the degree of suspicion with which each mummy was approached for its contextualization varied, depending on how evident those changes were upon inspection.

In both instances, the unbundling of remains and the possibility of inauthentic object-mummy association have introduced a skew in what is reported. Firstly because only highly recognizable and studied diagnostic traits (textile patterns, ceramic styles, etc.) were used for contextualization, and those are more common for Peru than they are for Chile, Bolivia and Argentina.

Secondly, only remains which have stayed mostly complete can be adequately contextualized and are described, compared, and discussed in detail. There is a significant number of individuals in the museum collections that are not complete, and this research has not found an accurate, reliable way to take them into account for important calcu-

lations of size, region of collecting and culture from which they were collected. In doing so, the possibility that the "naked" mummies stored in collections today may have been part of highly elaborate bundles, which were opened and separated precisely because of their textiles and associated artifacts is not taken into account. It may be very important to discuss issues that concern this research: transportation of remains from the Americas, unbundling reasons, and the formation of collections.

### 3.6.2 Limitations of Osteological Methods



One of the aims of this research was to carry out an osteological examination of the remains in order to construct biological profiles and attempt a demographic analysis of the mummies in the collections. Taking into account that mummified tissue would be covering many of the areas needed for osteological descriptions of age at death, sex and stature, the protocol described earlier was used only for remains that had visible traits. In most cases, the visibility of traits was directly linked with skeletonization of the remains. In turn, this implies that the remains have been unbundled, and some of the mummified tissue has been lost.

The good preservation of remains is, in this case, a problem for osteological observations, while conversely it is a useful tool for contextualization. In most cases where osteological-biological profile descriptions were possible, it was not possible to establish the provenience of those remains. This is an interesting paradox that will be addressed in the last chapter of this dissertation.

Likewise, when remains are covered with mummified tissue, there is an inherent limitation for describing and estimating pathological conditions, especially degenerative diseases such as osteoporosis, commonly observed conditions like osteoarthritis, or indicators of disease like cribra orbitalia, periostitis, bone porosity, etc. Because of these differences in reporting possibilities, when pathological conditions could be observed, the decision was made to annotate them for museum reports but not for quantitative comparison between collections.

A similar situation arose when considering the paleo-imaging available. An uneven number of remains had published and available CT scans and X-rays. Though this was very valuable for gathering information from collections that could not be individually or personally examined, they provided a great deal of information in terms of pathology and mummification that was not comparable to the totality of the remains. Furthermore, in almost all cases where medical images were available, there were no specifications for the equipment, protocols or exposure used. These technical factors can help at the moment of correlating images, and were another factor to consider when discussing if extra information (outside of age at death and sex of individuals), should be integrated to the analysis. In the end, pathological information, as well as stature estimations that could be gathered from CT scans and X-rays, was omitted from this thesis, though included on museum reports.

It is of interest here to mention other important analyses that can be conducted with human remains, but that, because of their destructive nature, have not been used frequently. Oxygen, Nitrogen and Strontium isotopes enter such a category. Though they may be incredibly useful in terms of provenience, because of the associated costs, as well as the fact that destructive sampling of the remains (such as pieces of bone or teeth) needs to be used, they are not regularly considered for museum collections. Similarly, the lack of a homogenous Isoscape map that can help position information available from isotope testing in the Andes has hindered the use of such analytical methods. This has been changing in the last couple of years especially for Peru and Chile, but the problem remains for Ecuador, Colombia and Bolivia.

### 3.6.3 Limitations of Archival Methods

Just as visual examination presented limitations, documentary research presented specific challenges for this research. Those challenges have to do with the language of the records, the lack of availability of documentation, and the difficulty of tracing actors who have not been encountered in collections before and whose lives were not led as publicly as others.

• Translations

As has been mentioned earlier, the information collected is written 6 in different languages: Spanish, English, French, German, Dutch and Danish. Though native translators have helped elucidate the majority of the complicated data written in nineteenth-century versions of the languages, it is recognized that some of the meanings could have been mistranslated or ignored. This is due to both changes in languages, as well as words used to describe contexts that today no longer are in use. For example, referring to areas of southern Ecuador as Peru, areas in Bolivia as Peruvian, etc. or by referring to towns that no longer exist, have been relocated within the landscape, or have been renamed.

Nevertheless, these are challenges faced when translating any historical document. The author has minimized the impact such mistranslation would have on the research by checking historical literature on the areas mentioned, as well as generalizing regions and not focusing on particular sites if their continuity to a currently known archaeological site with the same name is unclear.

• Availability of materials

Not all individuals had records associated with them. In many cases, the accession book barely contained a single line signaling their presence in the collection, without a known donor or collector. In others, though collectors were noted, their names had been misspelled, or solely initials or titles of nobility had been listed. All instances greatly complicated the comparison of collections and the reconstruction of collecting histories.
most museums had very good records of their collections, even if some individuals were

not listed or if there was little information on them. Nevertheless, in a few cases, there were issues with locating materials or with correctly identifying remains within a collection. Those issues may well have to do with storage room reorganizations, moves or just with the passing of time.

## 3.7 Chapter Summary

This chapter has explained the methodologies followed for this dissertation's research. The two fields that inform the analysis of the mummified remains in the selected collections are complementary, as has been emphasized above and throughout this work.

There were inherent challenges to each type of material considered documents and mummified remains, but efforts were made to minimize the impact of these issues on the overall outcome of this dissertation. Recognizing the limitations of this type of research is the first step, and in some manner helps to delineate future endeavors.

# Chapter 4

## America Goes to Europe

The collections of American curiosities, formed during the mid-to-late nineteenth century all over Europe, provide an enviable source of information. From the way people perceive themselves and others, through the evidence on mobility and the relationships that sprung from such movements, it is possible to glimpse fragments of this relevant era.

This chapter's aim is to show that the history of the formation of Andean mummy collections, currently held in the seventeen museums that make up this research, help account for the way these objects are stored and discussed in inventories and catalogs in museums today. In fact, the process of creation of each one of those museums, even when briefly summarized, sheds light on how and why these mummies were integrated to their collections, sought after, donated, or bought during a particular point in the museum's past. It is because of the scientific pursuits of the nineteenth century that the collections were formed, and it is because of them that Andean mummies have the role they do in their museums: that of highly valued but poorly researched objects.

In describing the history of the formation of Andean mummy collections, the aim is also to identify the commonalities and divergences between museums, as a reflection of the processes that were taking place in each country. An important part of that effort relates to the actors involved in creating and enhancing these collections, as independent travelers or as hired scientific consultants. As was mentioned in the previous chapter, the political dimension of national collecting also allows an unraveling of the nuances of personal and diplomatic relationships between these actors, which are sometimes at odds with each other but reliant on what the other could offer.

More importantly, this chapter aims to describe the collections of mummies as the museum sees them, within their historical documentary background, and not as "objects" removed from it. The perspective of a museum regarding its collections is in itself a reflection of a history of collecting practices and serves to further discuss how a particular corpus of knowledge is presented (or not) to the public, in this case that of the Andean pre-Columbian world, by means of its mummies.

The current chapter has been divided into four parts. The first is a summary of nineteenth-century collecting and its guiding forces. The second, and more sizeable, part contains the information gathered from archives, catalogs and online databases of the collections, describing their contents and histories as recorded by the museums. This first step to understand the collections that concern this research serves the purpose of locating the narratives of the collections within the history of the museum in which they are now held, and enhance said narrative with the material knowledge of what, when, and who collected these mummies. This chapter organizes museums according to the date of their foundation, and therefore also presents a sort of chronological order of appearance of national museums in Europe.

## 4.1 Where Mummies Go

Mummies inhabit a curious space in museum collections. As argued in previous chapters, they have been cataloged and collected as objects, but as humans, they also embody the social realm. To understand this movement of human remains, especially mummies, from social to natural it is necessary to understand the history of collecting. Collectors' interests seem to start with a fascination for the living and then slowly broaden to include the dead. The keeping of relics, for example, is such an instance,[31] examples can be found of such practices from ancient Greece all the way to the institutionalization of their keeping in Christian churches during the medieval period (Bleichmar & Mancall, 2011:194).



The most important push in history toward the collecting of human remains is the systematization of collecting as a scientific practice during the nineteenth century. This shift legitimized the excavation and collecting of human remains as scientific specimens, separating them from curiosities or commodities, and introduced the possibility of abstraction of those same human remains to be considered as representative of social practices of an unknown world at the verge of extinction (Thomas in Elsner & Cardinal, 1994:134).

Precisely because of this specific role within the narrative, human remains were, by the mid-nineteenth century, included in the American antiquities market, excavated, or looted from their original contexts by local and foreign actors, traded, stolen or smuggled on the same routes, shipped "at some expense, and at some hazard, by land and water; and received by institutions, scientists, amateurs, and private collectors" (De Beer, 1953; Wilson, 2002).

An important clue lies in the way those human remains were collected and by whom. As Riviale has described, many of the antiquities collected during the first part of the nineteenth century were not gathered by scientists (anthropologists, naturalists and the like), but by sailors, traders, and diplomats. Scientific institutions, recognizing this untapped potential, began distributing instructional guides to travellers who had an interest in collecting archaeological and anthropological objects. Perhaps because of that, the objects that were collected in the New World were relatively homogeneous and painted a very un-nuanced portrait of the cultures collected (Riviale, 2008:261).

By the second half of the century, expeditions organized for and by scientific institutions and collectives were sent all over the Americas. This implied that the collections formed were better documented, but also that they obeyed specific requirements of what was worth collecting, sometimes in order to "complete" previously formed collections. Areas were divided among collectors and monopolies of certain antiquities were created (Shelton in Macdonald, 2006:68). This included human remains from cultures or sites extensively explored by specific expeditions, such as the German and French expeditions

31 The traditions of head hunting and displaying should also be considered here as a manifestation of collecting human remains outside of the institution framework.

to the Peruvian central coast. In a sense, the existence of these expeditions also directly affected the way objects from ethnographic and archaeological contexts were seen as cultural references and as portrayers of cultural identity.

As has been stated earlier, the idea that cultures were extinct or on the way to extinction gave museum collecting a sense of urgency, and kept museums' collecting objectives constantly updated and revisited. This is most clearly seen in the scope of national museums. One of the main theoretical premises used within this research is that collecting at a national level, such as that conducted by national museums and their envoys around the world, follows and reflects a political line of discourse. This is true for Europe as much as it is for the Americas, where intellectuals exchanged ideas, knowledge, and objects in a series of interrelated movements (Cañizarez-Esguerra, 1998; Paquette & Brown, 2013).

In that line of thought, precisely because national museums are formed within particular political contexts in the nineteenth century in the Andes and Western Europe, and because those nations and institutions have remained stable since that time, museum archives, storages and collections are vital witnesses of these processes. These collections in of themselves represent political dialog between the budding nations, which will help delineate future relationships.

Furthermore, the collecting of human mummies in itself is a clear example of how hugely political the action of collecting and the collecting networks were and are. This can be clearly evidenced by the relationships of collectors with the governments of the states they tour, and by their overarching goals when collecting mummies and other human remains. During the nineteenth century, the narratives of antiquities collecting were geared toward answering global queries on the origin of man, and particularly the population of the Americas. Though, as has been mentioned earlier, collecting of human remains was by no means a nineteenth century invention, it is then that for the first time these collections are seen as proof of the differences between people, be them physical, intellectual or even moral (Miruna Achim in Kohl et al., 2014: 28). A good example is the British Association for the Advancement of Science, that held among its diverse members the shared objective of systematically classifying the peoples of the world by their physical differences (Cuvi, Sevilla, Ruiz, & Puig-Samper, 2016).

By 1950 the commerce of skeletons and mummies, partial or complete, increased significantly to supply the demand that scientific travelers had for them. In combination with the other antiquities (ceramics, lithic, textiles), these human remains became idealized, albeit imagined, pictures of America's culture which Europe was intent on collecting(Miruna Achim in Khol et al., 2014: 40).

The issues of race from a biological standpoint become the main concern, aided by the historical confrontations between colonizers and colonized that spike during and after the independence processes. European colonization of Africa, for example, unleashes a series of discussions that made necessary the creation of a scientific methodology that

would support the studying and "governing" of other populations by white Europeans. In that sense, science comes to replace the religious justifications used in previous centuries towards conquered territories like the Americas.

Race, a linear idea of cultural evolution and progress, become a guide for all exhibits constructed during this period, as well as for the narratives presented on the stages of the World Exhibits in Europe and the United States. The  and temporal exhibits of America's pre-Columbian populations seem to follow the same categories in most museums included in this research, including the division of human remains between the ethnographic, archaeological and medical contexts (Bennett, 2004 see also chapter 5).



While bodies preserved in early collections tended to be predominately skeletal or dried, techniques for keeping fleshier specimens were devised from the 17th century onwards (Albertti & Hallam, 2013:3). The presentation and appreciation of different aspects of those human remains depended on aesthetic values but mainly if the public deemed it appropriate to see them. For example, in the case of specimens collected for medical collections, there was a perceived educational need that accommodated these remains within wider curricula for human identification, pathological conditions and, in the case of mummies, the advancement of knowledge regarding tissue preservation techniques (this is equally relevant for remains from the Andes as it is for Egyptian remains). Human remains were there hitherto separated into museums according to the aspect of knowledge with which they seemed to present more relation. Closed mummy bundles with textiles and associated objects were generally sent to ethnographic or archaeological collections, while unbundled (naked) mummies and skeletonized material with no signs of cultural modification[32] were acquired by medical museums and associations.

The ethical considerations of the collecting and exhibiting of human remains in that period are not really discussed. At a time when freak-shows and human curiosities drew crowds and even had a place in World Exhibits,[33] it is hard to find ethical reflections on the collecting of human remains. However, it is important to note the relevance of human remains as the physical link between racial and cultural classification discourses and segregation narratives, at a time in which scientific practice aimed to be normalized.

## 4.2 The Changing Museum: Collections of the New World in European Museums.

As was introduced in chapter 1, before the nineteenth century, foreign cultures and arts were the exclusive domain of private collectors, of which the royal collections were the

32 Exceptions to this rule are artificially deformed skulls, trepanned skulls or those body parts that show signs of advanced non-pathological conditions such as fractures, blunt or sharp trauma. Their nature as specimens of medical interest was coupled with their representing portions of cultural practices or warfare that helped fill gaps in the narratives that were being constructed (Andrushko & Verano, 2008).

33 Cases such as those of Julia Pastrana in 1860, or the Bolivians who were exhibited in their country's pavilion in the Chicago World Fair, are only two examples of the widespread practice of exhibiting people in museum-like contexts.

most nurtured. Private collections of different sizes were enhanced with pieces according to the tastes[34] of who owned them, and not with a clear scientific goal peppered the cultural socialscapes, especially in the higher status circles. Collecting antiquities and curiosities were consequences of class, of the elites' "grand tours" and the illustration's search for knowledge. Gradually, large public institutions that wanted to not only to present curiosities, but to incite knowledge on a broader audience, were taking form. During the late eighteenth century and early nineteenth century, exhibitions of curiosities and diversity (natural and human) were taking place in public in department stores and national exhibits, both spaces that developed parallel to the opening of collections to the public. Concurrently, the museum aimed to change "so that it might function as a space of emulation in which civilized forms of behaviour might be learnt and thus diffused more widely through the social body" (Bennett, 2013: 24).

According to the date of their foundation, from the earliest to the latest, the museums in this research show how the idea of national museums gains momentum from the late eighteenth century onwards. The British Museum of 1753, the Museum of Natural History - Guimet 1772, the Imperial Natural History Cabinet in Vienna founded in 1806, the National Museum in Denmark 1819, the Royal Museum of Arts and History (Cinquantenaire Museum) in Belgium 1835, and the National Museum of Ethnology in the Netherlands in 1837 mark the first wave. A second wave started around 30 years later with the Náprstek Museum of Asian, African and American Cultures in the modern Czech Republic founded in 1862, the Archaeological Museum of the Carmo Convent in 1864, the National Anthropology Museum in Madrid in 1875, the Luigi Pigorini National Museum of Prehistory and Ethnography in 1876; the famous Trocadéro Museum in Paris formed in 1878, the Pitt Rivers Museum in 1884, the Royal Museum of Ethnology in Berlin in 1886, and continued into the early twentieth century with the founding of the Geneva Museum of Ethnography on 1901 and the Museum of Ethnology of Sweden in 1904.

What is evident is that not just nations strongly involved with collecting and scientific expeditions such as Germany, France and the UK are forming these national collections. Nations with big royal collections like the Netherlands, Belgium and Austria are opening public museums, and others like Denmark and the Czech Republic are also following this idea, sometimes earlier than the aforementioned countries.

Interestingly, and perhaps because of the complicated relationships with the newly independent American nations, both Spanish museums that are part of this research were founded well into the twentieth century. The Museum of America in 1941 and the Museum of Medical Anthropology, Forensics, Paleopathology and Criminalistics Profesor Reverte Coma arriving much later, in 1980 (receiving a part of its mummies from the National Anthropology Museum in Madrid cited earlier). What follows is a description

34 As argued in this chapter, taste in itself is a social construct, and what it reflects in this instance is a transition from private taste, associated with social status and power, to public taste.

of the collections listed above, briefly naming the people and places of origin of the mummies , that paves the way for the discussions to come.

### 4.2.1 The British Museum

Formed in 1753 and starting as a bequest of Sir Hans Sloane's collection to the English Crown upon his death, the British Museum stands out as the earliest national public museum formed in Europe (Delbourgo, 2017). The history of the creation of the museum has been widely summarized and explored in works such as De Beer, 1953 and Wilson, 2002. After opening to the public in January 1759, the museum went through a series of stages of active and passive collecting: the museum was involved in excavations during the nineteenth century and also received donations and bequests which steadily grew in size and reach. The most relevant figure for the expansion of the British Museum collections was Sir. Augustus Wollaston Franks, who, from 1851, as assistant to the Department of Antiquities of the museum, expanded the collection including antiquities from prehistoric contexts, as well as ethnographic and archaeological material from outside of Europe.

Collections at the British Museum were, until 1780, exhibited in the style of a Cabinet of Curiosities. From that point on the displays changed to reflect the main ideas of the time; from 1808 until 1860 ethnographic and world antiquities followed a organization, while from 1860s until at least the 1960s those same collections reflected ideas of social evolution.

The American collections had little preeminence during the nineteenth century, and were not systematically presented to the public until 1902 when Thomas Athol Joyce publishes "A Short Guide to the American Antiquities in the British Museum" (T. A. Joyce, 1912). At the time, few display cases contained American antiquities.

Until 2004, these collections fell under the direction of the Department of Ethnography of the museum, which also included collections of Africa, Oceania, as well as "small-scale societies" from Europe and Asia. South America as a whole, and the Andes in particular, though highly collected, remained underrepresented if not absent from the permanent displays of the museum, and this situation continues until today.

The Americas collection at the BM is mainly composed of ethnographic nineteenth and twentieth century objects, amid which coins and banknotes are included. Nevertheless, archaeological material from the Paracas, Moche, Inca, Maya and Aztec cultures, among other pre-Columbian societies, can also be found and are, in some cases, vastly represented. For the Andean region, in particular, an examination of the online databases of the BM shows that there are objects all of the countries in the area. The collection comprises 1075 object from Ecuador, 1718 from Colombia, 339 from Venezuela, 1282 from Bolivia, 1376 from Chile, 1788 from Argentina, and by far the most numerous collection, 6496 from Peru. These numbers may include duplicates in bordering countries where cultures have expanded on either side of the borders; hence the "find country" may

be listed as two modern nations and not one exclusively.

Among these objects, there is a collection of 900 early Andean textiles, which, as described by the BM *"comprises a representative sample of techniques and materials used over 2,000 years in the Andean weaving tradition of the coastal and highland regions. The textiles, preserved by the arid conditions of coastal desert graves range in date from the Paracas to the Inca and Colonial periods, 200 BC to the late eighteenth century AD."* («Textiles from Andean South America», British Museum webpage s. f.).

Most relevant for this research, the Andean object collection also includes 23 mummies. Twelve of them have been listed as coming from Peru, two from Chile and two from Colombia, while the other eight do not have information on provenience. Only the Chilean and Colombian mummies have any details relating to a specific area for the finds, Arica, Bogota, and Boyacá, respectively.

A little more than half of the collection made its way into the BM from the mid-to-late nineteenth century. Of those, eight are particularly interesting since they were all noted as collected by the famous English explorer Edward Whymper, probably around the time of his travels in the Andes in the 1880s. These mummies, however, were not integrated into the catalog until 1997 (and therefore listed with the suffix AM 1997), due to an oversight by museum managers.

It is also notable that the Chilean mummies are listed as collected in the same exact region but by two different people, a little over twenty years apart: one of the mummies by Charles E. Abbot, 2nd Baron of Rochester in 1832, and the other by ethnologist William Bollaert in 1855. This may indicate that the same area is repeatedly a zone for mummy collection, or that similar looking bundles are assigned similar/equal provenience data.

The Colombian mummies were collected in two different regions of the central highlands, both in caves and among dozens of similar burials (as the letters that accompany the remains state). The rest of the mummies were collected in the twentieth century, six before 1910 and three in 1986. All of them come from Peru, as do the two mummies that do not list a date of accession.

The people who collected and donated these mummified remains to the BM come from diverse backgrounds: military and diplomatic envoys, scientists, and antiquities enthusiasts. Nevertheless, the majority of the 23 mummies have been obtained directly by the contributors while traveling or living in the region. Notably, ten of those mummies arrive as a result of diplomatic or military stays in Chile, Peru, and Colombia. The mummies may have been received as gifts, but also, as the letters that accompany the Colombian mummies testify, from scientific expeditions that would from time to time capture the interest of a diplomat, mainly within the country where they were posted (Dawson, 1928).

**Table 4:** Collection of mummies at the British Museum.

| Accession date | Collector/Seller | Provenience | # mummies | Catalogue number | Type of Remains | Collector type |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1832 | Charles Edward Abbot, 2nd Baron of Colchester | Chile, Tarapaca, Arica | **1** | AM 1832,1208.1 | bundle | military |
| 1838 | W. Turner | Colombia, Bogota, Cerro Leiva | **1** | AM 1838,1111.1 | unbundled individual | diplomat ministry |
| 1842 | Robert Bunch | Colombia, Boyacá | **1** | AM 1842.1112.1 | unbundled individual | diplomat ministry |
| 1855 | William Bollaert | Chile, Tarapaca, Arica | **1** | AM 1855,1211.36 | fragment of mummy | scientist ethnologist |
| 1880 collected; 1997 (entered to registry) | Edward J. Whymper | | **8** | AM 1997,Q.1049 | fragment of mummy | scientist ethnologist |
| | | | | AM 1997,Q.1048 | fragment of mummy | |
| | | | | AM 1997,Q.1083 | bundle | |
| | | | | AM 1997,Q.1057 | bundle | |
| | | | | AM 1997,Q.1085 | bundle | |
| | | | | AM 1997,Q.1067 | bundle | |
| | | | | AM 1997,Q.1069 | bundle | |
| | | | | AM 1997,Q.1074 | bundle | |
| 1906 | Beville Stanier | Peru | **1** | AM 1906,1029.1 | bundle | polititian |
| 1909 | C Smith. Lady Gilbert | Peru | **3** | AM 1909,1207.259.a | unbundled individual | private collector |
| | | | | AM 1909,1207.259.b | | |
| | | | | AM 1909,1207.260 | unbundled individual | |
| 1910 | Capt. J. H. Cronow | Peru, Arequipa, Acari | **2** | AM 1910,1010.1.a | bundle | military |
| | | | | AM 1910,1010.2 | bundle | |
| 1986 | J William Ward | Peru, Lima, Ancón. | **3** | AM 1986,Q.584 | bundle | polititian diplomat |
| | | | | AM 1986,Q.582 | bundle | |
| | | | | AM 1986,Q.581 | bundle | |
| | No record | Peru | **1** | AM 1986,Q.583 | bundle | |
| | No record | Peru | **1** | AM 1980,Q.477 | fragment of mummy | |

In regards to mummies collected as part of a scientific expedition, those attributed to the Whymper collection are the most interesting. Whymper is known for his expeditions in the Ecuadorian Andes and, being the first to climb Chimborazo during the golden age of mountaineering. He published several books on his travels, but they contain no mention of collecting mummies. He did strike up a friendship with Reiss and Stübel, two celebrated German scientists who had excavated Ancon in Peru by the time they met him, and who gave Whymper advice on his ascent to Chimborazo as well as a copy of their book (Whymper, 1911). Perhaps this friendship or similar acquaintances allowed Whymper to obtain the eight mummies while in the Andes, but the record is now lost.[35]

This collection is made up of mixed donations; some include solely the mummified remains, as is the case for those donated by William Ward, Robert Bunch and Beville Stainer; while others make part of large object donations, such as the Whymper collection, or like AM 1909, 1207.259 and AM 1909, 1207.26. The last two are part of the C. Smith collection, donated by Lady Gilbert, and include a list of 260 Peruvian objects (described with details and small drawings in the accession book). Others are noted as part of smaller donation of between 10-30 objects, some of those in direct association with the mummies, others in surrounding burial sites or collected at the same time.

It is important to note here that most of the mummified remains in this collection are still bundled, and when not, they are partially covered by textiles or include some textile element (like the cotton and string wrapping on AM 1980,Q.477). Those that do not have textiles do show imprints on their skin, something that is only possible if the process of mummification takes place while the individual is tightly wrapped. Of the 23 mummies of the collection, only five have had textiles removed, and of those, three are partial human remains (hands, arm and foot).

Similarly, given the quantity of objects listed as part of collections associated with the mummies, it is only possible to directly relate those objects which are worn, placed over, attached in some way to the mummies, or those which are specifically noted as collected within the same tomb/burial pit.[36]

As stated earlier, the 23 mummies come from three countries in the Andes. From north to south, there are two individuals from the Colombian highlands, from caves near Bogotá and Boyacá, both areas relatively close together, and close to centers of commerce and administrative interest and hence explored frequently by hacienda owners and avid collectors.

Eleven of the mummies are listed as coming from Peru. However, a particular pro-

35 These mummies are described in detail for contextualization in chapter 5, but a longer discussion on the collection will be undertaken in chapter 6 since it illustrates the challenges of contextualizing museum remains that have been "lost or misplaced" for long periods of time in the storage rooms.

36 As has been explored in the methodological chapter of this thesis, the authenticity of these associations of elements can sometimes be tricky, and has been questioned in every case to the best of the author's abilities.

venience region is given for only five of them, three from Ancón and two from Arequipa. These two areas are well known in the literature of the nineteenth century as important archaeological sites and burial grounds.[37]

The same can be said about the two Chilean mummies from Arica. At one point Arica was an obligatory stop when navigating on the Pacific coast, and a place of high importance as a military outpost and conflict site during the second half of the nineteenth century. Arica is also famous for its mummies, especially after the 1868 earthquake moved/revealed several of them in the immediacy of the city.

The rest of the remains, which include Whymper's collection, have not been linked to any particular area in the documentation, at the moment of accession or later. This is an issue that will be discussed further in following chapters, and which sheds a light on the probable relevance of the BM collection on the wider scope of Latin American travellers' history.



### 4.2.2 Museum of Natural History - Guimet

In 1772 the combined collections of Pierre Adamoli and Monconys-Pestalozzi (which was in itself conformed by the objects collected by the Moconys brothers in their preeminent cabinets of curiosities, and those of doctor Pestalozzi), was sold for a life annuity to the City of Lyon. These collections become in 1777, under the trust of the Académie des Sciences, Belles-lettres et Arts, the first natural history cabinet at the City Hall of Lyon; and would later transform into the museum of natural history of the city and one of the most relevant collections in France.

By 1789, the revolution forced the closure of the cabinet and it would remain closed until 1796, when the creation of the Ecole Centrale de Lyon and the donation of a natural specimens collection by Jean-Emmanuel Gilibert allowed for a reopening of the museum. Many pieces had been lost in the years when the museum was unattended. However, its total number of objects kept growing, even when it continued to open and close its doors according to the attention it gathered from the public and would move locations on several occasions during this time.

As part of the naturalist impetus of the early nineteenth century, between 1830 and 1909, a substantial development of the collections of the museum takes place. Excavations and scientific publications about the museum collections enhanced the museum's standing, not only in Lyon but elsewhere in the country, as it was enriched by archaeological, ethnographic, and anthropological collections and a remarkable group of animal mummies (Dittmar et al., 2003; Ikram, 2005).

At the same time, industrialist Émile Guimet brought back from his travels to Asia a vast collection of objects from India, China and Japan. On his return in 1879, he created in Lyon his museum of Asian religions. Thirty years later, in 1909, the city of Lyon

37 The exploration, excavation and subsequent looting of the necropolis of Ancón

bought the Palais Saint-Pierre building to transfer the collections from the museum of natural history, with galleries in the upper floor to accommodate large skeletons, naturalized mammals, all other natural specimens, archaeological objects from around the globe and Egyptology. Guimet was then convinced to revive the Musée Guimet in Lyon by depositing nearly 3,000 objects from his Musée Guimet in Paris. After two hundred years of formation, the Museum of Natural History of Lyon was inaugurated on May 25, 1913, and then again on June 14, 1914. This museum would continue to be enriched by the collections of the museums of overseas and French-speaking countries, later named the Colonial Museum, which included objects from the National Colonial Exhibition in Marseille.

By 1968, the collections were divided into three institutions, the Gallo-Roman Museum, the Museum of Fine Arts and the Museum of Natural History, and would remain as such until 1991. This last museum would later be transformed into the Museum of Confluences, intended to showcase the collections around specific themes that explore human relations with nature and culture.

Among the archaeological collections of the old Guimet museum, there are many Andean artifacts, collected and donated between the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, and which include objects from Venezuela to Patagonia. Most of the South American collection was donated by Monsieur Rérolle in 1878, but has been enhanced with ethnographic pieces as late as 2003. Within the collections, there are thirteen mummified human remains, found today as part of the South American collections at the Museum of Confluences in Lyon.[38] Two collectors donated these remains. One is a highly recognized doctor, ethnologist and member of the French Academy of Sciences, Armand de Quatrefages, the other a quite unknown private collector, a Lyonaiss who does not appear to have links with any scientific or historical society, and whom it seems never traveled outside of France.

The information in this table was gathered from the original donation letter by Mr. Cotte, dated December 1903, and documental information in accession books of the Muséum D'Histoire Naturelle de Lyon for March 1878, January 1879, June 1879, May 1880, June 1884, December 1903.

Of the thirteen mummies, three are complete individuals, while the other ten are heads with different degrees of mummification and skeletonization. Most of them (10) have been recorded as coming from Peru, though only two, both complete individuals, indicate a specific provenience, in this case the Necropolis of Infantas in the central coast, near Lima. Three of the mummified heads are labeled as "unknown," and no further explanation is provided.

38 The Museum of Confluences opened its doors in 2014 in Lyon. It includes portions of the collections of natural sciences, anthropology and earth sciences from the now extinct Museum of Natural History Guimet.

The mummies and the heads were all part of the permanent exhibit but were removed from viewing after the restructuring of the collections in the 1970s. This history is scarcely documented but for old newspaper clippings, photographs, and notes on the collections database. The most interesting aspect of this collection is that it was formed by only two people in thirty years. Not much is known about Monsieur Cotte's collecting activities, but his descendants who are still in Lyon have stated that, to their knowledge, he had not travelled to South America. Given that he donated the three full body mummies that form part of this collection, it is an intriguing lack of information.



**Table 5:** Collection of mummies at the Museum of Confluences.

| Accession Date | Collector/ Seller | Provenience | Number of Mummies | Catalog Number | Type of Remains | Collector Type |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1903 | Monsieur Cotte | Peru | **3** | 81000106 | unbundled individual | private collector |
| | | Peru, Necropolis de Infantas | | 81000118 | unbundled individual | |
| | | Peru, Necropolis de Infantas | | 81000125 | unbundled individual | |
| 1878 | M. Quatrefages | Peru | **10** | 30 000 430 | head | scientist ethnologist |
| | | unknown | | 30 000 431 | head | |
| | | unknown | | 30 000 432 | head | |
| | | Peru | | 30 000 433 | head | |
| | | unknown | | 30 000 434 | head | |
| | | Peru | | 30 000 435 | head | |
| | | Peru | | 30 000 436 | head | |
| | | Peru | | 30 000 437 | head | |
| | | Peru | | 30 000 438 | head | |
| | | Peru | | 30 000 439 | head | |

Monsieur Quatrefages, on the other hand, was well known at the time of his donation. He was a celebrated member of the French Academy of Sciences since 1852, and by 1855 had been appointed to the chair of anthropology and ethnography at the Musée National d'Histoire Naturelle. His work as a zoologist gathered him respect and recognition among his peers, even when he would disagree with other aspects of their work. One such instance was his relationship with Charles Darwin. Quatrefages was opposed to the idea of evolution, and would create his own classification of human fossils in order to support his arguments.

In regards to the donated collection, Quatrefages' most crucial work was that which he undertook with Hamy in 1882, where he describes in detail a classification of

skulls from around the globe. The finished work, entitled "Crania Ethnica," includes a treatise on fossilized human races, as well as ethnographic observations. He again opposed Broca and Topinard in regards to the classification of human races on the basis of the skull, advocating for a monogenistic perspective.

Quatrefages became an honorary member of the Royal Society of London in June 1879, a year after his donation to the Guimet Museum, and would continue on to be named an honorary member of the Institute and of the Academie de médecine, and commander of the Legion of Honor. His collections of skulls are divided today between at least two museums in Paris (Museum of Man and Quai Branly), besides which he made donations to the Natural History Museum in New York and to the Auckland Museum in Australia. The donations to these museums are of indigenous skulls from various areas around the world, but as far as is known, the majority of Andean remains are held in the Lyon collection.

Given that most of the mummified remains are partial, it is not unusual to find that there are very few objects directly associated with the mummies. Only the complete individuals have been listed as containing any artifact or textile. It is pertinent to note here that all mummies have been unbundled, that is, the outer layer of the original bundle has been removed, probably at the moment of transport. The associated objects that remain with the bodies are smaller textiles, raw cotton and wool, and in one case weaving tools. In the case of 81000106, there is cotton and wool over the stomach cavity, a brown and beige textile over the chest an under the arms, and held in the right hand a set of weaving tools: stick, spindle whorl and thread. Individual 81000125 is noted to have a thread necklace, a small textile bag, and a shoe fragment.

Outside of these textiles, no ceramic, lithics or other type of archaeological materials are associated with the remains. This may well be due to who donated the mummies, at least in the case of Quatrefages, a naturalist who specialized in collecting only "natural specimens" and not material culture, and Cotte, who seems to have found himself as an unintentional collector of these mummies but not have a known archaeological collection to go with them.

The dates of collection are not indicative of any wider picture in mummy collecting, but in the case of the ten heads, do signal to a time of important development of scientific theory around human evolution in France and elsewhere. It is not casual that these donations occur around the time of Quatrefages fame outside of France, or that they will be part of his later publications.

These groups of remains clearly showcase collecting trends in France at the time, and especially in a sphere outside of Paris. Though undoubtedly the Guimet museum is influenced by the discourses and discussion on evolution and the human race held at the capital, it also allows for a particular form of collecting and showcasing of human remains from the periphery.

### 4.2.3 Imperial Natural History Cabinet - Vienna

Nurtured by the royal collection of curiosities of Emperor Franz I Stephan of Lorraine and by the purchase of the collection gathered by Captain Cook at the end of the 18h century, the Imperial Natural History Cabinet in Vienna (Hofnaturalienkabinett in German) was founded in 1806. After the death of the Emperor, his wife Maria Theresa donated the collection for public viewing.

With collections resulting from naturalist expeditions of the mid-eighteenth century to the Americas,[39] the founding collection set the tone for what would be an institution actively engaged in collecting, exchanging and growing its catalog of curiosities.



By 1876 the Cabinet was administered by the Anthropological-Ethnographical Department of the Natural History Museum. By 1928, the collections were separated between natural history and ethnological materials, and the latter formed the Museum for Ethnology in the rooms of the Neue Burg.[40] Only recently has the museum undergone a significant restructure process that culminated with the opening of a Museum of World Cultures (Weltmuseum) in 2018.

The information for the table was collected from original accession letters and books. Those are archives 27.371, 27.372, 27.382, 58.336, 139.748a, 139.922, 186.208_1_2, 5798, 5833, 5877, VO5808, VO5809, as well as the folders containing the original donation letters Victor Wolfgang von Hagen, Louis Sokoloski and Adolf Nobl.

The collection is made up of seventeen mummies. Of those, six are still bundles: two partial bundles with top layers removed, and the other four completely closed. The remaining eleven mummies comprise nine unbundled individuals, one partly mummified head, and a box with several parts of mummified remains.

Records on the donations and the provenience of the remains are absent in few cases. In fact only three of the mummies have no attributed country of origin or cultural affiliation. Except for one Chilean mummy, donated by Dr. Aureliano Oyarzun, Director of the Ethnographic Museum of Santiago, the rest of the known provenience mummies are recorded as coming from Peru, mostly from the central coast around Lima, but also one from Ayacucho. There is one mummy, number 5486, which is part of the famed Novara expedition, that has a double label as Peruvian and from Insular South-East Asia,[41] but no further record can be found.

It is interesting that in these documents, the culture of seven of the mummies has been annotated. Mummies 139922, 5798, 5808 and 5809 are related to the Chancay culture; the mummified head 5833 to Pachacamac (this individual has had a sticker placed

39 Including those of Nicolaus Joseph Jacquin to the Caribbean, Antilles, Venzuela and Colombia in 1755, one of the earliest scientific expeditions organized by a museum.

40 The Neue Burg are specially designed wings of the Hofburg, the former imperial palace in the cente of the city. It was originally intended to house two national museums, but today houses a varied collection of museums, auditoriums, libraries and theatres.

41 This mummy has been included in the inventory as part of the American collection and will be discussed further in the following chapter.

on the skeletonized portion of the skull probably from the date of accession that indicates this affiliation), mummy 27382 is recorded on the seller's letter by Dr. Nobl as Inca.

Many of the mummies in this collection still have a direct association with a number of artifacts. The most common association is with the textiles that partially or totally cover the remains. These woolen and cotton textiles, as well as two reed cradles, have been included in the catalog descriptions of the mummies and have not been separated. For the full bundles, two have decorations on the bundle themselves that have been labeled with continuous numbers in the inventory. These include the hammered metal facemask and feather "headdress" of bundle 58336, and the medicine bags and false head of bundle 139922. These two mummies as well as 139.748_a are part of the donations by Victor Wolfgang von Hagen, and were donated within an 87 item list of objects sent to Dr. Etta Becker Donner in 1959. The collection includes several types of earthenwares from Chancay, Tiahuanaco-Nazca and Nazca-Palpa, as well as weaving instruments and textiles.

Mummy 27382 is noted to have been sent to the museum with its associated grave goods. The total shipment, made by Nobl, is detailed in the inventory from numbers 27404 to 27504, but these items include all objects collected by Nobl in the Americas and have not been stored in association with the remains.

In three cases, there is direct association with ceramic vases, textile work tools, and even corncobs. These are mummies 5798, 5808 and 5809. All three have been kept in crystal cases, probably for exhibit at some point in the history of the museum, and arranged with these associated artifacts all around. They also include a different type of textile artifact, referred to in the literature as Chancay textile shields (Hoffmann, 2017). All three mummies are in some way or other close to, or over one of these shields.

In the case of the Chilean mummy, it was very interesting to find the original box in which it was shipped from Santiago, with the reed and string used for packaging still in place. Though these are not strictly speaking associated burial objects, they do include an interesting tidbit about the process the mummy went through on his/her journey from Chile to Vienna and, as such, provide valuable information for this research.

In terms of the timeframe of when the collection was formed, most of the mummies made their way to the museum in the second half of nineteenth century from 1857 to 1895. It is notable that only one of the mummies does not have a specific date of accession to the museum, but is recorded as being a donation of Etta Becker Donner, who was director of the institution for twenty years starting in 1955. It is reasonable to assume therefore that this donation occurred during or after that period and before her death in 1975.

The three mummies from the Von Hagen donation are the latest recorded entries in 1956. Chilean mummy 5486, though recorded as entering to the museum collection in 2007, was actually donated to the natural history museum, before the division of its collections. Therefore the mummy can be traced to Oyarzun, and to German archaeologists Max Uhle, with whose help this donation is made. Uhle worked in Chile alongside Oyarzun

in the period from 1911 to 1919, so the donation can be framed around those dates.

This brings us to the collectors and donators of the collection. In order of their donation and accession, the oldest collected mummies are those that come from the Novara Frigate naturalist and scientific expedition around the globe. The expedition took place from 1857 to 1859, was organized by Archduke Ferdinand Maximilian and had celebrated advisors such as Alexander von Humboldt. The two-year round the world trip included geologists, zoologists and ethnologists. The journey was recorded by diaries, hundreds of paintings and sketches, and an even more numerous collection of natural and ethnological objects. Its sorting continues until this day. The most relevant contribution of the expedition to the study of human remains comes from Eduard Schwartz who, building on his experience aboard the Novara and his methodology for the human remains collecting process, writes "A System Of Anthropometrical Investigations As A Means For The Differential Diagnosis Of Human Races Some General ... Invented And Established" (Schwarz, 1862). The publication is discussed in relation to Quatrefage's and Darwin's contributions and showcases the intentionality behind the collecting of human specimens such as mummies 3928 and 5486. It was a time of expanding the scientific understanding of the human body, and therefore, the variation among  and cultural groups of anthropomorphic traits becomes a pivotal point of research.



Perhaps taking advantage of this scientific climate, private collectors and naturalist traders such as J. Wasner and Louis Sokoloski sell mummies to institutions like the Natural History Cabinet. Nine of the individuals in the collection are acquired this way, five sold by Wasner and four by Sokoloski. Unfortunately the price paid for the mummies is not listed, though it is for the lot of Peruvian objects that accompany the mummies (75 pieces worth 1000 fl.) or the *"16 prehistoric Peruvian clay pots, dark and light, from the grave fields of Trujillo and Chimbote. Bought in Lima, Peru, for 50 fl 50kr in gold"* («Accession letters Lois Sokolosky Weltmuseum.», 1887).

The remaining six mummies of the collection were donated by ethnologists and scientists involved with the museum in a collector or researcher capacity. It is unclear if Victor Wolfgang Von Hagen was paid for his donations or his work by Dr. Becker Donner, but we do know that Dr. Nobl provided an invoice of his expenses during his collecting activities for the museum, and would have had a stipend agreed upon for the transactions to acquire the objects for the museum.

How the collection is formed and what mummies are part of it provide a very important view of the interrelation between active scientific research and collecting practices in the second half of the nineteenth century. Details on the packaging of remains, object prices and object sourcing are also evident here and they all allow the possibility of reconstructing some of these exchanges with more detail than in other collections.

**Table 6**: Collection of mummies in the Weltmuseum Vienna.

| Accession date | Collector/ Seller | Provenience | Culture | # Mummies | Catalogue number | Type of Remains | Collector type |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1857 | Expedition, S.M. Fregatte Novara | Peru | | **2** | 3928 | unbundled individual | scientist ethnologist |
| 1877 | | Insulares Südostasien/ Peruan. Mumie | | | 5486 | unbundled individual | scientist ethnologist |
| 1878 | J. Wasner | | Chancay | **5** | 5798 | unbundled individual | naturalist trader |
| | | Peru, Lima, Ancón | Chancay | | 5808 | unbundled individual | |
| | | Peru, Lima, Ancón | Chancay | | 5809 | unbundled individual | |
| | | Peru, Lima, Ancón | Pachacamac (by tag stuck on skull) | | 5833 | head | |
| | | Peru, Lima, Ancón | | | 5877 | fragment of mummy | |
| 1887 | Louis Sokoloski | Peru, Patavilea | | **4** | 27371 | unbundled individual | private collectors |
| | | Peru, Patavilea | | | 27372 | unbundled individual | |
| | | Peru, Patavilea | | | 27376 | bundle | |
| | | Peru, Patavilea | | | 27377 | bundle | |
| 1897 | Adolf Nobl | Peru, Cuadivilla, near Chillon river | Inca | **1** | 27382 | bundle | scientist ethnologist |
| 1959 | Victor Wolfgang von Hagen | Peru, Ayacucho, Cangallo. | | **3** | 58336 | bundle | scientist ethnologist |
| | | | | | 139.748_a | bundle | |
| | | Peru | Chancay | | 139922 | bundle | |
| 2007 | Recoverd * | Chile, North Chile | Chinchorro | **1** | 1186.208_1_2 | unbundled individual | scientist ethnologist |
| No record | Etta Beka-Donner | | | **1** | 132231 | unbundled individual | scientist ethnologist |

* Recoverd by Max Uhle, Donated by Dr. A. Oyarzun (Director of the Ethonology Museum of Santiago) to P.W. Schmidt.

### 4.3.4 National Museum - Denmark

The oldest and most extensive museum in Denmark today is the National Museum in Copenhagen. Its origins can be traced to the Royal Chamber of Curiosities and to Ole Worm's famous Museum Wormianum, created in the 17th century and passed on to King Frederick III after the collector's death. The King himself had been collecting naturalia and antiquities for a time, and the incorporation of Worm's collection enhanced the reach and value of the Royal Chamber of Curiosities.

The collections become public with the creation of the National Museum in 1819, though it initially retained the name of Royal Chamber of Curiosities (Det Kongelige Kunstkammer) until 1825. Danish antiquarian Christian Jürgensen Thomsen was the first director of the museum, and introduced the innovative classification of European objects into the three ages of stone, bronze and iron, which was later emulated all over Europe. Simultaneously, ethnographic and archaeological collections of the museum were arranged by area but also with some sense of chronological order.



**Table 7:** Number of mummies at the National Museum Denmark.

| Accession date | Collector/ Seller | Provenience | Culture | # Mummies | # Catalogue | Type of Remains | Collector type |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1929 | Prof. E. Haenfleins collection / Prof. Phil Knud Rasmussen | Peru | Wari? | **1** | O.6782 | bundle | scientist ethnologist |
| 1845-47 | Purchased during the corvette Galatea's circumnavigation led by Admiral Bille | Peru | | **1** | ODI.c.1 | unbundled individual | scientist ethnologist |
| 1882 | Attributed to Wiener collection. Exchange with Trocadéro | Peru, Ancon<br>Peru, Ancon | | **2** | ODI.c.224<br>ODI.c.225 | bundle<br>bundle | Exchange between institutions |
| 1894 | Merchant M. Vessel | | | **2** | ODI.c.270 (a)<br>ODI.c.270 (b) | bundle<br>bundle | private collector |
| 1922 | Exchange with Museum of Ethnology Berlin | | | **1** | O.4002 | False Head | Exchange between institutions |

Though the oldest collections come from Europe, Asia, and India, by the nineteenth century scientific expeditions around the globe considerably enhanced the numbers and diversity of the Danish collection. In consequence, artifacts from the Andes and the rest of the Americas came to Copenhagen, and furthermore, during the first half of the twentieth century allowed for a double exchange: objects from far reach areas under Danish control, such as Greenland, were traded by the museum for Andean objects in

Argentina and Ecuador, and closer in Europe for Andean objects from collections in Berlin and Paris. In that process, six mummies and a false mummy head from the Andean region made their way into the museum's collection.

According to museum records, of those, only four note a provenience. All of them come from Peru, sites or other location records are only available for two, which come from the Wiener collection. Only one mummy, O.6782, has an estimated cultural affiliation, the bundle has been and is currently on exhibit and has been tentatively attributed to the Wari culture by the museum.

Most of the mummies are still bundled and therefore have direct association with textiles. In fact, four out of six still have original textiles of cotton and wool wrapped around the bodies. Outside of that, mummy ODI.c.1 is part of a collection of twenty-five objects donated by Admiral Bille with the Galateas naturalist expedition. The objects come from places like Trujillo, Huaca, Napeño and Cañete. In direct association with the mummy, the accession book lists four spindle whorls and cotton threads. The mummies donated from the Wiener collection: OdI.c.225 and ODI.c.224 include a dry corncob cataloged as ODI.c.227.

The two mummies ODI.c.270 a) and b) are associated with each other and to the textiles they are wearing, but no other objects are included with them. In contrast, bundle O.6782 is associated with eight other objects, in the catalog listed from O.6783 to O.6790. These include feather objects, a feathered poncho and some fans that are not on display or over the remains.

The mummies in this collection were donated and included in the catalog in two periods, the first from 1845-1847, as the result of the Galatea's circumnavigation of the globe and scientific expedition. The second period is from 1882 to 1929, when the remaining five mummies were introduced to the collection. This corresponds with the push for ethnological collection growth at the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth centuries.

A key aspect of the Danish collection is the importance of inter-institution exchange of this type of remains. Three of the six elements classified as mummies come from such relationships, two from the Trocadéro Museum and the Wiener collection in Paris, and the false head from the Ethnology Museum in Berlin. Scientific expeditions organized by members of the museum, like that of museum director Rassmussen and the Heinsfleins collection, also account for an intentionality of collecting ethnological specimens for the museum. That fervor will also spread to nationally funded scientific expeditions like the Galatea's travels. Two of the mummies were sold to the museum by a private collector, an M. Wessel who is listed as a merchant or trader in antiquities but who is not directly associated with the museum in any other capacity.

The most interesting aspect of this collection is that it clearly shows the interrelation of museums during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, how collections

are completed by exchanging pieces that exist in greater numbers in one collection for other, rarer pieces from another museum.

### 4.3.5 Royal Museum of Arts and History (Cinquantenaire Museum)- Belgium

The Royal Museum of Arts and History (RMHA), also known as the Cinquentennaire Museum, in Brussels is another institution formed from the vast collections of curiosa and gifts owned by a royal family, in this case the Habsburg dynasty. Though the original collection was divided and some of it sent to Vienna later in its history, the collection of weapons, coins and art built by the Habsburgs was an impressive recompilation of world antiquities.

Once the collection became public in 1835, it was grouped into the Royal Museum of Armour, Antiquities and Ethnology. From the mid-nineteenth century, the collections started expanding significantly through the donations of private patrons and researchers. Eventually, the collection would become too large to be held at its original location at the Halle Gate and it was split and moved to the Ciquentennaire palace in 1889, where the Art and Ethnology collections remain until today. By 1912, the museum would change its name to Royal Museums of the Cinquantenaire, but to separate it from the Armour Museum that opened at the same location shortly after, it became the Royal Museums of Art and History in 1926.

From the beginning, collectors and enthusiasts of antiquities managed the Royal Collection, but it is under the direction of Egyptologist Jean Capart in 1925 that the institution became a sponsor and leader of scientific research and would continue as such even during the First World War. It is notable that by the end of the war, in 1936, the museum funded important expeditions to the Americas, especially to Mesoamerica and Easter Island.

Unlike during the First World War when the collections were untouched, the Second World War was highly damaging for the museum. Collections had to be transferred outside of the facilities and later had to be reorganized for exhibit. A large fire in 1946 burnt down an entire wing of the museum and destroyed a large part of the collections, a disaster that would not be overcome until the inauguration of the restored area in 1966.

The museum holds objects from Asia, the Islamic world, Oceania and the Americas. This last collection holds both archaeological and ethnographical objects. The American collection at the Royal Museum of Arts and history was mainly built in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. This was, as can be noted from the details above, a time of wealth and growth for the museum.

There are seven mummies in this collection, donated in the first half of the nineteenth century. Three of those donated remains are bundles, half opened but with close association with their original textiles. Another three individuals have been unbundled and were donated as such. The last element of the collection is a mummified head, donated alongside the fully closed bundles.

The table 8 gathers information from original donation letters by Auguste Serruys and Corneille de Boom, as well as from accession dossiers, opened for each mummy with its catalogue number as document number.

These documents indeed emphasize that only two individuals donated all of the mummies; private collector Auguste Serruys and the Belgian Vice-Consul to Chile, Corneille de Boom.[42] The donations made by Serruys were first entered into the Museum of Natural History in 1833 and later transferred to the RMAH in 1946. They were shipped together in a box and said to have come from the interior of Peru, and were so noted in the inventory. However, the letter that accompanies the bundles specifies that the mummies come from the *Araucania*, and later adds that this is a region of the interior of Peru, which is in itself contradictory, given that the Araucania is well within Chile's lake region. This contradiction may suggest that Serruys himself did not collect the mummies or travel to the region, but that he was rather a secondary recipient of the remains. The remains have no associated objects with them in the box outside of the textiles covering them, except for AM5934, which includes textile work implements (wooden canes, a spindle whorl, a wooden scraper and a bone instrument).

**Table 8:** Collection of mummies at the Royal Museum of Arts and History.

| Accession date | Collector/ Seller | Provenience | Culture | # mummies | # Catalogue | Type of Remains | Collector type |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1833 | Auguste Serruys | Peru, Interior of Country | | **4** | AAM5934 | bundle | private collector |
| | | | | | AAM5935 | bundle | |
| | | | | | AAM5936 | bundle | |
| | | | | | AAM5937 | head | |
| 1846 | Corneille de Boom | Chile, Arica | | **3** | AAM5938 | unbundled individual | diplomatic |
| | | | | | AAM5939 | unbundled individual | |
| | | | | | AAM5940 | unbundled individual | |

By contrast, the donation made by Corneille de Boom includes much more information regarding provenience as well as associated artifacts. As has been stated earlier, de Boom was appointed in 1840 Vice-consul to Valparaiso, Chile on behalf of the Belgian government. Before that he had been a successful trader, in 1838 he started a branch of his family's firm Des Boom et Cie. of Antwerp, and it would become successful enough that a regular line of vessels would travel between the two cities. The mummies de Boom donates to the RMAH may have indeed come to Europe in such fashion. The three unbundled individuals are reported as coming from Arica in Chile and were accompanied by a large quantity of ceramic artifacts.

42 Popularized by the caricaturists Hergé in his comic Tin Tin, The Rascar Capac mummy was collected by de Boom, though another publication (Appelboom and Struyven 1999) states that it was collected by a Baron. Jean-Baptiste de Terloo. It is unclear where this confusion come from, but the documentation at the museum today does not list Terloo as a collector.

De Boom's donation is perhaps the best known in the museum. Indeed, one of the mummies, AM 5939, donated by de Boom, has been on exhibit since its accession into the collection and has garnered the name "Rascar Capar" after being used by inspiration for one of Herge's famous Tin Tin comics. This particular individual has fifteen associated ceramic vases, for example. Another, AM 5938, a child mummy, was accompanied by ten small vases. These associated objects were part of the burial context, according to the letter sent with the donation to the museum, and are said to also include musical instruments, though those were not found at the time of the author's visit to the collection.

The timeframe of the donations of both the Serruys and de Booms collections is indicative of an initial period of formation of the American collections that would later become highly relevant for the RMAH's reputation in Europe (especially in relation to the feather headdresses and capes from Mexico and the Amazonia that continue to gather much interest today). The Rascar Capar mummy has also made this particular collection a lot more visible than other similar collections around Europe.



### 4.3.6 National Museum of Ethnology in the Netherlands (Currently Museum of World Cultures)

The RMV was formed in 1837 by a combination of three private collections: those of Phillip Franz Balthasar von Siebold (1796- 1866), Jan Cock Blomhoff (1779-1853) and Johannes Gerhard Frederik van Overmeer Fischer (1800 – 1848), all comprising Japanese objects collected during their respective stays until 1829 in the country. Together these three collections formed the core of the first "Ethnographic Museum" in Leiden (Effert, 2008). Years later, during the second half of the nineteenth century, the restructuring of the collections in the Royal Cabinet of Curiosities in The Hague and the trespass off all non-classic period archaeological objects from the Rijksmuseum van Oudheden (RMO) in Leiden, allowed for the consolidation of the National Museum for Ethnography. During these years, and until today, the collections have been expanded with objects from the Americas, Indonesia, the South Pacific, Siberia, Africa, etc. In fact, after 175 years of collecting, the RMV now has one of the largest ethnographic object collections in the Netherlands (Effert, 2008).

The RMV, now Museum of World Cultures, has had several changes in its exhibit halls over its history, the last one being the complete change of the museum in 2010, brought upon by a restructuring of the main building. The current museum has merged with the Tropen Museum and wih the Afrika Museum, and in consequence its holdings have changed dramatically. Though it has around 4,000 objects in its permanent exhibit, the three institutions together have around 60 000 objects in their storages. These include the already mentioned Japan collection, as well as collections from Africa, Asia, Korea, China, Indonesia, Oceania, Central, South and North America, and the Polar Regions (www.volkenkunde.nl). The official collections housed at the museum are likewise organized geographically. They are the Insular South-East Asia collection, the South and

South-East Asia collection, South-West and Central Asia collection, Africa collection, Middle and South America collection, Native North America collection and the Circumpolar Regions collection.

**Table 9:** Collection of mummies at the Ethnology Museum Leiden.

| Accession date | Collector/ Seller | Provenience | Culture | # mummies | # Catalogue | Type of Remains | Collector type |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1974-1976 | Henry Schroeder | Argentina, Chile | | **7** | 4857-47 | bundle | private collector |
| | | | | | 4857-62 | bundle | |
| | | | | | 4857-63 | bundle | |
| | | | | | 4857-64 | unbundled individual | |
| | | | | | 4857-65 | unbundled individual | |
| | | | | | 4857-66 | head | |
| | | | | | 4857-67 | head | |
| unknown | unknown | Peru | | **1** | 4068-1 | bundle | |

The Andean Mummies collection is made up of seven mummies: three bundles, two possibly unwrapped bundles and two mummified human heads. Besides the human remains, the collection also includes fifty-nine artifacts, ranging from earthenware to necklaces, textiles and metal objects.

The collection was acquired by the museum in 1974, bought from Amsterdam antiques dealer Henry Schoeder. It was originally shipped from Argentina and sold as part of one context (de Bock, 1981:51). The official letter that accompanies the mummies, provided by the seller, reads: "the grave in its totality is collected by Mr. Aparacion, archaeologist from Buenos Aires, around 1910, in the border of Peru and Chile, and [?] in the region of Arica" (Letter on register 1976 in de Bock 1981:2). The objects were officially introduced to the main catalog of the RMV on February 16, 1976.

The first work dedicated to the mummies takes place in 1981, when a previous curator of the museum, E.C. de Bock, writes his doctoral thesis on his examination of the collection. The original work, entitled "Pre-Columbian mummies in the National Museum of Ethnology at Leiden" was written in Dutch, and is an extensive description of the mummies' original state as well as a complete inventory of the associated artifacts (de Bock 1981). De Bock initially believed that the mummies came from Argentina, as Schoeder first bought them in that country. However, further inspection of the ceramic artifacts associated with the bundles led him to establish that at least part of the collection came from the Arica region of Chile – specifically from the "Gentilar" culture area. De Bock also attempted to pair the vases recovered with the three child mummies, aided by descriptions of common burial practices in the region, and concluded that the three mummies and the vases were consistent with three different graves (de Bock 1981:46).

De Bock seems to have tried to contact several archaeologists from the region in order to contextualize the adult mummies. He stated, for example, that: "[of] The numerous letters with detailed photographs and drawings that I have sent to archaeologists in South America, for all but one remained unanswered" (de Bock 1981:3). What the answering letters might have said is not further explained in the 1981 publication, but de Bock does remain convinced that the two adult mummies come from the Northeast area of Argentina and he goes as far as suggesting they might belong to the Tiahuanaco or Inca traditions, namely to the Late Horizon period (De Bock, 1981: 51).

It is unclear if the mummies were exhibited from the point of their inclusion in the catalog or after de Bock's research. However, they were reportedly on display until 1992. That year they were removed from the permanent exhibit for two reasons: the first was that it was thought that adequate conservation and preservation for the mummies was not possible while in the glass cases in the permanent exhibit; and the second was the strong smell that came out of the cases and posed an inconvenience to both curators and visitors.



The lack of a specific registry for what was on exhibit before the year 2000 does not permit this information to be confirmed or detailed. The collection itself has mummies from at least three different backgrounds. Though they have all been reported in documents as belonging to Argentinian traditions, early research already shed light into at least two of them coming from Chile and the Gentilar region. That being the case, as far as documents linked to the mummies before this research, there is very little to suggest other areas of the Andes were considered as provenance for the remains.

In general, the reported dates of collection for the mummies at the RMV are quite late. It is interesting to note that they were introduced to the museum after 1970, when the UNESCO declaration was under effect and would have, in theory, not allowed for such commercial exchanges.

The trajectory of the mummies suggests that they had already been in Europe long before they were sold to the RMV and could perhaps have been collected before the middle of the twentieth century. This is particularly probable as Chile had changed and strengthened its export regulations at this time.

### 4.3.7 Náprstek Museum - Czech Republic

Opening in 1862 as an Industrial Museum in Prague, the Naprstek Museum is eponymous to its founder Vojtech Nsprstek. It was conceived as a private museum but became part of the National Museums of the Czech Republic after his death, when it also became a museum for the exhibition of ethnological and archaeological cultures from around the world.

It is remarkable that, though Naprstek's original intention was not to create a museum of cultures, many of his friends and colleges were expatriates and ethnographers that collected extensively during their travels, and later donated their collections to the

museum from the mid-nineteenth century until he died in 1894. This prompted an expansion of the grounds of the museum in 1887 towards the back of the original structure. The museum gathered the attention of the intellectual circles in Prague, and served as a point of contact for researchers and new travelers who wanted advice and sometimes funding for their endeavors, and would in return bring collections to donate to the continually growing museum. The fact that most of the objects from the nineteenth century were donated to the museum by collectors who assembled them first-hand makes the collections at the Naprstek museum highly contextualized and systematically organized. Naprstek himself collected some of the materials in the original founding collection, including a series of machines he brought from the World Exhibition in London in 1862 and a collection of American ethnological artifacts from his expedition in 1857 to the lake counties.

The complete collection moved to its current location in 1921, after both Naprstek and his wife Josefa's deaths. Josefa had served as board director and continued to add objects to the collection, but once she passed away a more focused acquisition program was designed in order to "complete" the collections sections. At the same time, the collection was separated according to topics to other nascent specialized museums, and by 1932 the Náprstek Museum of General Ethnography is born. After World War II, the museum was incorporated into the National Museum where it enjoyed a special autonomous status.

Finally, in 1962, on the occasion of the centenary of its foundation, the museum's thus far predominant accent on ethnographic approaches was extended to embrace non-European fine arts, applied art, archaeology and numismatics, and the change of conception was projected into its new name: Náprstek Museum of Asian, African and American Cultures.

The collections remained largely unchanged until after the World War II, when an expansion of the collections started. The expansion comprises more than two-thirds of its current items, most of them gathered by the museum curators, which allowed for more thorough documentation and classification of the objects.

The Andean collection of the museum was formed in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, but it is during the later period that it is enhanced to the size it has today. Indeed, it is only in the second half of the twentieth century that mummified archaeological remains from the Andes made their way into this collection. From 1967 to 1969, five mummies were entered into the museum, four of them bundles and one mummified head.[43]

Vaclav Solc, who was appointed director of the museum in 1973 and who had extensive ties with the Chilean research elites, since he conducted studies with the University of Chile, collected three of the mummies. Therefore, it is not surprising that Solc reports

43 Recently, studies have been conducted on the remains, of which the most relevant is the article written by curator Gabriela Jungová and Jakub Peceny in 2017, "Chilean infant mummy in the collections of the Nápstrek museum: anthropological analysis".(Annals of the Nápresteck museum 38/2: 87-92).

the mummies in the collection as coming from Tarapacá and Arica, regions he knew well and where he had already collected several artifacts for the museum collections. Indeed, mummy 112/69/50 was given to Solc by after he finished his studies in the country, in exchange for a camping tent – or at least that is how Solc presented the remains to the museum. Only one of the mummies was actually donated to the collection, 94/67/2, the others were sold by him to the institution after his travels, though it is unclear if this was before his appointment as director.

**Table 10:** Collection of mummies at the Naprstek Museum.

| Accession date | Collector/ Seller | Provenience | Culture | # mummies | # Catalogue | Type of Remains | Collector type |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1969 | Vaclav Solc via Universidad de Chile | Tarapacá | | **1** | 112/69/50 | bundle | scientist ethnologist |
| 1968 | Olga Pisova (Kandertova) | Azapa, Arica, Chile | | **1** | 13/68/1 | bundle | private collector |
| 1967 | Vaclav Solc | Arica, Chile | | **2** | 94/67/2 | bundle | scientist ethnologist |
| | | Arica, Chile | | | 94/67/1 | head | |
| 1968 | Julius Hirsch | Peru | | **1** | 122/68/5 | bundle | private collector |

Mummy bundle 13/68/1 was donated by Olga Pisova (formerly Kandertova), who was Solc's secretary for a time and would therefore also have access to Chilean material through him and his work. In this case, the remains also come from Arica, but have a specific location detailed, Azapa.

The fifth bundle is donated by a private collector by the name of Julius Hirsch, but no further information on who he is or his ties to the museum is currently available. The mummy donated by Hirsch, 22/68/5, is unique in that it is noted as coming from Peru, and therefore is differentiated from the other four.

The dates of collection and integration of the mummies into the collection are relatively late, especially if we take into consideration the introduction of the UNESCO convention of the 1970s. The ties between Solc and Chile may have allowed for the remains to circumvent pre-existing legislation, and would certainly also account for Pisova's donation.

Hirsch donation to the National Museum is noted on the accession book as occurring in 1920, but the official accession date was changed to that of the moment of integration to the Naprstek collections.

Regarding associated objects, all mummies and the head have at least a small textile associated directly with the body. However, some of them were donated with more prominent object collections. For example, mummy 112/69/50 was donated with what has been described in the museum documentation as its "ajuar funerario" (burial goods). It consists of fifty artifacts, among which are series of fishing tools, as well as ceramic vases,

though the entire collection is listed as being in a bad state of preservation. These associated goods gained the mummy the title of "the fisherman," a name that has been used both in the catalog and on the exhibits of which the remains have been a part. Though not ascertained by the curators, there is a note that links mummy 94/67/2 with a funerary offering set of thirty-four objects, among which ceramic and textile artifacts are listed.

Mummy 13/68/1 was donated with twelve other artifacts, though they are not listed in direct association with the remains. These objects include a mix of Mapuche objects, as well as four ceramic vessels listed as Tihuanaco and the others coming from the Gentilar and San Miguel traditions. It is also listed as having weaving artifacts associated directly with the remains, but no other specifications are made.

### 4.3.8 Archaeological Museum of the Carmo Convent - Lisbon

Opened on the old ruin of the Carmo convent in the city of Lisbon, the Archaeological Museum founded in 1864 was a project by the Association of Portuguese Archaeologists. Initially, it was used as a storing facility for assorted collections of archaeological objects, with no relation between them, and organized according to their material distribution more than a  or cultural one.

The collections come from donations and expeditions around the world as well as within Portugal, and were amassed during the late-nineteenth and early-to-mid-twentieth centuries. The sculpture and Roman epigraphy collection is, for example, one of those early collections, as is the excavation material from Castro de Vila Nova de S. Pedro and the Egyptian mummy and sarcophagus that are still on exhibit today. Special attention is placed on the small pre-Columbian collection, which includes two mummies as well as ceramics and lithic material.

Both mummies are reported as coming from Peru, specifically from the cemetery of Ancón, and attributed to the Chancay culture. Alongside the two mummies, two skulls were also collected from the cemetery, but did not include associated artifacts.

**Table 11:** Collection of mummies at the Archeological Museum of Carmo Convent.

| Accession date | Collector/ Seller | Provenience | Culture | # mummies | # Catalogue | Type of Remains | Collector type |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1880 | Conde de Sao Januario | Peru | Chancay | **2** | AAP | unbundled individual | diplomatic |
| | | | | | AAP | unbundled individual | |

The mummy collection is credited to a donation by the Count of São Januário. An important figure in Potugal's colonial and military history, he also served as a diplomat to South America. His official position was that of appointed Charge d'Affaires to all the Republics of South America, and he held it from 1878 onwards. During his posting, the

Count facilitated a series of trade agreements between Portugal and South America, and it is hence possible that the mummies in the Carmo Convent were collected and transported to Europe as a result of those interactions.

The information available states that the mummies were accompanied by *"typical funeral offerings: copper objects with images of the gods, bracelets, forehead ornaments, spindles and wool, cloth, baskets and the traditional coca and chuspa bag knitted in lama wool and decorated with geometric designs"* (do Carmo, 2002:147). The artifacts, however, are not found in direct association with the mummies that are displayed in the museum in individual wooden and glass cases. There are a series of Chancay artifacts in an exhibition case nearby, but there is no mention of whether these are part of the funerary offerings that accompanied the mummies from South America to Lisbon. The fact that the Chancay culture and Ancón are the only provenience-related data mentioned in the documents and in the exhibit probably indicate a single moment of collection, and furthermore, a high likelihood of association between the mummies and the artifacts.



### 4.3.9 Museo Arqueológico Nacional - Madrid

In 1771, Charles III created his Royal Cabinet of Natural Sciences. The founding collection comes from Ecuadorian scientist Pedro Franco Dávila, who amassed an invaluable number of natural and cultural specimens during his time in South America, as well as trading in antiquities in Europe among the elites in Paris, Berlin, Russia, and Madrid. In his collection, Dávila, and later the King, would include archaeological and ethnographical objects collected in the first scientific expeditions in the Americas. As the collection grew, augmented by scientific expeditions during the early nineteenth century, so did the need for a dedicated space to exhibit them.

By 1815, the founding of the National Museum of Natural Sciences provided such a space and encouraged the growth of the collections through donations and purchases. The history of the Royal Cabinet and the collections that have been stored there has been described at length (Calatayud Arinero, 1986). The involvement of the institution with the financing of scientific expeditions to the Americas by celebrated researchers like Malaspina and Humboldt are notable, not only because it shows an interest in the collection and an understanding of the Spanish colonies, but because it allows for well-documented and provenanced artifacts to be found in such a collection.

Because of the Napoleonic wars and the subsequent independence movements all over America, the beginning of the nineteenth century saw no growth of the museum, but rather a shift to understanding the existing collections. By the mid-nineteenth century, the collections were separated in different locations according to themes, as was the tradition at the time. In 1868 the collections of archaeological and ethnographical objects became part of a new museum, the Museo Arqueológico Nacional, which included the old collections of American Archaeology and Ethnography at the Natural Sciences Museum.

The collections housed in this museum would be used several times during the world exhibits of the late nineteenth century, such as the Congreso Internacional de Americanistas in 1881 and the Exposición Histórica Americana in 1892. The latter included collections sent by delegations of the newly founded American nations that would become a point of contention in the future, like the Tesoro Quimbaya donated by the Colombian government that would later also be shown in at the World Exhibit in Chicago. Through the creation of the permanent exhibit of the Museo Arqueológico Nacional in 1896, the collections were arranged chronologically and by country, though admittedly those chronologies consisted of a simple division between pre and postcolonial. A clear example of this is the disposition of Peruvian collections, where instead of using cultural classifications, the objects are arranged in accordance to the original collections, one gathered by Martinez Compañón and the other by Rafael Larco Larrea.

The collections grew steadily, and by 1941 the foundation of the Museo de América introduced a period of acquisitions of colonial art and pre-Columbian materials to the museum. The augmented collections were moved to the current Museo de América in 1965, which exhibits pieces from American prehistory, ethnography and colonial art. At this time, and coinciding with another Congreso de Americanistas, a restructuring of the exhibits was conducted. In one room, the ethnographic collections exhibit included Hawaiian feathers, Amazonian shrunken heads, a thatch hut from the Philippines and a Peruvian mummy with its full funerary offerings. Not all the collections were exhibited, but rather a mixture of iconic objects from all the countries represented by the museum.

Among those collections, there are nine Andean mummified remains. Of those, five are complete bundles, while four are unbundled individuals. Though the documentary information at the museum points at the possible existence of another two mummies from the Malaspina collection, only the drawings are still available.

There are two moments of collection for the remains. An early one from 1862 to 1866 can be traced to the travels of the Expedición del Pacífico. Five of the individuals from the collection come from that scientific expedition and are described as having been dug out by Dr. Manuel Almagro during the expedition's stay at Atacama in Chile.

The enterprise conducted by the Expedición del Pacífico was a great investment by the Spanish crown. In 1862, a selection of naturalists who had ties to the Natural Sciences Museum in Madrid was formed, and it included six professors, three zoologists, a geologist, a botanist and an anthropologist, plus two assistants for taxidermy and drawing of the finds. They were tasked to bring back scientific collections to complete those existing in the country at the time.

The plans for the expedition took time, and by the time of sailing only four researchers would travel, crossing South America from Ecuador to Brazil from 1864 to 1865, exploring the Andes and the Amazon, as well as several other countries on their way to complete this route. The results were large collections of zoology, botany, geology, archaeology, and ethnology.

**Table 12:** Collection of mummies at te Museo de America.

| Accession date | Collector/ Seller | Provenience | Culture | # mummies | # Catalogue | Type of Remains | Collector type |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1864 | Expedición del Pacifico. Most of them dug out by D. Manuel Almagro at Calama, Atacama, Chile. | Chile, Atacama, Chiu Chiu | Chiu Chiu | 5 | 07866 | unbundled individual | scientist ethnologist |
| 1862-1866 | | Peru | called "Chinchorro" but cultural context Atacameño | | 70388 | bundle | |
| 1862-1866 | | Chile, Atacama, Chiu Chiu | | | 2003.03.1 | unbundled individual | |
| 1864 | | Chile, Atacama, Chiu Chiu | Chiu Chiu | | 15407 | unbundled individual | |
| 1864 | | Chile, Atacama, Chiu Chiu | Chiu Chiu | | 15408 | unbundled individual | |
| 1976 | Universidad del Norte de Chile (Donation) | Andes Centro/ Sur | Atacama or Arica | 3 | 1976.01.174 | bundle | scientist ethnologist |
| 1976 | | Andes Centro/ Sur | Atacama or Arica | | 1976.01.175 | bundle | |
| 1976 | | Andes Centro/ Sur | Atacama or Arica | | 1976.01.177 | bundle | |
| 1927 | Prepared (faked) mummy for the Exposición Iberoamerican de Sevilla in 1929. Comes from the personal excavations by Tello in Wari Kayan in 1927. | Peru, Paracas, Wari Kayan, Cerro Colorado | Paracas | 1 | 70311 | bundle | scientist ethnologist |

The Cuban doctor, Dr. Manuel Almagro, was in charge of anthropology and ethnography for the expedition. During his first three travels, he traversed Argentina, Chile, Bolivia, and the Peruvian Andes. His last trip took him from the Ecuadorian coast to Pará in Brazil. Resulting from those trips was a vast collection of objects, including a number of mummies. Five of those, collected in the locality of Chiu Chiu, Atacama, remain part of the Museo de América collection. Another fifteen made their way in the late 1980s to

Prof. Reverte Coma of the Museo Universitario de Antropología Forense, Paleopatología y Criminalística de la Escuela de Medicina Legal de la Universidad Complutense de Madrid (Table 13).

The remaining four mummies were collected in the twentieth century. One of them is a prepared mummy, modified from the original excavation by Julio Tello in Wari Kayan in 1927 to be exhibited at the Ibero-american Exposition in Seville in 1929. The mummy is actually a mixture of skeletonized individuals, covered with Paracas textiles and sitting in a basket in the Paracas style.

**Tabl 13:** Collection of mummies at the Reverte Coma Museum.

| Accession date | Collector/ Seller | Provenience | # mummies | # Catalogue | Type of Remains | Collector type |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1862-1866 | Expedición del Pacífico | Chile, Atacama, Chiu Chiu | **15** | MAMF- MA030 | unbundled individual | scientist ethnologist |
| | | | | MAMF- MA007 | | |
| | | | | MAMF- MA016 | | |
| | | | | MAMF- MA027 | | |
| | | | | MAMF- MA023 | | |
| | | | | MAMF- MA006 | | |
| | | | | MAMF- MA020 | | |
| | | | | MAMF- MA010 | | |
| | | | | MAMF- MA014 | | |
| | | | | MAMF- MA015 | | |
| | | | | MAMF- MA022 | | |
| | | | | MAMF- MA009 | | |
| | | | | MAMF- MA004 | | |
| | | | | MAMF- MA005 | | |
| | | | | MAMF- MA0138 | fragment of mummy | scientist ethnologist |

Julio Tello is the most well known early Peruvian archaeologist. His work is particularly linked to the sites of Chavín de Huantar and the Paracas cemeteries in Cerro Colorado. He worked alongside many foreign researchers during the first half of the twentieth century, including Ales Hrdlicka, Alfred Kroeber, Samuel Lothrop and the like, and constantly collaborated with institutions outside Latin America to portray Peru's archaeological heritage. This prepared mummy is an example of such work, created for the Seville exhibit and still in use by the Museo de América.

Another three mummies were donated by the University of Northern Chile in 1976, and consist of the most complete bundles of the collection. It is unclear if they come from a specific site excavated by the university, but they are reported to come from the same context.

The two moments of collecting signal a shift in the formation of the collections at the museum. The first five mummies were collected as part of a European scientific expedition, typical of the nineteenth century, and have a well-established documentation trail. The second moment is during the twentieth century, with direct links to the scientific community in the Andes by means of Tello and the University of Northern Chile. This signals an expansion of the scientific networks of researchers between Europe and Latin America, and the collaborations that would continue to take place, at least between Spain and the Andes, in the future.

In terms of associated objects, some of the mummies in this collection have been separated from their original funerary attire and offerings. Textiles are recorded as part of the mummies collected by the Expedición del Pacífico, but are no longer housed together with the bodies. The only exception is individual 70388 from the Museo de América collection, which retains its bundle fabric. The donations from the Universidad de Chile retain the original wrappings, but no further associated objects have been stored with them.



According to the documentation, except for Tello's prepared mummy, most of the collection comes from northern Chile. The Atacama region is mentioned in general for all the remains, but there is also an indication in the documentation of more specific areas like Arica for the University of Northern Chile donations, and Chiu Chiu (near San Pedro de Atacama) for the Expedición del Pacífico.

The changing borders between Bolivia, Peru and Chile, reworked after the War of the Pacific (1879-1883), may be the reason why remains are described as Peruvian mummies, but later on cataloged as coming from Chile. During the war, many sites were looted and mummies entered the commodities market even more so than in previous years. Though the collections described above have earlier or later acquisition dates than those of the duration of the conflict, it is important to note that the province of Tarapacá which was Peruvian before the conflict, and the entire secretary Bolivian coast and province of Antofagasta were ceded to Chile with the signature of the Treaty of Ancón. All mummies from the Expedición del Pacífico collection come from these regions. This means that the mummies were collected in Peru and Bolivia, and shipped to Spain as antiquities from those countries, but by the time they were cataloged and re-described they had transformed into Chilean antiquities.

The movements and transformation of the collections of the Museo Arqueológico Nacional, as well as their process of collecting, show how military and political history can affect a catalog thousands of miles away, and moreover how influential those historical process can be to the understanding and classification of remains in museums today.

### 4.3.10 Trocadéro Museum in Paris

The Musée d'Ethnographie du Trocadéro was founded in Paris in 1878. The museum was a product of the scientific expeditions of the nineteenth century, and as such was initially called the Ethnographic Museum of Scientific Expeditions (MSE) during the years of 1877 and 1878. However, after the Universal Expedition in Paris in 1878, the collections held at the MSE were augmented and reorganized at the new location in the Trocadéro Palace (Dias, 1991:163). At the MSE, exhibits were organized geographically and according to the scientific mission's character. This set up was to be the inspiration for what would later become the biggest ethnographic museum in Paris (Dias 1991:166).

The Trocadéro Museum was formed as a public space of discussion for all the ethnographic collections that had been, until 1878, spread over different museums and institutions in Paris, both private and public (Price, 2002:81). Collections from cabinets of curiosities would come to form the founding collections of the Trocadéro, including those of the Cabinet des Medailles et Antiques and the Bilbiothéque Nationale. These already substantial collections of objects would be gradually augmented by the archaeological and ethnographic assemblages brought to France by scientific missions, private collectors and explorers from the seventeenth to the twentieth centuries. Many of the collections acquired during these centuries, especially those from Africa and Oceania, came from French colonial enterprises (Dias 1991: 199).

Under the direction of Ernest-Theodor Hamy, the initial Trocadéro Museum was to house the primary collection of ethnographic objects from non-Western cultures. Its location was set on the first floor of the Palais du Trocadéro on the hill of Challiot. This site had been the setting for the 1867's World's Fair, and later was rebuilt as the Palais du Trocadéro for the 1878 edition of the World's Fair. It offered, in that sense, the advantage of allowing for easier relocation of the World's Fair's collections as well as a structure that had been recently built and was appropriate to house a significant number of visitors.

Hamy's vision for the museum highlighted objects as representations of the daily life of foreign cultures, including rituals and customs. The rooms were arranged following a natural history model, and the objects in them as a series that showcased the fulfillment of universal human needs such as clothing, shelter, and food. In that sense, the displays at the Trocadéro Museum gave preeminence to material culture over descriptions of rituals or encounters with these foreign cultures (Vargas-Cetina et al., 2013:39). Aside from the objects' narratives, the museum also followed a  organization, with two of the larger rooms dedicated to the European and American collections, followed by smaller areas with objects from Asia, Africa, and Oceania (Vargas-Cetina et al., 2013:39).

From the year of its formation, until 1927, the museum's collection grew to hold more than 100,000 pieces under the direction of Rene Verneau. However, visitors and interest in the museum had steadily declined. In 1928, Paul Rivet was named director and the Trocadéro underwent a significant transformation, becoming once again a leading in-

stitution for the study of ethnography (Conklin, 2002).

The changes that Rivet introduced at the Trocadéro emphasized the role of the institution as a place for public education, and it included the addition of major regions of the world to the galleries, as well as a series of skeletal displays that would present his ideas regarding humankind, adding to the existing collection those housed at the anthropology laboratory of the National Museum of Natural history (Conklin, 2002: 147). With the announcement of the World's Fair Exhibition of 1937, the museum was once again moved to the Palais de Challiot and underwent a second transformation.

The Trocadéro museum reopened under a new name in 1938, becoming the Musée de l'Homme or Museum of Man. The most important addition to the new museum was the hall dedicated to physical anthropology, human prehistory, and evolution, which included a typology of human races as well as the linear evolution of mankind (Conklin 2002, 146).



During the changes this institution underwent, the human remains in its collections were presented to the public in different ways. Particularly, the presentation of mummies changed dramatically from the nineteenth centuries vision at the Trocadéro, to that of the Museum of Man. During the nineteenth century, mummies were presented associated within their mortuary contexts, so both the bodies and the ethnographic objects were included. This contrasted to the way mummies were exhibited at the Muséum National d'Histoire Naturelle, where mummies were used primarily for scientific comparisons (Carminati, 2011:27).

At the Museum of Man, however, a distinction between ethnographic and anthropological human remains was made. The first group included remains associated with ethnographic objects, mummy bundles or partially textile-covered remains. The second one included those remains that were interesting from a physical anthropology perspective, including skulls, skeletons and other human remains that would help exemplify the diversity of the humanity, in this case by means of racial typologies. This same separation would carry on after the creation of the Musee du Quai Branly in 2006. At the time, the ethnographic collections held at the Museum of Man and those of the now-defunct Musée national des Arts d'Afrique et d'Océanie (The MAAO or National Museum of the Arts of Africa and Oceania) were merged to create the new museum. The Museum of Man was able to keep its prehistoric collections and those of osteology and biological anthropology (Mcgee and Warms 2013: 571).

As has been established earlier, most of the collections housed within all museums in Paris came from scientific missions (missions scientifiques), some private and others financed by the Ministry of Public Instructions in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Out of forty-eight missions recorded from 1875 to 1879 in the Notes sur les missions (1879, 2AM), eight were carried in the Americas. The entire collection comprised around ten thousand objects between ethnographic, archaeological and skeletal remains.

The collections included donations from scientists as well as private collectors; in 1882 objects from Léon de Cessac, Désire Charnay and Guillemin Tarayre; by 1883 and 1884 donations by Abel Drouillon, Gabriel de Gunzbourg, and de Labadie were added; by 1885 a portion of the American Collection from the Smithsonian Institute was received (Dias 1991: 180); but it would be in 1886 to 1887 that the two bigger collections from Charles Wiener and the Musée du Louvre were integrated into the museum. As can be seen in the table below, the Andean mummies that came to the Musée d'Ethnographie du Trocadéro come from the collections of Charles Wiener (n. inv. 71.1878.2), Léon de Cessac (n. inv. 71.1878.54), Chares Baur (n. inv. 71.1894.66), Theodor Ber (n. inv. 71.1878.8) and a mummy from Bolivia donated after the Universal Exposition of 1878 (n. inv. 71.1880.17).

As has been stated, after the fragmentation of the collections between the Quai Branly and the Museum of Man, some mummies remained under the care of the latter, mainly because of their lack of association to cultural material that could be deemed of ethnographic interest. As recorded by Markupova, those collections were donated by Vidal-Senèze and Frederic Quesnel (an antique dealer friend of Wiener). In the case of these collections, only ethnographic objects were stored in the Musée du Quai Branly (Markupová, 2017).

The majority of the collections come from scientific expeditions, and as such, were collected by learned men who already had at least a minimum knowledge of Andean prehistory, and in that sense, were looking for objects to represent that past to the French public.

One of the richest American collections came from Charles Wiener, a German scholar and explorer who from 1875 to 1878 was in charge of a scientific mission in Peru and Bolivia. His time in the Andes was intense. Wiener excavated and is said to have visited on many occasions the site of Ancón (a known site since the early 1870s), first with some looters, and some days later, with the help of French sailors put at his disposal by admiral Périgot (chief of the French naval station of the Pacific). Wiener also worked in Lima, Trujillo (where he did research in Moche and Chan Chan), and Cajamarca, and meanwhile became acquainted with archaeological traditions that were little-known in Europe at the time such as Recuay, Chavín de Huántar, Huánuco Viejo and Vilcashuaman (Riviale, 2003). During the last year of his journey, he visited Cuzco and reported hearing of the site of "Matcho Pichu," he also visited the large Inca sites of Sacsayhuaman, San Sebastián, Pisacc and Ollantaytambo. As he traveled south, he also made a visit to the ruins of Tiahuanaco, from where he again returned to Lima and finally to France.

His return to France with an enormous shipment of antiquities was a big event, which led to the consolidation of the idea of an ethnographic museum in Paris, as well as to the impressive stages during the World Exhibit in 1878. In the words of Riviale "He had spent 15 months in Peru and Bolivia. The many archaeological and ethnographic objects he had sent to France greatly impressed the Ministry of Public Instruction, wondering

what could be done with all this material. It was then decided to take advantage of the next universal exhibition to be held in Paris in 1878 to hold a Peruvian exhibition. This project was finally extended to an exhibition of the scientific missions that had just been carried out, but Wiener retained a greater role, thanks to the spectacular scenery of its collections with reconstitutions of monuments, painted landscapes and an impressive pyramid of huacos in the center of the room" (Riviale, 2011:268).

Other important collections came at the same time from Leon de Cessac and Theodore Ber, who, like Wiener, were appointed to expeditions in the Andes and were nascent ethnologists in search of important collections. The conflict between these collectors, who many times visited and collected in the same areas, will be further explored in the next chapter, but it is important here to acknowledge that it was not smooth sailing, especially in the relationship between Wiener and Ber, which has been extensively discussed by Pascal Riviale (Riviale, 2015).



Theodore Ber was a French tailor turned traveler, merchant, and enthusiastic archaeologist. After his involvement with the French revolutionary days in 1848, Ber moved to Valparaiso, Chile, where he would live for three years. He was not a lucky man in business (Riviale, 2015). After moving from Chile to Peru again on failed enterprises, he settled in Lima as a French teacher until 1870. With Napoleon's troubles he once again moves to France, but once there he flees the political unrest and returns to Lima. On this second stay in this city, he founds the French Circle in Lima, and embarks on both journalistic and archaeological pursuits. It is then that he gets charged with a scientific mission by the French government in 1875, and later finds sponsorship for similar endeavors in Bolivia. His last trip to France would be in 1878 for the occasion of the World Exhibition, but he would spend the remainder of his life in the Chancamayo Valley, and finally in Lima. His collections were formed personally, and sent to France with accurate and exhaustive descriptions. His journals and field diaries show a man who is attentive to detail and a well-versed traveller. In his writing we find a comparison with Wiener's notes and contextualization of the collections he brought back to Paris. The connections both collectors formed with the Peruvian intellectual circles is likewise very different and would give way to heavy criticism of the way Wiener conducted his affairs (Riviale, 2015).

The objects they collected were, nevertheless, equally received at the Trocadéro and served to enhance the already growing collection, and the museum's reputation as a repository of scientifically collected objects. These collections were further enhanced by donations such as that of the Bolivian Commission during the World Exhibit, and by those of private collectors such as Emile Larrieu, a distinguished vice admiral in the French royal navy who traveled extensively around the Arica region. By the beginning of the twentieth century, other ethnologists such as Henry Reichlen and Eugene Senechal de la Grange would also donate mummies to the collections of the Museum of Man, as would private collectors like Serge Debru and Heidi Albrech, by the second half of the century.

The nineteenth century signaled a boom in museum-making, and France was no exception to that trend. No fewer than 26 museums were created between 1801 and 1820, another 56 museums between the years of 1821 and 1840, and an astounding 170 museums between 1841 and 1880 (Markupová, 2017). It was during this last period when the ethnographic museum in Paris was founded. These dates give us an initial clue into the reason for the bulk of mummy collecting and donations to the Trocadéro and later to the Museum of Man. As can be seen in the table below, fifteen of those remains present in the Quai Branly collection today were collected between the last half of the nineteenth century and the first decade of the twentieth century, a time of exploration and collection of those territories previously closed to countries such as France. A later momentum for donations of mummies appears during the early second half of the twentieth century. Donations in 1953, 1960 and 1970 could very well be linked to the changing notions on the property of heritage objects.

As has been stated previously, only a small number of the Andean antiquities collected were human remains. Currently, there are over 106,000 objects of Andean origin in the Musée du Quai Branly (www.quaibranly.fr). Those include the objects associated with mummies and the mummies themselves. During the times of the Trocadéro, and later the Museum of Man, many of the mummies were accompanied by objects from their mortuary context . This explains why today most of them still maintain a link within the catalog and in their storage units with those objects. Interestingly this not only applies to complete mummies. Mummified hands were displayed together with different kinds of accessories, such as necklaces and bracelets (Hamy 1897: 94).

In terms of ascribed provenience, the mummies in the collection now at the Quai Branly come mainly from coastal Peru. Of the 22 mummies described, only three are not Peruvian: the already mentioned Bolivian mummy, and two others which come from the northern Chilean border, one from Arica and another broadly described as from the Atacama desert. Markupova, Riviale, and others have pointed out that artifacts from Peru always had a privileged position within the museum display in France and were for many years the largest collections in ethnographic museums. The interests in the collecting of South American artifacts and those of Peru resonated in the eighteenth century among collectors (Riviale 1987: 17) and were further enhanced by the organized missions funded by the Muséum d'Histoire Naturelle to South America (1826-1833) and those missions sponsored by the ministry of Marine (Riviale 1987: 18).

In that sense, this collection seems to be a very uniform, at least at the archival/documentary level, more so when the provenience noted for the Peruvian remains is that of the central coast in sites around or in the Lima district. This is surprising since, as will be seen in the following chapters, the diversity of the textiles, positions, and associated objects still held with the mummies suggests a lot more regions and cultures are represented.

**Table 14:** Collection of mummies at the Qual Branly museum.

| Accession date | Collector/ Seller | Provenience | Culture | # mummies | # Catalogue | Type of Remains | Collector type |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1878 | Charles Wiener | Peru, Lima, Chancay | | **8** | 71.1878.2.805 | bundle | scientist ethnologist |
| | | Peru, Lima, Ancon | | | 71.1878.2.807 | bundle | |
| | | Peru, Lima, Ancon | | | 71.1878.2.808 | | |
| | | Peru, Lima, Ancon | | | 71.1878.2.814 | bundle | |
| | | Peru, Lima, Barranca, Paramonga | | | 71.1878.2.809 | head | |
| | | Peru, Lima, Barranca, Paramonga | | | 71.1878.2.810 | head | |
| | | Peru, Lima, Ancon | | | 71.1878.2.812 | bundle | |
| | | Peru, Lima, Ancon | | | 71.1878.2.813 | bundle | |
| 1880 | Commision bolivienne, Exposition Universelle de 1878 | Bolivia | | **1** | 71.1880.17.1 | bundle | diplomatic |
| 1878 | Leon de Cessac | Peru, Lima, Santa Rosa | Chancay | **2** | 71.1878.54.82 | unbundled individual | scientist ethnologist |
| | | | | | 71.1878.54.83 | bundle | |
| 2012 | | | | **3** | 71.2012.0.1433 | bundle | |
| | | | | | 71.2012.0.1435 | bundle | |
| | | | | | 71.2012.0.1436 | bundle | |
| 1906 | Ph. E. Stromsdorfer | Peru, Lima, Lurin | | **1** | 71.1906.4.1 | unbundled individual | private collector |
| 1886 | Emile Larrieu | Chile, Tarapaca, Arica | Arica | **1** | 71.1886.174.3 | head | military |
| 1878 | Theodore Ber | Peru, Lima, Ancon | | **1** | 71.1878.8.85 | hand | scientist ethnologist |
| 1953 | Henry Reichlen | Peru, Lima, Chancay, Cementery of Lauri | | **1** | 71.1953.19.1107 | fragment of mummy | scientist ethnologist |
| 1960 | Heidi Albrecht | Peru | | **1** | 71.1960.40.1 | head | private collector |
| 1970 | Serge Debru | Peru, Lima, Chancay | Chancay | **1** | 71.1970.105.31 | head | private collector |
| 1908 | Eugene Senechal de la Grange | Chile, Atacama desert | Atacameña | **1** | 71.1908.23.2500 | unbundled individual | scientist ethnologist |
| 1953 | | Peru, Lima, Ancon | | **1** | 71.1953.0.383X | hands | |

### 4.3.11 The Pitt Rivers Museum

The Pitt Rivers Museum, which belongs to the University of Oxford, was originally founded by General Augustus Pitt Rivers in 1884, after he donated his entire collection to the University. The original collection was made up of over twenty-six thousand objects and has steadily grown to now house over half a million (Hicks & Stevenson, 2013).

Having served in the Royal Military Academy, and therefore traveled through Crimea, Malta, England, Canada and Ireland, Pitt Rivers took a special interest in collecting antiquities. After his retirement in 1882, he was appointed Inspector of Ancient Monuments, and was the first person to hold that title. From his days in the service, Pitt Rivers was particularly interested in archaeology, and this interest would lead him to conduct excavations as well as to purchase archaeological objects from a variety of sources, including dealers, auction houses, and other members of the Anthropological Institute. His interest in firearms is said to have sparked the desire to collect (Chapman, 1981) and would in time expand to include weaponry of all kinds, as well as ethnographic and archaeological objects. As described by his biography, once the size of his collection outgrew his house, Pitt Rivers decided to donate it, initially on a temporary basis to the South Kensignton Museum in 1873, and later on, permanently to the University of Oxford.

To accommodate the Pitt Rivers collection, the University built an extension to the existing National History Museum and the University Museum. The objects in the museum were arranged according to Pitt Rivers' method, "according to type: musical instruments, weapons, masks, textiles, jewelry, and tools are all displayed to show how the same problems have been solved at different times by different peoples" (Chapman, 1981), though he distanced himself from the museum once it was created. The collection then grew from donations of early anthropologists and explorers, today it holds "approximately 600,000 items, 26000 of which are from the founding collections"( Van Broekhoven 2019, personal communication). The focus of both the initial collection and later donations were curiosities from outside of Europe, but also includes archaeological objects from European archaeological sites. According to the director of the museum Laura Van Broekhoven, "collections composition is 31% Africa, 32% Asia; 18% Europe; 9% Americas; 9% Oceania. This is including foto/film/sound archives" (Van Broekhoven 2019, personal communication).

Its growth is owed both to Balfour's entrepreneurship, and to the fact that the museum was part of Oxford University, with its high reputation, which encouraged donations even after his separation from the museum, as well as to the work of its first director Henry Balfour. Balfour is credited with having donated the second largest collection to the museum at over fifteen thousand objects (Gosden, Larson, & Petch, 2007), which included ethnographic musical instruments, stone tools and weapons, as well as many other artifacts, along with his impressive library. Additionally, Balfour's network of acquaintances within and outside the field of anthropology donated continuously to enhance the collections at the museum during the fifty years he remained as its head. He was at one time

President of the Royal Anthropological Institute, the Museums Association, the Folklore Society and the Royal Geographical Society, and all these connections served the museum well.

After the first formative years, the Pitt Rivers Museum continued acquiring objects from different sources. Within those, and of particular interest for this research, is the South American collection. The importance of the Pitt Rivers collection of South American archaeological material comes from its varied sources during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. This collection is not extremely well documented in terms of provenience, but rather "developed according to major themes in the archaeology of technology, and comparative world archaeology – from mummification, to stone and copper technology, to representational art" (Hicks & Stevenson, 2013). As in many other museums reviewed within this research, there was an interest by the museum curators as well as the people close to the institution to "complete" the collections with perceived iconic pieces. Pursuing that goal, many friends of the museum purchased objects from auction rooms and private dealers. These donations were of great importance for the South American collection as "many individuals have chosen to offer the PRM material they collected or inherited" (Hicks & Stevenson, 2013).



In total, the collections in the Pitt Rivers Museum comprise around seven thousand archaeological artifacts from South America, the most prominent collections are reported to come from Chile and Argentina, followed by Peru. Countries such as Ecuador, Colombia and Guyana are represented in smaller numbers, and there are nine objects with no recorded country of origin. Some of the South American collection has muddled or absent paperwork, and is therefore hard to contextualize (though the documentation is there, no one has really combed through the information in detail to be able to ascribe a context to each of the objects). Those objects were donated or bought and range from individual objects to larger collections. A large portion of those is said to come from Arica in Chile, or Ancon in Peru. More than half of the South American archaeological collection is part of these materials for which there is no appropriate documentation.

In terms of spread, the whole collection mainly comprises objects from the western coast of the continent, the Andean highlands and a few artifacts from the lowlands. The mummified human remains in this collection reflect this geographic concentration. Of a total of fourteen mummies and mummified heads, nine are documented as coming from Peru and five from Chile. The areas of provenience are not always specified, but in eight cases, the regions of Lima and Atacama are the most represented.

In most of the cases, grave goods associated with the remains have not been stored with the remains, though textiles and other materials that cannot be separated from the remains are still found with the bodies. There is, however, a series of descriptions in the accession books that show how some these human remains were collected by Royal Navy commander William Alison Dyke Acland (four mummies, numbered I-IV) with their

grave-goods at the site of Ancon before 1886. Of those four mummies, the accession books record the unwrapping of Mummy II before leaving Peru and subsequently only taking the textiles and grave-goods to the museum. Later, Mummies I, II and IV (1886.2.18–19, 1887.33.22), were unwrapped in a public event in 1882 held at the University of Oxford. The invitation to the event includes the provenience of the mummies, as well as the name of the collector, Acland, and claims to provide an opportunity to unwrap and examine the remains. The invitation continues to state 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).

There is no record of how popular the event was, but the descriptions of the layers of the bundle, including detailed drawings of the textiles removed, are an indication of the detailed attention put into the process.

The collector Admiral Sir William Alison Dyke Acland was an officer of the Royal Navy during the last half of the nineteenth century. Acland was stationed both in South America and in the Pacific, and those opportunities allowed him to collect archaeological objects from the former and ethnographical objects and photographs from the latter. In Chile the Admiral was a naval attaché at the time of the War of the Pacific in 1880 and 1881. This border dispute between Bolivia, Peru and Chile allowed Acland to collect archaeological objects from sites first in Chile and later in occupied Peru.

**Table 15:** Collection of mummies at the Pitt Rivers Museum.

| Accession date | Collector/ Seller | Provenience | Culture | # mummies | # Catalogue | Type of Remains | Collector type |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| transferred 1887 | William Alison Dyke Acland | Peru, Lima, Ancón. | unknown | **3** | 1887.33.22 | head | military |
| collected before 1882, transferred 1886 | | Peru, Lima, Ancón | | | 1886.2.18 | bundle | |
| collected 1880- 1881, transferred 1886 | | Peru, Lima, Ancón | | | 1886.2.19 | unbundled individual | |
| transferred 1887 | No record | Peru | | **1** | 11887.33.31 | head | |
| collected 6 june 1874, transferred 1886 | No record | Chile, Arica y Parinacota | Inka | **1** | 11887.1.61.1 | head | |

| Accession date | Collector/ Seller | Provenience | Culture | # mummies | # Catalogue | Type of Remains | Collector type |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| collected 6 june 1874, transferred 1886 | No record | Chile, Arica y Parinacota | Inka | 1 | 11887.1.61.2 | head | |
| collected by 1887, transferred 1887 | Greenwell collection | Chile, Arica y Parinacota | unknown | 1 | 11887.33.23 | head | scientific |
| transferred 19 January 1887 | R. Darbishire, possibly Robert | Peru | | 2 | 1887.33.18.1 | head | diplomat |
| transferred 19 January 1887 | | Peru | | | 1.887.33.18.2 | fragment of mummy | |
| collected 1899, donated December 1899 | donated by John Arthur Gibbs | Chile, Antofagasta | unknown | 2 | 1899.57.2 | head | scientific |
| collected 1899, donated December 1899 | | Chile, Tarapaca | unknown | | 1899.57.3 | unbundled individual | |
| collected 1895. Purchased November 1895 | Donated by Charles Ottley Groom (aka Prince of Mantua) | Peru | unknown | 1 | 11895.52.11 | head | diplomat |
| | No record | Peru? | unknown | 1 | 12002.88 | unbundled individual | |
| | Thomas Joseph Hutchinston ? George Rolleston | Peru | Chimu | 1 | 12000.69.1 | fragment of mummy | diplomat |

The information gathered in this table comes from the accession books with original annotations at the time of entry of the remains into the museums. Those documents are gathered in folders numbered by period of accession, the folders reviewed are “Donations I. 1885- 1893”, “Donations II. 1894- 1900”, “Purchases I. 1888- 1900”.

As has been mentioned earlier, the Pitt Rivers mummies were collected by people from different backgrounds, but whose association to the museum came from their connection to the world of anthropology as well as their closeness to the curators in the museum or to Pitt Rivers himself.

One such instance is George Rolleston, a celebrated physician who was a professor of anatomy and physiology at the University of Oxford, and who served as part of the British Army in Sevastopol, the same station as Pitt-Rivers. During his teaching at the University, Rolleston often integrated comparative anatomy, zoology, anthropology and archaeology. He became part of the Ethnological Society and the Anthropological Institute in 1870, and led several excavation projects. His relationship with Pitt-Rivers was that of close collaborators and friends and would therefore have encouraged his donations to the museum.

Another good example is Thomas Joseph Hutchinson. A trained physician, he had the opportunity to travel the world as the chief surgeon on several expeditions to Africa and was later on named consul to Argentina. He settled in Rosario in 1861, where he conducted several expeditions which started his collections; less than ten years later Hutchinson was appointed as consul in Callao, where he again embarks in weekend explorations of archaeological sites, as well as being part of this type of expedition when visiting other Latin American countries as part of his diplomatic functions.

Other mummies were donated by private collectors such as R. D. Darbishire, a lawyer from Manchester who donated a collection of over ninety pieces of Peruvian archaeology in 1904, and around 700 artifacts in total from around the world to the museum. John Arthur Gibbs was another private collector who enhanced the collection. A member of a family of traders, that of the Antony Gibbs and Sons Company, active from 1808 to 1969, with outposts in Latin America (mainly Peru, Chile, Bolivia and Brazil), Gibbs had plenty of access and opportunity to gather a collection of varied objects, many of which were donated to the museum during the years the company operated. Another interesting donation came from William Downing Webster, known as an antiques and arts trader. In the 1890s, he published several catalogs on collections from around the world. In contrast with Darbishire and Gibbs, Downing Webster never traveled to the areas where his collections came from, but rather "[Webster] travelled round the country purchasing material from primary collectors who had collected objects in the field, as well as acquiring artifacts at auctions. ..." («Sources of Pitt Rivers' collections», s.f.).

The Pitt-Rivers mummy collection was formed almost entirely during the nineteenth century, with the exception of two mummies, one from Peru, which is attributed to Hutchinson as the collector, and another of unknown provenience that was re-added to the catalog in the early 2000s. The rest of the collection was donated between 1886 and 1899. Collecting was certainly aided by the political turmoil between Chile and Peru, but also may reflect a big initial impulse to populate/fill the museum with the collective wonders of Oxford anthropologists and intellectuals, and their network of enthusiastic friends.

### 4.3.12 The Royal Museum of Ethnology in Berlin

As its name indicates, the Royal Museum of Ethnology of Berlin has its origins in the royal cabinet of arts or Kunstkammer. This cabinet, formed in the sixteenth century, was the main deposit for Prussian antiquities and art collections and remained as such until the early nineteenth century when King Friedrich Wilhelm III decided to transform the royal collections into a public museum. By 1830, the Royal Museum was born. The collections housed there continued to expand at a rapid pace that quickly outgrew palace designated for them. Between 1841 and 1930, several building expansions took place to house the total collection of the Royal Museum, including such buildings as the Altes Museum, the Neues Museum, the Alte Nationalgalerie, the Kaiser Friedrich Museum and the Pergamon Museum.



These collections grew out of donations, the development of German archaeological practice, and the objects brought back from expeditions funded by the museums (Schimdt, 1907). The continuous expansion of the collection prompted, at the end of the nineteenth century, the creation of the Royal Museum of Ethnology, which opened its doors in 1886 in the center of the city. However, this new location proved small sooner than expected, so the ethnology collections were once again moved, this time to the suburbs of Berlin, in Dahlem; the same area that the current Ethnology museum was located in until recently.

The original collection moved to this location held around forty thousand objects by 1880. Adolf Bastiandirected the first museum. Though originally trained in medicine, Bastian traveled around the world as a ship's doctor and became enthused with collecting and understanding the world's cultures. By 1869, he had been made an assistant of the Department of Ethnology and started lecturing on ethnology at the University of Berlin. In 1880, he became the first director of the museum, and his leadership created a new influx of objects and an era of museum-funded exploration, especially in the Americas.

This enormous collection was once again constrained by the building in which it was housed, so Bastian designed a larger museum project in Dahlem. The two World Wars that followed, greatly hindered the realization of his vision. The first period saw the opening of the collections for public viewing in 1926, but they only remained open until the mid-1930s when the Second World War forced collections to be moved into storage in and outside of Berlin (Fischer, Bolz, Kamel, & Schalk, 2007).

The modern complex where the collections are housed today was created in the 1970s and has served as the deposit for ethnographic and some archaeological collections until now. These collections will be relocated to the Humboldt-Forum in 2019.

The collections of the Royal Ethnology Museum evolved from the original cabinet of curiosities in 1873 to include objects from all over the world, dedicated to understanding non-European cultures. Divided geographically into collections from Africa, America, Australia, Asia, and the South Seas, the museum acquired objects, documents, photo-

graphs, and recordings of historical importance. The American collection is made up of over 120 thousand objects, covering archaeological, ethnological, and historical contexts. They include cultural areas of Mesoamerica and the Andes, with around fifty thousand objects coming from the former and over seventy thousand objects from the latter. Most of the objects from these collections come from private donations of their provenience is little or not known. Such is the case for the donations of Andean objects made by Max Uhle or Wilhelm Gretzer, which constitute more than half of the total number of objects from the area. The collection includes objects collected by important scientists of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century like Alexander von Humboldt , Wilhelm Reiss, or Bastian himself.

Among the thousands of objects from the Andes, the collections include a number of human remains in different states of preservation, partial and complete, as well as full bundles. These remains were collected sometimes as part of larger assemblages of ethnological or archaeological objects, but also within medical and physical anthropology collections later donated. Such is the case of the Rudolf Virchow collections,[44] and the funerary bundles excavated by Wilhelm Reiss and Alphons Stübel during the early nineteenth century.

In total there are 65 mummified human remains noted in the archives of the collection of the museum of ethnology. Of those, the biggest collections correspond to the already mentioned donations of Wilhelm Gretzer (eighteen) and the travels of Reiss and Stübel (eight), and the donations of Arthur Baessler (sixteen).

44 The collection of human specimens formed by pathologist Rudolf Virchow at the end of the nineteenth century has been divided between the Berlin Museum of Medical History and the Ethnology museum. The collection, from 1885-1922 alone, compiled by the Ethnological Museum Berlin for anthropology of "race" research purposes, still includes the remains of around 5,300 people from all over the world. Apart from that, federally owned institutions also house around 3,500 skulls and skeletons from the Rudolf Virchow collection in the Prussian Cultural Heritage Foundation, which the Berlin Society for Anthropology, Ethnology and Prehistory (Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte) makes available, subject to charge, for research purposes.

**Table 16:** Collection of mummies at the Ethnology Museum Berlin

| Accession date | Collector/ Seller | Provenience | Culture | # mummies | # Catalogue | Type of Remains | Collector type |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1906 | Arthur Baessler | Peru, Chuquitanta | Chancay/ Inca | **16** | VA 28471 | Unbundle individual | ethnologist /scientific |
| | | Peru, Chuquitanta | | | VA 28472 | bundle | |
| | | Peru, Magdalena | | | VA 28473 | unbundled individual | |
| | | Peru, Chavin | | | VA 28453 | | |
| | | Peru, Chavin | | | VA 28454 | bundle | |
| | | Peru, Collique | | | VA 28455 | bundle | |
| | | Peru, Collique | | | VA 28459 | bundle | |
| | | Peru, Chuquitanta | | | VA 28462 | bundle | |
| | | Peru, Chuquitanta | | | VA 28463 | bundle | |
| | | Peru, Chuquitanta | | | VA 28464 | bundle | |
| | | Peru, Chuquitanta | | | VA 28465 | bundle | |
| | | Peru, Chimbote | | | VA 28466 | extended individual | |
| | | Peru, Chimbote | | | VA 28467 | extended individual | |
| | | Peru, Moyabamba | | | VA 28468 | unbundled individual | |
| 1906 | Arthur Baessler | Peru, Moyabamba | Chancay/ Inca | | VA 28469 | unbundled individual | ethnologist /scientific |
| | | Peru, Chuquitanta | | | VA 28470 | unbundled individual | |
| 1849- 1922 | Eduard and Caecilie Seler | Peru, Encalada | | **2** | VA 33977 | drawing | ethnologist /scientific |
| | | | | | VA 33978 | drawing | |
| 1872 | Otto Antonio Heredia (collector) Theodor von Bunsen (donor) | Carabella | | **6** | VA 403 | | ethnologist /scientific |
| | | Peru, Chincha Alta | | | VA 404 | bundle | |

| Accession date | Collector/ Seller | Provenience | Culture | # mummies | # Catalogue | Type of Remains | Collector type |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1872 | Otto Antonio Heredia (collector) Theodor von Bunsen (donor) | Peru, Chancay | | | VA 405 | | ethnologist /scientific |
| | | | | | VA 419 | fragment of mummy | |
| | | | | | VA 420 | fragment of mummy | |
| | | | | | VA 421 | fragment of mummy | |
| 1826- 1905 | Adolf Bastian | Chile, Chiu Chiu | | **3** | VA 2235 | unbundled individual | ethnologist /scientific |
| | | Colombia, Tunja | | | VA 2254 | unbundled individual | |
| | | Colombia, Tunja | | | VA 2255 | unbundled individual | |
| 1838- 1908 / 1935- 1904 | Wihelm Reiss and Alphons Stübel | Peru, Ancón | Wari | **8** | VA 5805 | bundle | ethnologist /scientific |
| | | | | | VA 5807 (1) | empty bundle | |
| | | | | | VA 5813 | bundle | |
| | | | | | VA 5815 | bundle | |
| | | | | | VA 5832 | unbundled individual | |
| 1838- 1908 / 1935- 1904 | Wihelm Reiss and Alphons Stübel | Peru, Ancón | | | VA 5834 | bundle | ethnologist /scientific |
| | | | | | VA 5835 | bundle | |
| | | | | | VA 5837 | bundle | |
| 1877 | Luis Sokoloski | Peru, Chancay | | **1** | VA 7699 | unbundled individual | private |
| | Zollikofer and Dr. Begazo | Peru, Pisac at Cuzco | | **1** | VA 7882 | unbundled individual | private |

| Accession date | Collector/ Seller | Provenience | Culture | # mummies | # Catalogue | Type of Remains | Collector type |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Dr. Bode | Chile, Arica | | **1** | A 10378 (a,b | bundle | private |
| 1859- 1941 | Alfred Hettner | Bolivia, Cerro de Okhoma | | **3** | VA 11029 | bundle | scientific |
| | | Bolivia, Cerro de Okhoma | | | VA 11030 | bundle | |
| | | Peru, Ichu | | | VA 11033 | unbundled individual | |
| | Frau von Streit | Bolivia | | **1** | VA 66445 | | private |
| | Municipal Museum Braunschweig | Peru | | **3** | VA 67186 | bundle | scientific |
| | | | | | VA 67187 | Unbundled individual | |
| | | | | | VA 67188 | Unbundled individual | |
| | no record | | | **1** | VA 66434 | Unbundled individual | |
| | no record | | | **1** | VA 66435 | bundle | |
| | no record | | | **1** | VA 66436 | Unbundled individual | |
| | no record | | | **1** | VA 66437 | bundle | |
| | no record | Chile, Chiu Chiu | | **2** | VC 1137 | Unbundled individual | |
| | | | | | VC 1138 | unbundled individual | |
| 1857- 1907 | Wilhelm Gretzer (collector), Julius van de Zypen (donor) | Peru | | **18** | VA 60376 | bundle | scientific |
| | | Peru | | | VA 60377 | bundle | |
| | | Peru | | | VA 60378 | bunle | |
| | | Peru | | | VA 60379 | bundle | |
| | | Peru, Magdalena | | | VA 60380 | bundle | |

| Accession date | Collector/ Seller | Provenience | Culture | # mummies | # Catalogue | Type of Remains | Collector type |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1857- 1907 | Wilhelm Gretzer (collector), Julius van de Zypen (donor) | Peru, Pachacamac | | | VA 60381 | bundle | scientific |
| | | Peru, Pachacamac | | | VA 60382 | bundle | |
| | | Peru, Pachacamac | | | VA 60383 | bundle | |
| | | Peru | | | VA 60384 | Unbundl individual | |
| | | Peru, Pachacamac | | | VA 60386 | Unbundled individual | |
| | | Peru | | | VA 60390 | Unbundled individual | |
| | | Peru, Chosica | | | VA 60391 | Unbundled individual | |
| | | Peru | | | VA 60399 | bundle | |
| | | Peru | | | VA 60409 | bundle | |
| | | Peru, Concon | | | VA 60418 | bundle | |
| | | Peru, Pachacamac | | | VA 60420 | bundle | |
| | | Peru, Ica | | | VA 60421 | Unbundled individual | |
| | | Peru, Ocucaje | | | VA 60431 | Unbundled individual | |

The most prominent collector, Wilhelm Gretzer, was a businessman who traveled extensively through the Americas and settled in Lima in 1872. Gretzer's enterprise involved textiles, and it is from there that his interest in Andean archaeological traditions developed. After forming close relationships with other archaeology enthusiasts and collectors in Lima, Gretzer not only became an active buyer of archaeological objects but also became an active collector who excavated and gathered objects personally from sites around Lima. In fact, from 1884, he began to exhibit textiles, ceramic artifacts, metal objects, and mummies he had collected during the previous years on his property. His home became, in time, a necessary stopover for European scientific travelers who visited Lima, and he would become, together with Jose Mariano Macedo,[45] one of the most prolific collectors in Lima, the core of a very active and sociable antiquities market in the city. Of the

45 The relationship between Gretzer and Macedo was indeed very close. Some of the pieces today in Germany from the Gretzer collection have tags that indicate they once belonged to the Macedo collection. This reciprocal relationship will be further explored in the following chapter as an example of the exchanges between European and Latin American collectors that take place during the nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries.

eighteen mummies from that collection at the Dahlem museum, most come from Pachacamac, one of the sites where Gretzer collected personally. Other mummies are from the greater Lima region, from sites in Chosica, and Concon, while others come from further south in the Peruvian coast from places such as Ica and Ocucaje. A few of the remains, six in total, have only been ascribed to Peru, without a specific collection site, which could indicate they were bought by Gretzer from other collectors or antiquities traders.

The second biggest donation comes from Arthur Baessler. Though he was, like Gretzer, a member of a prominent textile merchant family, Baessler became a geographer and anthropologist in Germany, having been inspired by Adolf Bastian and Rudolf Virchow. As a social scientist, he travelled to New Guinea in 1887, Australia in 1891 and to New Zealand, Polynesia, and Peru in 1896. His research trips took between two and three years each, and during them he began to collect not only a considerable amount of objects from ethnographic and archaeological sources but also to document the myths and oral narratives of the groups he encountered. Once back in Germany, Baessler's collections were donated to museums in Berlin, Dresden, and Stuttgart where they remain until today. Of the sixteen mummies donated to Berlin, almost half (seven) were collected in the site of Chuquitanta, north of Lima. Near Lima, another three mummies, two from Collique and one from Magdalena were also collected. The other 7 come from sites such as Chavín, Chimbote, and Moyabamba, in the northern coast of Peru. The mummies are both bundled and unbundled individuals and clearly reflect Baessler's interest in collecting these remains as ethnographical and physical anthropology specimens.

Among the collections donated to Dahlem, perhaps the best documented and contextualized is that of scientific travelers Wilhelm Reiss and Alphons Stübel. Both were doctors of geology, chemistry and physics, and their paths would bring them to the Americas, and particularly to the Andes, for eight years. Of the two, Stübel was the more experienced traveler, having visited Scotland, Cape Verde, Madeira, Portugal, the Canary Islands, and Morocco before heading across the Atlantic. Reiss and Stübel met early on their careers, but did not start the fruitful research relationship that would lead them to travel to the Americas until 1865 when they started planning a trip to explore the volcanoes of Hawaii, a trip that would never occur. In 1868, Reiss and Stübel headed to the Hawaiian islands, making what was meant to be a short stopover in South America. However, once they disembarked in Colombia, a fascination with the Andes lead them to spend the following eight years traveling the continent, visiting Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, and Brazil. At the end of those eight years, Reiss traveled back to Europe with part of their collections, while Stübel remained behind and continued his journey towards Uruguay, Argentina, Chile, and Bolivia, only to come back to Peru in 1877 before returning to Germany.

The eight mummies now held in Berlin come from the excavations conducted in the archaeological cemetery of Ancón. Reiss and Stübel are the first scientific researchers to dig at the site, which had been looted since colonial times (Reiss & Stübel, 1998). They

arrive at the site in 1875 and would later publish a three-tome account, with impressive color images between, 1880 and 1887. The extensive preservation of textiles, wigs and the remains themselves made the site popular among collectors in subsequent years. This is shown by the excavations held at the site by Wiener in 1976, Uhle in 1904, and most importantly Tello in 1945, who would excavate over 500 burials in the site and ultimately make the most exhaustive descriptions and publications on the remains found there (Reiss & Stübel, 1998).[46]

Other important collectors for the Berlin collection are Theodor von Bunsen, Alfred Hettner and Eduard and Cecilia Seler. Bunsen, a career diplomat and military envoy, was the Consul general and Charge d'Affaires of the North German Confederation and the Empire in Peru for two years, from 1870 to 1872. The mummies donated by Bunsen to the museum are recorded as initially collected by Otto Antonio Heredia. Regrettably, further information on who he was and his relationship to Bunsen has not been found. The donation consists of six mummies, three are "fragments" or body parts of mummies, one is a bundle; the other three do not have a specific description on the accession data. Similarly, only three of the mummies have a provenience recorded, though only the sites of Chincha Alta and Chancay are recognizable.

Alfred Hettner was a celebrated geographer. Originally from Dresden, he was appointed as a tutor for the British Consul in 1882 and traveled in that capacity to Colombia. Hettner explored the Andes during his two-year stay, compiling his finds in several publications on global geography over the years. In 1888 he was called on by A. Bastian to work with him in Peru, and got a chance to explore the southern Andes, the Argentinian pampas, and the Brazilian pampas for another two years. The mummies Hettner donated to the Berlin Museum consist of two bundled individuals from Cerro Okhoma in Bolivia, and one unbundled individual from Ichu, near Puno in Peru.

The couple of Eduard and Cecilia Seler, prominent German anthropologists, also figure as important collectors for the Berlin collection. Though their main work was centered in the Mesoamerican world, they were also active collectors of the Andes. The two mummies that they reportedly collected are only represented by drawings in the inventory and are ascribed to Encalada, near the Lima region in Peru.

Finally, the aforementioned director of the museum, Adolf Bastian, also donated three mummies to the collection. Bastian contributed greatly to anthropology and ethnography in Germany. However, it was through his medical profession that he was able to travel around the world as a ship's doctor. His early travel diaries and accounts are still highly regarded, though he is most known for his contributions to the understanding of the similarities between world cultures as one of the pioneers of the concept of the 'psychic

46 The bundles form Ancon are interesting also because not all of them contain human remains, a detail that Reiss and Stübel may not have been aware of when collecting them on-site, but that would become known with Tello's studies.

unity of mankind' – the idea that all humans share a basic mental framework, which would go on to inspire some of the tenants of structuralism in the twentieth century. Bastian was interested in documenting, and later on in collecting cultures he feared would soon disappear because of the influence of western contact. Therefore he tried to ensure the preservation of these cultures through his donations to the museum. With the same purpose, his time as director of the museum was filled with the financing of explorations and buying of collections. The mummies donated by Bastian originate in his stay in Colombia and Chile, the two former come from the Tunja site, while the latter comes from Chiu Chiu. They are all unbundled individuals.



The dates of collection of these large assemblages variy from the 1830s to the first half of the 1900s. The interests in collecting, highlighted by Bastian's mission and the expeditions supported by him, and later by the collections of Hettner, Baessler and Gretzer, indicate few changes during the history of the museum. Rather, the dates noted, some of them with broad ranges depending on the active lives of the collectors, indicate a consolidation of the quest for the complete museum that gets its impulse with Bastian and that would carry on in other German museums through the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

The separation of some the human remains from their associated objects, be they textiles, adornments or other offerings, is also telling of a meeting of ethnology and physical anthropology in these museum collections. As with the aforementioned Virchow collections, some of the bundles with human hair wigs or other similar additions were separated and de-contextualized through the early history of the museum.

At a global scale, the constant influx of German merchants and diplomats to the newly formed nations also had an impact on what was collected and when, especially for mummies from Colombia and Peru, which were tightly linked to these activities. It is not coincidental that German merchants would become collectors and avid exchangers of cultural artifacts, as they would have access to a subsection of the population inclined to collect and possess valued objects, both contemporary and ancient. The relationships thus formed between locals and foreigners were definitely aided by this kinship and would give the German collections a comparative edge in relation to others formed at elsewhere during this time.

The regions represented in the collection also speak to these connections. Colombia, Peru, Bolivia, and Chile are all represented, but the first two account for the majority of the collection. Though this is not surprising as Peru was a focus of exploration and exchange, with Callao as a focal point. The Colombian and Bolivian collections are certainly interesting because of the diplomatic links through which they were acquired.

### 4.3.13 Geneva Museum of Ethnography

The Geneva Museum arose from the Academic Museum in Geneva. Founded in 1818 by the scientist who taught at the University (Academy) at the time, this museum inherited objects from the collections of the cabinet of curiosities of the library of Geneva, including objects of natural sciences, archaeology, local history, and what was once called "statistics (or the study) of the uncivilized peoples," as stated in a line in the permanent exhibit at the current museum.

At the same time, the Geneva Evangelical Missionary Society formed a similar collection, starting in 1821. As a religious order, the Missions Society would finance evangelizing travels and would collect the objects sent by missionaries working throughout the world.

By 1872, the Academic Museum would be split into the Natural History Museum and the Archaeology Museum. Years later, Professor Eugene Pittard would bring together public and private collections, mainly the ethnographic collections of the Archaeology Museum and the Musée Ariana, the holdings of the Evangelical Missionary Society Museum, and weapons from the Geneva History Museum. These collections were donated to the city and became the Ethnographic Museum of Geneva (MEG).

The collections continued to grow steadily under Pittard's direction, necessitating changes of location by 1941. In fact, the museum would move within the city several times, for example, sharing space with the Anthropology Department at the University from 1941 until 1967, at the same Boulevard Carl Vogt where it would reopen in 2014. The MEG holds the largest ethnographic collections in Switzerland, housing over eighty thousand objects and 300 thousand documents (http://www.ville-ge.ch/meg/mot.php).

Within this collection, there are around 12,600 objects coming from the Americas, from the Arctic, the Andes, the Amazon, and from both ethnographic and archaeological contexts. Acquired through donations and scientific expeditions by museum curators, the assemblage of objects held at the MEG is very diverse.

The Andean mummies collection is made up of eleven individuals, five of which are fragments of a mummy, including a mummified head. The rest are full bundles, some closed, some open. Of the eleven mummies, only seven have a collector associated with them, and of those, just three could be readily identified in terms of their relationship to the museum.

The first is Rene Naville, a lawyer who became an important diplomat for Switzerland, first in Paris, later in Jakarta, Caracas, Beijing and Lisbon. Most importantly for this research, he was appointed ambassador in Santiago de Chile from 1954 to 1959. Naville was the author of several historical and poetic publications, some of them in Chinese. His interest in history may have led him to collect the Arica mummy that he later would gift to Eugene Pittard for the museum collections.

A second interesting collector is Heidi Albrecht, already mentioned earlier in this chapter as one of the private collectors who donated mummies to the Museum of Man. The fact that Albrecht donated mummies to at least these two institutions signals he was an active collector of Andean mummies in the 1960s, though his biography is still mostly unknown.

Finally, Sir Guy Millard, a British diplomat who was heavily involved in the resolution of the Suez crisis, donated a Peruvian mummified head to the MEG in 2006. This is of the most recent donations of this type of object to any of the museums listed in this research.

**Table 17:** Collection of mummies at the MEG

| Accession date | Collector/ Seller | Provenience | Culture | # mummies | Catalogue # | Type of Remains | Collector type |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1889 | Yvan (ACH) | Peru | | **1** | THAM L00018 | head | |
| 1955 | Mme Mostni/ Mr Rene Naville to Euginie Pittar | Chile, Tarapacá, Arica, vallée d' Azapa, tombe IV | Arica ? Dévelop-pem ents régionaux (?), 1000-1400 ap. J-C | **1** | THAM 02599 | bundle | Diplomat |
| 2003 | No record | Andes ? | | **1** | THAM 05820 | arm | |
| 2003 | No record | | | **1** | THAM 05821 | ossified leg bone | |
| 2003 | No record | Pérou , vallée de Lima, Chuqui-tanta site archéologique | Ichma | **1** | THAM 05820 | arm | |
| 2003 | No record | Peru, coast | | **1** | THAM 05820 | bundle | |
| 1960 | Heidi Albrecht | Peru, Nazca valley | Wari ? (Epigo-nal-Wari style?) | **1** | THAM 02855 | bundle | private collector |
| 1895 | M. F. Ferreire | Andes, Boliv-ia,Pacajes | | **3** | THAM 00030 | bundle | private collector |
| | | Andes, Bolivia, Pacajes | | | THAM 00030 | bundle | |
| | | Andes, Bolivia, Pacajes | | | THAM 00030 | bundle | |
| 2006 | Guy Mil-lard (Carl Vogt) | Peru, Central Coas, Lima, Ancon | | **1** | THAM 06409 | head | Diplomat |

In general, the MEG collection is made up of mummies donated or acquired during the end of the nineteenth century, up until this last one mentioned in 2006. The oldest acquisitions recorded are those of Mr. Yvan (ACH) in Peru in 1889, and Mr. M. F.

Ferreire. The three mummies donated by M. F. Ferreire were collected in 1895 by a Mr. Gustave Ferreire, and sent from Pacajes in Bolivia to his relative in Geneva. Ferreire seems to be a Bolivian-Swiss national, who collected the mummies privately and later donated them to the museum in Geneva. The rest of the collection includes the mummy donated in 1960 by Albrecht, four accessions in 2003 of fragmentary mummified human remains and one bundle, and the 2006 donation by Millard.

Most of the bundles recorded have been stored with their textiles in direct association with the remains. However, other items that were donated at the same time have been separated. A telling case is that of the collection sent by Naville after his stay in Chile, which includes four other non-mummified human crania, several wooden objects (one a pan flute), as well as earthenwares. This collection was initially sent to the Natural History Museum and later taken in by the MEG under Pittard's management.

The MEG collection has individuals from three countries, Peru, Bolivia, and Chile. Outside of the two mummies from Lima, most of the remains come from the southern coast or the Titicaca area. Of the collection, the most interesting ones are those from Pacajes, as they may constitute the best-preserved Bolivian mummies of this kind in the collections reviewed for this research.

### 4.3.14 Museum of the Department of Anthropology - University of Coimbra, Portugal.

Created at a time of scientific expansion during the seventeenth century, this university museum clearly highlights the use of natural and ethnographic collections as a complement to teaching and research, especially in the different areas of natural history.

Within Portugal's history of museums, the museums at the University of Coimbra in 1773, second only to the creation of the royal cabinet in the Palace of Ajuda in Lisbon, included not only natural history and ethnographic collections but also scientific instruments and physics instruments in its collections. This museum contributed, through inventories of the natural and cultural world during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, to identifying, describing, and bringing new knowledge from the Portuguese colonies around the world, mainly in Africa, Asia, and Brazil.

The anthropology museum is formed as an offshoot of the Natural History Museum of the University in the XX century, and after a series of moves to other buildings, in 1960 it finally settles in the building of the Department of Anthropology, where it currently stands.

The museum in itself has kept most of the collections and cabinet distribution as it was initially proposed in the nineteenth century. This is especially true for the Andean mummies held at the museum. The information received from the original inventory/accession registry was created in the 1900s by F. Moller. It records the collection's provenience as "Iquique" and it has remained unchanged ever since. The human remains col-

lection, which does not include the mummies previously mentioned, is recorded as being formed by Alexandre Rodrigues Ferreira, a prominent researcher of the Brazilian colony (a Brazilian trophy head, in particular).

**Table 18:** Collection of mummies at the University of Coimbra Anthropology Museum.

| Accession date | Collector/ Seller | Provenience | Culture | # mummies | Catalogue # | Type of Remains | Collector type |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1889 | Dimas Filgueira | Iquique, Chile | Tihuana-cu- Wari? | 2 | ANT.90.10.23 (a)<br>ANT.90.10.23 (b) | Unbundled individual<br>bundle | private collector |



The two mummies in the collection are stored in a wooden case in the exhibit room. It is presumed this is the same original case in which they have been stored since 1889 and have not been moved or repositioned since then.

The collector of the mummies is Dimas Filgueira, a native Portuguese who served as a volunteer fireman in Chile from 1882 onwards, and in fact wrote one of the earliest accounts of the Iquique fire department in 1888. It is unknown how Filgueira came in possession of the mummies, but given that the Atacama region was known for its mummies, it is not extraordinary that he would have access to such remains and later take them back to Portugal.

### 4.3.15 Other Collections

There are three other relevant Andean mummies collections in Western Europe that were not visited personally or could not be accessed. One was already in use as part of the Mummies of the World exhibit, and hence could not be accessed; another because the mummies in the collection had been already described and analyzed in published papers; and the last one because of a series of scheduling complications. Their importance however necessitates that they be described in as much detail as possible.

#### 4.3.15.1 Reiss-Engelhorn Museum - Mannheim

The current Reiss-Engelhorn Museum in the city of Mannheim has its origin in the collections of a series of cabinets of curiosities like the naturalist cabinets, the coin and medal collection, the physical cabinet, the Treasury, the antique collection, and the drawing and copper engraving cabinet. These collections were joined together in 1731, and later expanded by the addition of the Mannheim antiquarian society collections in 1859, which had already been combined with those of the Grand Ducal Antiquarium.

Initially inaugurated as the City History Museum in 1908, and subsequently expanded and restructured, the modern Reiss-Engelhorn Museum became the institution it is today with the construction of the Curt Engelhorn Foundation in 2001. The museum was named after prominent citizens and siblings Carl and Anna Reiss, antiquities and history

aficionados. From the 1890s onward, it became an important center for social and intellectual life in Mannheim and it remained as such until 2001 when successful businessman Curt Engelhorn and his wife Heidemarie made a sizeable donation to the city.

Though the emphasis of the collection is mainly European and Egyptian archaeological objects, a number of American and African ethnographic and archaeological objects enhance the holdings of the Reiss-Engelhorn collections.

The most relevant to our research are the donations of one Gabriel von Max, a prominent Austrian painter who, from the 1870s onwards, started collecting a great number of naturalist and ethnographical objects, which included skulls, skeletons, animal specimens, and pathological specimens. His house was organized to showcase his collection in themes of prehistory, zoology, anthropology and ethnography. His private collections, including several mummies, were sent to the then Reiss Museum in 1918.[47]

Some of these mummies were originally stored in wooden boxes with glass as designed by von Max, others had been part of the anthropological collections. The mummies were "rediscovered" in 2004 and further analyzed by Reindhart and his colleagues in subsequent years. The discovery consisted of about twenty mummies, which had been held in a previously unstudied area of the museum storage section. These mummies became the founding collection of the German Mummy Project, "formed with the aim of studying and conserving all of the mummies that were found" (Rosendahl, 2007:153).

Most of these mummified human remains, either partial or complete human bodies, come from the Andes. There are a total of six full-body complete mummies, one mummy bundle and three mummified heads. A summary of what has been described by Reindhart, taking into account only the information available in the accession books, can be found in table 19:

Details of associated objects can be found for all the mummies but not for the heads. Those objects include textiles, as well as several artifacts for M2, which were found in the original wooden case where she was contained.

The extensive and dedicated work carried out at the Reiss-Engelhorn museum with these mummies as well as with mummies from other areas of the world within the German Mummy Project has been covered in various publications, including articles and books. The contextualization work with each of the remains, as well as the testing of the remains with cutting edge technology, is certainly unique. The results of the project have been, and still are, part of the traveling temporary exhibition "Mummies of the World".[48] The use of the remains during this exhibit has therefore limited access to them for some

47 According to Wilfred Rosendahl "Since some of the mummies had been removed from the inventory register and classified as war losses, more than the existing current number of mummies had been most probably incorporated into the Reiss-Engelhorn- Museen Collections from the Max Private Collection. Now-missing mummies can still be seen in historical photos of the Max residence in Munich" (Rosendahl et al., 2007).

48 The author was able to visit the exhibit in three different countries: The Netherlands, Hungary and Germany; and will be addressing the challenges and relevance of such an exhibit in chapter 7.

time now, and constitutes the main restriction for the author to examine them closely, though they have been viewed in three separate locations because of the aforementioned exhibit.

**Table 19:** Collection of mummies at the Mannheim Museum.

| Accession date | Collector/ Seller | Provenience | Culture | # mummies | Catalogue # | Type of Remains | Collector type |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1917 | Gabriel von Max | Mexico/ Chile | Toltec/ Quiani | 10 | M1 | Unbundled mummy | Private |
| | | Peru | Chimu | | M1a | unbundled mummy | |
| | | | | | M1b | Unbundled mummy | |
| | | | | | M2 | unbundled mummy | |
| | | Peru | | | M3 | Unbundled mummy | |
| | | Peru | | | M4 | Unbundled mummy | |
| | | Peru | Ancon (?) | | M5 | bundle | |
| | | Peru | Paracas/ Nazca | | M8 | head | |
| | | | | | M9 | head | |
| | | Peru | | | M13 | head | |

### 4.3.16 Luigi Pigorini National Museum of Prehistory and Ethnography

The Luigi Pigorini National Museum, located in Rome, is the earliest ethnographic museum in Italy. Its origins dates back to 1650 and the creation of the Museum Kircherianum, after father Athanasius Kircher, a Jesuit who created the one of the earliest Wunderkammer of the country, other than those created by the Medici in the 16th century. Once Italy was politically unified in 1875, the Museum Kircherianum became the founding collection of the Museo Preistorico Etnografico, founded by Luigi Pigorini. Initially, the museum had its home at the Collegio Romano from 1870 to 1923. By 1975 however, the collections were moved to the EUR district, where the buildings designed for the World's Fair held in Rome in 1942 had remained unused.

Pigorini's idea of a museum included looking at prehistoric societies of Europe and non-western continents with a comparative lens. He had been inspired by his correspondence with Pitt-Rivers and Tylor in Oxford, and hence intended to compare and evaluate his collections in regards to the stages of cultural development that these cultures represented. Pigorini was in every respect a nineteenth-century intellectual. His desire to preserve what he viewed as cultures in peril of disappearing motivated him to contact similarly-minded collectors and museum heads, not only within Europe but also in the Americas.

Through these links, Pigorini started exchanging, selling and purchasing ethnographic and ethnological objects that would help complete the Italian collection. His relationships included private collectors as well as managers of European museums. He pursued relationships with members of the anthropological society in Washington, held correspondence with the Archaeological Museum in Wisconsin, and with the Anthropological Museum in Buenos Aires (today the Juan B. Ambrossetti Museum), which sent some objects from Patagonia.

The Americas collection was formed from several donations, which include the one mentioned above, but mainly constituted of elements gathered by Catholic missions in the 17th and eighteenth centuries, and what belonged to the Collegio Romano. These include the Aldovrandi, Cospi, and Vallisnieri collections, named after the prominent members, mainly geologists, of the Institute of Sciences in Bologna.

It is unclear how many mummies Pigorini collected during his years as head of the museum in Rome, but he did donate some of them to satellite national museums such as the National Museum in Florence and the Musei Civici of Regio Emilia.[49] This final one had direct links to at least one mummy from the Rome collection, as can be seen in the following quote from a related study: "Interestingly, the legs of a child, presently stored in Rome (Museo Nazionale Preistorico Etnografico "Luigi Pigorini"), were found in the same fardo of the female mummy during the excavations" (Lerario, 2012).

The collections at the Pigorini have been studied at length in terms of bio-archaeological and genetic markers (Degano & Colombini, 2009; Rollo & Marota, 1999; Ubaldi et al., 1998). Several important publications have come from this research. However, the extent of the collection in of itself has never been described. There are no online databases for the collection available to the public, and though the author tried twice to access the accession books or documents as well as meeting with the curators in Rome, several issues, such as the closing of the museum for seasonal activities and the unavailability of the curators made visiting of the collection unfeasible. From observation of the remains on exhibit, as well as the published literature, some inferences can be made in modern archaeological terms, and will be presented in chapter 7. However, historical contextual information could not be included.

### 4.3.17 Museum of Ethnology of Sweden

The collections of the Museum of Ethnology are formed from 17th-century cabinets of curiosities, as well as eighteenth and nineteenth century exploration expeditions. The history of the creation of the museum can be traced to the original Gothenburg Museum and its

49 Of the mummies at the Musei Civici of Regio Emilia we know that "The letters studied by Ciruzzi (1989) reveal that the mummies and related materials were collected by dott. Ernesto Mazzei in 1884 in the area of the necropolis of Ancòn, 30 km north of Lima (Kauffmann Doig, 1993). The archaeological materials arrived in Italy in 1893 and were acquired by the Musei Civici of Reggio Emilia thanks to Luigi Pigorini"(Lenares et al., 2003).

opening in 1861. Here, the celebrated expeditions of the nineteenth century deposited objects from around the world, which were displayed alongside naturalia and European and Swedish ethnographic objects.

During the twentieth century, aided by donations from diplomats, missionaries, and friends of the museum, the collections continued to grow until a separation of ethnographic and natural objects was carried out, and the Gothenburg Ethnographical Museum was born in 1946. During this period, expeditions sponsored by the museum collaborated to acquire an important number of unique objects. An example is the early twentieth century expeditions led by Sven Hedin to Central Asia.



The Ethnography Museum was to remain largely unchanged until 2001 when it became part of a network of national museums and renamed the National Museums of World Culture. This new network includes the Ethnography Museum, the Museum of Mediterranean and Near Eastern Antiquities, and the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities.

The Museum of Ethnography has a large number of collections from around the world, including a large collection of American objects, which came directly from Swedish expeditions in Northern, Central, and South America. Of those, the pre-Columbian collection is of particular interest, with collections as early as the mid nineteenth century, such as the collections from the first excavations of Teotihuacan by Sigvald Linné.

The South American collections, formed in 1915, include a variety of objects from the Andes. Adriana Muñoz made excellent descriptions of the Latin American collections at the museum, which will not be repeated here(Muñoz, 2011). It is, however, useful to mention there are many contested objects, including the Paracas textile collection and the Niño Kora collection, that are an integral part of the museum.

There are only two mummies in this collection. However, they have been largely studied and contextualized, and they represent the best known Chinchorro mummies outside of Chile. These mummies were collected in Arica, and donated to the museum by Carl Skottsberg, a biologist who undertook the second Swedish expedition to Patagonia and Chile from 1916 to 1917. Skottsberg himself excavated in the area after requesting permission from the local authorities to extract artifacts for Swedish museums. In total, he took around 250 objects from these excavations to Gothenburg.

The mummies, known as the “twin mummies,” were originally excavated by German archaeologist Max Uhle during his Chilean stay. Skottsberg had a very good relationship with the director and curators of the National Museum in Santiago, and it is possible that the mummies were given to him by the institution to complete the collection he was already taking to Sweden. Part of Skottsberg’s motivation in collecting in Chile had to do with a common idea at the time to preserve disappearing cultures. He corresponded with Adolf Bastian in Germany, and other similarly inclined European researchers on the importance of collecting the Americas for those purposes, and the twin mummies certainly exemplify that desire to both have a complete collection and preserve what was seen as a

rapidly disappearing past.

The mummies include their original textiles and masks. Though some damage was done to one of them during filming at the museum storage facility in 1980, they have remained well preserved since their move to the Studio of the Western Sweden Conservators Trust (SKV) in 1994 (Gustafsson, 2001). Subsequent studies on the remains using medical digital technology will be presented in chapter 7.

## 4.3 Chapter Summary

What this chapter has aimed to present is an overview of the way the collections of Andean mummies that are currently in European museums were historically formed. The histories of the individual museums have, in that sense, allowed a showing of the regions where the collections were collected, as well as the number of collectors that either personally visited the Andes, or focused on acquiring objects from the area to complete and enlarge their collections.

Looking at the collections individually also highlights the process of change in cultural institutions in Europe, and from there, how the collections not only of Andean mummies but of American objects, in general, have changed their location, their focus, and the way they were exhibited throughout time.

In the following pages, chapter 6, a reverse process will be carried out. Now that the individual collections have been seen, a look at the similarities, connections and overlaps that these collections have with each other, both in terms of the objects and in regards to the collectors who formed them will become clearer. These changes and connections influence how the objects themselves are stored, seen and exhibited today. It is worth keeping in mind that, collecting as a historical process allows us to reconstruct not only networks of objects, but also networks of intellectual thinking. This is a point that is explored in more detail in the following chapters.

# Chapter 5

## Reinventing the Pre-Columbian Past

The previous chapter looked at the museums and mummy collections that make up this research as individual entities. By looking at their singular histories, as well as dissecting the information available from accession books, each of the collections brought forward their uniqueness, showcasing the iconic or special objects they contain. These unique objects were made so by their material qualities, as well as by their stories. The descriptions of the mummies, of the materials associated with these human remains, and of the chain of custody – from collector to final storage – become, in that sense, the way collection biographies are revealed. The nature of the information available for each museum and each collection is certainly different. According to how much research has been conducted with the collection, there are detailed accounts of collectors and objects – as is the case with the Berlin, Paris, and London collections – or very little information to build up a story – as is the case in Portugal or Leiden. One of the challenges of this research was to look at these unique collections, and both unify and compare the wealth of information they provide. This task is a challenge, as has been stated in previous chapters, precisely because each collection seems to respond to unique collecting histories, tied to national histories, and more so, to specific traditions of collecting.

Although the individuality of each museum and the formation process of each collection is indeed a world of its own, the global historic and geographic scopes of the collections aren't. This statement pinpoints that, though collections are formed by unique individuals, with private personal motivations, and under particular circumstances, the "what?" "who?" "from where?", and "why?" of the collections can all be seen as parallel instances of museum-building. These stories are in themselves connected to each other by ideas on culture and collecting, ideas that are flowing between borders and that ultimately shape connected histories. The goal is, then, not only to find specific connections but also to untangle the relevance of such connections for the construction of collections of Andean mummies in European national museums.

The concept of heterotopias, mentioned in chapter 2 is again useful here. This double nature of the remains, as part of a continuum within the museums they inhabit, and as individual cases. These collections become a reflection of the collectors, the systems that once surrounded them, and the storage or exhibit rooms they occupy today.

In a sense, this chapter presents a double exercise. First to look at the data presented in chapter 4 as comparative scenarios, taking the information within each museum context and visualizing the links that exist between them, as well as what separates them. Second, to look at mummy collections as a whole, and not divided by individual museums.

With the first exercise, the individual collections can be contextualized on a European scale, emphasizing what collections represent the majority of the sample, how they match or not with their counterparts and answering questions on where, when, and why these museums collected Andean mummies. While with the second exercise, the phenomenon of Andean mummy collecting can be better explored. Questions on who and what

was collected are answered by looking at the objects themselves; if we remove the museums, is what is left a look at the sphere of mummy collecting in the nineteenth century? That is the question that the second part of this chapter will attempt to answer.

## 5.1 The European Context of Mummy Collections

One of the first tasks this research was concerned with was creating an inventory of the known collections of Andean mummies held in European national museums. Once the seventeen collections were located and visited, a short numeric analysis showed an interesting distribution of these collections.

As can be seen in the graph below, of the total of 224 mummies personally inspected and included in this research, the largest collections were found in the Berlin Ethnographic Museum (SMB), the British Museum (BM) and the Quai Branly (QBR). The first has sixty-nine mummies, accounting for 30% of the total collection, and is by far the largest collection found in Europe. The other two collections, in the number of mummified individuals, at the BM and the QBR, represent 9% each, with twenty-two mummies per museum.



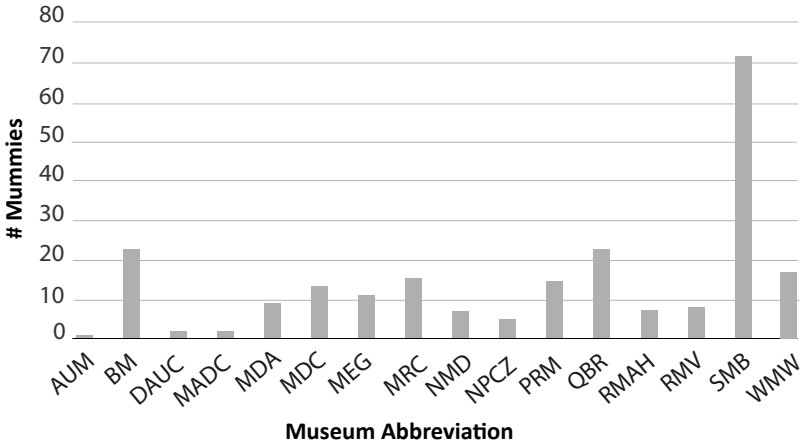
It is surprising in that Spain, which held control over the Andean region until the early 1820s, does not have a similarly large collection in a single museum. The same phenomenon was identified in the case of Caribbean archaeological collections (Françozo & Strecker, 2017). Though the combined collections of the Museo de America (MDA) and the Museo Reverte Coma of the Universidad Complutense (MRC)[50] together account for close to 11% with twenty-seven mummies, it is unclear why the collection was separated in the 1980s, leaving five of the mummies from the Expedición del Pacífico at the MDA, while transferring the other fifteen to the MRC. In contrast, Germany, England, France, Belgium, and Austria seem to have acquired large collections quickly, perhaps taking advantage of the political independence of the Andean nations at the time.

Especially for the Americas and the Andes, the processes of independence from Spanish colonization implied that the permissions needed to carry out scientific expeditions had to be arranged directly with the destination countries, and not the crown.[51] Not only was the bureaucratic process simplified, but the options for travel had also increased (Mora, 2008). Trading routes used for freight and passenger transport were now available for the English, French, German and Spanish alike. The growing commercial power of the United States also opened new routes that connected the previously distant markets in North and South America (McFarlane & Posada-Carbó, 1999).

50 Here we exclude the replica mummy held at the Universidad Autonoma de Madrid. It has been taken into account for general statistics in chapter 7 because it highlights connections and exchanges that take part currently between Latin American and European institutions. However, it has been excluded in discussions of authentic human remains, such as the one presented here.

51 Permission from the crown was hard to obtain and hinged on contacts and favors of royals more so than the interest of the expedition. Alexander von Humboldt, for example, reportedly spent six months trying to get authorization from Carlos IV for his explorations in South America (Wulf, 2015).

**Graph 3:** Relation Between Number of Mummies and Museum Collections.




As has been stated in previous chapters, the increase of scientific interest in collecting archaeological and ethnographic objects of the Americas implied organized efforts. This can be seen reflected in the most numerous mummy collections included in this research: The Reiss and Stübel collection, and the Arthur Baessler collections in Berlin (SMB), the Wiener collection in Paris (QBR), and the Whymper collection in London (BM). In the German collections, the Baessler and the Reiss and Stübel expeditions were financed at least in part by the government and by the SMB. Though the collections formed by Weiner and Whymper were gathered without institutional backing, they were informed by constant correspondence with other museum and society-backed collectors, in the case of Wiener; and informed by an interest in biological specimen collecting in the case of Whymper.[52]

During the mid nineteenth century, the publication of manuals that would inform collectors on what to acquire unquestionably had an impact on the remains brought back to Europe. An important document in that line is the manual for collecting and measuring human remains published after the Novara Expedition in Austria under the title *Anthropology: Novara expedition. A system of anthropometrical investigations as a means for the differential diagnosis of human races some general results of the measurements The instruments required. Invented and established by Eduard Schwarz* (Schwarz, 1862). This publication, as well as the printed guides, such as the *Craniological and craniometrics instructions of the Paris Society of Anthropology* (Macdonald, 2010), may have allowed collectors to be informed on the pertinence of what they were acquiring, excavating or receiving as gifts.

Outside of the scientific expeditions, which account for a great number of the remains collected (as is shown later in this chapter), another important reason why En-

52 Though the author was unable to find direct reference to Whymper's mummy collection in his writing or by his biographers, he did donate important biological specimen collections to George Albert Boulenger at the British Museum, of which the Ecuadorian amphibian and reptile collection is perhaps the most well known.

gland, France and Germany have the largest collections of Andean mummies has to do with commerce. New economic links are formed right after the independence from Spain. These ties include the establishment of merchant companies in Latin American countries, but also the bureaucratic system that accompany interests in foreign lands: consulates, military and political appointments.

Many private collectors of mummies in the collections visited during this research were either merchants themselves, or had been born into families of merchants. The overlap is not casual, as there is a link between the commercial exchange activities of cultural and non-cultural goods, not only because they are shipped alongside each other, but because the people involved in the business during the nineteenth century are frequently also the collectors. Such an example is Wilhelm Gretzer, whose textile business led him to Lima where he would strike a series of interesting collecting friendships, of which his relationship with Mariano Macedo is perhaps the most fruitful. This relationship is further explored in chapter 7.



Not only the commercial ties but, sometimes also the military involvement these countries had during the wars of independence, and after during the consolidation of national borders, would lead to collecting experiences. The collecting timeframes of many of the mummies indeed point to specific conflict contexts that facilitated, the collecting of mummified remains.

In many cases, museum collections have been formed by a combination of the previously mentioned situations: military involvement, as well as business opportunities. More plainly, collectors acquired similar objects during similar timeframes, and those timeframes can be traced to military and trading activities, turning them into important sources of antiquities.

One such example are the English collections. As has been discussed in detail in a publication on the Pitt Rivers Museum (PRM), the South American collections at the British Museum and Cambridge University Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, all have 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* nineteenth-*century naval and trading activities (particularly in relation to Peru, Chile and Argentina, which helps explain the significant collections in Manchester and Glasgow)"* (Sillar in Hicks & Stevenson, 2013). Some of the collections have also been split between institutions, like the Wellcome collection, or have been recipients of donations from the same benefactors.[53]

The role of auction houses should not be understated. Just as private collectors acquired some of the objects from auctions houses, so did museums. This contributed to having objects that had been collected in the same areas, or most likely looted from similar contexts, and later split into smaller groups for auction. Auction houses become a way

53 In fact, as is stated by Sillar: "some collectors such as Henry Ogg Forbes and Louis Colville Gray Clarke collected material for all three institutions" (Hicks & Stevenson, 2013).

to distribute similar objects as well as a space to compare the collections that they were going to acquire.[54]

## 5.2 Only Time Will Tell

The dates of collecting of the remains are an important trace to follow in order to understand the process of the formation of said collections. It was stated earlier that England, France, Germany, and Austria seem to have collected their mummies quickly. This happens as well for the collections at the Weltmuseum Wien (WMW), which has 17 mummies or 7% of the total, the Pitt-Rivers Museum (PRM) with its fourteen mummies or 6%, for the thirteen mummies or 5.8% at the Museum of Confluences (MDC), and for the collection of seven mummies or 3.13% of the Royal Museum of Arts and History in Belgium (RMAH). In smaller numbers, the Portuguese collections also represent a single moment of mummy collecting, in the decade from 1880-1889. Both collections amount to less than 2% of the total, with only four individuals.

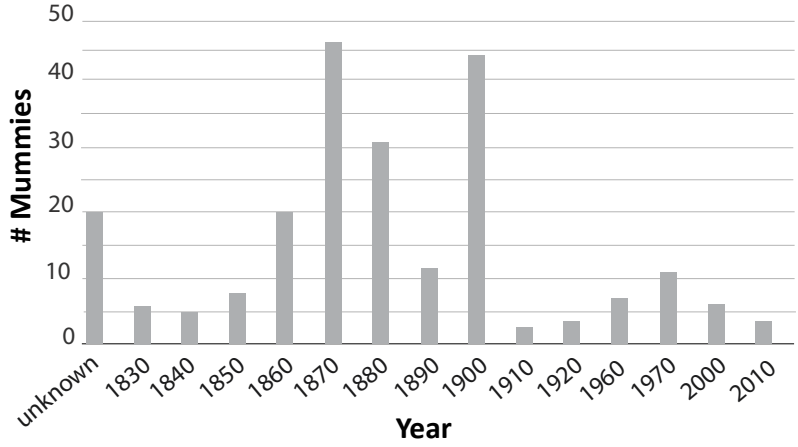
Spanish collections are formed, in contrast, between 1865 and 1975, so throughout nearly an entire century. A similar case can be seen in the collection of seven individuals or 3.13% at the National Museum of Denmark (NMD), created between 1845-1929; and the Geneva collection (MEG), which represents 4.9% of the total with eleven individuals, made from 1886-2006.

There are two museums whose process of collecting mummies differs significantly from the rest of the collections: the Nápstrek Museum (NPRZ), five individuals, 2.24%; and the Rijksmuseum Volkenkunde (RMV), eight individuals, 3.58%. Both collections are formed much later than any of the previously mentioned, the first between 1967 and 1969, and the second between 1974 and 1976. This information can be seen, first separated by decades in graph 4.

When considering these groupings by decade, the period from 1870 to 1900 is shown as the numerically most significant timeframe for mummy collecting. This period, however, represents at least 30 years – though perhaps it should include the first half of the previous decade as it also registers a higher peak on mummy collecting in comparison with 1830. This is an era of political changes: independence, nation formation, and early border disputes take place in the Andes in the early nineteenth century, up until the 1860s. As is argued later in this chapter, the independence process and the border disputes at the time are very much linked with the collecting opportunities for archaeological artifacts.

54 For a documented example, see Sillar and Hicks description of the Pitt-Rivers' South American Collections.

**Graph 4:** Relation Between Number of Mummies and Decade of Collection for All Collections.






The graph above shows that, while some collecting was happening during the decades between 1830 and 1860, it may not be farfetched to assume that the political turmoil of the time was significant enough that the activity was not flourishing. The beginning of the establishment of nations and the commercial consequences of this process would have had an impact in who and what travelled in and out the region.

After the wars of independence, several economic consequences can be felt throughout the Andean nations. A reduced number of males in the population, which had been decimated by the wars, an increasing disconnect between rural and urban areas that affected the supply of local goods as well as imported goods from their ports of entry to the rest of the nation, and the absence of a unified economic barter system (weights, currency, etc.) are some of the many challenges that the economic systems of the young nations had to overcome well into the nineteenth century (Conde, Stein, & Rybáček-Mlýnková, 1977).

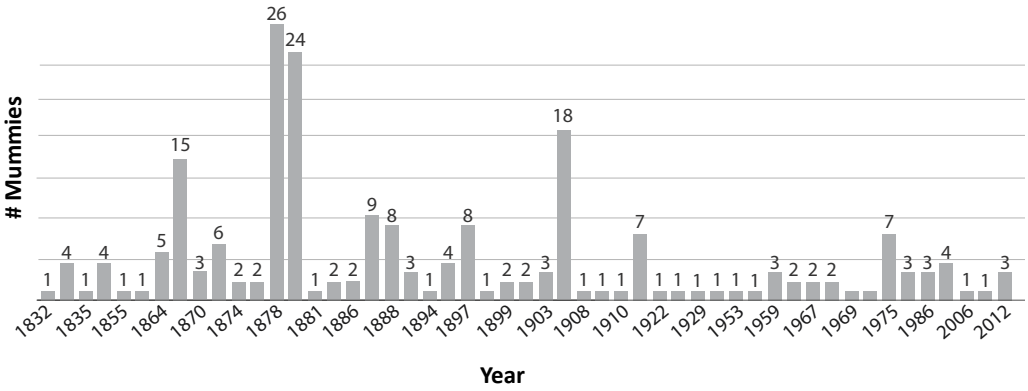
The distribution of the peaks also calls attention to the two highest bars, representing the decades of 1870 and 1900, respectively. In both timeframes, more than eighty mummies were collected, accounting for a significant percentage of total individuals in this research. In order to look in more detail at what is happening in those years, a second graph was created to show, this time by year, how many mummies had been collected. The results can be seen in the graph 5.

What can be glimpsed from the graph above is that, though the general tendency of the late nineteenth century as the most active time in mummy collecting in the Andes continues, there are now four clearer grouping, and not one, that can be further examined.

The first grouping includes dates from 1865 to 1870. Three events may have influenced this timeframe. One is the end of the Civil War in the United States. During the war, trading routes and connections between Europe and the Americas, which had been

open at the beginning of the century, had suffered considerable losses. The end of the war marked the reinstatement of such routes and the reactivation of economic ties, which could have allowed for the antiques trade from the Andes to reactivate as well.

**Graph 5:** Relation Between Number of Mummies Collected and Year of Collection.




A second event was the War of the Triple Alliance. Taking place between 1864 and 1870, the conflict involved Paraguay, Argentina, Uruguay and Brazil in a bloody border dispute. The war started in late 1964 as a continuation of the border dispute caused between Brazil and Paraguay after Uruguayan independence. Once the conflict escalated and Argentina and Uruguay entered the fray, the conflict became known as the War of the Triple Alliance, in which Argentina, Uruguay and Brazil united forces against Paraguay. The control of the Plata River was also in play, and it had been a sore spot in the relations between Brazil and Argentina since independence (Centeno, 1997).

These disputes, which had been longstanding and complex, led to a perception both in Brazil and Argentina that British involvement in the matter had precipitated the war against Paraguay. Though there is no actual proof of British incitement to war, and there is academic consensus on the matter (Abente, 1987; Leuchars, 2002). What cannot be denied is that there was extensive European military presence in the region at the time, especially British. This presence could have contributed to the formation of private collections and the giving of diplomatic gifts, which, as is explained later in this chapter, accounts for a number of mummies in the museum collections.

Thirdly 1868 was marked by a very strong earthquake in the Arica region. The phenomenon left many mummified remains visible, and they were consequently looted. It has been reported elsewhere that the crew of an English naval vessel, the HMS Malacca, may have participated in such looting activities after assisting the people in need in Arica. The remains recovered and collected by the first officers of the vessel had made their way to the Ashmolean Museum by 1876.

The second grouping also coincides with an important military event in the region, the War of the Pacific. Taking place from 1879 to 1884, the war involved border disputes between Chile on one side, Peru and Bolivia on the other. The war was the result of Chile's border claims to coastal Bolivian territory of the Atacama Desert, which had been precipitated after the Bolivian government, ignoring previous commercial treaties, imposed taxes on Chilean goods using the port of Antofagasta (then under Bolivian control).

Most of the war involved naval campaigns, but battles would be fought in the desert as well as mountainous regions in the Andes. Chile's land campaign proved as effective as its naval one, culminating in the occupation of Lima in January 1881; and though Peruvians kept a sort of guerrilla war going, trying to revert the outcome of the war, a final treaty was signed in 1883 with Peru and in 1884 with Bolivia, with Chile as the victor.



What is more interesting for the purposes of this discussion is that the treaty of 1883 was signed in, and takes its name from, Ancón. This area is most famous for the large necropolis it houses, which had been excavated repeatedly before the conflict. In the graph, the peaks for 1879 to 1880 are quite large, and they reflect a period of collecting directly linked to the occupation and excavations of areas in the Arica region of the Atacama Desert, and in general the dry Pacific coasts of Peru and Chile.

Here the involvement of the British Navy, as well as of other European officers who had been appointed to Chile at the time, ha a large impact incidence on the collecting of mummies. A great example of this is the collection formed by William Allison Dyke Acland (1847-1924). Appointed to the ship Triumph in 1880, Acland and Admiral Albert H. Markham (1841-1918) were ordered in 1880 to bring their ship from where they had been stationed in Vancouver to Callao to *"protect British interests while the War of the Pacific raged between Chile and Peru*" (http://www.dreadnoughtproject.org/tfs/index.php/William_Alison_Dyke_Acland,_Second_Baronet). Once there, Acland became a naval attaché at Chilean General Headquarters and was present at the battles of Chorrillos and of Miraflores in 1881. His collection of South American remains is organized and well selected, and though he had no formal interest in anthropology, he continued to collect antiquities and ethnographic objects –he even took hundreds of ethnographic photos– in his later military appointments in Australia and the Pacific.[55]

Another important event for the second grouping is the 1878 World's Fair, held in Paris. This is the first instance where newly formed nations have a setting to display their cultures and countries to the world as a whole.[56] The known world is exhibited and has the chance to both see and be seen. France is particularly notable as a host in this event. The great collections that have been amassed from colonial territories, as well as by collecting heavily in the Americas until that moment were exhibited in pavilions dedicated to An-

55 His collections are currently housed at the Pitt Rivers Museum.

56 Though some nations had stands in previous World Exhibits like the one held in 1855 in Paris, they did so under different banners. Colombia was Nueva Granada, Argentina the Confederacion Argentina, and Brazil the Império do Brasil (Lopez-Ocon, s. f.).

thropology, Archaeology and Ethnography. The place in itself, the Trocadéro palace, would become a few years later the permanent house for those same objects displayed during the event (Hamy, 1987).

It is worth mentioning that in the anthropology section of these displays, many human remains, mummified or skeletal, went on display as part of a racial comparison exhibit, supported by the likes of Broca, Topinard and Quatrefages, all of them Physical Anthropologists with great interest in comparative anatomy between "races." This last point is especially relevant given that ten of the mummies in this research belong to his collection, and that the mummies were transferred, after the World Exhibit, to the Guimet museum in Lyon (Berthier-Foglar, 2009). The same can be said about the Bolivian mummy portion of the Quai Branly collection, which is still classified as being donated by the "Commision bolivienne, Exposition Universelle de 1878."

A third grouping involves the years between 1886 and 1894. Though the numbers of remains collected are a lot less than those of the previous two groupings, they still clearly reflect some changes in the collecting rhythm at the time. There is no uniformity on who or where remains are collected, but there is something important happening at the time, and that is the 1892-1893 World Columbian Exhibition in Chicago. As has been described above, World Exhibits become spaces for the showcasing of collections that would later be donated or left behind under the custody of the host nations. The stimulus to anthropological research that the Paris exhibits of 1878 and 1889 had propelled could be felt again in Chicago. This was not the only world stage for anthropological research at the time. Spain had also organized a lesser-known exhibit under the title of Exposición Histórico-Americana, held in Madrid. Some of the archaeological and ethnographical materials that would be shown in Chicago had been originally assembled for this international exposition. Many Latin American nations contributed with materials to this exhibit, including Mexico, Guatemala, Nicaragua, Costa Rica, Dominican Republic, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, Bolivia, Uruguay, Argentina and Cuba (Watters & Zamora, 2005). It is interesting to note that, as Watters and Zamora point out, *"European nations contributing prehistoric and historic artifacts from the Americas, held by their museums or private collectors, included Spain, Portugal, Germany, Denmark, Sweden, and Norway, with Great Britain and France being conspicuously absent"* (Watters & Zamora, 2005:5).

For both the Madrid 1892 Exhibit and the Chicago 1893 World's Fair, assemblages of archaeological and anthropological objects were collected, transported and displayed. This movement of collections may have resulted in the spikes visible on the graph above. The peak corresponding with the 1904-1908 period is directly linked with the collecting activities of Arthur Baessler. Though the remains were collected during his travels in Peru in 1896, they were only accessioned into the collection in 1906. They did so as part of a greater collection of Andean and Polynesian objects, and were as such introduced with a later date.

Finally, there are small peaks after the 1970s that should be addressed. A first consideration is the introduction of the UNESCO legislation that has been mentioned in chapter 2. This legislation may have encouraged auction houses, private collectors and antiquities sellers to fend off their collections of mummified remains in the following years (as could be the case for the Leiden museum mummy collection, sold in 1974 and made up of a variety of mummies adjusted as to look as part of one single context (Ordoñez Alvarez, 2014). Other peaks indicate not dates of collection and accession, but rather dates of "rediscovery" of collections in storage rooms, such as the Whymper collection found in storage in 1997 at the BM, or the mummies re-accessioned in 2003 at the MEG.

## 5.3 Where Mummies are Found



In the last few pages, it has been shown that the collecting times across museums can already point to important information regarding global trends in collecting, as well as to the cultural concerns of European museums during the nineteenth century: political reflection, national identity, public displays of "the other" parts of the world. Furthermore, the relation between these dates of collecting and important political events in the Andes also help to show that there are different levels of interaction that lead to the collecting of mummies. The impact of wars with foreign involvement in the Andes seems to have implied a very relevant opportunity for the collecting of such remains, either personally or as gifts after service. This information also leads to finding commonalities in regards to the "what" and "by whom" of collecting which are explored in more detail later in this chapter.

Similar areas are collected because of similar arising opportunities, and war is one of them. Research expeditions are another very relevant opportunity for collecting similar remains. Following the excavations of Reiss and Stübel, other German and French scientists were eager to discover the tombs at Ancón. Many years later, in 1965-1967, young museums like the Naprstek in the Czech Republic looked for mummies in the same regions where other well-known expeditions like those of Bastian, Baessler and Uhle had discovered interesting materials.

The spread of what is collected is another important dataset that needs to be considered. Though the timeframes of collecting point to historically significant moments and motivations, the spread of where these remains are collected can certainly help reinforce or reject those temporary links. Not only do they convey areas of interaction for collecting, but the locations of collecting point to trade routes of objects and ideas; they speak of limitations of movement as well and, more importantly, they also show a first indication of the cultural representations that are been sought for the Andes, aided by the interactions with local scientists, and reinforced by the continuous visits to the same places that had been already proven to provide a high yield of objects.

In that sense, it is useful to organize the data presented in the previous chapter in terms of provenience. What archival data, accession book entries, and documents alike register

regarding the origin of the mummies in museum collections can differ from one museum catalog entry to the other. The most commonly used descriptors are a country of origin, an archaeological site or dig, or the name of the nearest town or region known at the time of collecting.

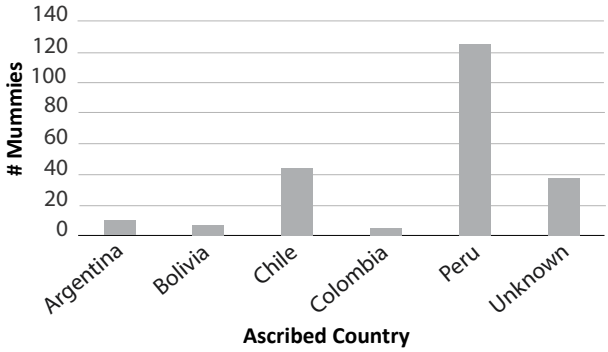
There are many challenges with the interpretation of the locations and point of origin that have been recorded in the available documents, as has been described in chapter 2. Because of the unclear descriptions in the documents, and the time that has passed since the objects were collected, sometimes it is easy to misconstrue the name of a town for that of a later formed county, or renamed region. It is also very easy to find several regions with similar names, and therefore one must take into account the routes traveled by the collector, the cultural descriptor of the object, or assign it to a larger area. For example, in the case of several "Santa Rosa" locations given as a point of origin, the larger region of Lima is used.

In order to avoid mischaracterization of the documentation, the author initially focused exclusively on countries of origin and not on specific regions within those countries. The summary of that information, as found in the documentary information available at each museum, is presented in the graph below.

As can be seen, more than half of the mummies of all the collections are described as coming from Peru. The second largest provenience is Chile but far behind Peru. In third place we find Argentina, followed closely by Bolivia, and at the very last place Colombia.

The prevalence of Peruvian objects in museum collections from the Andes is not a surprise. Since the 17th century, the fascination with the Inca culture had been a constant feature in Europe (Gänger, 2013). It is no wonder then that the objects a museum would be more eager to possess would be those from Peru, land of the Inca Empire. As archaeology developed as a scientific practice, the importance of mummification, textile production, and ceramic decorations of other earlier Andean cultures became increasingly sought after, but not before highlighting Peru and its Pacific coast as a region of intense archaeological and anthropological interest.

**Graph 6:** Ascribed Countries of Origin for the Mummies in the Collections Part of this Research. Only those countries, or country regions mentioned directly, have been taken into account.



There are two other points to be made regarding the distribution of provenances in the graph above. The first is that the number of remains without an ascribed provinience are far higher than those of Argentina, Bolivia, and Colombia combined. This is not entirely surprising, given the amount of donations from private collectors who had acquired the mummies without first-hand knowledge of their origin. A second important reason may be the prevalence of collecting of looted objects. In those cases, the remains can be purposely sold or gifted without stating a provenance either because it is unknown, or because it is in the best interest of the collector that it remains unknown.

The second is that, through the nineteenth century, the redrawing of borders between Peru, Bolivia and Chile may have altered the way mummies were described and introduced to museum collections. There is a marked difference in terms of origin for the remains collected in the regions of Arica, Tacna and Antofagasta before and after the War of the Pacific, and that should be noted.



Sillar has presented very clear examples of those shifts in the information available for the Pitt Rivers collections. After the examination of the collections from the Andes, Sillar makes the following description, which summarized the problems quite clearly:

*"The PRM holds c.3,345 artifacts 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 has 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."*

(Sillar and Hicks in Hicks & Stevenson, 2013:359).

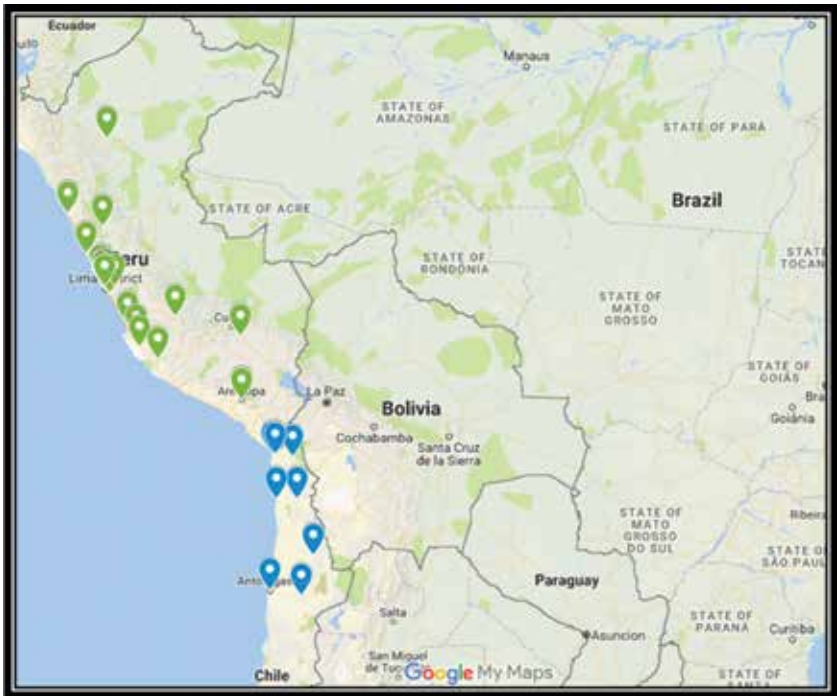
The Necropolis of Ancón had already been extensively looted since its accidental discovery in 1870s while building a train route to Pasamayo (Chancay District, Peru). After Reiss and Stübel's visit to the site in 1874-1875, the mummies from Ancon had become famous and were sought after by opportunistic collectors, such as military men during the War of the Pacific.[57] The same can be said for those found in Arica, hence confusion in their descriptions is not uncommon. On table 20, the locations where mummies were collected in Peru and Chile, before and after the conflict, are described:

57 As was described earlier in the case of William Allyson Dyke Acland, and also in the case of Hutchinson, which are further elaborated later in this chapter.

What can be seen is that for Chile, the region won after the dispute during the War of the Pacific is also the most quoted provenience for Chilean mummies.[58] In the case of Peru, the areas of collecting are far broader, reaching to Moyabamba in the northeast, and Chimbote on the coast.

Looking at the data on a map paints an even cleared picture. It demonstrates first the general areas in their modern distribution, and secondly the areas where the War of the Pacific took place:

**Map 1:** Places mentioned in documental information as provenience for mummies in Peru and Chile. Green has been used for those in Peru, blue for Chile. The map signals the position of the places according to modern territorial borders.




Not only did the border lines get redrawn, but the country of origin of the remains had to be shifted accordingly. It is also interesting to see how modern separations in science lead to different perspectives and understandings of mummification practices across the borders. This is something that will be discussed in chapter 7. Stephanie Gänger has argued that these border changes had a profound effect on archaeological sciences in Chile. She contends that:

58 Specific numbers for each provenience are further detailed on chapters 6 and 7.

**Table 20:** List of locations mentioned in documental sources. The two columns on the right indicate the countries the locations belonged to before and after the War of the Pacific.

| Place | Before War of the Pacific | After War of the Pacific |
|---|---|---|
| Ancon | Peru | Peru |
| Antofagasta | Bolivia | Chile |
| Arequipa | Peru | Peru |
| Arica | Peru | Chile |
| Atacama | Bolivia | Chile |
| Ayacucho | Peru | Peru |
| Azapa | Peru | Chile |
| Barranca | Peru | Peru |
| Cerro Colorado | Peru | Peru |
| Chancay | Peru | Peru |
| Chavin | Peru | Peru |
| Chimbote | Peru | Peru |
| Chincha Alta | Peru | Peru |
| Chiu Chiu | Bolivia | Chile |
| Chosica | Peru | Peru |
| Chuquitanta | Peru | Peru |
| Collique | Peru | Peru |
| Concon | Chile | Chile |
| Cuzco | Peru | Peru |
| Encalada | Peru | Peru |
| Ica | Peru | Peru |
| Infantas | Peru | Peru |
| Iquique | Peru | Chile |
| Lurin | Peru | Peru |
| Magdalena | Peru | Peru |
| Moyabamba | Peru | Peru |
| Nazca | Peru | Peru |
| Ocucaje | Peru | Peru |
| Pachacamac | Peru | Peru |
| Parinacota | Peru | Chile |
| Sta Rosa | Peru | Peru |
| Tarapaca | Peru | Chile |

> *"both the incorporation of archaeological remains and the appropriation of Peruvian archaeology helped insert Chile into international scientific debates, and that this effect was, if not intended, at least conducive to the priorities of the emerging nation-state"* (Gänger, 2009:691).

This acceptance of archaeology as a pillar on which to rely on for the creation of a national identity is not uniquely Latin American (Carter, Vilches, & Santoro, 2017).

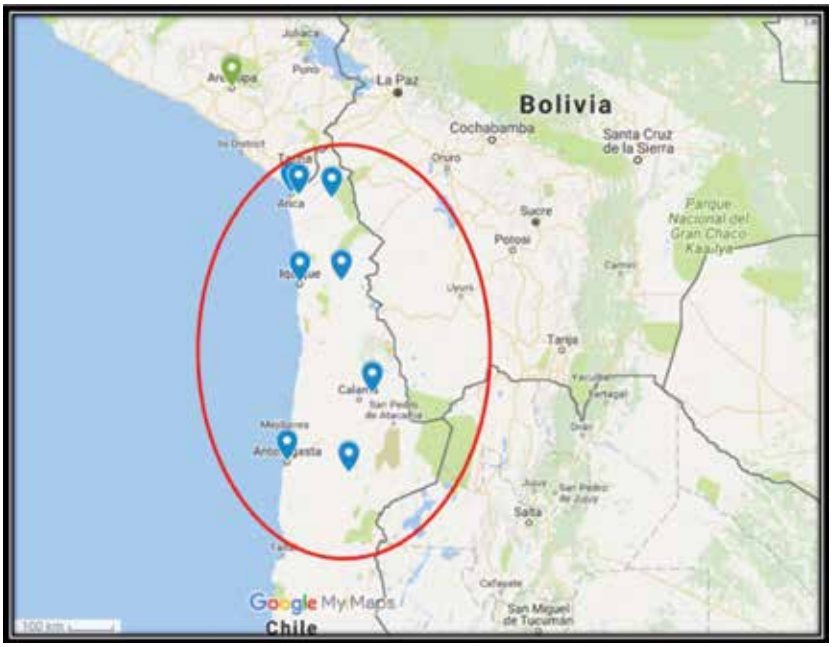
In a similar way, the effects of the World Wars of the twentieth century were also relevant in regards to the information and association of objects that were lost because of the changes in storage movements and ceasing of collecting under German, Russian or allied control.

Conflicts and wars during the nineteenth century had a definitive impact on the collections held today in European museums. twentieth century wars also played a role in the confusion of contexts, remains and associated artifacts. Construction projects for different institutions were halted during the First World War, such as that of the National Ethnology Museum in Berlin (today SMB). In that case, all the collections and exhibits had to be put into storage in different locations at the start of the war, and later moved again to their permanent locations. This scenario was repeated to worse results with the start of the Second World War. Collections are once again moved to far off locations and were separated around Berlin and outside of the city. The Allies confiscated these collections once the War came to an end, and some of them were never recovered. Much documentation was lost, and though around fifty-five thousand objects were brought back together after the reunification of Berlin, there are still some unaccounted items. The collections of the ethnology museum, for example, were only reunited in 1990 when modernization of the museum complex where they were held was possible (Nicholas, 1994).

Continuing with the examination of the location indicators in these collections, a less used category is that of cultural affiliation. Similar issues to the ones highlighted for location can be identified for the descriptions in this category. The definitions of cultural borders have changed according to new developments in archaeology, so what was originally described as a particular culture in one region may have changed in regards to current cultural descriptions.

From the review of the data, it is evident that of the 237 individuals, only thirty-two have a culture descriptor associated with them. In contrast, 193 mummies do not have information on that regard in the databases. When comparing the number of mummies identified with a location – 161 entries – it is evident that this descriptor is by far the least common.

**Map 2:** Area directly influenced by border changes after the War of the Pacific. Red highlights the areas, today part of Chile, which were once territories of Peru and Bolivia. It is noticeable that during this conflict, Bolivia lost its coastal access.




*Red highlights the areas, today part of Chile, which were once territories of Peru and Bolivia. It is noticeable that during this conflict, Bolivia lost its coastal access.

One of the reasons may be that there were very few organized archaeological studies for the Andean past at the time of collecting, and therefore, it was even less readily available for collectors who were not actively involved/engaged with the intellectual circles of the moment. Outside of Uhle's systematic work in Pachacamac and his recognition of what would be called "chronological horizons," there are very few published and discussed chronologies of Peru or the Andean coast in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (Ramón Joffré, 2005). Table 21 shows the cultures mentioned in the documents for the mummies in this research.

Of those shown in the table above, five are actually not an archaeological or cultural classification but rather a association. Sites such as Ancón and Pachacamac were used as cultural markers at the time, perhaps because the identification of the cultures that occupied the sites would not happen until several decades later.

**Table 21:** Cultures ascribed to mummies in the documentation. Only 32/225 have a cultural tag. Of the descriptors used 5/13 are references to a geographical location rather than to an archaeological culture recognized today.

| Culture in Documents | Recognized archaeologically today |
|---|---|
| Ancon | no |
| Arica | no |
| Atacameña | no |
| Chinchorro | yes |
| Chancay | yes |
| Inca | yes |
| Chimu | yes |
| Chiu-chiu | no |
| Ichma | yes |
| Pachacamac | no |
| Paracas | yes |
| Tihuanaco | yes |
| Wari | yes |

**Only 32/225 have a cultural tag. Of the descriptors used 5/13 are references to a location rather than to an archaeological culture recognized today*

It is interesting to note as well that, from the cultural descriptions used for the thirty-two individuals, eighteen are ascribed to Inca or Chancay/Inca. This second description includes a temporal perception of transition between the Chancay and Inca traditions, but this comes from a later archaeological understanding of the materials. In fact, this notion was beginning to take form by the date of collection of the materials, which is noted as 1906.

In this first discussion the why, where and when of the collecting of mummies in the Andes has been explored. This exercise has permitted to show how the scope of collecting of Andean mummies was being reflected on each museum that was researched for this thesis. By comparing them, it is possible to illustrate how the numbers regarding where and when mummies were collected pointed to political, economic and cultural moments that either helped or hindered collecting transactions .

The second level of discussion concerns the objects themselves. The available information regarding what was collected is limited if only the documentary information is taken into account. Very little information regarding the state of remains, other than bundled or unbundled, partial or complete, is available in the documentation. Sometimes, remains would arrive to a collection bundled and complete, only to be manipulated, unbundled and separated later.

Unbundling of remains became an important and integral part of mummy collecting in the late-nineteenth century up to the mid twentieth century. After collecting the

remains, if the mummy was included within a funerary bundle, there was a museum and public interest in unveiling its contents. Unbundling ceremonies were held in European and American institutions alike, and the reasons for the unbundling varied from scientific interest to attracting audiences to a museum exhibit. Mummies would be completely or partially unbundled, with the removal of wrappings in sections of the body or entirely, and more often than not, the textiles separated from the remains would be stored in different areas of the collection (Wolfe & Singerman, 2012).

In Peru, Julio Cesar Tello started the unbundling tradition for some of the mummies he excavated, and the mantle would be picked up by his student Rebecca Carrion Cachot, who photographed and filmed the process of unbundling for further recording in the 1950s.



**Image 5:** Rebeca Carrión Cachot in One of the Open Public Mummy Unbundlings. Lima 1951. Taken from an educational video at the Museo Nacional de Arqueologia, Antropologia e Historia del Peru, Pueblo Libre, Lima.

Similarly, Dr. Jimenez Borja would continue to unbundle mummies from Puruchuco and other late discovery sites in Peru well into the twentieth century. Using diplomatic ties, and with the backing of the Peruvian government, Dr. Jimenez Borja would travel the world in the 1980s unbundling mummies to the delight of his audiences[59].

The initial period of physical anthropology is marked not by the collection of complete or mummified remains, but rather of skeletal parts of the individual, mainly the skull and mandible. This emphasis on collecting is detrimental and contrary to the preservation of mummified remains, both at their time of collection and at the time of their integration into museums. This trend has had a significant impact on North American collections, where anthropologists such as Ales Hrdlická would systematically collect exclusively de-

59 Though the work and shows put on by Dr. Jimenez Borja are outside of the dates that concern this research, it is interesting to note how a tradition of unbundling was so popular and sanctioned by the Peruvian government, even by the late twentieth century. Further reading on the subject can be found in the article by Villacorta (Villacorta Ostolaza, 2009).

fleshed or skeletonized remains within the Smithsonian Institution. For him, mummies were of little interest since they could not be measured and probed according to the delicate methods of physical anthropology (Hrdlička, 1930).

In Europe, a mixture of skeletal and mummified remains continued to be of interest because of the overlap between ethnography, anthropology and archaeology in museums of the time. Such an example is the Trocadéro, where remains are stored and exhibited according to these themes, but are equally relevant to each of them.

Another important consideration to make when addressing questions of what is collected is transportation. Mummified remains are not like ceramics, textiles or even skeletal human remains in that they can suffer great changes if not kept in appropriate conditions. Further decomposition of the remains is unlikely, but the tissue may attract fungi, termites or other insect and rodent activity. All transport between the Americas and Europe was conducted across the sea. Ships would take between 1-4 months to arrive at their port of destination, but between the place of collection and the port, as well as from the port to the museum, the remains also needed to be transported safely.

Sometimes, measures for safekeeping and preventing further decomposition of the remains would be taken. The application of resins or coatings like those used for biological specimens has been cited as one of those measures in the literature (Carminati, Begerok, & Gill-Frerking, 2014). Other times however, it was better to dispose of the remains mid-travel, as is told in the following anecdote told by the naval doctor Liautaud in 1843, when transporting mummies back to Europe (Riviale 1996: 236):

*"Several of my colleagues have tried to send some of these Peruvian mummies to France many times, but despite the most careful precautions, they were never able to escape from the humidity of the atmosphere inside the ship, this enters the soft tissues quickly and turns them into a kind of liquid mass, decomposing, without form. Nobody I know has been successful so far, and my efforts have not been more successful. My specimens could not withstand the excessive humidity in the lower decks of the Danaide. The health of the crew entrusted to my care forced me to abandon almost all the anatomical specimens, keeping only the skulls and those only after having cleaned them thoroughly."*[60]

Another description of the transport issues can be found in the writings of Thomas Hutchingson. When referring to an urn he had excavated in Peru during his service as a diplomat in the second half of the century and later tried to ship back to the Pitt Rivers, Hutchinson says:

"*In another place, and at a depth of about four feet from where the hard digging begun, where a foot or eighteen inches of soft sand had to be shoveled off, the diggers came to three diminutive crocks or urns that were broken by the spade before we perceived they*

60 In French originally, translation by the author of this dissertation.

*contained bones and cloth. This made us more cautious with a large urn, which after nearly half an hour's delicate manipulation was exhumed, and found to contain the body of a full-grown man or woman disarticulated, the skull being placed uppermost, and part of the ashes in the urn being as of burned cloth. The urn was not more than two feet high, although with mouth large enough to admit a skull. In sending it home to Dr. Barnard Davis I unfortunately packed it with sawdust in a large case together with other pottery; and coming as it did by one of the Pacific steamers to Liverpool, it was smashed into pieces before reaching its destination"*
(Hutchinson, 1873:2).

Because of this complicated process and the need to keep the remains as intact as possible, many mummies are introduced into museums without further demographic characterizations, other than emphasizing if the remains are adult or young. When available, many of the demographic descriptions of the remains – woman, female, child – are erroneous[61] and in some cases have complicated their identification in storage rooms. The following description of six out of the fourteen Andean mummies in the Pitt Rivers collection, summarized by Sillar, offers a good glimpse of the differences in information in terms of demographic characterizations that are available in the documentary sources:

*"Apart from the grave goods, the mummified human remains recorded as from Arica comprise three 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 two 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"*
(Sillar and Hicks in Hiks and Stevenson 2013: 361).

Partially mummified remains are seldom described in demographic terms, while full-body mummies, if associated with juveniles or babies, would almost always be classified as female. This subject is further addressed in chapters 6 and 7, but it is important to mention here precisely because of this lack of information from documents. The concerns when collecting mummies were by then not necessarily anthropological (physical anthropology), but rather ethnographical (related to mortuary rituals, etc.).

61 As is presented in chapter 6, many assumptions regarding the sex of the remains are done not on the basis of osteological examination but rather of gendered activities such as textile work or fishing which are related to the remains in some way. In the case of age determination, big bundles are always thought to contain adult remains, while in reality many large sized bundles contain a child with a lot of associated wrappings or objects, which make it seem heavier and larger.

## 5.4 The Actors of Collecting

As important as the descriptions made of where and when mummies were found in the Andes are, the collectors, donors and sellers of these remains offer a different insight into the collections in this research. The information available in documents and archives comes precisely from what those sellers and collectors have deemed appropriate to convey to the museum. In that sense, the direct interlocutors for the mummies are their collectors. Therefore, the relevance of understanding who collected the remains in museum collections has to do with the veracity and validity of the information provided.

While reviewing the data presented in chapter 4, it became evident that there were at least three very well defined groups of collectors, which provided not necessarily different types of information on the mummies, but rather more or less nuanced recordings of said information. A general way to describe these actors is calling them nineteenth-century travelers. Though the collectors of mummies are indeed travelers from Europe to the Americas, lumping them all together under the same category takes away the complexity of their travels.

For this dissertation, a traveler is someone who makes long journeys often, or who moves around from place to place instead of living in one place for a long time. However, this definition is not applicable to many of the donors of mummies, who had permanent positions abroad rather than traveling occupations. Similarly, a particular definition of traveler applied to the nineteenth century is that of a person or people that are known for their travels or explorations (Gerassi-Navarro, 2017). Yet, there are many collectors and donors registered in the archives that are little-known or could not be traced.

In that respect, nineteenth century travelers are, a very heterogeneous group. What this research shows is that, within that diversity, three smaller descriptors for collectors are well suited. Those are scientific/ethnographical collectors, diplomat/military collectors, and private collectors. Each one of these divisions holds in its midst a range of collectors with varying degrees of enthusiasm towards the collected, in this case mummies. What needs to be understood is that the occupation of the collector provided him[62] with particular opportunities to collect, be they while passing through a site, sailing near earthquake revealed necropolis, or heading out on exploration expeditions designed mainly for the entertainment of diplomats (Hutchinson, 1873).

An illustrative example is that of Thomas Hutchinson, who served as consul, medical practitioner and merchant during his career for the British Government. From 1858 to 1857 he became a member of several intellectual associations such as the Royal Geographical Society, the Ethnological Society, the Royal Society of Literature and the Anthro-

62 The sphere of collecting, as of traveling in the nineteenth century, is almost exclusively dominated by men. Though women were indeed present in these travels, their role was more often than not that of companionship for their husbands, and over time they have been made invisible in the documentary record. For further discussion on this topic as well as stories of women travelers in the Americas, see Gerassi-Navarro (2017), Hahner (1998).

pological Society. He was appointed in 1861 to Buenos Aires as a consul, where he was also an agent for Lloyds. He was similarly engaged in Uruguay from 1864 to 1865 and would later be reassigned (after a short transfer back to England) to the consulate in Callao in 1871. His daily activities centered on controlling the shipments of English products from Peru, but he took advantage of his position to dedicate time to explore the nearby necropolis and to collect remains from those sites. Some accounts of these activities were published in his book *Two Years in Peru, with Exploration of its Antiquities* (1873).

One of the most interesting descriptions regarding how he viewed his collecting activities can be found in the previously mentioned publication, where he refers to a donation to the Pitt Rivers as follows:

*"I am almost afraid that the number of skulls which-originally intended for the museum of your Institute-I have been able to remit from Peru during the last and previous year, may lead you to expect a more perfect report upon them than it is in my power to give. In fact, I feel myself obliged to premise by the plea, although it is a purely personal one, that my visits to ancient Peruvian burial grounds were almost invariably made when I had to be absent from my post for the benefit of my health in seeking change of air"*
(Hutchinson 1873: 64–5).



Similarly, Hutchinson would dedicate time to describe his first impressions of the area of Arica by recalling having heard that, as a consequence of the 1868 earthquake "not far from the city of a number of bodies, which were in the squatting position that I have- already described. They were covered, as usual, with cloth" (Hutchinson 1873: 64–5). Some of his explorations were conducted in conjunction with another English appointee, Mr. Bracy R. Wilson, the vice-consul in Callao, who he mentions as having gifted to him some archaeological cuttlefish eyes from Arica, which he later donated to the Pitt Rivers Museum.

Taking into account the areas from which collectors are coming allows for a better understanding of the narratives they are conveying to the museum when donating the mummies. For example, the scientists who were sent to the Americas specifically to collect on behalf of the museum may be more interested in retaining the quality of the remains they are bringing back. The diplomats who received gifts would be more likely to elaborate on their relationship to the gift-giver, or the reason for and importance of such a gift, than describing in detail the gift itself. These narratives then become the information the museums have available to enter in their books books at the moment of accession, and this is very rarely questioned.[63]

63 As is described later on the case of the Charles Wiener collection, which is one of the few collections commented on or criticized a few years after it was delivered to a museum. See Gänger (2014:126) (2014b), Riviale (2015).

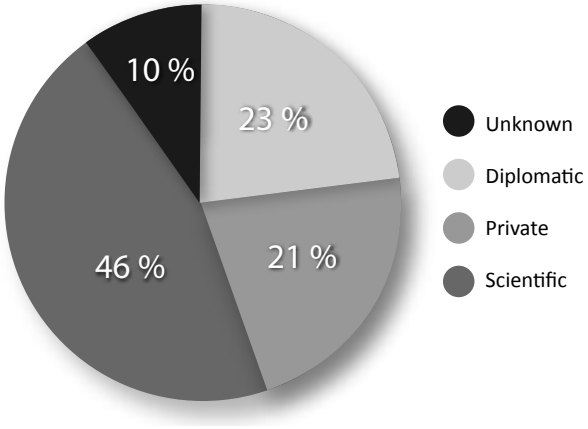
Evidently, given the state of archaeological research for the Andes during the nineteenth century, much of the conveyed information needs to be revisited today with fresh eyes, and that will be done in the next chapter. However, the information as retold by the collectors at the moment of making their donations is still very valuable, as it points to sites and circumstances that could not otherwise be known.

The veracity of their claims and the authenticity of the information provided along with the mummies should still be taken with healthy skepticism, more so in the case of private sellers or sponsored scientific collectors, as their bending of the truth may have served their economic intentions – and we are not privy to those through documentary evidence. The filters that need to be applied to that information and the reasons why have been explored in chapter 3, so they are not repeated here. Nevertheless, it is important to remember that the information given, even when inaccurate, serves to understand to some degree the circumstances and possible motivations that led to the collecting of these mummified remains.

Against this background, the review of the data available on collectors shows an interesting distribution of the three groups mentioned above. As can be seen in the graph below, the majority of mummies in European museums were collected by scientific or ethnographic expeditions during the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth centuries.

This is in agreement with what has been stated earlier in this chapter: the sponsorship of research expeditions both for naturalist and ethnographic purposes was a great concern of museums in the three biggest collecting countries of this research's scope: Germany, France, and England. The top three countries are followed closely by Spain, through the Expedición del Pacífico, which also gathered a significant number of mummies. The available funds to collect and the incentives to do so for travelers who came from a scientific background was definitely an important factor.

**Graph 7:** Percentile Distribution of Collectors According to Type: Scientific, Diplomatic, Private and Unknown Categories.



An interesting result from the data examination is the high percentage of mummies that were donated by diplomats or military personnel. Though the importance of military expeditions for collecting has been mentioned elsewhere (Riviale 260 y Bleichmar; Wolfe y Singerman; Maoney 2012: 190; Ganger 2014), it is interesting to note the overlap between military personnel and diplomatic appointees during the nineteenth century in the Andes.

As has been stated previously, the process of independence meant that new links had to be strengthened between America and Europe. The creation of consulates was one of the ways these links were maintained. Appointees to those public offices were often prominent military members, retired or on active duty in the area. The functions of a consular appointee varied according to the need of the consulate at a particular time, from commerce and immigration support, to military advice.



Commonly recognized functions of the consulate were those of protection of commerce and sailing; assistance to mariners and residents of their nation in a foreign land; some notarial duties such as passport issuance, document legalization, issuance of certificates of citizenship, and documents of inheritance or succession; overseeing the fulfillment of commerce and sailing treaties; and the communication of the social, political and economic state of the country where they resided (Nieto Camacho, 2006). The appointment of military background consuls would serve all these purposes, especially if a territorial dispute was in process, such as those cited earlier in this chapter during the War of the Triple Alliance and the War of the Pacific.

Diplomatic and government jobs in a foreign land offered –and still do– a variety of benefits. In regards to the control and oversight of maritime travel and commerce, for example, one of those benefits is the possibility to send larger shipments of objects without the concerns of space or money. That possibility may have implied that collectors with diplomatic ties need not worry about their shipments back to Europe the same way researchers or regular travelers would have. Another benefit is the opportunity to examine other collections passing through to Europe, and making contact with the senders or those accompanying the collections. The links formed between countrymen in foreign lands, especially if those involve celebrated figures of scientific notoriety, are not to be discounted. Examples of such relationships have been reported, for example, during the research expeditions of Reiss and Stübel, as well as those of Edward Seler and Adolf Bastian.

The prospect of moving in local intellectual circles, which in nineteenth century America were more often than not connected to high-status individuals in politics, is also an added benefit of diplomatic life. As is exemplified by private expeditions for collecting organized for the likes of Robert Bunch and William Turner in Colombia (Arroyo, 1990), moving in local circles concerned with the collecting of national pasts allowed European diplomats to simultaneously collect those same objects.

When it comes to private collecting, the scene is quite different. In comparison, private collectors and independent travelers would have had more limited access to the

opportunities of organized collecting than both scientific explorers and diplomatic or military appointees. In fact, the private sphere of collecting in the Andes is mostly known in relation to the local trading of antiquities or as part of auction houses and antiquities shops in Europe.

In the first instance, this information is made available through the relationships between merchants with the antiquarian societies or local collectors (as is the case with Wilhelm Gretzer), or because the selling of objects had been noted as an activity to supplement income, especially in sites such as Ancón, Pachacamac and Lima, (Diemel & Dohrmann, 1999). What is known about who private collectors were or how they came to collect Andean antiquities is, in that sense, gathered only through the reflection of the objects they sold or donated.

Through the documentary sources, many private donors are recorded with initials or incomplete names. Some of them, even when mentioned fully, have proven to be very hard to locate in documents at the museums or associated institutions, and a dedicated search for each one of them would be outside of the scope of this research.[64]

With the amount of pre-Columbian material available at the end of the nineteenth century and beginning of the twentieth century, the private collecting of Andean mummies and human remains needs to be seen as a deliberate choice. In that sense, the author proposes that the private mummy collector must have had an interest in human remains in general (anthropological inclinations), and a desire to understand mortuary practices (ethnology interest). The transport limitations, which, as mentioned earlier, are quite disheartening in terms of preservation, coupled with the unusual possibility of exhibiting a mummy in a private setting, would also point to a definite inclination towards the subjects mentioned above.

Enthusiasm for the macabre should not be discounted. Freak shows and theatrical staging of mummy viewing was not an uncommon practice during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Examples such as these can be found for Egyptian mummies (Sullivan, 2015:17; Wolfe & Singerman, 2012), and with Latin American peoples (Earle, 2007; Miles, 1974; Tromp, 2007). There is no particular example of exhibiting Andean mummies, outside of the unbundling parties organized by individual museums –like in the case of the Pitt Rivers mentioned in Chapter 4– or government linked individuals, such as the aforementioned Dr. Jimenez Borja.

The private seller, on the other hand, would just have had to have an accurate estimation of the market openness for these types of remains. Though museums in the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century may have been interested in buying these remains in order to complete their collections, the advent of restrictions on importing

64 This downside to the availability of data on private collectors was noted in chapter 3. For more details on the methods used to research private collectors and the limitations of those methods, refer to said chapter.

heritage from the Americas, introduced by the mid twentieth century, certainly must have had an impact on the retail price of mummies, as well as the concerns with keeping such objects as part of an antiquarian's inventory.

It is not a surprise then that some sellers of antiquities are present in more than one collection. Such is the case with Louis (Luis) Sokoloski, who made sales to both Vienna and Berlin, selling four individuals to the first and one to the second.

As has been shown from the analysis of the dates and places of the collecting of the Andean mummies in this research, there are particular sites and moments when these remains are most often collected. There is also a direct link between those two circumstances and the countries or museums involved in the practice of collecting, not only mummies but also antiquities in general. It follows then that there is a correspondence between the type of collector most prominent in a collection, and the data already presented above.



**Image 11:** Letters sent with a parcel of mummies to the Weltmuseum in Vienna by Private Collector L. Sokoloski.

Lima, 2 April 1887

Werther Herr,
mit heutigem, von hier abgesanden [..]
[..] Museum eine Kiste
Mit Drei Mumien:
-1 Mumie mit einens Kinde
-1 Mumie allein, groß
-1 Mumie allein, klein
Es sind dieses sehr schöne
Exemplare und stammen dieselben
Aus einen kleinen Ort
Pativilea genannt, im Norden
Perus gelegen.
Einliegend finden Sie
Versicherungsschein (?) über die Sendung
Welche direkt nach dort franco
Geht und ich hoffe, dass
Dieselben wohlbehalten dort an-
Kommt, und ihren Beifall
Finden möge.
Auch habe ich ein Anzug der
Indianer vom Amazonenstrom
Wie er jetzt getragen wird
Beigelegt. Diese Indianer sind
Schon der Zivilisation zugängig.
Indem ich zeige mit
Hochachtung verbleibe
Ihr ergebener
L. Sokoloski

Lima, April 2nd 1887

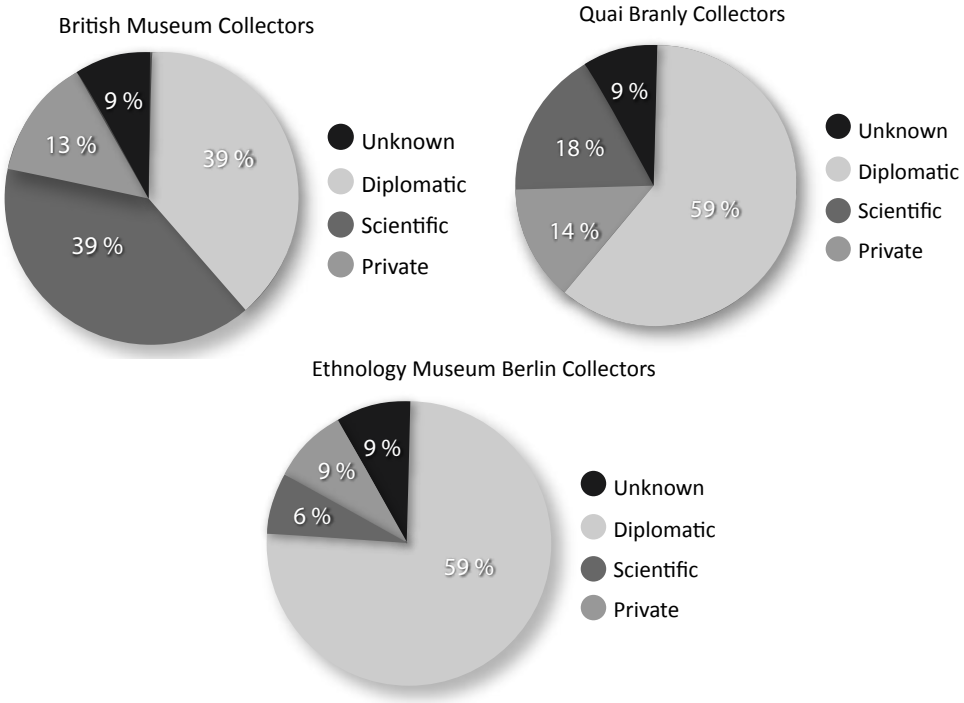
Dear Sir,
Hereby, sent from here [..]
[..] Museum a box
Containing three mummies:
-1 mummy with child
-1 mummy alone, large
-1 mummy alone, small
These are very nice
Specimens and they originated
From a small village
Named Pativilea which is situated in northern
Peru.
Enclosed you will find
An insurance certificate for the parcel
Which is sent directly to there
And I hope that
They will get there safe and sound
And that they will find your appreciation.

I have also attached a costume from the
Indians from the Amazon river
Worn nowadays.
These Indians are
already accessible to civilization.
Hereby I show
And with deep respect remain
Sincerely yours,
L. Sokoloski

A quick statistical analysis of the proportion of each type of collector group per museum varies very little: countries with more money available to fund scientific collections have larger contributions to their museums from those sources (here Germany is the most representative). The same can be said of countries with political or economic interests in the Andes in terms of donations or gifts to military and diplomatic personnel

(here England is the most representative). As is seen in the comparative graphs below, collections at the British Museum are collected primarily by both scientific and diplomatic endeavors at 38%. At the Quai Branly, the majority of collections come from the scientific pursuits of Charles Wiener, in particular, and other ethnologists, which add up to 59% of the total collections. The divide between scientific and non-scientific collecting is purely present at the Berlin museum collection where an impressive 76% of mummies collected come from state-sponsored ventures like those of Gretzer, Baessler and Uhle.

**Graph 8:** Distribution in percentiles of the type of collector in three museums: British Museum, Quai Branly and Ethnology Museum Berlin.




As made evident from the graphs above, collectors are also directly linked to the temporal and geographic circumstances detailed earlier in this chapter.

## 5.5 Routes Traveled

How these collectors moved and finally donated the remains they had collected is also a point of interest. In that regard, one of the important concerns of this research is to try and detangle, from the places where mummies were collected to their ports of arrival, if there were particular routes, areas or transports that these mummies were taken through on their way to Europe. In that sense, the possibility of mapping the journeys of these Andean remains from their origin sites to Europe can be explored. Mummies themselves, as

well as antiquities, were not traveling or moving in particular circles or specialized vessels from America to Europe. Rather they, as all other freight, would follow the same routes as other imports.

Antiquities from the Americas traveled between high traffic ports for people and goods. In the Pacific coast, those ports included Guayaquil in Ecuador, Callao (Lima) in Peru, Arica in Peru and later in Chile, Valparaiso in Chile, Buenos Aires in Argentina, and to a lesser degree Montevideo in Uruguay. Much has been written about the importance of each port in the history of commerce between South America, North America, Europe and Asia (Conde et al., 1977). The geographic proximity of some of these ports to areas of known extensive exploitation of antiquities, both through organized scientific activities or looting, is something to note.



In the case of Callao, the entire modern Lima district is surrounded by and includes many notable *Huacas* and necropolis. Almost all of them were looted and excavated in the dates on which this research concentrates, namely during 1830 to 1890. Ancón and Pachacamac are important examples. A similar case is that of the port of Arica. Famous and extremely active because of its closeness to sources of guano mining, Arica started to be looted early on, and it is linked to mummy finds, some of them found inside the guano (Hutchinson, 1873).

The ports in the Pacific connect both to Panama and Buenos Aires in order to access the Atlantic. For these case studies, both routes are of importance. Panama became a gateway to the East Coast of North America, which even in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries is already a required stopover for European scientists (as an example see Humboldt's travels in North America).

The port of Buenos Aires was used for inland commerce. Antiquities travel through land, even today, from Peru, through Bolivia and Chile, to the Argentinian port (Coggins, 1969). During the nineteenth century, many travelers would use the same route to traverse the Andes, and would ship out of Buenos Aires back to Europe (Farro & Tomo, 2008). In that regard, though no mummy collecting sites are found in Argentina, the country and its port become a pathway for the trading of Andean mummies, to the point where they have been noted as a point of origin (see the RMV collection in chapter 4 for an example).[65]

The transport of the antiquities within Europe is not the subject of this research, but it is useful to mention that, at least for those collections coming from diplomatic and scientific expeditions, there are no instances in the documents in which issues with said transport have been reported. The mummies arrived at the museums in original cases, sometimes still surrounded by local newspapers or other materials used to soften the box-

65 The Rio de la Plata and Buenos Aires were extensively used in the colonial period for the commerce between the Andes and Africa/Europe. Portuguese slave traders used this route, for instance, but the transportation of silver also went this way (Borucki, 2011).

es in which they traveled, and which allow us today a little glimpse of a particular historical moment.

**Image 12:** Original packaging of a mummy sent from Chile to the Weltmuseum in Vienna

*Notice the paper in Spanish as well as the reeds in cardboard used for packaging.

## 5.6 Chapter Summary

This chapter has looked at historical data in an attempt to find connections between museum collections as well as with the mummies in those collections. The historical narratives and circumstances visible through those connections show that there is perhaps an unconscious connection between the experiences of all these collectors, and in consequence between the collections made for each museum. Connecting with the idea of a heterotopias facilitates the possibility of understanding this double nature of the mummy collections. These connections are unconscious as they are formed from temporal coincidences more than from a deliberate intent to connect and collect similarly, but they are nevertheless conducive to the same results.

In the following chapters, the task is to counterpose these narratives to the current, or rather modern, understanding of Andean archaeology. The identification, classification, and understanding of funerary traditions in the region have changed dramatically since the nineteenth century. Much as the techniques to identify and describe mummified human remains have changed, so have the biographies of the mummies stored in museums. However, in the case of the national European museums that are part of this research, the information available about these remains has not always kept up with the

times.

On the subsequent pages, the aim is to reanalyze the mummies in these museum collections in light of contemporary archaeology. This is done in order to see how historical and modern perceptions of the same object have changed, or have not. In doing so, the chapter also looks at the histories of these mummies within the collections, their roles, uses, and ultimately the story of their storage.

# Chapter 6

Rethinking Bodies

Museum collections are not one-dimensional. They are composed of the history of collecting as much as by the objects themselves. As has been explored earlier, one cannot be understood completely if separated from the other. Nevertheless, it is through the objects biographies (as explained in chapter 2) that the relevance of any object within a collection can be understood.

In the previous two chapters, the process of formation of Andean mummy collections in the seventeen museums that are part of this research was investigated. A comparative glance at the recorded history of the individual mummies that are part of those collections has also been given, in an attempt to show that these processes of collecting are not isolated. Rather, these processes are part of a seemingly universal impulse to "complete" museums, aided by political incidents, which delineated the relationship between Europe and the Andes starting in the nineteenth century.

The previous chapters have, therefore, made a classification within historical parameters. This chapter, conversely, aims to look at the collections of mummies presented in previous chapters through a contemporary lens. The intent is to reanalyze the mummies in these museum collections in light of present-day archaeology, in order to see how historical and contemporary perceptions of the same object have changed, or not. In doing so, the roles, uses, and storage practices in which these remains have been involved –the museum practices that surround them– are addressed. In this chapter, it is argued that the historical process that led to their collecting is no longer the most relevant point of comparison, but rather their current state of preservation.

Looking at the remains in terms of museum practice is vital because, once the people who collected the remains and during what historical processes that occurred have been explored, it is the aspect of classification, the order given to the collections once accessioned, that becomes most relevant. This implies not only a change of perspective from historical to contemporary, but also a whole series of different interactions with the collections.

One such instance is the focus on the different actors involved in the collection-making process. When considering the process of collecting historically, the explorers and donors are the relevant actors. Nevertheless, once introduced into the museum, it is not the collector that determined the classification of the objects (both human remains and artifacts that accompany them), but rather the curators that have arranged the purchase or donation of the items. This implies that some of the first-hand knowledge regarding the remains has been lost and the classifications made are not always accurate. Through time, collections have been re-accommodated, curated, and displayed. Significant changes to the state in which they initially entered the collection can be seen.

As has been done previously, collections in this chapter will be seen as part of a single universe, or rather, merged into one single group (population) outside of the individual museums. The merger of data into a single grouping offers the possibility to address

contemporary museum concerns, such as the determination of object authenticity from a more nuanced perspective. Objects collected, restored, and changed by the practice of collecting itself can be reclassified in erroneous ways that seem to disqualify their authenticity. The inspection of the collections in this research points out that an object has not lost its authentic qualities, even when its reclassification under parameters currently in use may overshadow diagnostic characteristics or confuse them for non-authentic ones.

When looking at mummies as individual data points, their materiality becomes the most relevant information. The first-hand data collected from the object itself, as explained in chapter 3, is organized in a specific database where it can be compared and opposed to its peers. By removing the collection division, the data can be seen as the consequence of a long period of collection, but irrespective of personal and motivations. The focus of interpretation is now on why certain objects are collected, while the individual ways in which the objects were collected now becomes irrelevant.

As stated earlier, here the historical process that led to their collecting is no longer the most relevant point of comparison, but the focus is their current state of preservation. This does not mean that the historical and contemporary data do not intersect, or that these temporalities become exclusive. Indeed, they intersect only in regards to the actors who have looked or worked with the collection from its accession until today. As is explained in this chapter and the next, in most of the museum collections there was no record of previous research conducted with the remains, and no explicit desire to look at them before this research. Nevertheless, it is important to point out that it is not necessarily that the museum has not wanted to update their contextual information, but that they have not had the opportunity. As is mentioned in chapter 2 and discussed in the following chapter, the holding, preservation, and ethical concerns regarding human remains, and especially mummified human remains have preoccupied the museum world since the inclusion of such collections to the storerooms. However, though many discussions have been held regarding the ethical aspects of these sensitive materials, very little has been done until recently to try and sort the materials themselves.

In more practical terms, what this change of scope also presents is the opportunity to look at these collections as reflections of the contemporary archaeological view of the Andes. The Andes, as represented by mummies, is a concept that is explored in more detail in the following discussion chapter. However, it is useful here to point out that the reason to look into the materiality of the remains today is to find the commonalities and divergences in the collections that help interpret the reasons behind past collecting.

From here, the task is to counterpose these narratives to the current, or rather contemporary, understanding of the archaeology of the Andes. The identification, classification, and understanding of funerary traditions in the region have changed dramatically since the nineteenth century. As the techniques to identify and describe mummified human remains have changed, so have the biographies of the mummies stored in museums.

However, in the case of the national European museums in this research, the information available about these remains has not always kept up with the times.

This implies that geopolitical changes, such as the redrawing of borders, have been largely ignored. This fact has already been called to attention in the previous chapter, but it will be explored again here. Other information that has become more accurate in time, regarding cultural affiliations of remains, has not been updated in the museum databases either. In consequence, many of the locations given by the collectors for the remains have been used as cultural affiliations. Outdated categorizations have also been used to provide a cultural affiliation for the remains, and examples of such cases are explored in this chapter.

Another important aspect of inquiry for the existing databases is the demographic information recorded. The accuracy of age at death and sex assessments, before the standardization of the methodologies described in chapter 3, is to be taken into question. The way these collections have been presented to the public in reference to that demographic data has also been explored. It is important here to notice briefly that the gendered hairstyles, for example, as well as gendered labors (such as fishermen, textile worker, etc.), have been used as ways to determine the sex of the remains. This gendering has been done by the collectors, using contemporary modern ideas of the gender distribution of physical attributes and of the sexual division of labor. Needless to say, most of those classifications do not match with pre-Columbian ones, and hence lead to the incorrect attributing of sex to human remains.

In light of all these important changes in the way human remains can be described, categorized and therefore presented to the public, this chapter is divided into three parts. The first will address the issue of provenience, as well as that of cultural affiliation. This is done by comparing the information still present in the databases to that attainable through visual analysis. The second part concentrates on demographic data. Estimations of sex and age at death from those remains that can be assessed will be presented, in order to gain an insight into the importance of this type of data when looking at a collection of human remains. Finally the third part refers to the processes of preservation and modification that the remains have undergone since their time of collection until today. Although neither the exact timeline of those changes nor the motivation for them can be described, in most cases, the regularity of some of those changes and what they constitute for the overall collection will be highlighted.

## 6.1 Whereabouts in the Andes?

Accession books, museum inventories and catalogs present a version of which objects are held in a collection. In all cases of museums included in this dissertation, several moves, reorganizations and changes in the way these objects are stored have taken place over the years. These changes also mean that, in some very few and unfortunate cases, by the time

an object needs to be accessed, it cannot be located in a storage facility.

Of the 237 remains listed in this dissertation, 215 (or 95%) were available for inspection. The reasons for this vary, from counting two representations of mummies that were the only ones left of what had been collected –those are the items 02203, 02346, 02347 from the Inventory at the Museo de América– or because, though items were listed in inventory pages, they had not been photographed and therefore could not be linked to actual remains seen in storage –those are cases VA33977, VA33978, VA403, VA405 and VA66445– as well as objects that could simply not be located at the time when the visit to the storage facilities was undertaken because the museum storage areas had recently moved or the object itself had been moved from exhibit to storage. The bulk of the collections, however, were available for inspection. As can be seen in the graph below, the ten individuals absent account for only a 5% of the total. When possible, because the information available on the inventory allowed us to do so, the type and size of remains has been taken into account.



Included among those mummies that were not personally examined are the remains of the Chinchorro mummies at the Museum of World Cultures in Gothenburg. These remains had been already extensively studied and described with current technology, which allowed the author to be able to use the already available information instead of going to the museum.

The remaining 215 elements are divided into remains that the author could see personally, and those that had to be seen through catalog entries and inventory descriptions with photographs. In the case of the Berlin collection, remains as a whole were inspected. Their general characteristics, as well as their holdings and classification, were noted, though not individually. However, individual descriptions of the remains were based on the inventory pages provided by the curator, as well as through already existing publications on the collection.

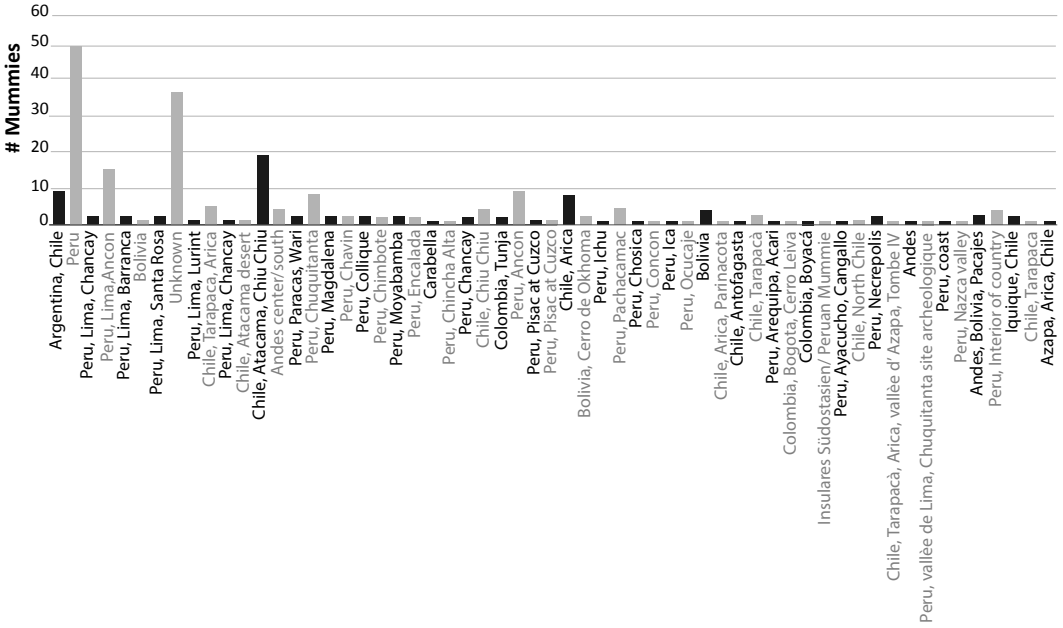
**Table 22:** Total number of remains explained.

| Type of inspection | # |
|---|---|
| Remains individually inspected | 151 |
| Remains seen but not individually inspected | 74 |
| Remains not found | 10 |
| Remains not seen but included from literature | 2 |
| **Total number of remains** | **237** |

As shown in previous chapters, the remains were first inspected in terms of provenience. The annotated proveniences had been recorded at the moment of accession. In some instances, a cultural affiliation was suggested at the same time as a place of collection. The most common collection sites listed are “Peru,” as a general category without

a specific location; “Peru, Lima Ancón” and “Peru, Ancón,” probably referencing the very popular necropolis of Ancón; “Chile, Atacama, Chiu Chiu”; and “Chile, Arica,” “Chile, Arica y Parinacota.” The last three refer to the northern Atacama desert area, once part of Peru, now part of Chile, and hence classified as such. In the graph below, the most common provenience sites are highlighted.

**Graph 9:** Archival Data on Mummies Organized by Provenience.

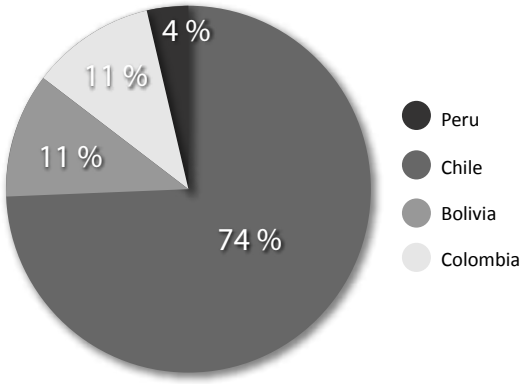



Although the location of the remains at the moment of collection may indicate a cultural affiliation, this is not always made apparent in the archival information. Moreover, when an area is too large or generic, then it is almost impossible to link a provenience with a cultural affiliation.

Contextualization of a mummy can infer nothing regarding the place of collection of said remains. What can be pointed out are the differences between historical and contemporary classifications of the areas mentioned, as has been done in the previous chapter.

In terms of classification, something noteworthy is that after a reclassification of mentioned sites and the cultures, Peru is still the most prevalent country of origin in the analyzed collections. The previous chapter mentioned that more than half of the mummies of all the collections are described as coming from Peru. Chile was the second largest provenience recorded from archives, but very far behind Peru. In third place came Argentina, followed closely by Bolivia, and in very last place Colombia.

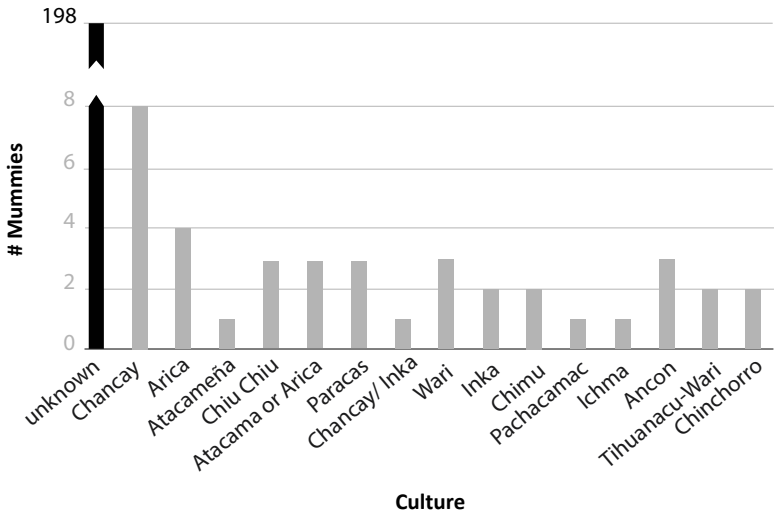
**Graph 10:** Percentages of Mummies in Relation to the Contemporary Country Where They Are Located.




The distribution trend continues only in respect to Peru after the reclassification of the remains.[66] Peru represents 78% of all human mummified material collected. Bolivia, however, has gained prominence with 12% of the total, followed by Chile, with Colombia in last place.

Similarly, as with the graph of the proveniences, the following chart presents the recorded archival cultural affiliation. It is clear that the unknown cultural affiliations account for the majority of remains, 198 of 237.

**Graph 11:** Archival information Regarding Cultural Affiliation of Mummies.



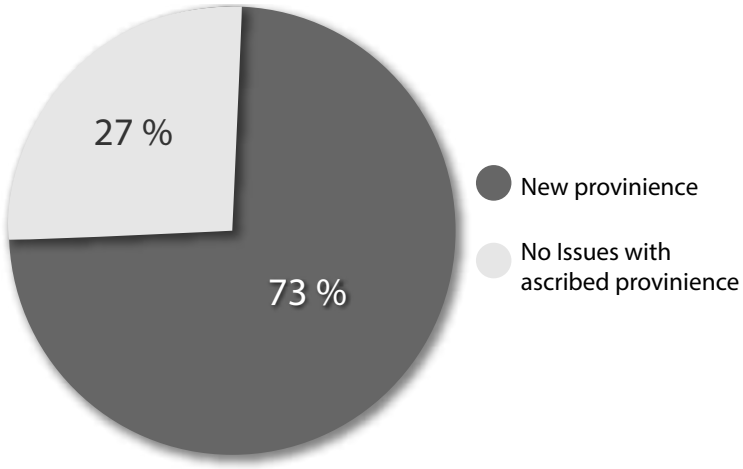

66 For details see chapters 3 and 5.

The second and third most commonly noted cultural affiliations in the archives are Chancay and Arica. Arica is both a  indicator as well as a cultural affiliation, so it can be expected to be quoted more often than other cultural affiliations. Chancay refers to the pre-Columbian culture that developed between the valleys of Fortaleza, Pativilca, Supe, Huaura, Chancay, Chillón, Rimac and Lurin, all of them in the central coast of Peru, close and around the present-day Lima area and towards the north. Because of the temporality of Chancay (1200-1450 A.D.), after the Wari Empire (600- 100 A.D.), as well as before and during the Inca Empire, many sites associated with Chancay in historical data can also be allocated to those other cultures. The occupation of the necropolis of Ancón, for example, spans from Wari to Inca. Therefore the remains that have been classified in regards to that provenience can actually be affiliated to any of the three cultures that occupied it, including Chancay.

Using the methodology described in Chapter 3, the cultural affiliation of remains has been more precisely pinpointed. As has been noted in that chapter, the associated textiles both on the mummies and stored with them, the type of burial (cradle, versus crouched, versus basket), and any closely linked associated artifacts were used for re-contextualization.

After examination of the remains, a number of individuals were reassigned to a different cultural affiliation. This means that the affiliation suggested by archival information was replaced with a new contextualized cultural affiliation. There are a total of eighty individuals that can be linked to a specific culture. Of those, sixty-six remains have been reassigned to a different cultural group, while fourteen have remained unchanged.

**Graph 12:** Percentages of Mummies with Reassigned Versus Not-reassigned Proveniences.

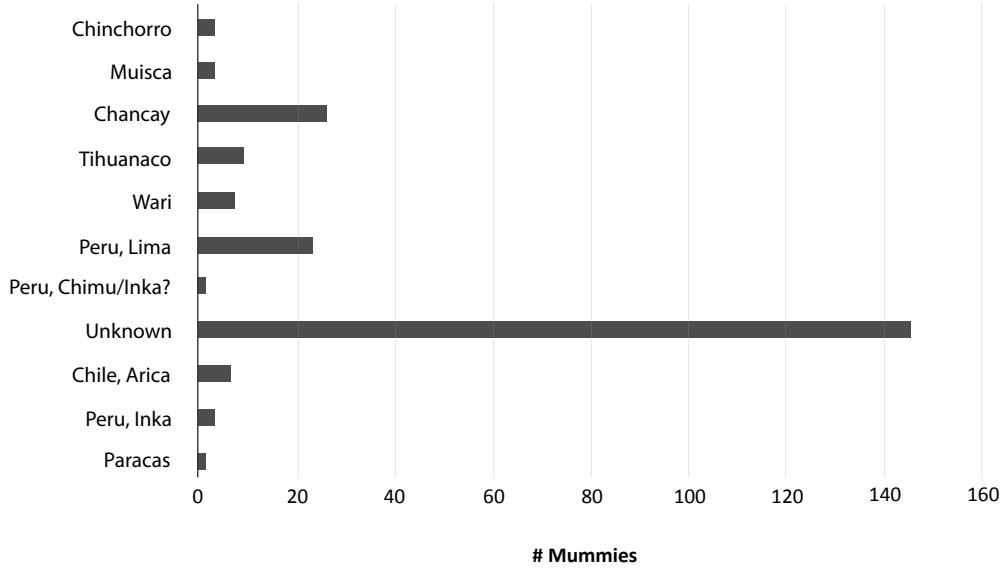


Eighty two percent (82%) of the remains that had been assigned a cultural provenience on the archival data were, in fact, inaccurate. A graph with the new information can be seen below. Although most remains continue to be unclassified –145 in total– this indicates that forty-four remains which were previously unclassified could actually be assigned a cultural affiliation based solely on their associated artifacts.

Some of the existing cultural classifications are not valid today. That is the case, as mentioned earlier, of those such as Ancón and Atacameña, which referred to a geographic area and not to a culture. Another classification that was not taken into account was that of Pachacamac, which refers to the archaeological site, and not to a cultural affiliation. Other classifications such as the broad "Peruvian" were, when possible, narrowed down. In seven cases the Peruvian classification was erroneous, and those remains have been reclassified as Tiahuanaco and associated to a more likely Bolivian, rather than Peruvian, provenience.



**Graph 13:** Mummies Organized According to Contemporary Cultural Affiliation.




Once the reclassification was carried out, the Chancay and Lima affiliations became the most common, with the first two including twenty-six and twenty-three individuals, respectively, and by far the biggest groups. The Tiahuanaco (nine), Arica (six), Wari (seven), Muisca (three), Inca (three) and Chinchorro (three) classifications make up the second largest group; while Paracas and Chimu-Inca are last with only one individual each. When looking at the graph above, it becomes very clear that of the over a dozen cultures that are known for mummification in the Andes, only a fraction are represented in the sample. The possible classification is limited by collecting constraints; first, by the histor-

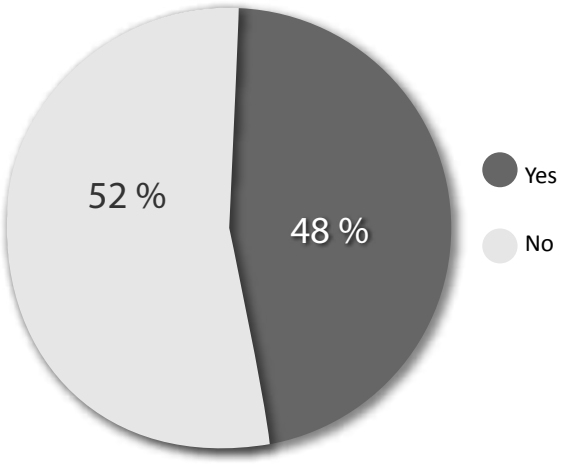
ical process that led collectors mainly to the central and southern coast, and secondly by the contextualization possibilities of the associated artifacts to the mummified remains. The professionalization of archaeology allowed many cultures to be identified individually and a series of diagnostic traits for their recognition to be standardized. Those standardizations are not always applicable to mummies, mainly because they are formed on the basis of ceramic analysis, and very often these classifications cannot be extrapolated to human remains.

The nuance in chronologies and the separation of data into a significant number of cultures in the Andes started at the end of the nineteenth century and were consolidated in the early twentieth century. Early chronologies of Peru, for example, include Uhle's 1910 classification (Ramón Joffré, 2005), followed by Kroeber's in 1944, and Julio Tello's in 1942. A series of attempts after the early chronologies are noted, culminating in the most widely used chronologies today, those proposed by John Rowe (1952) and Dorothy Menzel (1964), and much later Luis Lumbreras (1969) and Peter Kaulicke (1994).

The chronologies cited above however are not reflected in these early collections of remains, neither in the archival data nor in the possibilities of contextualization.[67] Therefore, only a small number of those cultures mentioned can be directly linked (especially by textile work) to the mummified remains found in the collections analyzed in this research.

The diagnostic traits considered to re-contextualize the mummified remains within the methodology of this dissertation, and described in chapter 3, were various. Possible diagnostic traits for individual remains were also recorded and integrated into the working database. The percentage of remains that presented a diagnostic trait versus those that did not is shown in the graph below:

**Graph 14:** Percentages of Mummies That Exhibit Diagnostic Traits Versus Those That Do Not.




67 The reasons why will be further discussed in the next chapter.

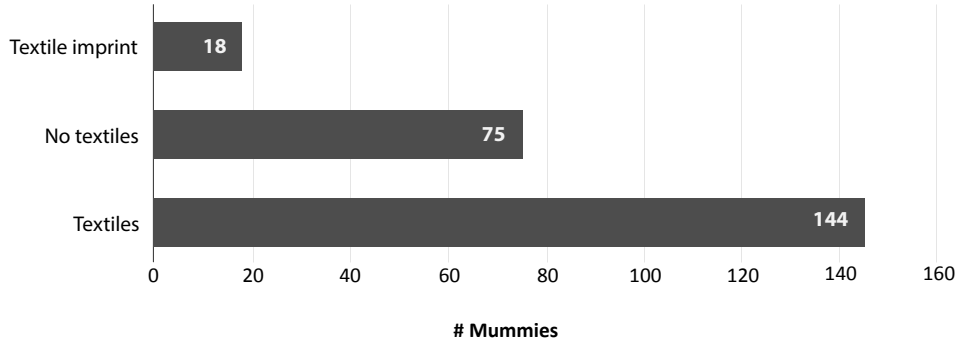
More than half of the remains examined lacked a trait that could be considered sufficient to contextualize them. That includes textiles that were plain, bundling or burial techniques that were not specific to a area or culture, and lack of associated artifacts.

Of the total eighty remains that were reassigned, four were contextualized by other researchers, as is the case of the Gothenburg Chinchorro mummies and the Muisca mummies at the British Museum (Arroyo, 1990). The remaining 48% included in the graph above, correspond to a total of seventy-six individuals identified by traits recorded during the inspection.

As has been mentioned in chapter 3, in the vast majority of cases, the diagnostic trait used was the type of textiles associated or directly in contact with the mummified remains. That is not particularly surprising when considering that out of the 237 individuals in the collection, a total of 142 (or 59%) individuals either included or were associated with textiles. Furthermore, another 8% included textile imprints, which implies that the textiles of the bundles were removed from the remains during or right after collection.



**Graph 15:** Number of Individuals That Have Textiles As Diagnostic Traits for Contextualization.




Other diagnostic traits which were thought relevant proved of little use when trying to contextualize remains. Braids, for example, recorded as important in eight cases, were only once treated as diagnostic for individual, 71.1886.174.3 from the Quai Branly collection. This was the mummified head of a juvenile. The only associated textiles were “green” cotton threads wrapped on the ends of three braids that made up the front hairdo (two on the right side, one on the left side), and on the end of the braid “nest” that covers the back of the head. The head is covered with interconnected loose braids of different sizes. The right side has at least six braids, one of them making a similar “net or nest” pattern as the one in the back of the head. Well-recorded hairstyles from the area of Arica allowed for this mummy to be contextualized by this means, but that was the only exception.

It was at the beginning of this research that association between collections would help contextualize remains. However, only three cases of a definite connection between two museums were found,[68] all from the Danish National Museum collection. Two of the remains were fully bundled mummies that had been traded with the Trocadéro museum, and one was a false head and textiles exchanged with the Berlin museum.

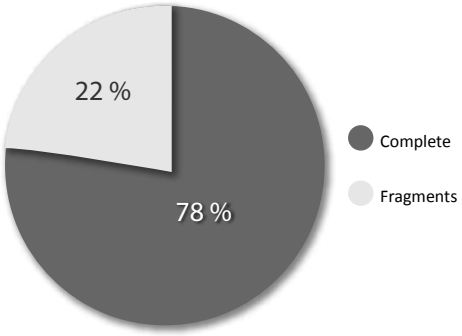
## 6.2 Who Are You?

Once the provenience and cultural affiliation of the remains were disentangled, as well as the diagnostic traits that helped with their contextualization, the demographic aspects of the collection needed to be explored. Following the framework of object biographies, the case of human remains presents the unique possibility to look at demographic data such as age at death and sex. Ideally, stature, pathological conditions, ancestry markers, and mummification techniques such as evisceration could be recorded from these types of remains, but that could only be done with a homogenous set of CT data access to all remains.[69]

Considering the data available for all remains, this section is dedicated to looking at sex and age at death data, as well as other physical attributes of the remains (size, type and completeness). This is done in order to get a better grasp of the characteristics of the remains collected and to allow further discussion into the use and validity of these remains for future research as is addressed in the following chapter.

The first relevant information has to do with the completeness of the remains.[70] Of the total individuals in the sample, most account for fully complete remains (78%), while 22% is made of fragments of mummified individuals.

**Graph 16:** Percentages of Mummies That Are Complete, Versus Those That Are Fragments of Bodies.



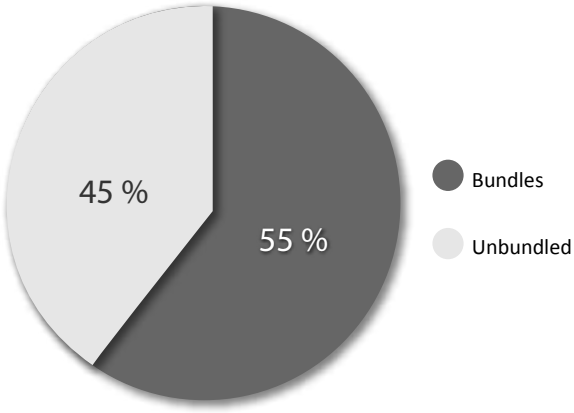

68 The number of recorded exchanges is surprisingly low, especially given the collector and site connections between collections. A discussion on the importance of this low number of connections between collections will be further explored in the next chapter.

69 This has been argued in some detail in chapter 3. However, it was necessary to note it here in order to introduce the types of demographic data that was looked at in the collection.

70 The criteria for what is complete or fragmented can be found in chapter 3.

These percentages indicate that, including the empty bundle located in the Austrian collection, 173 remains count as complete and can be measured in regards of size, as well as compared in terms of being full bundles or unbundled remains.

**Graph 17:** Percentages Bundled vs. Unbundled Mummies.





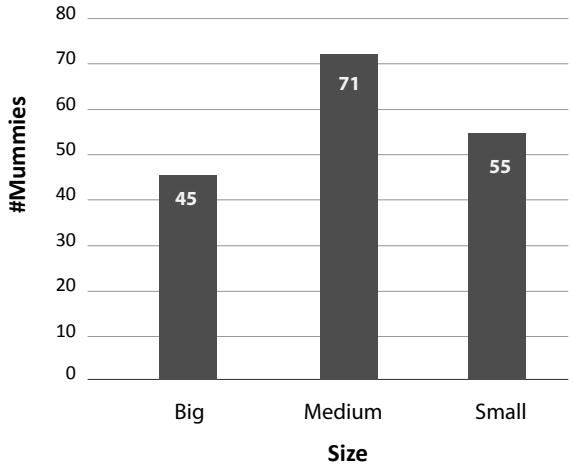

The percentage of bundled and unbundled individuals is very similar, with 10% more of bundled individuals. The quantity of unbundled individuals signals the practice of separating the human remains from the associated artifacts that surrounded them, both before and after collection. Textiles are the majority of those separated artifacts and are considered within the subsection on collection changes later in this chapter.

For the total complete remains, size estimation could also be conducted. Sometimes through the measurements already conducted as part of the inventories held at the museums, others measured personally and classified in large, medium and small as indicated in chapter 3.

The largest group is that of medium-sized remains, which account for seventy-one individuals or 42% of the total. The second group, with fifty-five entries, is the small-sized remains, or 32% of the total. The third is the large remains that account for 26% or forty-five individuals.

The classification of the remains in terms of size is very important because it is their size that allows for different methods of transportation and storage. This is relevant both in contemporary scenarios as it was in historical times, or the time of collecting. The discussion of transportation of mummified remains across the Atlantic was initiated in the previous chapter. The information presented in the graph above introduces a more tangible measure of the size characteristic of those remains transported and the possible challenges involved in their transport from their site of collection. This will be further discussed in the next chapter.

**Graph 18:** Number of Mummies Organized by Size.




The size of the remains is also relevant when considering the limitations of age estimation for those mummies that are fully bundled and that cannot be examined using the tools of bio-archaeology. Bundle size is very often correlated with the size of the remains inside it, meaning that more often than not, big bundles have been classified as adult individuals, while small bundles have been classified as younger groups, or considered as such by curators. This is not always the case, as has been discussed by the author in previous works (Ordóñez et al., 2015). The inaccuracy of this correlation is also further addressed in the subsequent sections and the following chapter.

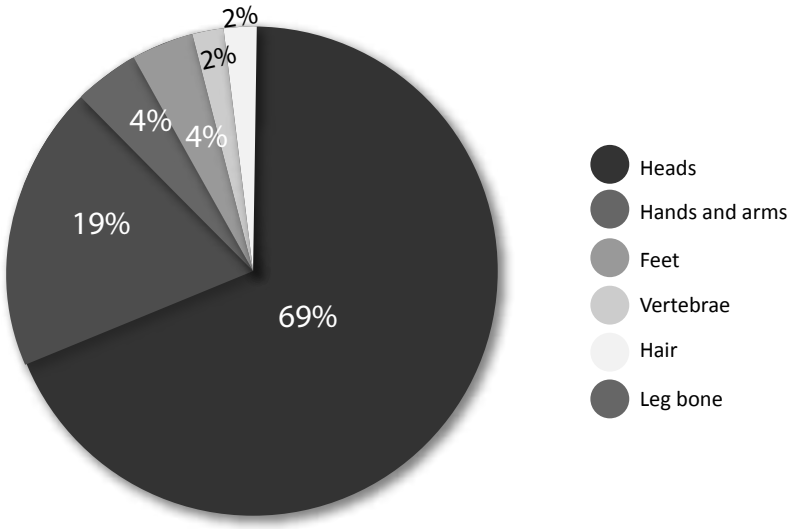
Concentrating on the incomplete remains of the collection, which account for 22% or forty-eight entries in the collection, size is not the most important consideration. Fragmented mummified remains are generally small in size, easily transportable and the hardest to contextualize, by far. All of the incomplete remains in these collections are smaller than the smallest bundle. Those fragmented mummified parts include heads, arms, legs, feet and hair. Separated or individually bundled heads account for the majority of the fragmented remains (thirty-three), followed by arms and hands (nine) as the second most popular fragment, though far behind. Only two feet have been recorded, one of them inside a sandal. Two isolated vertebrae are also uncommon but appear in separate museum collections, though neither of them was available for examination.

Hair is very common as a part of mummified remains collections; the Berlin collection is the clearest example of this trend, as has been addressed in chapter 3. However, the only piece of hair with an individual accession number was found as part of the Pitt Rivers collection, listed as a piece of scalp 2000.69.1, and which was also missing at the time of the author's visit to the museum.

There is valuable information to be gathered from fragmentary remains. Age at death can be estimated in broad terms for example from arms, legs and heads. Likewise,

sex can be assessed via the skull and as such most heads not completely covered with tissue can be sexed as well as aged.

**Graph 19:** Percentages of Types of Mummy Fragments.



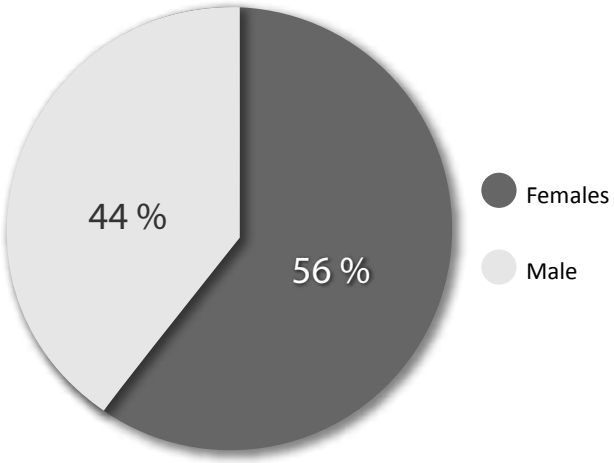



Sexing the mummified remains introduces a category that is greatly ignored in the original accession books data. More than the biological sex of the individuals, only a few entries on gender have been noted as present in the information available for the remains. This difference is very important as it refers more to anecdotal seller information than to a biological approach to collecting the mummified remains. Taking into account how specimens collected for anthropological collections for natural history museums and medical museums were assessed in terms of sex as a rule, this omission of data for mummified remains in ethnology museums may indicate an intention to willfully ignore this human aspect of the individuals collected.[71] Nevertheless, of the 217 individuals available for sexing, fifty-two could be sexed via CT, X-rays or visually.

It is interesting to note that in the archives, only 4 individuals had been assigned a sex. Though multiple mentions of gender roles were made by curators when referring to specific remains such as mother, father, weaver ('tejedora' as the female adj. in Spanish), or fisherman, those were not recorded either on the accession books or on the inventories. Of the four individuals sexed in the accession books, only one was accurate and it made reference to an unbundled mummified infant whose genitalia were exposed and hence left no doubt as to his sex.

71 This idea will be further discussed in the next chapter.

**Graph 20:** Percentage of Remains that Have a Sex Determination Versus Undetermined



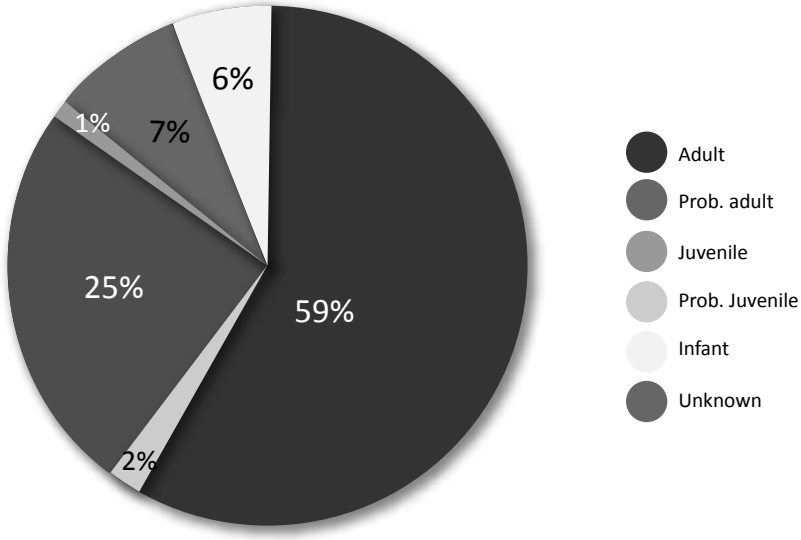

The way sex is attributed in the archival information shows that it was not of great concern at the moment of integrating remains into the collection. Nevertheless, both sexes are very similarly represented on the collections, with less than a 10% difference between them. Of the remains sexed twenty-nine were females and twenty-three males, that is a very small difference if there was no sexual discrimination of what got integrated into the collection. Perhaps the selection occurred in the field and was lost on the way, or perhaps funerary attire for both males and females was equally attractive to collectors and hence no difference occurred at the time of digging them out.

Age at death for the remains is another important layer in terms of what is collected as well as demographic representations within the collection. It is important here to return to a brief explanation of age categories as explained in chapter 3, as well as to the importance of age at death for the determination of the sex of the remains. Both categories are inextricably linked and need to be addressed together as collection markers. These categories are useful first in terms of expected size, and secondly in terms of what can be sexed.

In this case, the size of the remains was only sometimes accurate, in cases where the bundle had been weighted or where parts of the body could be touched through the bundle, the assessment was made clearer. However, for many others, age assessment was only possible through medical imaging.

Again the difference between information collected for this research and that available in the archives is striking. The only mentions of age determination in the archival data for mummified remains are references such as baby, child or, as mentioned earlier, of male or female indicating adult roles. There are no specific ranges given to remains, and it seems that many of the big closed bundles were assumed to be adult, judging by the references on accession books to the sizes of the remains.

**Graph 21:** Percentages of Age at Death of Remains.






## 6.3 How Are You Holding Up?

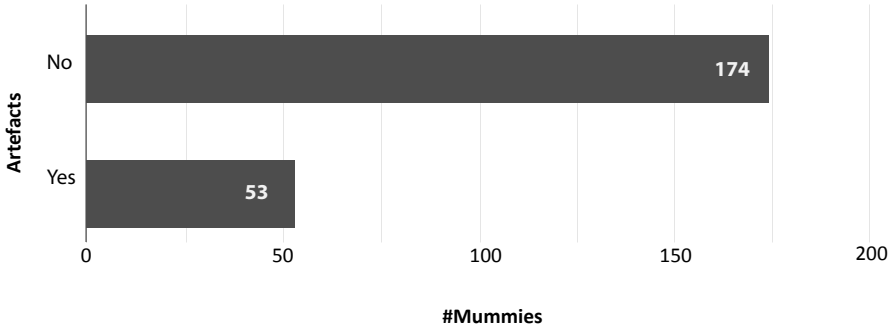
The state of preservation of the remains in museum collections greatly influences the demographic factors described above. How human remains are stored and exhibited is also inescapably linked to the way the remains have been kept over time. In their transport from archaeological digs to museum cabinets, the mummies in these collections have suffered, in some cases, dramatic transformations.

One of the first such transformations is the separation of the mummy from all other objects that accompany them in burial. The category of associated artifacts has been chosen to reflect the difference between mummies that are part of an assemblage of objects versus those remains that were collected on their own. Remains with associated artifacts are listed in accession books and catalogs in reference to those other parts of a collection. Sometimes the same assemblage may contain several mummies from one context, in others they may be part of an assortment of grave goods, an even part of a large donation with several mummies, grave goods and other curiosities.

In general, the mummies in the collections included in this research have not been kept in close relationship with other objects and artifacts. Of the total remains, only fifty-three individuals are associated directly to various types of objects outside of human remains collections. In contrast, 174 cases have no associated artifacts listed on their accession records or in the museum inventories.

Of those fifty-three artifact associations, the types of object listed in the collections that include mummies are varied. There are a number of artifacts that have been included in the lists of grave goods and donations that accompany the remains, from ceramic vases to desiccated corncobs.

**Graph 22:** Number of Remains With Associated Artifacts.




However, textiles are by far the most common, being present in thirteen entries. In some cases, the same textiles that have been removed from a bundle are integrated into the collection as separate artifacts (MAMF- MA023 Granada). In others, rolls of neatly folded textiles are sold in conjunction with already bundled remains (case 71.1878.2.814 Quai Branly), suggesting they were either part of the grave goods or collected closely to them.

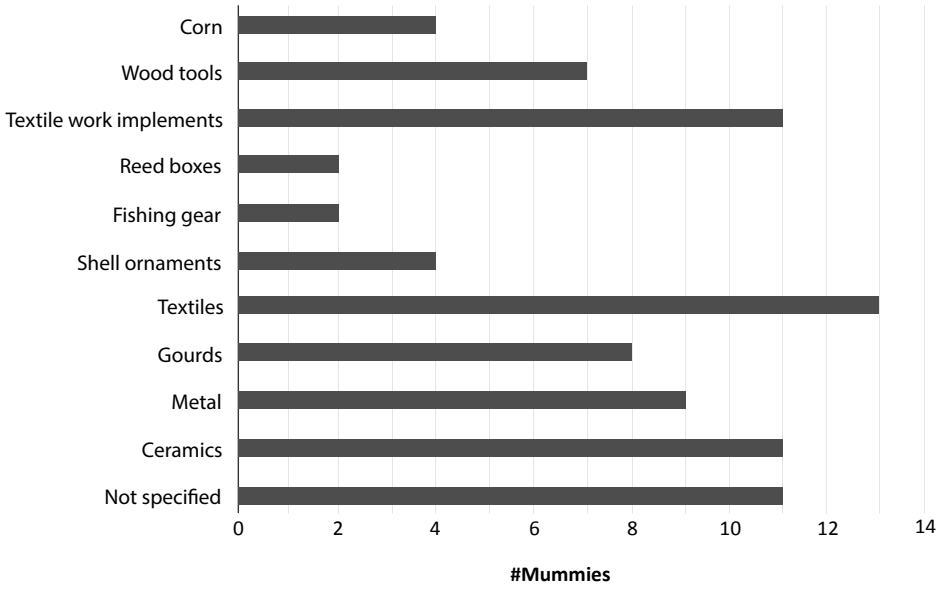
Textile work implements are a close second in terms of associated artifacts (eleven cases). Those include balls of cotton strands and loose packages of wool, needles, spindle whorls, and spindle sticks with thread already on them. Ceramic vessels, utilitarian and rough looking as well as elegant ones, have also been noted. In most cases, collections that include ceramic vessels are listed as containing the grave goods of a burial, indicating which vessels belongs to which individual in multiple burial collections.

Metal objects, crowns, necklaces, rings, nose rings and pendants are all associated with remains. In some cases, because they are made of precious materials (gold and silver mainly), they have been removed from the remains and placed elsewhere. In others, jewelry or decorations made of cheaper materials such as copper, have been kept with the remains and can be seen either on them but with a separate tag (and hence inventory number), or by themselves.

Gourds, or carved pumpkin vases, are also present in a significant number (nine in total) as associated artifacts. There are a number of remains that include small complete gourds and gourd-like objects within the bundles, especially infants classified with Lima as their provenance. But the majority of gourds found as associated artifacts are already carved gourds that could have served as drinking vases or containers.

Wooden tools such as large sticks, possible waist looms, combs and possible carving tools have also been described. Though in some cases the actual artifact is not described in detail (inscriptions of “wooden tool”, or “wooden artifact” are common in archival data), their presence is noted in seven cases in the collection.

**Graph 23:** Types of Associated Remains by Number.



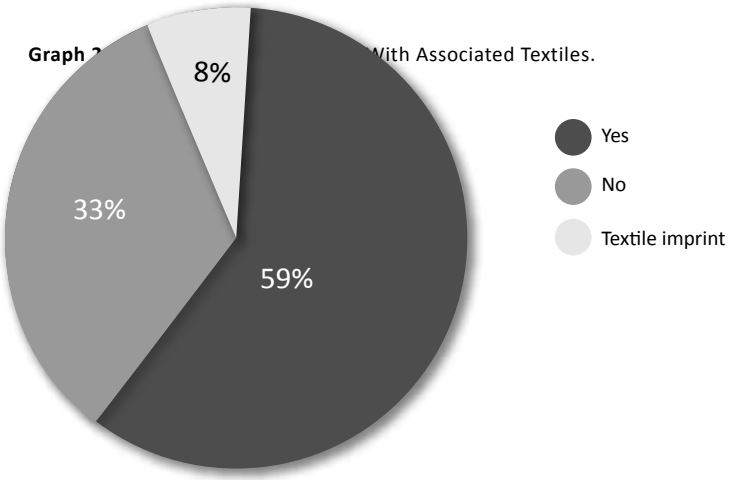



Shell ornaments and beads, as well as fishing tools and hooks also made of shell and bone are noted, the former in four cases, the latter in two. Other objects such as the desiccated corncobs have been recorded for four cases. Two reed boxes, one of them containing raw textiles, were also found with the remains. Though they could indicate textile work, the lack of direct association with textile implements has prompted a separate classification.

The reasons why certain objects are kept with the remains while others are separated from them is unclear. What it does seem to signal is the intentionality to keep remains in context with artifacts in some cases, perhaps to tell a full story of their collecting circumstances, while others are "stand-alone pieces." It is also quite possible that many collections arrived together at the museum, and the part of grave goods and associated contexts, later lost their connection as they were separated to better accommodate their storage. The complexities of collecting objects as varied as ceramic vessels and human mummies over such a long period of time may also aid in this separation of contexts.[72]

Overall, textiles are still the objects more commonly linked to remains and, given that they also represent the best contextualizing tools, it is useful to take a further look at their prevalence in the collections. Of the total 237 individual mummies in the sample, 226 have been recorded as either having, having had, or not having textile associations. The graph below summarizes in percentages the total for textile association and mummies.

72 Further discussion on this subject follows in the next chapter.




From the total remains, 59% or 133 entries record textiles on or with the mummies. While 8% or eighteen remains show clear textile imprints on the desiccated tissue, indicating that they were covered with textiles during the mummification process, it is unclear if those textiles were removed before or after the mummies' integration into the collection. Finally, 33% of the remains, seventy-five cases, have no visible textile association or textile imprints.

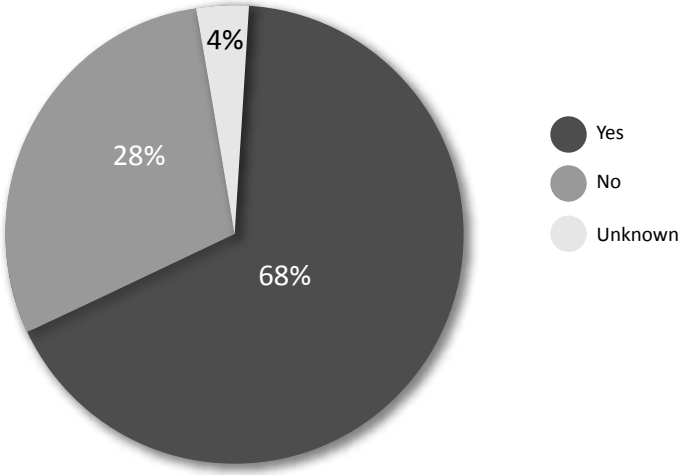
The removal of textiles covering bodies, or the opening of bundles, which results in unbundled individuals, is one of the clearest transformations these remains undergo when collected. Modifications such as unbundling, separation of body parts, and consolidation of the remains by means of metal wires, rods or wooden platforms have also been noted. These changes to the remains have occurred almost in every case during the earlier years of the collection, and are a response to issues such as storage, contamination, and a perceived continuing decay of the mummified remains.[73] Some of these treatments include quite dramatic solutions as arsenic baths or other chemical solutions.

A total of 155 cases, or 68% of the collected mummies, have undergone some degree of intervention in their original state. In 4% of the collection, the existence or lack of changes could not be determined. While in sixty-two cases or 28% there is reason to believe no significant intentional changes had taken place in the mummies.

As has been mentioned earlier, the most common modifications have to do with the removal of textiles covering the body or forming bundles. In 100 cases, the textiles had been clearly and cleanly, removed from the bodies, leaving either what is perceived as an inner layer of the bundle visible, or the tissue and osteological remains exposed.

73 Further discussion on these treatments can be found later in this chapter, as well as in the following chapter.

**Graph 25:** Percentages of Mummies That Have Undergone Changes After Collection.






In the case of body fragments, their separation from previous fully-mummified bodies post-mummification is evident from the cleanliness of the separation. In the case of heads, this can be seen in the lack of vertebral attachments, and in the case or arms and feet in the clean separation at the joints.

In two of those cases, the separation of the remains was conducted in order to perform a bio-archaeological examination, in order to look at osteological features individually rather than as part of a mummy.[74]

The two more common cases of transformation of the mummies in the collections have to do then with the separation of some part of the original mummy, either of the bundling or of the remains themselves. Both cases account for 149 cases or roughly a 96% of the total changes (64% and 32% respectively).

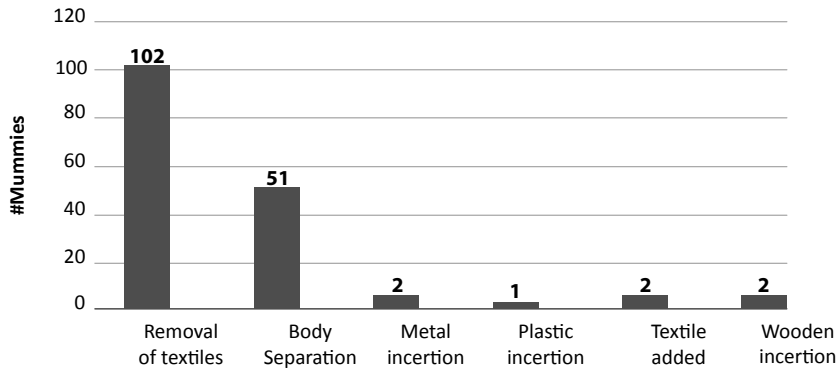
There are only two cases recorded where textiles were added to the remains instead of removed from them. In those cases, a headband has been tied around the mummies' head, presumably to make them look like part of the same context (they were sold to the museum in that state). The added textiles, however, are of modern construction and with designs that do not match the other textiles present and actually part of the remains. All other transformations have to do with the insertion of foreign materials into the remains, either to stabilize them or to hold them in a particular posture.

Platforms or modifications not permanently attached to the remains have not been included in this graph, as those can be replaced and changed in time. However, those that have been inextricably added to the mummies have been included in this analysis.
Wooden fixtures have been added to at least two mummies. In both cases, the wood was added to support the remains, once on a head to keep its overall structure, and once under a full, unbundled mummy to maintain a sitting position. In the first case, the remains

74 The use of such techniques and its validity for mummy analysis is further discussed in the next chapter.

have been plastered on top of the wood in such a way that to attempt to separate them would cause irreparable damage to the head. In the second case, though the wood could theoretically be removed, the remains have come to rest on the piece of wood in such a way that the removal of the piece would require a replacement with a similarly hard material to avoid collapse.

**Graph 26:** Changes Undergone by Mummies in the Collections by Frequency.




Metal insertions are more dramatic. In one case, two long metal rods were placed into an infant mummy along the spine to maintain an idea of the integrity of the remains. In another case, metal rods were placed into the joints at knee and arm levels to keep them in the original desiccated position. Semi-hard plastic was found in one of the remains, again an infant. The plastic had been placed inside the stomach cavity, possibly to keep the rounded shape of the aperture, over the mummified tissue.

The use of these types of techniques to keep the structure of bundled or unbundled individuals is not uncommon in natural history collecting practice. However, their use on human remains is more rare and should be considered carefully. Further discussion on the matter follows in the next chapter.

In terms of treatments applied to the remains, several considerations regarding when and how they were used came from conversations with the curators and conservators of the collections. The smells, perceived decomposition of the remains, as well as the insect activity that biological specimens can attract are cited as some of the concerns prompting these interventions.

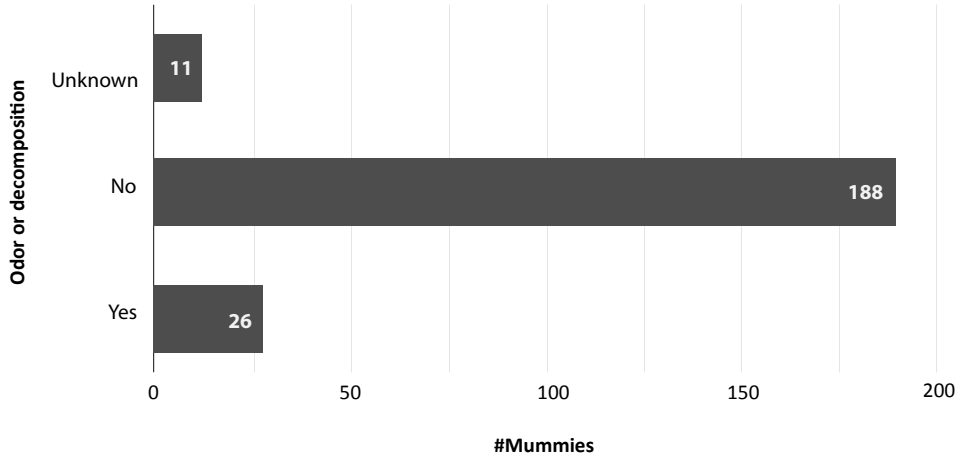
During the individual examination of the remains, the odor, the possible resins and adiopocere[75] concentrations that could be creating those odors and changes in the remains were noted. The existence of odor on mummified remains is in itself a noteworthy

75 A wax-like organic substance formed by the decay, in a wet and low-oxygen environment (anaerobic bacterial hydrolysis), of a dead body's fat.

fact. Similar collections in South America do not encounter these issues, or the issues have not been reported. This points to a conservation issue more so than to actual changes caused by the mummification process.[76]

The prevalence of these odors and adiopocere presence in the total collection, however, is not too high. Of the total, only twenty-six remains or 11% had either or both of these characteristics. In contrast, 188 mummies, or 84%, did not.

**Graph 27:** Number of Remains With Odor or Possible Decomposition Signs.

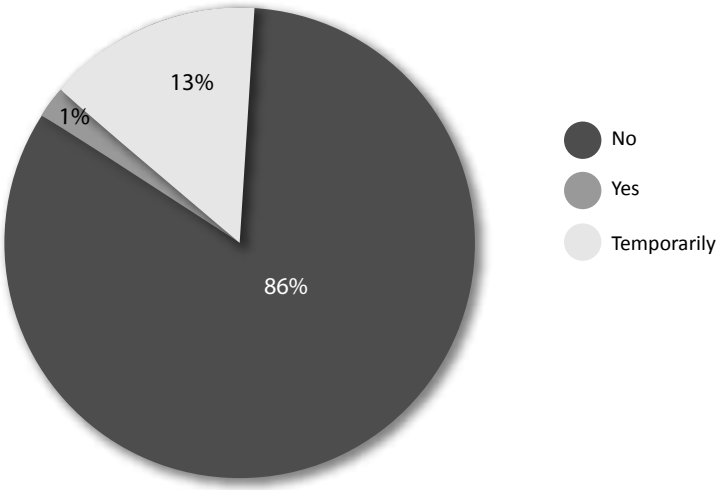



In general, all the changes to which the mummies in the collection have been subjected seem to obey either classificatory or storage needs of curators at a given time. The consequences of these needs on the state of preservation of the remains have the added effect of either encouraging or discouraging their use in permanent or temporary displays. Though ethical considerations have recently been the main reason why these types of objects are not part of most permanent exhibits, there is still an element of conservation quoted and taken into account for the decision to keep them in storage.

The determinant factors of what human remains in a museum are exhibited and why, have been explored elsewhere by the author (Ordoñez Alvarez, 2014). Nevertheless, it is interesting to note that there is no uniform approach to the exhibition of remains in the collections that form part of this research. Indeed, 13%, or 29 individuals, are exhibited permanently at the museums where they are held. Only one instance was recorded of a mummy that had been used, recently, for a temporary exhibit. The other 86% of the collection is no longer on exhibit, though almost all of them were part of permanent exhibits in the early years of their integration to the museum.

76 The comparison with South American collections as well as the possibilities of these decaying odors and perceptions will be further discussed in the next chapter.

**Graph 28:** Percentages of Mummies on Exhibition Versus Not Exhibited.




The numbers of exhibited remains point to a definite shift in the exhibition practice in contemporary museums. The exhibition contexts, associated artifacts shown with the remains, as well as the type of showcases in which the mummies are placed, define the relevance of the mummies within a museum exhibit.

As mentioned in chapter 3, the resources used to both exhibit and look into the mummified remains have changed dramatically over time. The introduction of video and touchscreens allows the public to interact with objects in a different manner than in a traditional exhibition. These changes in exhibition go hand in hand with the introduction of legislation, as has been discussed in chapter 3. In that regard, the advances in medical imaging technology have proven immensely useful for museums that want to exhibit the mummies in their collections. Similarly, the number of interdisciplinary researchers that use medical images to investigate Pre-Columbian human remains has risen significantly in recent years (Cox, 2015).[77]

77 The creation of specific venues for the presentation of mummy research, such as the International Congress on Mummy Studies, as well as national efforts like the German Mummy Project or the Swiss Mummy Project, are clear indicators of this enthusiasm for research.

## 6.4 Chapter Summary

The aim of this chapter was to highlight similarities in mummy collections when removing the individual circumstances that surround each collected object. It becomes apparent, by doing so, that the collections are not only comparable but that the joint consideration of the remains allows for a more nuanced look at the way these collections have transformed over time.

The identification of provenience, geographic and cultural, is only the first step to understanding these similarities. Demographic information is fundamental when comparing contemporary to historic classifications of the mummies within collections. Equally important is the consideration of the remains' states of preservation and their processes of conservation once integrated into collections.

In the following chapter, a discussion on the importance of these finds is undertaken, attempting to highlight those issues that are somewhat solved and those that require further analysis.

# Chapter 7

## The Imagined Versus the Uncovered

The information presented in graphs and numbers in the previous chapter serve to showcase the condition of the remains currently in storage, as well as to delineate the information present –and missing– regarding the mummies that make up this research. The data made apparent the existence of several issues about the current classification of the remains and their state of preservation.

The aim of this chapter is to contextualize in more detail the challenges that these issues with remains classification and preservation pose for archaeologists and museum professionals, when working with the mummies in their collections. At the same time, the following pages attempt to position these mummy collections within a wider scope by briefly comparing this data with that of Latin American museums.

To this end the first section will be dedicated to discussing the most pressing issues found during the overall examination of the remains: the lack of contemporary archaeological data, and the absence of demographic information. The first part will look at the disconnection between the available classifications of Andean mummified materials in contemporary archaeology, compared to what is presented in the mummies' accession books and inventory entries.[78] The second part addresses the lack of demographic information on the remains once they were introduced to ethnological and archaeological collections, such as the ones studied here. The missing demographic information is contrasted with what has been written regarding each mummy from the moment of collecting, in natural history or anatomically-oriented museums.

The second section in this chapter explores the information regarding the way mummies have been stored and altered since their integration into museum collections. It further explores the motivations behind these changes, their consequences on the overall contextualization and positive correlation of the mummified remains with other parts of the collections.

In the third section, the discussion focuses on the comparison between the way remains are stored and exhibited in European contexts that form part of this research, and those museums in the source nations of Peru, Bolivia, Chile, and Argentina. This comparison looks at the ways these Andean materials have been and are perceived outside of their original contexts, and the stark differences in exhibition policies and storage conditions among them.

## 7.1 Clarifying Data

### 7.1.1 Contemporary Chronologies

Most of the information available on the mummy collections in all of the museums in this research comes from the documentation associated with the remains throughout their

78 For ceramics, textiles and lithic, the museum's inventory and classifications seem to reflect contemporary archaeological classifications more accurately. Perhaps because they are easier to document and the available information is more widely spread in academic networks.

time as museum objects. This means that, since the time when the objects were introduced to the collection, a trail of information was written down, classified and annotated in official museum records.

Collection records are made up of descriptions, taxonomies, and measurements that have been established since the nineteenth century.[79] The categories used to describe an object come, primarily, from the physical aspect of the object itself, observed by the curator at the moment of accession and augmented by their successors. However, once an object has been classified with the help of these descriptions, the written documents that accompany it deter the possibility of it being assigned other meanings. This possibility to inhabit in the past trough documentary information, and in the present as the same object – or at least an object that has not changed a great deal since its accession- refers back to the idea of museum collections as heterotopias. In that sense, the documentation follows traditional views on object classification that sometimes contradict or hinder contemporary classifications.

In practice, this creates a gap between the documentation available and the information required by contemporary standards. In the case of mummies, the fact that the original information has not been updated, in many cases since accession, means this gap is especially evident.



As Kavanagh points out "It is at the individual object records that conventional and totalizing practices take root. The manner in which an object is acquired and documented will, to a large extent, determine how current and future generations understand it" (Parry, 2013:63).

In research such as this, documentation is the first source of knowledge about an object, the databases that compile these documents are transformed into knowledge environments. That transformation, at the museum level, demands that the documentation be kept up to date. That has not happened with most of the information available for the mummies in this research.

Briefly reprising what has been detailed in chapter 3, collection records on mummies, at present, generally include a description of the object, non-textual information such as pictures, and several annotations by curators and collections managers –including restorers if they have intervened in the remains.

Next to and in addition to inventory numbers, date of accession, and collectors names – if available– descriptions of mummies include size, measured in centimeters or inches; whether the entry refers to an object that is made of one or several parts (for example if a head is separated but in the same entry); the most distinctive features, including colorful textiles, small attached bags, the presence of a mortuary mask, feathers, etc.; the position of the body if discernible (crouched or extended); and finally an assessment on provenience (in terms of country, then general region or site), and culture. A period or

79 Further details on how documentation is regarded in this thesis has been described in chapter 3.

date for the object itself is given in very few cases and is always part of a secondary entry originating not at the time of accession but rather after a contextualization effort has been made.[80]

The detail in which the descriptions are made varies from collection to collection. As has been explored at length in the methodology in chapter 3, this constituted an issue in itself when looking at documentation. Nevertheless, the analysis conducted by visual observation of the remains within this project showed that, of the remains seen, at least 48% presented some detail that could be diagnostic. This means that at least 48% of the remains could benefit from the addition of current contemporary information that will aid in its description and classification.

This added information includes, but is not limited to, more detailed descriptions of the textile patterns or more non-textual information such as photography, diagrams, CT or X-ray scans. That information can be found in separate reports or publications and has not always been integrated into the sources available at the moment to researchers visiting the museum.

The work conducted during this research can certainly add to that information, allowing the museum and other researchers to build on it in the future. The type of textile details that are useful for contextualization, as well as the description of burial practices in terms of bundle construction, which have been described at length in chapter 3, are necessary information for the documentation on mummified remains. While it is true that this new information should not replace the historical documentation available, digital databases, which are in use in most museums, should include it within the parameters for description currently used.

Nevertheless, the descriptions of detail in of themselves are not enough to fully contextualize the remains. Some of the constantly missing information is the chronological, relative or absolute, positioning of the remains in the collections. Absolute dating sampling can be destructive and expensive, so it has not been commonly used in the museum collections reviewed here. Relative chronologies are more readily available, though still limited, especially for this type of objects.

In the previous chapter it was mentioned that, at least for Peru and Chile, archaeological chronologies have been created since the early twentieth century and have been refined in time. These chronologies, however, are not reflected in these early collections of remains, neither in the archival data nor for contextualization.

There are several reasons for this absence. The first and most relevant is that the chronologies used in archaeology today are based on ceramic stylistic descriptions. Seriations on pottery are possible because of the quantity of material available, as well as

80 An example of such practice can be seen for the Museo de América collection. The dates included in the description of three of the juvenile mummies which had no associated textiles, have been obtained via C14 testing. The dates given are between 400 and 1000 AD., which situates them in the Early Intermediate to Middle Horizon in Peru's archaeological periodization, according to Lumbreras.

the wealth of knowledge from specific contexts with relative and absolute dates obtained from archaeological excavations.

A good example of this is the chronology created by John Rowe in 1962, which is based on the continuous occupation of the Ica Valley on the south coast of Peru. From observations of ceramic objects, Rowe created a temporal sequence that went from the Paracas occupation to that of the Inca, based on similarities and differences in stylistic features. "As markers of temporal changes, the differences in features established a master sequence of stylistic changes in Ica Valley artifacts from 1400 B.C. to the Inca and early Spanish occupations" (Knobloch, 2005:111-112).

The chronologies cited above, however, are not reflected in museum documentation on mummies. It is interesting to consider that at the same time that pottery was being serialized and classified to create organized chronologies (many of the diagnostic vessels coming from funerary contexts), the human remains themselves were not given the same treatment. The Ica valley is home to necropolises like Paracas, Nazca and several burial contexts associated with Inca occupation. Nevertheless, the mummified remains from those areas have not been described chronologically in detail.



A similar case can be made for the Rimac valley, which includes the modern city of Lima. Here the occupation spans from 1400 a.C to the Spanish conquest. Evidence of occupation from cultures that have been associated with mummified remains includes the Lima, Ychma, Wari and Inca traditions. Even so, few contemporary chronologies for the area have included bundle descriptions or textile changes that could be used to place this type of remain within a chronology.

At the moment, there are at least five main chronologies in use in Peruvian archaeology: Rowe/Lanning, Menzel, Lumbreras, Morales and Kaulicke. Only a small number of the cultures mentioned in these chronologies can be directly linked (especially by textile work) to the mummified remains found in the collections analyzed in this research.

In that regard, the most important works related to mummy chronologies can be found for the region of Atacama, especially the Arica mummies –from the earliest Chinchorro, onwards (Arriaza, 1995), for the Paracas tradition (Dwyer, 1971) and for the Wari burials (Knobloch, 2005). In terms of sites, the bundles found in the necropolis of Ancón have been extensively described and placed in relative chronologies.[81] The efforts of Kaulicke, as well as those of Cockburn, in summarizing what is known of funerary practices are also crucial points of reference (Cockburn et al., 1998; Kaulicke, 1997). Even so, there is no organized presentation of data that allows one to 1) identify and integrate an isolated bundle to a cultural group, and 2) relate the remains to a specific chronology, especially if it lacks diagnostic textiles.

81 This information has been explained in detail in chapter 3 but is worth mentioning again to contextualize the discussion at hand.

The descriptions of bundles, individual layers and burial techniques are not absent in the literature. The problem is rather that the types of descriptions are very localized, sometimes based on one or two individuals considered of importance, either because they clearly present items that belong to someone in a position of power, or because they have been found in an archaeological site that indicates a high social rank or an extraordinary situation (like the Capac Cocha sacrifices) (Mignone, 2010). The missing contribution is a systematization of that information which can be organized from mummification techniques, to descriptions of bundling practices, to associated objects and textiles. This would allow a description of the remains in a collection based on the different characteristics they present, and from there an attempt to identify the most probable cultural and chronological affiliation.

An important question to ask here is: what is the usefulness of chronological or cultural classification of these remains within a museum collection? For one, their association with other parts of the collection that are currently not related to the mummies could be simplified. In the same line, funerary offerings or associated objects that might have been separated from the remains may be more readily linked to the human remains with which they were accessioned. More generally however, the information available can become useful according to what a researcher exploring might be searching for, be it textile or bio-archaeological data.

This consideration applies to curators as well. When parameters of required information are expanded on documentation and database entries, object searches become easier, more specific and narrow the gap between available information and the information needed at different times in a collection's life.

### 7.1.2 Demographic Information

Ethnology collections are the result of the division of collections as consequence of the separation of sciences that took place in the nineteenth century. The reasons for the separation of collections between archaeological, ethnographical and medical have been discussed more in detail in chapter 2. It is apparent from the moment these collections are formed that the objects collected for the completion an ethnology museum, and more so a national ethnology museum, follow the interest of curators in terms of cultural novelty.

Culture can be represented in how practices materialize, and in that sense, burial practices are perhaps some of the most interesting. Both the transformation of bodies into mummies and the dedication of the living to prepare the burial for the afterlife are interests for nineteenth century collectors (Bankes, 1984). The pre-eminence of one over the other in the observable characteristics of the remains, however, are the deciding factors to collect them for natural history museums or for anatomy or ethnology contexts. These distinctions are not always clear and have resulted in human remains that portray a specific cultural characteristic to be classified and collected in multiple types of museum collections.

As has been mentioned in previous chapters, one such example is the presence of evidence of a cultural practice, such as artificial cranial deformation (ACD), or trepanation. These practices can be included in the competences of both a medical/anatomical collection as well as those of an ethnological collection.

For the majority of remains, the association to textiles, for example, as well as the inclusion of artifacts that cannot be separated from the remains without changing the mummies or the objects dramatically (such as rings, necklaces, headdresses or masks), can be counted as ethnological distinctions, especially at the moment of accession.

The presence of unbundled or skeletal remains in ethnological collections can be attributed to them being part of a collection of artifacts that were donated or sold to the museum; the association of such remains with funerary offerings bought or collected by the museum; or because they were transformed, unbundled or separated from their original belongings, once integrated to the collection.

These are marked differences with the remains that are stored and collected in natural history and medical/anatomical museums. In those collections, the remains are almost always unbundled, have also had tissue removed, and do not have close associations with artifacts.



Once remains are unbundled or skeletonized they become easier to describe in anatomical and demographic terms. This is a very important difference among remains, and the documentation available on those remains, in the different kinds of collections. For one, the human remains in natural history and medical/anatomical collections have been described and classified according to a biological profile, which includes ancestry (race), sex, age and, when possible, pathological features. In some cases, these remains have been collected precisely because they present one or several biological characteristics that are of interest to curators at the time of collecting. This information can be then extrapolated to create a demographic profile of the collection.

In contrast, ethnological remains can seldom be assessed for these biological characteristics if not through the use of medical imaging or unbundling. As was mentioned in the previous chapter, only a marginal percentage of remains had any type of description in terms of biological information that can help build demographic profiles. More than the biological sex of the individuals, only a few entries on gender have been noted as present in the information available for the remains. Emphasizing the points made in the previous chapter, the gender information provided with mummies in the collections included in this research is almost always tied to anecdotal information made available by the seller, or by the appraisal of the associated artifacts in terms of a gendered division of labor.

The issues with assigning gender to specific labors in pre-Columbian society have been explored at length in archaeological practice (Geller, 2009). What the literature points to is the importance not of the sex of the individual, but rather of the gendered role in Pre-Columbian society.

One of the questions that arose from looking at the available documentation was: why is the demographic data not relevant in these collections? The answer, guided by the annotations on gender and on gendered labor, seems to be that the individual in itself is not relevant, but rather the role they hold in society. The link between work, placement in the social scale, and the reflection of the activity itself in the description of a culture have also been discussed at length in archaeological theory (Gosden & Marshall, 1999). Nevertheless, age, sex, gender, and social status cannot be separated from one another, they inform and situate each other. In that line, and following the theoretical line that was presented in chapter 2, this dissertation considers that both societal roles, as well as individual biological traits, need to be considered for each mummy. The joint consideration of these factors is fundamental for a biographical approach, as a person and as a member of society in the archaeological sphere, and later for their classification within a museum collection.

In the case of mummies, social status, power, and influence over the people that surround an individual, have been inferred through funerary attire (Degano & Colombini, 2009), the burial site, tomb construction (Dillehay, 1995), and the offerings accompanying the dead (Balachandran, 2009). The first and last of these cultural interaction markers are readily available without the need to observe the human remains inside a bundle. The seller or collector conveys the burial information, when possible. In that regard, the only extra information that can be provided by the analysis of the skeletal or mummified remains in a bundle is the age at death of the individual.

As has been mentioned in the previous chapter, when looking at the size of the remains, as well as the classifications by age at death of the remains, as shown in the documentation, ethnology museums take the size of a bundle at face value. Museum documentation generally ascribes adult individuals to big bundles. The opposite also holds true, when a bundle is small or light, it is classified as a possible juvenile or young individual. The use of medical imaging has shown that this is not necessarily the case. Nevertheless, historically, the assumed data has been recorded in the documentation, and has continued to be used to classify remains in museum collections as valid demographic data.

The lack of individual information on the remains held in the collections may account for why they have been objectified. Once an individual's age, sex and condition at death have been described, it is more likely that curators, collection managers and, in case the remains are on exhibit, visitors, will relate to them on a personal level (Andersen, 2010). This has proven true for Egyptian mummies exhibited in Europe (Kilmister, Hugh, 2003), as well as for mummies exhibited in the Andes (Cordova González & Bernal Peralta, 2001). It is possible therefore, that one of the consequences of not reporting demographic data is the isolation of these remains within the collections presented, adding to the lack of research. It is only now, when interdisciplinary tools such as medical imaging and forensic/physical anthropology allow an appreciation of these remains, not only as representations of cultural practices but as individuals, that the demographic data becomes relevant in ethnological museums.

## 7.2. Remains of the dead. Changes to mummies and their belongings after accessioning.

The separation of mummies and their associated objects, be they funerary offerings or artifacts directly associated to the mummies, such as textiles, was not an uncommon practice after accessioning these remains into a museum. The previous chapter showed that the majority of remains were either no longer associated to the assemblages they were sold with, or had undergone some degree of change since their integration into the collections.

The reasons behind object separation are unclear, though the need to classify and store similar artifacts with each other may have played an important role, as it still does today. Mainly, the separation of human remains, and mummified human remains in particular, is done today in relation to preservation conditions. Storage facilities that are cooled, or temperature controlled, are designated for the most sensitive material, and mummies are widely regarded as such. Ceramic objects, textiles and metals all have different needs in terms of storage, and are accommodated within a museum according to those needs.

Storage considerations aside, however, it is useful to see the cases where the objects are not separated from the remains in order to understand the intentionality behind both actions: of separating and of keeping together. As has been pointed out in the previous chapter, in some cases, the keeping together of objects and mummies seem to indicate the intention of the curator to tell a full story of their collecting circumstances, be they as part of a single burial, as part of the same necropolis, or as representative of a particular culture's practice regarding the dead.



Examples of the first case can be found in the collections of the Pitt Rivers Museum, where two juveniles and an adult are classified as part of the same burial. Unbundled after accession, the textiles that belonged with the mummies have remained stored with the individuals and likewise, the documentation has described their transformation.
Descriptive links in the documentation of the Ancon mummies held in the SMB after the Reiss and Stübel excavation of the site are a good example of the second case. In the Berlin collection, many of the mummies have retained their original masks, false heads and false hair in order to remain linked to the exquisite drawings presented with the remains by the collectors after their travels.

The last case is the hardest to prove. As has been stated in the previous chapter, the complexities of collecting such varied objects as ceramic vessels and human mummies over such a long period of time may also aid in this separation of contexts. In that regard, the best example of keeping human remains and objects together to represent a practice would be, in general, the preservation of fully closed bundles of different sizes within a collection. Especially when dealing with highly decorated bundles, like those of Wari and Chancay, which include false heads, hair, bags, belts and even dolls, it is very interesting to encounter these remains in a generally complete condition. They occur in most of the

collections that have a large number of remains, like the Quai Branly, Weltmuseum Wien, The National Museum of Denmark, and at the Berlin Museum. It is possible that the presentation of the mummies in their full burial attire is considered to be more relevant than the separate presentation of artifacts that make up the bundle. In a sense, in these cases, the sum of a mummy is more relevant than its parts.

The removal of textiles covering bodies, or the opening of bundles, which results in unbundled individuals, is one of the clearest transformations these remains undergo when collected. This indicates that in those cases, the perceived value of the artifact as separated from the individual they belonged to was regarded as higher. Many collections have lost track of those textiles that have been unbundled. Some of them are exhibited as part of funerary bundles but without a direct link to the mummy from which they were taken, if indeed the human remains are still part of the collection.

The greatest issue with the separation of objects in a museum collection lies, in reality, in the consequences it holds for contextualization. Human remains in of themselves cannot be contextualized without destructive chemical analysis. In that regard, only by C14 testing can human remains be placed within a chronology or situated in a general timeframe; and it is with the aid of isotopes for the construction of geoscapes that human remains can be geographically situated during different periods of a person's lifetime, in this case death. By removing the sources of relative contextualization, such as ceramics and textiles, the human remains become untethered to their specific culture. Within the context of an ethnology museum, the remains that have lost this connection to a specific culture may also lose their place within the larger scope of the museum and are therefore less likely to be studied or exhibited.

Admittedly, this inference is very hard to prove, especially with collections where the great majority of mummies have not been exhibited since the early twentieth century. However, the type of remains that are exhibited in those collections where there are a large selection of mummies from which to pick indicate that only those which have context, or present diagnostic traits such as textiles or metal objects in direct association with the body are exhibited.

This is the case even when the contextual information is not proven to be 100% accurate, or where the diagnostic trait has not been linked to a specific culture, as is the case of the Quai Branly mummy, part of the exhibit on hair practices, case 71.1878.54.82 in the inventory.

The discussions presented in this first section of the chapter clarify some of the questions regarding the situation of Andean mummies in the museums included in this research. The lack of certain types of information regarding chronologies or demographics has had to do with the intentionality of creating ethnological museums: showcasing cultures across the globe. However, the separation of remains and their associated artifacts points at the valuation of some of those associated objects as important on their own and

not as reflections of a cultural practice regarding the dead.

In that sense, at the same time that the queries are somewhat answered in this first section of the discussion, their consideration opens the door to a more nuanced discussion on the way Andean human remains are stored and described in European collections in comparison to similar collections existing in the source countries.

## 7.3 Witnesses Left Behind

### 7.3.1 Latin American Collectors and Their Correspondence

Collections of mummified human remains exist today on both sides of the Atlantic Ocean. The differences in the way these remains are treated and exhibited help understand how the history of an institution determines the treatment of the objects within it.

To start, it is useful here to recall that the process of formation of European museum collections included not only European travelers who went to the Americas, but also American collectors, correspondents and researchers who guided what the travelers would ultimately collect.

Some of those relationships have been detailed in chapter 2 and chapter 4, but they were far from the only ones. Not all travelers reported whom they met during their stays in the Andes. However those who did have left a trace that allows discerning that there were two important types of contacts: political connections, and those born from sharing interests on archaeological matters.

The biographies and the research conducted on the lives of famous collectors, Latin American and European, have clearly pointed out these connections and closed the perceived gap of knowledge disparities between both sides of the Atlantic. The works on González de la Rosa, Hutchinson, or Macedo are important examples. For the specific collections focus of this research, Hutchinson is perhaps the more relevant and has been mentioned at length in previous chapters. Gonzales de la Rosa is more pertinent for exchanges in North America and Macedo's network extends both to the United States and towards London, Paris and Berlin.

The antiquities collectors circles of which Macedo was part became an influential part of Lima by 1875. The scope of his collections garnered Macedo contacts with collectors, curators, and intellectuals in Europe as well as the Americas, connections which were encouraged by the exchange of artifacts with some of those institutions with which he maintained contact. "Macedo sent antiques from his collection to various museums and scientists: the mummy of a dog, which he had found in a pre-Columbian tomb, to Berlin to support the research of a professor on domestic animals in ancient Peru, some ceramic pieces Recuay and figurines zoomorphic to the Trocadéro Museum in Paris" (Gänger, 2014a:4).

Macedo was visited by none other than Adolf Bastian in Lima in 1876, and it is after this encounter that he will later sell his collection to the Ethnological Museum of Berlin during the War of the Pacific, presumably "to prevent it from falling 'in the hands of Chilean enemies'" (Gänger, 2014a:5).

A frequent traveler to Europe, Macedo often presented his collections in France, Britain and Spain, amassing him a wide network of acquaintances and contemporaries both in Europe and Lima. Back home he cultivated friendships with Wilhelm Gretzer, Antonio Raimondi, and William Hutchinson. These friendships allowed for continuous correspondence and exchanges of ideas between the two continents.

This communications trend continued during the twentieth century. German archaeologist Max Uhle's (1856 - 1944), constant correspondence with the SMB director Adolf Bastian, diaries, and other letters during his time of employment in the Americas, show a network of helpers from Ecuador to Chile. His network allowed Uhle to get not only safe passage between different regions of the Andes by securing lodging, but also sponsored excavations for German archaeologists, including a period of several years of digging in Peru sponsored by the University of California, paid for by Ms. Phoebe Hearst (Uhle, 1998). The results of those interventions are seen in excavations in the northern highlands of Ecuador thanks to his close relationship with Jacinto Jijon y Caamaño. In Lima he excavated contexts for around ten years, including those already researched by Reiss and Stübel, and was named the first director of the Museum of National History in 1905 (Browman, 1999). This appointment highlighted Uhle's relationship with one of the well-known collectors of the time, Luis N. Larco. Uhle later held a similar position in the Museo de Etnología y Antropología in Santiago de Chile in 1912. As part of his stay in Chile, Uhle sent the two mummies still found in the Gothenburg Museum of World Cultures.

During his years of work in the Andes, Uhle excavated some new and some already researched areas in all three countries: Ecuador, Peru, and Chile. Some of those sites are linked to mummies collected earlier than Uhle's presence, such as those of Ancón, mentioned above. Another context is that of "Chunchuri near Calama on the Rio Loa. This site had been partly excavated by Seneschal de la Grange in 1904; but Uhle found a much richer section, which yielded 1,100 objects and more than 200 skulls and mummies in a space of 55 square meters" (Rowe, 1945:14). His work, and his own accounts of the excavations he conducted in all these sites, are peppered with references to previous works that led him to those sites, as well as with the names of the different people who lodged him, who opened their terrains for him, and who would sponsor him.

Having shown the number of intellectual exchanges and archaeological materials' exchanges, it was assumed that a similar trend would be visible in the case of mummies. There is however no indication of such instances in the documentary record of the museums seen. Only the mummies in Gottenburg can be traced to Uhle and his Chilean successor Aureliano Oyarzun.

Given that some collectors delivered the mummies to more than one museum, and that those collections hold similar objects, it was also expected that museums in Europe would exchange mummies with each other in order to widen their existing collections. Though such exchanges have been suggested among national and provincial or municipal museums within the same country (Hoffmann, 2017), international exchanges of mummies do not occur. Indeed, the number of recorded exchanges between museums in Europe is also surprisingly low, especially given the collector and site connections between collections.

There is no clear indication of why mummy exchanges in Europe are not following the same pattern seen in other materials from the Andes. It could be that the areas collected are too similar, and hence there is not enough variety of remains in each museum to warrant the exchanges. The probability that mummies were just not that important to the overall collections also exist, but it cannot be confirmed from current data. This will be further discussed in the conclusions.

### 7.3.2 Witnesses Left Behind. Andean Mummies Collections in Latin America

As was introduced earlier in the chapter, the comparison between the way remains are stored and exhibited in the European contexts involved in this research, and those museums in the source nations of Peru, Bolivia, Chile, and Argentina will offer a different view on the collections presented here. The description of how mummies have been exhibited and stored in these different settings leads to look at the ways these Andean materials have been and are perceived outside of their original contexts, and the stark differences on the exhibition policies and storage conditions between them.



Since the focus of this dissertation is not to make an inventory of the existing mummy collections in the Andes, only eight of the most relevant finds will be discussed in this section. Of those, three correspond to large assemblages in well-known archaeological sites in Peru; other two are remains preserved in-situ in a museum in the region of Arica in northern Chile; and the last three relate to the exhibition of Inca Capac-Cocha, or ice mummies in Peru, Chile and Argentina.

The first of the museums of importance is that established on the site of Ancón. Established on the famous site researched by Reiss and Stübel, Uhle, and Julio Tello, and later by his apprentice Rebecca Carrion Cachot, this museum holds an important collection of archaeological artifacts, skeletonized and mummified human remains from the surrounding sites. Founded in 1992, the museum holds around 290 individuals in various states of preservation. Most of the remains are not on exhibit, though full bundles with false heads and complete textile attire can be seen in the main exhibit halls. The history of the site, the importance of the finds and research conducted in the area, especially in relation to the necropolis, is mentioned continuously in the museum. Current research includes bio-archaeological profiles of the objects available, and the director of the museum, Dr. Lucia Watson, has emphasized the importance of the work carried out but Rebecca

Carrión in relation to the mummies from the site.

A second very important collection can be found in the Centro Mallqui Museum in Leymebamba, in the central north highlands of Peru. The Museum was founded in the year 2000 on the basis of the archaeological rescue of over 200 mummies and their associated funerary offerings. The archaeological project that transferred the mummies from the Laguna de los Cóndores to their current location in Leymebamba took place in 1997, with the direction of Dr. Sonia Guillén. The mummies were originally located in caves around the Laguna de los Cóndores and had been looted for at least a year previous to the archaeological intervention. Currently, the Centro Mallqui has classified, described, stored, and examined the majority of the remains. The mummies are exhibited to the public and have been continuously researched through medical images and bio-anthropological methods since their discovery. The remains correspond to the Chachapoyas culture, though the continuous use of the site shows the influence of Inca incursion on the region.

Finally, the Puruchuco Museum dedicated to Arturo Jimenez Borja, is the third largest collection of a site museum in Peru. The collection is situated in the site of Puruchuco, near the modern city of Lima. The collection contains over a thousand bundles from different occupations of the site and surrounding areas, from early Lima to the Inca occupation, the latter being the most numerous. The storage facilities for the mummies have been recently refurbished and new medical images and bio-archaeological data have been obtained from the remains. Textiles and associated artifacts are likewise stored in connection with the bundles. Jimenez Borja has been mentioned earlier in this work as one of the people who organized unbundling viewing parties in Europe and the US as part of his effort to garner interest in the preservation and research of Peruvian mummies. The museum collection named after him no longer continues this practice, relying rather on medical images to describe the internal construction of a mummy bundle. In the museum, a selection of mummies is on exhibit. The storage areas are kept monitored and the natural temperature of the site, which helped mummify the dead in the past, maintains their status today.

In Chile, the largest collection of mummies comes from the Atacama Desert, and within it from the region of Arica. There were several occupations of the area, and with them various mummification traditions. Nevertheless, the most well known is also the oldest in the world, that of the Chinchorro mummies. In the city of Arica, the site museum Colón 10, which stands inside an old building close to the Cerro del Morro, from where the sites of famous nautical battles of the War of the Pacific can be admired. Inside the house, a glass floor has been positioned on top of 32 mummies that remain in situ, with their funerary attires and objects. The site museum has protected the remains from deterioration but allows for a very direct view of what a pre-Columbian burial ground looks like during archaeological excavations.

A larger museum dedicated to the mummies of Arica is located in the small town of San Miguel de Azapa. Here, the mummified remains have been chronologically placed in a big museum, surrounded by funerary offerings and objects recovered in the surrounding areas.

As has been mentioned in earlier sections, the Arica mummy chronology is perhaps the most detailed in the continent. The works of Dr. Fernando Arriaza and the Universidad de Tarapacá have detailed, to a great extent, the changes in the construction of said mummies, and have allowed for a relative classification that enables the placement of any Chinchorro mummy within their scale. Both the Colón 10 museum mummies and the San Miguel de Azapa mummies have been studied and are monitored by the University.

Outside of large mummy groupings, necropolises or burial grounds, the other type of mummy that is exhibited in the Andes, and which attracts the most interest in the international and national community, are the child or maiden sacrifices practiced by the Inca and known as Capac Cocha. These sacrifices always take place in high altitude sites, related to a huaca or center of power. This means that the mummies have gone through a different process than those found in the coastal Andes and have therefore been known as ice mummies or sometimes as ice maidens.



There are three well-known cases of such ice mummies found in contemporary archaeology. The first was that of a young girl in Mount Ampato, near the city of Arequipa in southern Peru. The mummy, known today as Juanita, was discovered in an area of melted snowcap by archaeologist Johan Reindhart, and brought down, with the offerings found near her, to the city below. As of today, around thirteen mummies have been found in the area close to where the sacrifice of Juanita took place. The mummies are stored in cold temperatures at the Museo Santuarios de Altura in Arequipa. At least two of the mummies are on display as of the writing of this dissertation, in controlled temperature chambers, and with their funerary offerings in nearby cases. The Ampato mummies have been extensively studied with medical images as well as dated through C14 methods and other bio-archaeological resources.

Another interesting case is that of the Cerro del Plomo child. Found in 1954, the remarkable state of preservation of the child has made him one of – if not the – most important mummy in Chile. The remains of the eight-year-old juvenile are stored and have been continuously studied by the professionals at the National Museum of Natural History in Santiago de Chile. Because of preservation concerns, and UNESCO recommendations on the display of human remains, the child was taken off exhibit (Durán Serrano, 2004). He had remained hidden from the public for almost 30 years, making a short appearance in 2014 to celebrate the 60th anniversary of his discovery. In 2016, a replica of the remains was again introduced to the main display of the museum.

Finally, the best known Capac Cocha are the trio of juveniles found in the Llullaillaco volcano in 1999, again by archaeologist Johan Reindhardt. The remains were transported to the city of Salta in northern Argentina, where the Museo Santuario de Altura de Salta was created to accommodate them. Two young girls and a young boy make up the original collection. After the founding of the museum, a fourth mummy that had been stored in Buenos Aires, joined the collection. The museum exhibits the mummies and the funerary offerings found around them in specially constructed cases. They have been studied in detail with modern medical technologies and the most complete reports on any mummified remains from the Andes have been produced on the basis of these collections.

As can be gathered from the examples above, most mummy collections found in Latin America are held not in national museums, but rather in site museums. That in itself is a very significant divergence from European collections, where the biggest assemblages of Andean mummies are known to be in national museums. Evidently, the sheer size of the collections found in Latin America makes the movement of a small number of those remains to national collections not very significant for the total, but it is this intention to keep the remains as close to their original contexts as possible that becomes a relevant point for discussion. Perhaps these site museums are becoming a new type of heteropia, one in which the past itself, as a context filled with transformed bodies, is the space of confrontation.

In all of the Andean collections, remains and associated artifacts are kept together, be it through documentation or by physical proximity in the exhibition rooms. The large assemblages would suggest that it could be easier to separate the remains, but except for the case of Puruchuco, no other museum undertakes that separation. Again, this is in stark contrast with the practice at European museums, as shown in this research.

In terms of the number of individuals, it highlights the relatively small number of mummies held outside of source countries versus the local collections. Only in Puruchuco, a collection of over 1000 mummies is held. If mummies held in museums at universities, municipalities, and private collections in Europe were to be inventoried, it would be surprising if the total number reached anywhere near 500. After all, the most significant collections in each country have been included in this research, and they account for a little over 200 mummies.

At least three of the collections in Latin America chosen as points of comparison are situated in areas which were commonly collected during the nineteenth century: Arica, Ancón, and the Lima valley. Therefore, the type of materials available on both sides of the Atlantic is very similar.

An interesting exception to the number of mummies being greater in the Andes is found in Bolivia. Only two museums, one in La Paz and the other at the site museum of Tiwanaku, have mummies on display. Each only exhibits one. While the collections of Tiwanaku (or apparently Tiwanaku) mummies in the MEG and QBL exceed that number.

That exception notwithstanding, because of the lack of separation of materials and the permanence near sites of excavation, the contextual information available for the Andean collections is far greater than even the most documented in Europe (that honor belongs to the Reiss and Stübel collection in Berlin).

This may also lead to the tendency of exhibiting many more remains comparatively in Andean museums than in European collections. The museums listed above all exhibit at least a couple of examples of what they have in their storage rooms. What could this signal? As has been discussed in chapter 2, primarily it could signal a disconnection between archaeological, historical, and modern populations that occupy the same areas. This suggests a lack of historical memory that allows for these remains to become part of a national discourse or trajectory, rather than part of a particular communities' heritage.

Another important difference between the Andean and European collections is the amount of bio-archaeological research conducted on the former. Every single collection mentioned here has been investigated through medical images, biotechnology (population and individual genetics), entomology, and anthropological markers. There is, therefore, a greater cumulus of information regarding demographic data, as well as individual mummy data. Enough that, if carefully systematized, it may be possible to create a more definitive bundle construction descriptive chronology or guide.



The prevalence of the national in Latin America supersedes the individual groups in the Andes. Voices urging not to exhibit the mummified remains have been heard for the Salta mummies, as well as for the Cerro del Plomo child. The later is the only case where UNESCO ethical principles are cited to remove remains from public viewing. However, mummies may be an exceptional case, in that they do not always cause controversy. In other museums, the exhibition of skeletal human remains has caused concern and sparked protests by communities from the area to which the remains belong.[82]

The fact that most mummy collections in the Andes are formed well into the second half of the twentieth century may also contribute to a different public perception of the collection. The remains are presented within their specific burial contexts, with their offerings and, when possible, within their original bundles. As such, the exhibition halls present a full overview of a mortuary practice, rather than only the bodies of the dead.

In contrast, in Europe, the remains exhibited are marginal in comparison to what is in storage. In the cases where the remains are or have been exhibited, the number of associated artifacts is small. Except for the exhibit of the Peruvian mummy at the Museum of Confluences, the exhibition of mummified remains in Europe seems to be tied to what happens to the body itself, rather than to the practice of burial. This could come from the fact that, when exhibited, the remains are commonly still presented in old cases, reminis-

82 A historical perspective of this problem is presented in the work of Alegria, Ganger and Polando (2009) "Momias, cráneos y caníbales. Lo indígena en las politicas de "exhibición" del Estado chileno a fines del siglo XIX." *Nuevo Mundo/Mundos nuevos.*

cent – if not belonging to – their original nineteenth century collection settings (as is the case in the Portuguese museums and the Belgium collection), or in absolutely modern glass cases (as the collection from the Reverte Coma Museum was presented in Granada, or the bundles on exhibit in Denmark and Madrid).

## 7.5 Experiencing the Andes in the Storage Room

The collections of Andean mummies in the museums subject of this research are very different from each other in one important regard: the way they are stored and exhibited. Focusing on the exhibition practices, the previous chapter showed that only a very small percentage of the collected remains are currently on exhibit. Only 13% of the total, or twenty-nine individuals, are exhibited. These account for very different ways of exhibiting, according to the countries where the museum is located.

In France, the Quai Branly museum exhibited one of their mummies in a temporary exhibition in 2012, making it clear that the use of the remains was to showcase the type of hair adornments and designs which existed in pre-Columbian times. The mummy was showcased in a glass case, and given that it was not very stable, precautions were made to secure it to a metal and wire frame in a sitting position.

At the Museum of Confluences in Lyon, one mummy is exhibited amidst a recreation of a tomb. The museum has chosen to make the exhibit case dark, with the remains only visible if the visitor comes close to the case and peers through specific sections. The mummy is located within a room dedicated to the afterlife and mortuary practices and has been surrounded with videos explaining said practices and the associated visible artifacts.

Both French examples indicate attention to a UNESCO guideline regarding respect for the remains and are very much on the forefront of exhibition practices with these mummies.

The biggest collections at the BM and the SMB are not on exhibit and have not been on exhibit for a long time, since the middle/late twentieth century at the latest, with no plans to change this status. The same can be said about the PRM, the RMV, the WMW and the MEG.

The countries where most mummies are exhibited are located in the Iberian Peninsula. In Spain, the temporary exhibit called Mummies: Testigos del Pasado (Witnesses of the Past), held at the Parque de las Ciencias in Granada from October 2014 to January 2016, put on display over fifteen Andean remains from the Reverte Coma museum collection. The remains were displayed in glass cases, without associated objects, but with some information of medical images taken of at least one of the remains.

At the Museo de América, a mummy pastiche representing a burial from Paracas, and a closed bundle, are part of the permanent exhibit at the museum. Both are presented in glass cases but in conjunction with artifacts from the same time periods, and in relation to the rest of the Andean collection of the museum.

In Spain, all Andean mummies on exhibit are showcased with modern technology, in modern cases, and have been monitored in detail. Indeed, the Museo de América has invested a great deal of time and money on researching how to better stabilize their remains, how they became mummified, and as has been pointed out earlier, have dated them through C14 methods when possible.

The two Portuguese collections in this research offer a stark contrast to all the others mentioned so far. Though the remains at the University of Coimbra Anthropology Museum (DAUC) are not precisely part of a public display (the museum is part of the faculty of Anthropology and does not entertain visitors outside of contacts with that faculty), both there and at the Museo do Carmo (MDC), the mummies are still presented in their original nineteenth century display cases, which have not been opened since accession. The heavy wooden cases are well sealed and very sturdy which, in a way, has helped maintain the remains in a stable condition. At the DAUC, two descriptions have been made of the remains as can be seen through the glass cases, one by an Italian researcher, the other by this project. At the Museo do Carmo, the exhibition of these mummies, near Egyptian mummies, and some artifacts probably associated with the burials, attracts a lot of visitors and attention, to the point where educational guides encourage visitors to draw the remains, and postcards are sold of them.



In Belgium, as in Denmark, the remains exhibited have been positioned in relation to the Andean collections of which they are a part. At the RMAH in Brussels, the mummy that served as inspiration in at least one of Hergé's Tin Tin comics is exhibited in an old fashion case but surrounded by videos and artifacts that help contextualize it as an individual.

Altogether, the very different ways these mummies are exhibited obey both curator and museum intentions. What is very apparent, however, is that much of what is done with these mummies happens in the storage rooms and not on the exhibit floors.

The way remains are stored, again, varies significantly from museum to museum. All collections are kept under strict temperature control, a practice that has been instituted for at least twenty years. Apart from that, mummies are very often kept in wooden boxes or cardboard cases where they settle and wait for collections managers to check on them every so often.

At the English museums, standards of practice of how to store human remains have homogenized the types of boxes, base and backups used (Fletcher, Antoine, & Hill, 2014). France has followed similar patterns with a very organized way of string their remains. In fact, at the Quai Branly, special boxes with easy-to-open mechanisms and specific tailor-made requirements for each mummy have been created.

That level of standard and organization is not always common. At the MEG, WMW, RMAH and RMV, the mummies have been stored in different types of containers, including wooden bases and other materials for support. The SMB collection is the most organized

in terms of storage, with sections dedicated to types of remains, that allows for them to be easily seen and located within the storage area.

It has been mentioned that some of the remains have undergone very intrusive practices with the intent to stabilize them. All of those modifications happened under current museum curator's predecessors, so it is unclear why some elements like rods, plastic and the like have been used.

A similar issue arises when considering the odor many of these remains have. The mummy collections visited and seen in the Andes do not present similar odor characteristics. As has been mentioned before, the current odor present is a mixture of ammonia, and could be associated with natural history preserving techniques used in the late nineteenth century. The use of these types of techniques to keep the structure of bundles or unbundled individuals is not uncommon in natural history collecting practice. However, their use on human remains is more rare and should be considered carefully.

Considering the changes undergone by remains once accessioned, in terms of storage and exhibition conditions, it is possible to note important trends that make the connection between them explicit. For one, if the remains have been stored – and still are – in their original cases, there has been no effort to rethink or re-adequate the way they are exhibited. Cases that support this interpretation are found in Portugal, Spain, and Belgium. In those examples, the original case is the portrayal of an original discourse on the remains.

On the other hand, the more challenges for storage and preservation, the more thought has been given to what these remains need in order to be exhibited. Outside of the practical considerations, again citing here the development of a specifically tailored support for the Quai 71.1878.54.82, there is a degree of forward-planning that involves different solutions for mummy exhibition, like the dark case at the Confluences Museum.

That is not to say that current interest in mummy storage and preservation will lead to a significant change on mummy exhibiting practices. However, it does signal that the more a museum has had to do to adjust their storages to suit the conditions in which the remains have been held, the more innovation on discourses and on exhibitions (or rather on the decision not to exhibit), seems to have taken place.

## 7.6 Chapter Summary

With this chapter, we have aimed to clarify and discuss some of the issues presented by the data as seen in chapter 6. From the need to update the documentation associated with the remains, to the differences in available bio-archaeological information, this chapter has pointed out some of the concerns and possible solutions to these issues.

The comparative look at European and Andean mummy collections allows, as well, for some further clarification on the ways these remains are stored and exhibited depending on their locations. Further general conclusions are presented in the following chapter.

# Chapter 8

Conclusions

The work presented in the previous chapters represents the effort to investigate a particular group of "objects," Andean mummies, from two complementary perspectives: historical and archaeological. As has been emphasized during this thesis, the descriptions of the physical properties of these human remains, their materiality, and the discourses written about them through time allow a reconstruction of object biographies. Through the biographies of objects and people, in this case indeed of both, a practice charged with power relations, such as collecting, can start to be untangled.

This chapter is thus a summary and reflection of the journey followed through these pages to answer the initial question posed by this research: What are the relationships between Andean and Western European nations that can be evidenced by looking at the collections of Andean mummified human remains formed for National Western European museums from the mid nineteenth century until 1930, and what do they tell us about those same relationships today?

Answering these question demanded, as explained in chapter 2, an understanding of collecting as the transformation of things into objects of signification, where the systems of circulation in which they move in one point or another of their histories become a reflection of History.

The historical moment represented in the collections of which this research encompasses is the period between the mid nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth century. As a consequence of the timeframe chosen, the first conclusion that can be drawn is that ***the collections researched show commonalities born out of a global change in the way culture is perceived, and as such can be compared and discussed outside of the specific museum to which they belong***. Though this conclusion may seem obvious, it is important to consider that, for Andean mummy collections in Europe, a comparative approach has not been used before.

The description and comparative contextualization of the Andean human remains extant in European national museum collections was one of the objectives of this work, and that exercise introduced the possibility of considering these collections on a macro level, and as such, to exchange information between them regarding "objects" and collectors. In that line, this thesis has stressed that it is of vital importance to understand the political process in which these collections are circulating. The way these mummies move and are transacted is embedded with the meaning given to them by the agents/actors who moved them. These actors are not constrained to fixed spheres: a collector can be at the same time a political personality, a private donor of antiquities, and an ethnology enthusiast.

The second conclusion of this thesis is that, ***though the sphere in which this exercise has been undertaken is that of national museums, the history of the collection of Andean mummies in Europe, told through this research, is not only applicable to that particular realm.*** Collections are being formed in universities and private institutions fol-

lowing similar trends, in line with the intention to construct national identities. In that regard, museum collections are seen as platforms for the expression, and construction through opposition, of identity.

Looking at the collections as a whole highlights the process of change of cultural institutions in Europe; how the collections of Andean mummies, and of American objects in general, have changed through time. The historical narratives and circumstances visible through those processes show that there is a perhaps unconscious connection between the experiences of all these collectors, and in consequence between the collections made for each museum. Unconscious in the sense that these connections are formed from temporal coincidences, more than from a deliberate intent to connect and collect similarly, but are nevertheless conducive to the same results. The idea of a museum as an heteropia, in Foucaults terms, aligns with this vision of the museum as a sum of all these conscious and unconscious efforts to collect, joining together in a transformative space.

Secondary questions posed at the beginning of this work are answered from this perspective: What are the regions, cultures and populations represented in Andean mummy collections in Western Europe and what is their relevance in relation to archaeological collections of the same nature in their countries of origin?

The re-contextualization of remains that took place during this thesis shows a number of sites and the cultures mentioned which need to be updated. Nevertheless, there is still a considerable prevalence of Peruvian objects in the collections analyzed. Chapter 6 mentioned that documentary information pointed out that half of the mummies of all the collections are currently described as coming from Peru. The second largest provenience was recorded from archives as being Chile, but lagging far behind from Peru. In third place came Argentina, followed closely by Bolivia, and in last place Colombia.



After re-contextualization, the data presented by this thesis positions Peru as the place of origin of 78% of the human mummified material collected. Bolivia, however, gained prominence with 12% of the total, followed by Chile and lastly Colombia. This difference is due to the ambivalence of remains that are now identified as coming from the Tiahuanaco area, which included modern Peruvian borders to the Pacific, but that is taken here in relation to the center of power, which is located in Bolivia.

An important conclusion can be made from these statements: ***Peruvian material, including mummified remains, was the most commonly collected by European museums in the mid nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.*** In terms of cultural archaeological groups represented in the collections, those associated with the regions occupied by the Chancay and Lima affiliations are the most common. The Tiahuanaco, Arica, Wari, Muisca, Inca and Chinchorro classifications make up the second largest group; while Paracas and Chimú-Inca are almost absent.

The geographic spread of what was collected is another important dataset that needs to be considered. Though the timeframes of collecting point to historically signif-

icant moments and motivations, the spread of where these remains were collected can certainly help reinforce or reject those temporary links. Not only do they convey areas of interaction for collecting, but these locations of collecting also point to routes of trade in objects and ideas. Furthermore, they speak of limitations of movement and, more importantly, they also show a first indication of the cultural representations that were sought for the Andes, aided by the interactions with local scientists, and reinforced by continuous visits to the same places that had been already proven to yield a high quantity of objects.

These results are probably a caused by the familiarity with Peruvian archaeology that early collecting had sprouted, and by Latin American collectors who specialized in the area, such as Mariano Macedo, as much as by political circumstances, wars and diplomatic postings.

As important as the descriptions made of where and when mummies were found in the Andes, the collectors, donors, and sellers of these remains offer a different insight to the collections in this research. The information available on documents and archives comes precisely from what those sellers and collectors have deemed appropriate to convey to the museum. In that sense, the direct interlocutors for the mummies are their collectors. Therefore, the relevance of understanding who collected the remains now present in museum collections has to do with the veracity and validity of the information provided about them.

Through the available archival information, it becomes evident that there were at least three very well-defined groups of collectors, which provided not necessarily different types of information on the mummies, but rather a more or less nuanced recording of said information. A general way to describe these actors is calling them nineteenth century travelers. ***Though the collectors of mummies are indeed travelers from Europe to the Americas, lumping them all together under the same category diminishes the complexity of their travels.***

The veracity of their claims and the authenticity of the information provided with the mummies should still be taken with healthy skepticism, more so in the case of private sellers or sponsored scientific collectors, as their bending of the truth may have served their economic intentions – and we are not privy to those through documentary evidence.

How these collectors moved and finally donated the remains they had collected is also a point of interest. In that regard, one of the important concerns of this research was to try and untangle, from the places where mummies were collected to their ports of arrival, if there were particular routes, areas or transports on which these mummies were taken on their way to Europe. In that sense, the author aspired to map the journeys of these Andean remains from their origin sites to Europe. Ultimately, mummies themselves, as well as antiquities, were not traveling or moving in particular circles or specialized vessels from America to Europe, but rather as all other freight, they followed the same routes as other imports.

Chapter 5 described the political moments (such as wars) and relationships (economic, military and cultural) between the Andes and Western Europe that led to the creation of these museum collections in the period between 1850-1930. The first political changes: independence, nation formation and early border disputes take place in the Andes in the early-nineteenth century, up until the 1860s. Later on, three moments of conflict coincided with popular periods of mummy collecting, particularly from 1865 to 1900: one is the end of the Civil War in the United States, the second, the War of the Triple Alliance, and the third, the War of the Pacific. In that regard, as has been argued***, the independence process and the disputes for borders at the time are very much linked with the collecting opportunities for archaeological artifacts.***

Similarly, the shifts in cultural displays introduced by World Exhibits provided a stimulus to anthropological research. These included the Paris exhibits of 1878 and 1889, and continued during the Chicago Exhibition in 1892.

The human remains in which this research focuses clearly highlight that collecting practices involving human remains should be embedded within the history of anthropological practice, as much as the practice of collecting. The transformation of collectors' interests, from the admiration of sacred practices to that of scientific curiosity, is extremely important when considering sensitive objects such as Andean mummies. Likewise, the practice of anthropological collecting, changing from the collecting of mummified remains to that of skeletal material, is vitally important when looking at the conditions of the remains once they are integrated into collections. It is on par with the importance of the type of museum and collection into which they are integrated, whether they focus on archaeology, ethnology, or natural history.

***The relation between what was collected in the nineteenth century by Europe and what has been left behind and collected in Latin America is interesting in that it shows two things: that European collectors had been coached and aided by local archaeologists and enthusiasts; and that what is collected in Europe does not always represent the most interesting items discovered to date.***

In that regard, this thesis has shown that in Latin America the remains are presented within their specific burial contexts, with their offerings and, when possible, within their original bundles. As such, the exhibition halls present a full overview of mortuary practice, rather than only the bodies of the dead.

This leads to answering another of the secondary questions posed: How does the place of Andean mummies in Western European museum collections, from the time of their acquisition until today, reinforce or not the representation of the Andes in the West? Chapter 7 focuses on showing how source nations have handled their remains in a more integrated way. Archaeology and the exhibition of mummies have shifted together, not with one leaving the other behind. In Europe, the Andean mummy context has long been overlooked, with only now a few cases where they are integrated into projects concerning

mummified remains. It is worth pointing out, though, that those projects were originally born of inspiration from Egyptian mummies and not Andean mummies.

While for other remains such as stone, textiles and especially ceramics, the Andean world continued to be exhibited, updated and hence reimagined in European museums, the mummies were consistently left behind the veil of nineteenth century discovery, as has been seen by their exhibit cases and documentary information. This leads to the conclusion that ***there has been no translation of meanings, no change of understandings since their inclusions in the collections, and though studies like this one are encouraging in that they show there is an interest from curators and museums to change this, there is still much work to be done.***

In regards to the question posed during the introduction: "How do mummies represent what is thought of as the Andean world in European museums?" the answer is much more complicated. The collecting process of the first half of the twentieth century proposed a way in which the mummies may have had a role in showcasing a part of the Andean culture, but their presentation to the public was not always accurate, complete or contextualized. This is not exclusive to Andean materials, or human remains. Following the critiques explored in chapter 2 of the way museums today present knowledge, it may be that this lack of discernment about what from the Andes is showcased and how is a consequence of colonial thinking and should be looked at carefully for each subset of objects, in each museum in particular, and in comparison with materials from other geopolitical contexts such as Africa and Asia. Another conclusion drawn from these reflections is that ***because of the particular obscure place that mummies have had in the collections researched, there is no systematic approach that can be used to look for a representation of the Andes in the way the mummies are now exhibited or stored.***

In that same line, the intentionality of collecting poses issues when interpreting museum holdings. Although looking at collections as a whole and not separated by museum allows for a macro view of holdings, individual motivations – consideration of taste – cannot be taken into account when looking at collections from this perspective. The personal preferences of collectors in terms of color, details, etc. or even in terms of luggage allowances when making the transatlantic trip, could also be factors that limit what is collected and could skew the interpretations made in terms of the demographic composition of mummy collections in Europe.

The question of how the place of Andean mummies within Western European museum collections has changed from 1930 until today can be answered in the same way. There is no systematic way to account for exhibit and storage changes across the museums explored in this research. The information available on the administration of the collections is limited to the data recorded by curators, conservators, and managers, and so, dependent on what they have deemed important to note. In some cases, it can be detailed from every time a collection is inspected, in others the information is non-existent. In that

sense, sometimes it is not possible to decipher if the remains have been exhibited, for example, or if the curators have treated them with pesticides, resins or coatings. Though directly associated objects are almost always noted – as the case of funerary wares sold or collected with the remains– relationships between mummies and other not directly associated objects is not normally noted, though it is present most of the time in the accession books. To retrace the life of each mummy is very difficult. Though the majority of museums are following the guidelines written by UNESCO and ICOM in regards to the display and storage of human remains, there are a few museums that have maintained displays from the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century. This leads to a conclusion that, ***though global trends are reflected in the majority of national museums in regards to the exhibition and storage of human remains, a particular case-by-case story is more telling of national cultural heritage management.***

Considering the methodological challenges faced by this dissertation, there have been several observations that should be emphasized here. The first is that most human remains that have been separated from diagnostic artifacts cannot be contextualized by non-destructive methods. Only by means of isotopic or DNA techniques can these remains be geographically placed, though there is no means to specify the cultures to which they may have belonged.

A second important observation is that most contextualization possible with remains that have associated artifacts has to do with textiles. It is vital then that the existing research with textiles that has already been conducted, sometimes in the same museum collections, be compared to those attached to the human remains in said collections. Similarly, ***the importance of the transformation of the remains, unbundling, textile separation, funerary offerings separation, etc. should be accounted for before contextualization, and the only way to be privy to that information is by looking at the collectors and descriptions found in the museum's accession books and archives***. Thirdly, though there are manuals regarding the storage and conservation of human remains published in the United Kingdom, most museums visited do not have a standardized protocol to deal with the storage demands of the mummified remains in their collections. A comparison between the collections has highlighted these differences and should be further addressed in future research.

The issues in regards to collecting, exhibiting, and storing human remains are far from resolved. However, this thesis points at the history of their collecting at a national level as a means to re-contextualize them in museum collections and as a starting point to embark on further discussion regarding their roles and permanence in those collections.

It is not the aim of this work to suggest practices that should be implemented in the museum collections. That has been done individually with reports to the museums after research visits. What is important here is to emphasize the contribution of comparative work, and more to the point, of comparative work that includes both historical and

archaeological data. Complementary, interdisciplinary research is starting to be the norm in the humanities, and the exploration of human remains collections is a good point to continue with this trend, at the very least with paleo-imaging and other bio-archaeological methods when possible (like DNA and isotope testing).

The analysis of timeframes, actors, and places of collecting, as well as the information recorded about all three by museums, can result in vital information not only about the process of collecting itself, but also about the motivations and contacts between source countries and the European repositories of these remains. Although an interpretation of the consequences of such processes and motivations on the way these human remains have been stored, exhibited and classified in national museums necessitates further observation into their materiality and history once within the museum, the information presented in this dissertation serves as a valuable starting point to continue exploring these critical topics.

In rooms packed with ancient objects, human remains and especially mummies deserve particular attention. Not as materials, but as witnesses of the past, agents of change in of themselves in pre-Columbian times, now transformed into onlookers as the world around them has tried to accommodate them, both in storage and exhibit rooms.

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# Appendix

## Appendix 1.

Agreement Regarding the Use of Photographic Material

**AGREEMENT REGARDING THE USE OF PHOTOGRAPHIC MATERIALS WITH**
*THE NATIONAL MUSEUM- DENMARK*

I agree that any photographs or films I have made of objects in the collections of the National Museum- Denmark will be used only for my own scholarly purposes.
A copy of the digital photographs I will be taking during my stay will be given before my departure to the person responsible for my work with the collections of the National Museum- Denmark, to be integrated in the archive if necessary.
I am aware that any publication of these pictures (photographs/films) needs the written approval of the *National Museum- Denmark*. Any commercial use of them is prohibited.

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Signature:

Date: 04/10/2016
Photos Received by:

**Appendix 2.**
Mummies in Museums Data Base
(following page)

| Study # | Museum Data | Collection Data | | | | | Project Data |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Museum Name | Catalogue # | Type of remains | On Exhibit | Textiles | Associated artifacts | Observations |
| 1 | Rijksmuseum Volkenkunde | 4857-47 | bundle | no | yes | Ceramics | Sitting down. Probably female mummy. Covered in textile from mid head. Inca. |
| 2 | | 4857-62 | bundle | no | yes | Ceramics | Probably Arica child with reed cord under neck. Fully covered. Skeletonized inside. |
| 3 | | 4857-63 | bundle | no | yes | Metal objects | Probably Arica child with small pumpking over stomach. Wrapped, skull visible, |
| 4 | | 4857-64 | unbundled | no | no | Metal objects | Unwrapped juvenile. Hair in braids, turquoise over eyes. Stong smell. |
| 5 | | 4857-65 | unbundled | no | yes | Metal objects | Adult semi crouched. Feathered poncho and seashells. Strong smell. No outer layer. |
| 6 | | 4857-66 | head | no | no | none | mummified head with braids |
| 7 | | 4857-67 | head | no | no | none | mummified head with braids |
| 8 | | 4068-1 | bundle | no | yes | none | Probably Lima bundle. Juvenile inside. Totally closed with a lot of padding. |
| 9 | Quai Branly | 71.1878.2.805 | bundle | no | yes | necklace made of small seashells | Newborn mummy. Necklace made of small seashells. from pelvis down covered with raw cotton. Rest of body unwrapped. |
| 10 | | 71.1878.2.807 | bundle | no | yes | none | Juvenile mummy.Tightly bound bundle in good condition, several tight cordon of wool wrapped four times (on four places) over the body. |
| 11 | | 71.1878.2.808 | bundle | no | yes | none | Juvenile bundle, outer layer probably removed.Skull fractured, right parietal missing. The rest intact and covered with tissue. The skin over facial area has signs of insect activity. Overall bundle is stable. The only area that is uncovered goes from midle of body to skull. |
| 12 | | 71.1878.2.814 | bundle | no | yes | textile rolls, associated wooden artifacts and stone tools. Wool and other smaller objects. | "Mummy in pieces. 6 distinct packages with remains: 1) torax, arm and 1 leg 2) head 3) mandible 4) box with vertebrae, pelvis and ribs<br>5) L leg 6)feet. A lot of associated artifacts found too, also in separate packages including rolls of textiles." |
| 13 | | 71.1878.2.809 | head | no | yes | none | Head, Adult. Wrappings over and around head, seems to be a bundle on its own. |
| 14 | | 71.1878.2.810 | head | no | yes | none | Head, Adult. Dental examination in full. Cotton over bone under textile, raw and mostly brown to dark brown. |
| 15 | | 71.1878.2.812 | bundle | no | yes | none | Full closed fardo. Shape of bundle allows to see the four poles (reeds) that make up what would be the strecher or craddle of mummy. The bundle has well preserved outer layer of reed nwt-like weave, and an interior plain cotton weave. |
| 16 | | 71.1878.2.813 | bundle | no | yes | gourd, estera, bag, boleadora string and raw cotton. | Adult semi open bundle. Crouched with gourd, estera, bag, boleadora string and raw cotton |
| 17 | | 71.1880.17.1 | bundle | no | yes | none | Bolivian adult mummy in reed basket |

| Project Data | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Diagnostic traits | Original Provinence /Discrepancy | Size | Age group | Changes from original state | Association with other collections | Medical Images | Other tests | Odor/ Adipocere | Visual Examination |
| yes | Peru, Inca? | medium | adult | yes, added head band | no | CT | no | yes | yes |
| yes | Chile, Arica | small | juvenile | no | no | no | no | no | yes |
| yes | Chile, Arica | small | juvenile | no | no | CT | no | no | yes |
| no | unknown | small | juvenile | unwrapping and separation of textiles. | no | CT | no | yes | yes |
| yes | Peru, Chimu/Inca? | medium | adult | Outer layer of textiles removed. Head band added. | no | CT | no | yes | yes |
| no | unknown | fragment | adult | separation from full body at collection | no | no | no | yes | yes |
| no | unknown | fragment | adult | separation from full body at collection | no | no | no | yes | yes |
| yes | Peru, Lima | small | juvenile | no | no | CT | no | no | yes |
| yes | Lima | small | infant | unwrapping and separation of textiles. | no | no | no | no | yes |
| yes | Lima | small | juvenile | no | no | no | no | no | yes |
| no | unknown | small | juvenile | outer layer removed. | no | no | no | no | yes |
| yes | Wari | big | adult | separation of remains in 6 pieces, separation of textiles. | no | no | no | no | yes |
| yes | Lima | fragment | adult | no | no | no | no | no | yes |
| no | Lima | fragment | adult | outer layer removed. | no | no | no | no | yes |
| yes | Wari | big | adult | no | no | CT | no | no | yes |
| yes | unknown | medium | adult | no | no | no | no | no | yes |
| yes | Tihuanaco | big | adult | no | no | no | no | no | yes |

| Study # | Museum Data | Collection Data | | | | | Project Data |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Museum Name | Catalogue # | Type of remains | On Exhibit | Textiles | Associated artifacts | Observations |
| 18 | Quai Branly | 71.1878.54.82 | unbundled individual | yes temporary | yes | none | Really well preserved. Very interesting textiles including several colors and patterns. Shoes and copper decorations. Was on a recent exhibit regarding hair. |
| 19 | | 71.1878.54.83 | bundle | no | yes | none | Fully closed fardo. Has not been seen personally since it is part of ongoing CT info |
| 20 | | 71.2012.0.1433 | bundle | no | yes | none | Juvenile. Strong smell, with deposition of cristals over full body, not on top of head where textile is lighter in color. Textile is stiff, as if treated or coated with something. Head visible, the rest is covered with textile. |
| 21 | | 71.2012.0.1435 | bundle | no | yes | none | Adult bundle. Head has separated post mortem. body and head are very well preserved. Seems outer layer might have been removed since some raw cotton is still present. very colorful detailed textiles wrapped over body under neck. |
| 22 | | 71.2012.0.1436 | bundle | no | yes | none | Juvenile sized mummy. Covered in 2 outer textile and inside visible reed "Lamina". Body placed over a cradle of sticks |
| 23 | | 71.1906.4.1 | unbundled individual | no | yes | yes but not specified | Crouched adult mummy, some skeletonization on fronal. Visible mummified head, hand R elbow part of R pelvis and L arm. Prob skull deformation (flattened occipital) |
| 24 | | 71.1886.174.3 | head | no | no | none | Head, Juvenile. Only textile are "green" cotton threads wrapped on the ends of the 3 Braids that make up the front hair do (2 on the right side, 1 on the left side), and onn the end of the braid "nest" that covers the back. Hair is covered with interconnected loose braids of different sizes. RIght side has at least 6 (one of them doing a similar "net or nest" pattern as the one in the back of the head. There is some sediment over parts of skull, whitish and mud like |
| 25 | | 71.1878.8.85 | hand | no | no | copper rings | mummified hand with rings |
| 26 | | 71.1953.19.1107 | head | no | yes | none | Head, Adult. Tissue on skull vault but not over facial area or occipital base. Extreme dental pathologies. Very intricate desing work in cotton, hat like, over hair. |
| 27 | | 71.1960.40.1 | head | no | no | none | Head, Adult. Two big braids topped with red thread found on either side of teh head. Smell quite bad, probably due to resin use since it shines under light inspection. |
| 28 | | 71.1970.105.31 | head | no | no | none | Head, Adult. Separate bag with pieces of hair also in box |
| 29 | | 71.1908.23.2500 | unbundled individual | no | no | 8 objects in smaller packages | ."Crouched individual with outer layer of bundle missing Very strong smell, some cristal present around head, under neck. Bundle is stored with 8 objects and smaller packages." |
| 30 | | 71.1953.0.383X | hands | no | yes | none | Pair of juvenile hands. Some small textiles wrapped around. |

| Project Data | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Diag-nostic traits | Original Provinence /Discre-pancy | Size | Age group | Changes from original state | Association with other collections | Me-dical Images | Other tests | Odor/ Adipo-cere | Visual Exami-nation |
| yes | Chancay | big | adult | outer layer removed. | no | no | no | no | yes |
| yes | Chancay | big | juveni-le | no | no | CT (3D prin-ted) | no | no | no |
| yes | Lima | small | juveni-le | possible resin covering. Opened on middle for inspection. | no | no | Signa-led for GC-MS | yes | yes |
| yes | Lima | medi-um | adult | head separated. Outer layer removed. | no | no | no | no | yes |
| yes | Lima | small | juveni-le | no | no | no | no | no | yes |
| yes | unknown | big | adult | probable outer layer removed. | no | no | no | no | yes |
| yes *hair | Arica | frag-ment | juveni-le | yes,but unespecified. | no | no | no | no | yes |
| no | unknown | frag-ment | adult | separation from body. | no | no | no | no | yes |
| yes | Chancay | frag-ment | adult | outer layer removed. | no | no | no | no | yes |
| no | unknown | frag-ment | adult | outer layer removed. | no | no | Signa-led for GC-MS | yes | yes |
| no | unknown | frag-ment | adult | separation from body | no | no | no | no | yes |
| yes | unknown | medi-um | adult | outer layer removed. Associated artifacts separated ut stored with remains. | no | no | Signa-led for GC-MS | yes | yes |
| no | unknown | frag-ment | juveni-le | separation from body. | no | no | no | no | yes |

| Study # | Museum Data | Collection Data | | | | | Project Data |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Museum Name | Catalogue # | Type of remains | On Exhibit | Textiles | Associated artifacts | Observations |
| 31 | Museo de America | 07866 | unbundled individual | no | no (but imprint can be seen | none | Juvenile without wrappings. ACD. Dated to 400-1000. has been CT. Mate oil dessecant agent applied and tested. No smell. |
| 32 | | 70388 | bundle | yes | yes | none | On exhibit. Horizonte medio, has a false head, x-rays have been conducted. |
| 33 | | 2003.03.1 | unbundled individual | no | no (but imprint can be seen | none | Adult mummy, not in bundle. Crouched position. Strong smell, has pine resin tested by GCMS. Was exhibited in 1929 in the Exposición Universal de Sevilla, and in 2003 on the exhibit regarding the Expedición del Pacífico. |
| 34 | | 15407 | unbundled individual | no | no (but imprint can be seen | none | Juvenile without wrappings. ACD. Dated to 400-1000. Legs bent under body, not crouched. Possible trepanation attempt visible. |
| 35 | | 15408 | unbundled individual | no | no (but imprint can be seen | none | Juvenile without wrappings. ACD. Dated to 400-1000. The body has separated into three pieces: legs, torso and head, and right arm. |
| 36 | | 1976.01.174 | bundle | no | yes | none | Juvenile 18 months (x-ray taken). Has gourd at stomach level. Fully closed bundle with colored textiles. |
| 37 | | 1976.01.175 | bundle | no | yes | none | Adult male in flexed position (x rays taken). Full closed bundle. ACD. |
| 38 | | 1976.01.177 | bundle | no | yes | yes but not specified | Juvenile mummy in closed bundle with several textiled. Has been gifted with funerary objects. Gourd at chest level. |
| 39 | | 70311 | bundle | yes | yes | textile work implents added to pastiche to create character on exhibit. | On exhibition. Has been x-rayed. Some literature Jimenez (2009). It is a pastiche of mummy, with textiles added to it as well as implements. Male mummy with female weaver material culture. |
| 40 | Ethnologische Museum. Staatlche Musee zu Berlin (Dahlmen) | VA 28471 | unbundled individual | no | yes | none | Juvenile bundle. Outer layer removed. |
| 41 | | VA 28472 | bundle | no | yes | spindel-whorls associated to remains | full bundle with spindlewhrols. |
| 42 | | VA 28473 | unbundled individual | no | yes | none | Top half bundle of juvenile without outer layer. |
| 43 | | VA 28453 | bundle | no | yes | none | Adult full bundle. Reed or cord basket full bundle. |
| 44 | | VA 28454 | bundle | no | yes | none | Adult full bundle. Reed or cord basket full bundle. Top of skull and feet visible. |
| 45 | | VA 28455 | bundle | no | yes | none | Bundle adult with false head. Fully closed. Fale head rectangular like pillow, has face design sewn to it. |
| 46 | | VA 28459 | bundle | no | yes | none | Bundle adult with extra bit tied on top (nudo cachito). Fully closed. |

| Project Data | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Diagnostic traits | Original Provinence /Discrepancy | Size | Age group | Changes from original state | Association with other collections | Medical Images | Other tests | Odor/ Adipocere | Visual Examination |
| no | unknown | small | juvenile | wrappings removed. | no | CT | Carbon dates. GC-MS | yes | yes |
| yes | Chancay | medium | adult | no | no | X-ray | no | no | yes |
| yes | unknown | big | adult | wrappings removed. | no | no | GC-MS | yes | yes |
| no | unknown | small | juvenile | wrappings removed. | no | no | Carbon dates | no | yes |
| no | unknown | small | juvenile | wrappings removed. Body separated in pieces. | no | no | Carbon dates | no | yes |
| yes | Arica | small | infant | no | no | X-ray | no | no | yes |
| yes | unknown | medium | adult | no | no | X-ray | no | no | yes |
| yes | Arica | small | juvenile | no | no | no | no | no | yes |
| yes | Paracas | big | adult | pastiche. not original. | no | X-ray | no | no | yes |
| no | unknown | small | juvenile | outer layer removed. | no | x-ray and CT | | no | on storage |
| yes | unknown | medium | adult | no | no | x-ray and CT | | no | on storage |
| no | unknown | small | juvenile | half of bundle removed, outer coverings removed. | no | x-ray and CT | | no | on storage |
| yes | Tihuanaco | big | adult | no | no | x-ray and CT | | no | on storage |
| yes | Tihuanaco | big | adult | no | no | x-ray and CT | | no | on storage |
| yes | Chancay | big | prob. adult | no | no | x-ray and CT | | no | on storage |
| yes | Chancay | big | prob. adult | no | no | x-ray and CT | | no | on storage |

| Study # | Museum Data | Collection Data | | | | | Project Data |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Museum Name | Catalogue # | Type of remains | On Exhibit | Textiles | Associated artifacts | Observations |
| 47 | Ethnologische Museum. Staatliche Musee zu Berlin (Dahlmen) | VA 28462 | bundle | no | yes | none | Adult bundle with a lot of ornaments, feathers and other textiles. False head. Dated to 800-1550 a.C. Chancay or Inca (most likely chancay) |
| 47 | | VA 28463 | bundle | no | yes | none | Adult bundle with a lot of ornaments. Fase head. Has attached two "doll like" objects each on one side. Crown of feathers. |
| 49 | | VA 28464 | bundle | no | yes | none | Adult bundle with a lot of ornaments, feathers and other textiles. False head with faja around it. Very round, dark textile covering body. Several textile bagas hanging from belt at mid lenght. |
| 50 | | VA 28465 | bundle | no | yes | none | Adult bundle with a lot of ornaments, feathers and other textiles. False head. Dressed with a poncho of white fabric and with a shigra like bag across right shoulder to left side of body. Also weraing a type of skirt tied with a belt. |
| 51 | | VA 28466 | extended individual | no | no (but imprint can be seen | none | In extended position. Only human remains, still articulated. Long hair, possibly braided. |
| 52 | | VA 28467 | extended individual | no | no (but imprint can be seen | none | In extended position. Only human remains, still articulated. |
| 53 | | VA 28468 | unbundled individual | no | no (but imprint can be seen | none | Adult in crouched position with hands over head, elbows over knees. |
| 54 | | VA 28469 | unbundled individual | no | no (but imprint can be seen | none | Adult in crouched position with hands over face. Elbows over knees. |
| 55 | | VA 28470 | unbundled individual | no | yes | none | Adult in crouched position. Hansd over knees. Feather and cotton adornments over head. |
| 56 | | VA 33977 | drawing | no | no | unknown | Drawing of crouched individual with feather headress. |
| 57 | | VA 33978 | drawing | no | no | unknown | Drawing of crouched individual with feather headress. |
| 58 | | VA 403 | unknown | no | no | unknown | no photo |
| 59 | | VA 404 | bundle | no | yes | none | Fragment of a bundle. Lower half missing probably the false head. Addorned with textile bags. |
| 60 | | VA 405 | unknown | no | no | unknown | no photo |
| 61 | | VA 419 | Tissue Fragment | no | no | none | Tissue fragment |
| 62 | | VA 420 | Tissue Fragment | no | no | none | Tissue fragment |
| 63 | | VA 421 | Tissue Fragment | no | no | none | Tissue fragment |
| 64 | | VA 2235 | unbundled individual | no | yes | none | "Crouched individual with outer layer of bundle missing. Long hair, and several textiles and bags associated. Collected by Volkmar who later sold it to Bastian." |
| 65 | | VA 2254 | unbundled individual | no | no | none | Adult in crouched position. Hands under chin. Ribs exposed. Hair almost fallign from skull. |
| 66 | | VA 2255 | unbundled individual | no | no | none | Torso of a child. |

| Project Data | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Diag-nostic traits | Original Provinence /Discre-pancy | Size | Age group | Changes from original state | Association with other collections | Medical Images | Other tests | Odor/ Adipocere | Visual Exa-mination |
| yes | Chancay | big | adult | no | no | x-ray and CT | | no | on storage |
| yes | Chancay | big | adult | no | no | x-ray and CT | | no | on storage |
| yes | Chancay | big | adult | no | no | x-ray and CT | | no | on storage |
| yes | Chancay | big | adult | no | no | x-ray and CT | | no | on storage |
| no | unknown | big | adult | wrappings removed. | no | x-ray and CT | | no | on storage |
| no | unknown | big | adult | wrappings removed. | no | x-ray and CT | | no | on storage |
| no | unknown | medium | adult | wrappings removed | no | x-ray and CT | | no | on storage |
| no | unknown | medium | adult | wrappings removed | no | x-ray and CT | | no | on storage |
| yes | unknown | medium | adult | wrappings removed. | no | x-ray and CT | | no | on storage |
| no | unknown | unknown | unknown | unknown | no | no | | unknown | no |
| no | unknown | unknown | unknown | unknown | no | no | | unknown | no |
| no | unknown | unknown | unknown | unknown | no | no | | unknown | no |
| yes | Chancay | small | adult | false head removed. | no | x-ray and CT | | no | on storage |
| no | unknown | unknown | unknown | unknown | no | no | | unknown | no |
| no | unknown | fragment | unknown | removed from body. | no | no | | no | on storage |
| no | unknown | fragment | unknown | removed from body. | no | no | | no | on storage |
| no | unknown | fragment | unknown | removed from body. | no | no | | no | on storage |
| yes | unknown | medium | adult | outer layer removed. | no | x-ray and CT | | no | on storage |
| no | Muisca | medium | adult | wrappings removed. | no | x-ray and CT | | no | on storage |
| no | Muisca | small | juvenile | wrappings removed. | no | x-ray and CT | | no | on storage |

| Study # | Museum Data | Collection Data | | | | | Project Data |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Museum Name | Catalogue # | Type of remains | On Exhibit | Textiles | Associated artifacts | Observations |
| 67 | Ethnologische Museum. Staatlche Musee zu Berlin (Dahlmen) | VA 5805 | bundle | no | yes | none | Half covered bundle of child. Some hair, fontanels unsuture. Textiles cover the lower half of body. Extended position. |
| 68 | | VA 5807 (1) | empty bundle | no | yes | yes but not specified | Just textiles and false head of a bundle. Wari dated from 500-800 b. C. |
| 69 | | VA 5813 | bundle | no | yes | none | Adult bundle with false head. Decorated with textile, shigra and belt. |
| 70 | | VA 5815 | bundle | no | yes | none | Bundle with false head. Decorated with bags and fajas. |
| 71 | | VA 5832 | unbundled individual | no | yes | none | Torso, head and arms of a child. No outer layer of bundle but middle of torso has some textiles. Arms over head. |
| 72 | | VA 5834 | bundle | no | yes | none | Juvenile bundle in aparent extended position. Cradel can be seen, as well as reeds. |
| 73 | | VA 5835 | bundle | no | yes | none | Bundle of a juvenile, fully covered. Faja like bands wrapped tightly around body. |
| 74 | | VA 5837 | bundle | no | yes | none | Bundle of a juvenile. Several layers of textile, probably without outer layer. |
| 75 | | VA 7699 | unbundled individual | no | yes | gourd between hands. | Juvenile unwrapped outer layer. Some textiles over head. Crouched position, possibly holding a gourd or similar between hands. |
| 76 | | VA 7882 | unbundled individual | no | no | none | Adult in crouched position. Hands over face. |
| 77 | | VA 10378 (a,b) | bundle | no | yes | none | Juvenile closed bundle. Several textile layers including a mesh as outer layer. |
| 78 | | VA 11029 | bundle | no | yes | none | Reed or Cotton cord basket bundle. Skull visible on top and tibia jutting from bottom. |
| 79 | | VA 11030 | bundle | no | yes | none | Reed or Cotton cord basket bundle. Adult. Fully closed. |
| 80 | | VA 11033 | unbundled individual | no | no | none | Juvenile. Spine visible and skeletonized. Skull skeletonized. Crouched position, head falling backwards. |
| 81 | | VA 60376 | bundle | no | yes | none | Adult closed bundle with checkered textile design and outer mesh layer. Very square looking. |
| 82 | | VA 60377 | bundle | no | yes | none | Adult closed bundle. Textiles with patterns. Mesh on top half. |
| 83 | | VA 60378 | bundle | no | yes | none | Adult closed bundle with extra fabric knott (cachito) on top. Patterned bundle textiles. Mesh like belt. |
| 84 | | VA 60379 | bundle | no | yes | none | Cotton weaved basket closed. Bolivian looking. |
| 85 | | VA 60380 | bundle | no | yes | none | Adult size, closed bundle. Flase head, several textile bags shirgra like hanging from neck. |
| 86 | | VA 60381 | bundle | no | yes | none | Bundle with false head. Textile covering body seems to have bands. Head has nose sewn on. Very cilindrical looking. |
| 87 | | VA 60382 | bundle | no | yes | none | Adult bundle with false head. Feathers yelow on top of head. Dressed with a poncho or two. Decorated faja around neck and over bundle. |
| 88 | | VA 60383 | bundle | no | yes | none | Half open bundle. Adult in crouche position, hands over face. |
| 89 | | VA 60384 | unbundled individual | no | no | none | Only torso, arms and head of adult mummy. Hands over cheeks, something inside mouth. No hair. |
| 90 | | VA 60386 | unbundled individual | no | no | none | Full adult no wrappings. Long hair. Ribs skeletonized under left arm. Crouched position. Note indicates has tattoo. |
| 91 | | VA 60390 | unbundled individual | no | no | none | Adult without outer layer of bundle. Some textile over chest and lower legs. Long hair. Probable textile necklace. Hands over knees. |

| Project Data | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Diagnostic traits | Original Provinence /Discrepancy | Size | Age group | Changes from original state | Association with other collections | Medical Images | Other tests | Odor/ Adipocere | Visual Examination |
| yes | unknown | small | juvenile | no | no | x-ray and CT | | no | on storage |
| yes | Wari | small | unknown | bundle separted. This is false head and textiles. | no | no | | no | on storage |
| yes | Chancay | big | adult | no | no | x-ray and CT | | no | on storage |
| yes | Chancay | big | adult | no | no | x-ray and CT | | no | on storage |
| yes | unknown | small | juvenile | no | no | x-ray and CT | | no | on storage |
| yes | Wari | medium | juvenile | outer layer removed. | no | x-ray and CT | | no | on storage |
| yes | Chancay | medium | juvenile | no | no | x-ray and CT | | no | on storage |
| yes | unknown | medium | juvenile | outer layer removed. | no | x-ray and CT | | no | on storage |
| yes | Lima | small | juvenile | outer layer removed. | no | x-ray and CT | | no | on storage |
| no | unknown | medium | adult | wrappings removed. | no | x-ray and CT | | no | on storage |
| yes | unknown | medium | juvenile | no | no | x-ray and CT | | no | on storage |
| yes | Tihuanaco | medium | adult | no | no | x-ray and CT | | no | on storage |
| yes | Tihuanaco | big | adult | no | no | x-ray and CT | | no | on storage |
| no | unknown | medium | juvenile | wrappings removed. | no | x-ray and CT | | no | on storage |
| yes | unknown | medium | adult | no | no | x-ray and CT | | no | on storage |
| yes | unknown | medium | adult | no | no | x-ray and CT | | no | on storage |
| yes | unknown | medium | adult | no | no | x-ray and CT | | no | on storage |
| yes | Tihuanaco | small | adult | no | no | x-ray and CT | | no | on storage |
| yes | unknown | big | adult | no | no | x-ray and CT | | no | on storage |
| yes | unknown | big | adult | no | no | x-ray and CT | | no | on storage |
| yes | Chancay | big | adult | no | no | x-ray and CT | | no | on storage |
| yes | Lima | medium | adult | no | no | x-ray and CT | | no | on storage |
| no | unknown | medium | adult | only torso. Wrappings removed. | no | x-ray and CT | | no | on storage |
| no | unknown | medium | adult | wrappings removed. | no | x-ray and CT | | no | on storage |
| no | unknown | medium | adult | wrappings removed | no | no | | no | on storage |

| Study # | Museum Data | Collection Data | | | | | Project Data |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Museum Name | Catalogue # | Type of remains | On Exhibit | Textiles | Asso-ciated artifacts | Observations |
| 92 | | VA 60391 | unbundled individual | no | no | none | Adult in crouched position. Legs over chest, hands over knees. No hair. |
| 93 | | VA 60399 | bundle | no | yes | none | Juvenile mummy. Skull visible until orbits, everything else covered in textile. Textiles seem to be made of faja like weave. |
| 94 | | VA 60409 | bundle | no | yes | none | Juvenile with legs and head uncovered. Middle body covered in textile. Some hair. Semi crou-ched position. |
| 95 | | VA 60418 | bundle | no | yes | none | Infant mummy, half opened. Probably has reed cradle. Top of head visible with some hair. |
| 96 | | VA 60420 | bundle | no | yes | none | Juvenile bundle fully closed. Some textiles wrapped around, one basic lighter under layer visible, and over it bands and other textiles. |
| 97 | | VA 60421 | unbundled individual | no | no | none | Torso, arms and head of juvenile. Hair present. Seems to be holding something over chest. |
| 98 | | VA 60431 | unbundled individual | no | no | none | Crouched adult. Long hair. Hands over stomach. |
| 99 | | VA 66445 | unknown | no | no | unknown | no photo |
| 100 | Ethno-logische Museum. Staatlche Musee zu Berlin (Dahlmen) | VA 67186 | bundle | no | yes | none | Very round bundle with defined areas of skull and body. Fully covered in textiles with cords going around it. From dimensions probably juvenile. |
| 101 | | VA 67187 | unbundled individual | no | yes | inside a box of sorts. | Crouched adult with some skeletonized areas. Seems to be placed inside a box. Some hair, probable faja style band over head. |
| 102 | | VA 67188 | unbundled individual | no | no | wooden box | Juvenile in wooden box. Extended. |
| 103 | | VA 66434 | unbundled individual | no | no | none | Adult in coruched position, hands between legs, legs against chest. Long hair. Head to the side. |
| 104 | | VA 66435 | bundle | no | yes | none | Closed probably adult bundle. Has a knott (cachito) on top. Seems to be damaged and opening in the bottom, some osteological material peeking out from there. |
| 105 | | VA 66436 | unbundled individual | no | yes | none | Crouched adult, arms under chin. Some hair. Still aorund it some bands of textiles or rope. |
| 106 | | VA 66437 | bundle | no | yes | none | Juvenile without outer layer of bundle. Ex-tended position. Some textiles cover torso and arms, and are wrapped around head but leave facial area visible. |
| 107 | | VC 1137 | unbundled individual | no | no | none | Adult, crouched position. Hands between legs, legs flexed but open to the sides. |
| 108 | | VC 1138 | unbundled individual | no | no | none | Torso, arms and head of an infant. |
| 109 | Pitt Rivers Museum. Anthro-pology and World Archaeo-logy | 1887.33.22 | head | no | no | none | Skull of child showing extreme asymmetry and fronto occipital deformation. From Acland Mumy N1. (MN 15/06/2010) |
| 110 | | 1886.2.18 | bundle | no | yes | none | Mummified body of a newly-born child, wraped in 3 cloths (Mummy IV). |
| 111 | | 1886.2.19 | unbundled individual | no | yes | none | mummified human child (Mummy III) |

| Project Data | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Diagnostic traits | Original Provinence /Discrepancy | Size | Age group | Changes from original state | Association with other collections | Medical Images | Other tests | Odor/ Adipocere | Visual Examination |
| no | unknown | medium | adult | wrappings removed | no | x-ray and CT | | no | on storage |
| yes | Lima | small | juvenile | outer layer removed. | no | x-ray and CT | | no | on storage |
| yes | Lima | small | juvenile | oute layer removed. | no | x-ray and CT | | no | on storage |
| yes | Inca | small | infant | outer layer removed | no | x-ray and CT | | no | on storage |
| yes | unknown | small | juvenile | no | no | x-ray and CT | | no | on storage |
| no | unknown | small | juvenile | only torso. Wrappings removed. | no | x-ray and CT | | no | on storage |
| no | unknown | medium | adult | outer layer removed | no | x-ray and CT | | no | on storage |
| no | unknown | unknown | unknown | unknown | no | no | | unknown | no |
| yes | Lima | medium | prob. Juvenile | no | no | no | | no | on storage |
| no | unknown | medium | adult | wrappigns removed. Placed in a box | no | no | | no | on storage |
| no | unknown | medium | juvenile | wrappigns removed. Placed in a box | no | no | | no | on storage |
| no | unknown | medium | adult | wrappigns removed. Placed in a box | no | x-ray and CT | | no | on storage |
| yes | Chancay | big | adult | no | no | x-ray and CT | | no | on storage |
| no | unknown | medium | adult | outer layer removed. | no | x-ray and CT | | no | on storage |
| no | unknown | small | juvenile | outer layer removed. | no | x-ray and CT | | no | on storage |
| no | unknown | medium | adult | wrappings removed | no | x-ray and CT | | no | on storage |
| no | unknown | small | juvenile | wrappings removed | no | x-ray and CT | | no | on storage |
| no | unknown | fragment | juvenile | head separated. Outer layer removed. | no | no | | no | yes |
| yes | Lima | small | infant | mummy unwrapped and rewrapped. | no | no | | no | yes |
| yes | Lima | small | juvenile | mummy unwrapped and rewrapped. | no | no | | no | yes |

| Study # | Museum Data | Collection Data | | | | | Project Data | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Museum Name | Catalogue # | Type of remains | On Exhibit | Textiles | Associated artifacts | Diag-nostic traits | Original Provinence /Discrepancy |
| 112 | Pitt Rivers Museum. Anthro-pology and World Archaeo-logy | 1887.33.31 | head | no | no | unknown | no | unknown |
| 113 | | 1887.1.61.1 | head | no | no | none | no | unknown |
| 114 | | 1887.1.61.2 | head | no | no | none | no | unknown |
| 115 | | 1887.33.23 | head | no | no | none | no | unknown |
| 116 | | 1887.33.18.1 | head | no | no | none | no | unknown |
| 117 | | 1.887.33.18.2 | verte-brae | no | no | unknown | no | unknown |
| 118 | | 1899.57.2 | head | no | yes | none | yes | unknown |
| 119 | | 1899.57.3 | unbund-led indi-vidual | no | no | none | no | unknown |
| 120 | | 1895.52.11 | head | no | no | none | no | unknown |
| 121 | | 2002.88.1 | unbund-led indi-vidual | yes | no | ornaments and beadas in jar. | no | unknown |
| 122 | | 2000.69.1 | scalp | no | no | unknown | no | unknown |
| 123 | British Museum | AM 1909,1207.259.a | unbund-led indi-vidual | no | yes | Part of collection with 260 objects from Peru. Including vases, wooden artifacts, beads nd necklaces. Formerly with feather headdress | no | unknown |
| 124 | | AM 1909,1207.259.b | unbund-led indi-vidual | no | no (but imprint can be seen | Part of collection with 260 objects from Peru. Including vases, wooden artifacts, beads nd neckalces. None immediatly associated. | no | unknown |
| 125 | | AM 1909,1207.260 | unbund-led indi-vidual | no | yes only partial. | Part of collection with 260 objects from Peru. Including vases, wooden artifacts, beads nd neckalces. None immediatly associated. | no | unknown |
| 126 | | AM 1910,1010.1.a | bundle | no | yes | Part of collection of 22 objects including stone maces, wooden combs, bone needles, bronce mirror, knifes and pendants. Imitation parrot also in this collection, made of feathers and wooden sticks. Feather crown. Face covered with feathers. | yes | Chancay |
| 127 | | AM 1910,1010.2 | bundle | no | yes | Part of collection of 22 objects including stone maces, wooden combs, bone needles, bronce mirror, knifes and pendants. Imitation parrot also in this collection, made of feathers and wooden sticks. | yes | Chancay |
| 128 | | AM 1838,1111.1 | unbund-led indi-vidual | no | no (but imprint can be seen | Necklace with seashell beads and three animal canines. | yes | Muisca |
| 129 | | AM 1986,Q.584 | bundle | no | yes | none | yes | unknown |

| Project Data | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Observations | Size | Age group | Changes from original state | Association with other collections | Medical Images | Other tests | Odor/ Adipocere | Visual Examination |
| Not found. Mummified human head | fragment | unknown | unknown | no | no | | unknown | no |
| Mummified human head | fragment | adult | separated head | no | no | | no | yes |
| Mummified human head | fragment | adult | separated head | no | no | | no | yes |
| Mummified human head | fragment | adult | separated head | no | no | | no | yes |
| Mummified human head | fragment | adult | separated head | no | no | | no | yes |
| Not found. Loose vertebrae belonging to mummified human head | fragment | unknown | unknown | no | no | | unknown | no |
| Mummified human head covered in string-work | fragment | adult | separated head | no | no | | no | yes |
| Mummified body of a human baby | small | infant | wrappings removed. | no | no | | no | yes |
| Humman skull (dissecated), the shape of which has been modified according to local cultural practice. Male | fragment | adult | separated head | no | no | | no | yes |
| Mummified foetus with ear ornaments and bead decoration, probably from a grave | small | infant | in a jar. | no | no | | no | yes |
| scalp, not found. | fragment | unknown | unknown | no | no | | unknown | no |
| Crouched adult. Some decoration around head and cord still wrapped around body. | medium | adult | outer layer removed. | no | no | | no | yes |
| human baby. No photo | unknown | infant | unknown | no | no | | unknown | no |
| Unwraped baby. Textiles on ankles and wirst. Associated weaving artifacts and balls of cotton thread. "God's eyes" name for triangular textile artifacts. | small | infant | wrappings removed | no | no | | no | yes |
| Adult bundle with false head. Very red textile with patterns | big | adult | no | no | no | | no | yes |
| Adult bundle with false head and mask. Very colorfukll and patterened textiles. | big | adult | no | no | no | | no | yes |
| Adult, "midle aged woman" , in coruched position. Textile necklace, ands over head. No hair. | medium | adult | outer layer removed. | no | no | | no | yes |
| Juvenile bundle. Tightly wrapped and closed, several layers of textile. Cord wrapped around it. | small | juvenile | no | no | no | | no | yes |

| Study # | Museum Data | Collection Data | | | | | Project Data | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Museum Name | Catalogue # | Type of remains | On Exhibit | Textiles | Associated artifacts | Diagnostic traits | Original Provinence /Discrepancy |
| 130 | British Museum | AM 1986,Q.582 | bundle | no | yes | none | yes | unknown |
| 131 | | AM 1986,Q.581 | bundle | no | yes | none | yes | unknown |
| 132 | | AM 1842.1112.1 | unbundled individual | no | no (but imprint can be seen | none | no | unknown |
| 133 | | AM 1855,1211.36 | foot | no | yes- leather | two wooden javelins, canvas bag containing flint flakes, wooden spoon painted red, wood cup, wooden combs (5), seven cactus throns used as needles, portions of gourd shell, sheldd of scalop. | no | unknown |
| 134 | | AM 1832,1208.1 | bundle | no | yes | 1 earthenware pot, bag containing meal, small bet containing pear head wrapped in cloth. In parcel: wooden case broken, yellow seed, spear head of stone, copper implements, scales, fishing hooks and line, model of doble headed paddle. NOT WITH MUMMY BUT IN SAME BURIAL: jug and head of indian corn. | yes | unknown |
| 135 | | AM 1906,1029.1 | bundle | no | yes | textiles | yes | unknown |
| 136 | | AM 1997,Q.1049 | arm and hand | no | no (but imprint can be seen | none | no | unknown |
| 137 | | AM 1997,Q.1048 | hand | no | no (but imprint can be seen | none | no | unknown |
| 138 | | AM 1997,Q.1083 | bundle | no | yes | none | yes | unknown |
| 139 | | AM 1997,Q.1057 | bundle | no | yes | small textile bag | yes | Chancay |
| 140 | | AM 1997,Q.1085 | bundle | no | yes | none | yes | Lima |
| 141 | | AM 1997,Q.1067 | bundle | no | yes | unknown | no | unknown |
| 142 | | AM 1997,Q.1069 | bundle | no | yes | two small textile bags | no | unknown |
| 143 | | AM 1997,Q.1074 | bundle | no | yes | none | yes | Lima |

| Project Data | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Observations | Size | Age group | Changes from original state | Association with other collections | Medical Images | Other tests | Odor/ Adipocere | Visual Examination |
| Adult, semi open bundle. Some parts of the skull visible. Outer layer and other textiles peeled back from body at head end, the rest still tightly wrapped. Hair and hands visible. | big | adult | opened and probable external layer removed. | no | no | | no | yes |
| Adult mumy. Open bundle bag, loose parts of body visible. Textile described as striped blue and red. Net covers textile at feet area. | big | adult | opened and probable external layer removed. | no | no | | no | yes |
| Adult mummy. Extremely crouched position. | medium | adult | wrappings removed. | no | no | | no | yes |
| Child foot in leather sandal. | fragment | juvenile | foot separated from body. | no | no | | no | yes |
| Extended child human mummy. Associated craddle, artifacts and textiles. | small | juvenile | unwrapping and separation of textiles. | no | no | | no | yes |
| In bad state of preservation. Main body in stripped textile. Skull with mandible, hands, feet and legs, ribs and assorted fragments loose. | small | adult | unwrapping and separation of textiles. | no | no | | no | yes |
| Blackened mummy arm and hand. | fragment | adult | separated from body | no | no | | no | yes |
| Human hand. With tag that states: "hand of one of the mummies found in Arica" and "August 13 1868. W.D. Tennant. Esq. R.N" | fragment | adult | separated from body | no | no | | no | yes |
| Juvenile bundle. Closed and squared bundle. Textile covering most of it but peeling on right corner, reed and cord can be seen. | small | juvenile | no | no | no | | no | yes |
| Long bundle with several textiles and crod in the middle. Associated with small textile bag. | small | prob. Adult | no | no | no | | no | yes |
| Child mummy with associated adult femur. Bundle seems to include craddle and several layers of textile. Femur is skeletonized and Right side. | small | juvenile | no | no | no | | no | yes |
| no photo | unknown | juvenile | unknown | no | no | | unknown | no |
| Bundle with legs separated. Bad state of conservation. Asociated two small textile bags. | medium | prob. Adult | sepaation of legs from bundle. | no | no | | no | yes |
| Probably juvenile from size. Wrapped but parts can be seen from side. | small | prob. Juvenile | no | no | no | | no | yes |

| Study # | Museum Data | Collection Data | | | | | Project Data | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Museum Name | Catalogue # | Type of remains | On Exhibit | Textiles | Associated artifacts | Diagnostic traits | Original Provinence /Discrepancy |
| 144 | British Museum | AM 1986,Q.583 | bundle | no | yes | none | yes | Lima |
| 145 | | AM 1980,Q.477 | arm | no | yes only partial. | none | no | unknown |
| 146 | Weltmuseum Wien | 3928 | unbundled individual | no | no | none | no | unknown |
| 147 | | 5486 | unbundled individual | no | yes | none | no | unknown |
| 148 | | 5798 | unbundled individual | yes | yes | textile shields, vases and corn cobs. | yes | Chancay |
| 149 | | 5808 | unbundled individual | yes | yes | textile shields, vases and corn cobs. | yes | Chancay |
| 150 | | 5809 | unbundled individual | yes | yes | textile shields, vases and corn cobs. | yes | Chancay |
| 151 | | 5833 | head | no | no | none | no | unknown |
| 152 | | 5877 | hand, head, foot, vertabrae, hair | no | no | none | no | unknown |
| 153 | | 27371 | unbundled individual | no | no | none | no | unknown |
| 154 | | 27372 | unbundled individual | no | no | none | no | unknown |
| 155 | | 27376 | bundle | no | yes | none | yes | Inca |
| 156 | | 27377 | bundle | no | yes | none | yes | Lima |
| 157 | | 27382 | bundle | no | yes | none | yes | Chancay |
| 158 | | 58336 | bundle | no | yes | copper mask | yes | Lima |
| 159 | | 139.748_a | bundle | no | yes | none | yes | Chancay |
| 160 | | 139922 | bundle | no | yes | none | yes | Chancay |

| Project Data | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Observations | Size | Age group | Changes from original state | Association with other collections | Medical Images | Other tests | Odor/ Adipocere | Visual Examination |
| Child fully closed mummy, red and blue striped textile. Foot sticking from botto of bundle. | small | juvenile | no | no | no | | no | yes |
| Child arm, wrapped in cotton bound with cord. | fragment | juvenile | separated from body | no | no | | no | yes |
| "Adult crouched position in box. full dentition with dental calculus - Tissue very shinny, some resin applied to entire body. Some smell. possible ACD, winging of tissue on several areas. " | medium | adult | placed in box. Unwrapped. | no | no | | yes | yes |
| "Mummy adult on glass case.crouched individual with a lot of net like textile stuck to body. Doesn not look andean (type of preservation and weave), but info misleading in catalog. Not much hair present. Reed basket fragments under body, where it could have been buried. " | big | adult | placed in glass case. | no | no | | no | yes |
| Adult mummy in cristal case, once possibly no exhibit. Legs in lotus position. Several associated materials. Resin covering the entire body visible parts. | big | adult | placed in glass case. | no | no | | yes | yes |
| Adult and children in cristal case, probably once on exhibit. 23 associated objects. Similar to 5.798. | big | adult | placed in glass case. | no | no | | yes | yes |
| Adult and children in cristal case, probably once on exhibit. 23 associated objects. Similar to 5.798. | small | juvenile | placed in glass case. | no | no | | yes | yes |
| Skull with ceramic moulding ob base and mandible. Tag on occipital says comes from Pachacamac. Some hair. ACD. | fragment | adult | separated from body. Ceramic base added for molding. | no | no | | yes | yes |
| Box with hand, head, foot, cervicals and hair. no inventary number on box. Fragments wrapped in newspaper, where rewrapped on appropriate paper. hand and foot belong to an adult and are very well mummified. Skull of adult as well. | fragment | adult | grouped together, all separate body parts of different individuals. | no | no | | no | yes |
| Father and child. Father holding small child on his arms. Very strong smell. Resin covering entire bodies. | big | adult | wrappings removed. | no | no | | yes | yes |
| Father and child. Father in coruched position holding small child on his arms. Very strong smell. Resin covering entire bodies. | small | infant | wrappings removed. | no | no | | yes | yes |
| Juvenile over reed craddle. Outer layer of bundle removed. In extended position, head and shoulders uncovered, the rest covered in textile. | small | juvenile | outer layer removed | no | no | | no | yes |
| Child bundle without the top layer. Raw cotton and internal bundle visible. Small gourd position in mid body. | small | juvenile | outer layer removed. | no | no | | no | yes |
| CLosed bundle with 3 textiles. Intrincated pattern over bundle. Knot of string (cachito) on top. | medium | prob. Adult | no | no | no | | no | yes |
| Full adult bundle with copper mask, and feather head-dress. Interesting textiles including mesh of cord over bundle. | big | adult | no | no | no | | no | yes |
| Small rectangular bundle like object. Probable medicine bundle. X-rays needed. | small | unknown | no | no | no | | no | yes |
| Probable adult bundle, in crouched position. False head. A lot of bags of textile hanging ver neck and body. On shigra style bag across body. Also has a belt like faja textile with decoration. | big | adult | no | no | no | | no | yes |

| Study # | Museum Data | Collection Data | | | | | Project Data | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Museum Name | Catalogue # | Type of remains | On Exhibit | Textiles | Associated artifacts | Diagnostic traits | Original Provinence /Discrepancy | Size | Age group |
| 161 | Weltmuseum Wien | 186.208_1_2 | unbundled individual | no | no | none | yes | chinchorro | medium | juvenile |
| 162 | | 132231 | unbundled individual | no | yes | none | yes | Lima | small | juvenile |
| 163 | Museo Universitario de Antropología Forense, Paleopatología y Criminalística de la Escuela de Medicina Legal de la Universidad Complutense de Madrid, Prof. Reverte Coma. (On exhibit at the Parque de las Ciencias-Granada) | MAMF-MA030 | unbundled individual | yes | yes | none | no | unknown | medium | adult |
| 164 | | MAMF-MA007 | unbundled individual | yes | yes | none | no | unknown | medium | adult |
| 165 | | MAMF-MA016 | unbundled individual | yes | no | none | no | unknown | medium | adult |
| 166 | | MAMF-MA027 | unbundled individual | yes | no | none | no | unknown | medium | adult |
| 167 | | MAMF-MA023 | unbundled individual | yes | no (but imprint can be seen | textile once removed in separate collection probably. | no | unknown | medium | adult |
| 168 | | MAMF-MA006 | unbundled individual | yes | no | none | no | unknown | medium | adult |
| 169 | | MAMF-MA020 | unbundled individual | yes | no (but imprint can be seen | none | no | unknown | medium | adult |
| 170 | | MAMF-MA010 | unbundled individual | yes | no | none | no | unknown | medium | adult |
| 171 | | MAMF-MA014 | unbundled individual | yes | yes | none | no | unknown | medium | adult |
| 172 | | MAMF-MA015 | unbundled individual | yes | no | none | no | unknown | medium | adult |
| 173 | | MAMF-MA022 | unbundled individual | yes | no | none | no | unknown | medium | adult |
| 174 | | MAMF-MA009 | unbundled individual | yes | no | none | no | unknown | medium | adult |

| Project Data | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Observations | Changes from original state | Association with other collections | Medical Images | Other tests | Odor/ Adipocere | Visual Examination |
| Child separated from burial conditions for human remains inventory. Thought to be chinchorro fecause of resin and craddle like style of funerary position. A lot of reeds and a strong resin applied. No mask however and bones have been moved so much no longer possible to construct original state. Stored initially at Natural History Museum with Egyptian mummies, then sent to Weltmuseum. | placed in box originally, then separated for osteological evauation. | no | no | | yes | yes |
| Child mummy in crouched position. Unbundled but conseres one layer of textile covering torso. Head, arms and legs uncovered. Plastic on stomach. | outer layer removed. Plastic inserted in stomach. | no | no | | no | yes |
| Male adult crouched mummy. Fragment of textile adhered to hip on left side. Dated to VI century a.C. | outer layer removed. | no | no | | no | yes |
| Male adult , head separated from body. Crouched mummy. Presented unbundled, tag says: Body covered by ovalshaped textile over shoulders like a shawl". | outer layer removed. | no | no | | no | yes |
| Female. Individual in fetal position, legs over chest, arms under legs. Head tilted to the side and over chest. Skeletonization of orbits and frontal, specially right side. | wrappings removed. | no | no | | no | yes |
| Male. Crouched individual in laid back position. A lot of fat and adiposere mummified with body. Some shinig spots indicate possible use of resin. | wrappings removed. | no | no | | yes | yes |
| Male. Crouched individual in laid back position. A lot of fat and adiposere mummified with body. Some shinig spots indicate possible use of resin. Tag says: Wrapped in a cloth, folded in the middle and stiched at the ends so that it fully closees as a sack". | wrappings removed. | no | no | | yes | yes |
| Female between 20-30years (according to tag) . A lot of resin applied to lower limbs. Coruched position. Some hair found and deppresed skull. Again fat folds present. CT and full description of stage at death present in expo. | wrappings removed. | no | no | | yes | yes |
| Adult male, crouched position. Has been unbundled but tag reads: "Around the waist fragments of a dark brown fabric coarse wft and very tight warp, listed in bads, apparently wool, very deteriorated. Top of skull bleached and skeletonized. Rest of body covered in resin (shiny). | wrappings removed. | no | no | | yes | yes |
| Adult, man. Coruched position sitting. Legs bent close to ches, ams between legs. A lot of tissue around face. Some dental pieces visible, open mouth. | wrappings removed. | no | no | | no | yes |
| Female. Crouched position, head to the side and down. Legs bent, hands between legs. Some dental pieces visible. Tage reads: Remains of thick fabric fixed to the back. At the waist a wooden hoop, aparently a belt or similar ornament of a thick, two strand twisted thread cord, which still holds a piece of cloth. | wrappings removed. | no | no | | no | yes |
| Adult in crouche position. Some skeletonization on cheek, and legs. According to tag, young adult because of teeth preservation. | wrappings removed. | no | no | | no | yes |
| Adult man in crouched position, arms corssed over chest. Mandible has fallen open and gives the impression of a scream. ACD. | wrappings removed. | no | no | | no | yes |
| Female in semi crouched position. Legs bent but opening to the sides. Arms and hands between legs. A lot of hair still present, braided on both sides. Sitting up almost, could be similar to Inka maiden RMV. | wrappings removed. | no | no | | no | yes |

| Study # | Museum Data | Collection Data | | | | | Project Data | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Museum Name | Catalogue # | Type of remains | On Exhibit | Textiles | Associated artifacts | Diagnostic traits | Original Provinence /Discrepancy | Size |
| 175 | Museo Universitario de Antropología Forense, Paleopatología y Criminalística de la Escuela de Medicina Legal de la Universidad Complutense de Madrid, Prof. Reverte Coma. (On exhibit at the Parque de las Ciencias- Granada) | MAMF-MA004 | unbundled individual | yes | no | none | no | unknown | medium |
| 176 | | MAMF-MA005 | unbundled individual | yes | no (but imprint can be seen | none | no | unknown | medium |
| 177 | | MAMF-MA0138 | arm | yes | no | none | no | unknown | fragment |
| 178 | Museo de Arqueologia y Etnologia de América, Universidad Complutense de Madrid | CAEA-767A | head | yes | no | none | no | unknown | fragment |
| 179 | Museum of Confluences | 81000106 | unbundled individual | yes | yes | tools snd textiles | yes | Lima | medium |
| 180 | | 81000118 | unbundled individual | no | no (but imprint can be seen | none | no | unknown | medium |
| 181 | | 81000125 | unbundled individual | no | yes | none | no | unknown | medium |
| 182 | | 30 000 430 | head | no | yes | none | no | unknown | medium |
| 183 | | 30 000 431 | head | no | no | none | no | unknown | fragment |
| 184 | | 30 000 432 | head | no | no | none | no | unknown | fragment |
| 185 | | 30 000 433 | head | no | no | none | no | unknown | fragment |

| Project Data | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Observations | Age group | Changes from original state | Association with other collections | Medical Images | Other tests | Odor/ Adipocere | Visual Examination |
| Adult man, crouched position with head tilted back and to the side. | adult | wrappings removed. | no | no | | no | yes |
| Female adult in crouched position. Has a band of cotton cords around head. Tag reads: Remains of canvas bag in the posterior right temporal" | adult | wrappings removed. | no | no | | no | yes |
| tatootes arm, corresponding to mummy MAMF-MA013. | adult | wrappings removed. | no | no | | no | yes |
| Mummified head with tuff of hair. ACD | adult | wrappings removed. | no | no | | no | yes |
| Crouched in a sitting position. Female mummy. First layer of bundle removed. Still has cotton/wool on stomach and next to body. Has tools, and textile. Is on exhibit. | adult | outer layer removed. | no | x-ray and CT | | no | yes |
| Adult mummified in crouched position.a lot of textile imprints all over body. museum intervention on left tibia with cable to keep it intact. both knees with parts of tissue and bone missing. | adult | cable on knee, outer layer removed. | no | x-ray and CT | | no | yes |
| Probably old female. Fully mummifies on a flexed positionHead disjunted over spine, but still attached. Around neck a "necklace" of several loose strands of cotton. Under and across base of head cord knotted that ends as a band of simple weave ligt brown textileBag with shoe front l side. Textile imprints on leg. | adult | wrappings removed | no | x-ray and CT | | no | yes |
| “southern” style head (according to Guillen on video)<br>- most teeth lost post mortem, present in separate bag 2 incisors, 1 premolar, 1 molar.<br>- mummified head probably female. young adult.<br>- includes mandible.<br>- tissue over eyes base of skull and attached to hair. covered with hair most of the vault. over head 4 textiles can be seen: 1) red and brown weave on a 1x1mm pattern. horizontal bands of colors 1x1cm; 2) net like<br>weave under T1; 3) coarser 2x1cm weave over t1 in occipital portion. type “esterilla fina”; 4) small strand of green and light<br>brown cotton over L parietal.<br>in separate bag another cord like textile found. no acd | adult | separated from body. Ceramic base added for molding. | no | no | | no | yes |
| mostly skeletonized head. mantains very curly hair over most of the head, except L parietal. long hair folded over L side, all curly and wavy.<br>- not african, not indian | adult | separated from body | no | no | | no | yes |
| Mostly skeletonized, hair over L parietal and temporal.mudlike substance over hair. Visible tiny piece of red fabric. Female skull, no apparemt ACD, though slight bulging of R parietal. Dental abrasion recorded but minimal, youn adult. When lifted, tissue is present over occipital and foramen magnum. Brain inside. | adult | separated from body | no | no | | no | yes |
| mummified skull, probable male. a lot of tissue over head and upper facial surface. nose shape, hairs still visible. cotton/wool stuck to areas of orbit. Hair long, but with bangs.No ACD. several pen marks on mandible | adult | separated from body | no | no | | no | yes |

| Study # | Museum Data | Collection Data | | | | | Project Data | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Museum Name | Catalogue # | Type of remains | On Exhibit | Textiles | Associated artifacts | Diagnostic traits | Original Provinence /Discrepancy | Size |
| 186 | Museum of Confluences | 30 000 434 | head | no | no | none | no | unknown | fragment |
| 187 | | 30 000 435 | head | no | yes | none | no | unknown | fragment |
| 188 | | 30 000 436 | head | no | no | none | no | unknown | fragment |
| 189 | | 30 000 437 | head | no | no | none | no | unknown | fragment |
| 190 | | 30 000 438 | head | no | no | none | no | unknown | fragment |
| 191 | | 30 000 439 | head | no | no | none | no | unknown | fragment |
| 192 | | ETHAM L000182 | head | no | no | none | no | unknown | fragment |
| 193 | | ETHAM 025990 | bundle | no | yes | none | Pelvis sexing. Shoveled incisors. Small mastoid process visibble, female scoring. | unknown | big |
| 194 | | ETHAM 058209 | hand and arm | no | no | metal ring | no | unknown | fragment |
| 195 | | ETHAM 058210 | ossified leg bone | no | no | none | no | unknown | fragment |
| 196 | | ETHAM 058205 | arm | no | no | none | Tatto on arm. | unknown | fragment |
| 197 | | ETHAM 058201 | bundle | no | yes | yes but not specified | textiles similar to Wari design, color bands, etc. | wari | small |
| 198 | | ETHAM 028559 | bundle | no | yes | none | yes | wari | big |

| Project Data | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Observations | Age group | Changes from original state | Association with other collections | Medical Images | Other tests | Odor/ Adipo-cere | Visual Exami-nation |
| Mummified head probably not andean. full face mummification with some clay or hardening substance on top. hair abundant, textile over hair 1x1mm weave light brown, with designs of lowers in bright color, no typical for andes. full dentition present, mouth closed. no ACD visible | adult | separated from body | no | no | | no | yes |
| Probable female (orbital margins and mastoid process). Mental Eminence and nuchal chrest covered. Head covered in clth, 3 types of weave: 1) on simple brown-dark cloth directly over hair. Bands over border, lighter brown.2) cord surrounding head also marks where cloth was sewn together. 3) a circular patch sewn looseely over t1. Details and designs in light brown look like crosses. gaza modern underlayer between hair and skull. No skin present in facial surface or over skull. | adult | separated from body | no | no | | no | yes |
| Mummified skull, male. skin over forhead only. har cropped short still attached. dental abscess and high degree of dental abrasion. ACD occipital and frontal. Paretal bulging 16cm maximun breadth. | adult | separated from body | no | no | | no | yes |
| "Mummified head, skin over forhead and inside eyes. long black hair, no braids. Probable ACD, flattened frontal and occipital.Lacker over teeth probably from museum handling | adult | separated from body | no | no | | no | yes |
| skeletonized skull. possible light ACD. both ear canals blocked. some dental atrition. two wormian bones. porosity on coronal suture, no on orbits or occipital. | adult | separated from body | no | no | | no | yes |
| skeletonized head. small amount of tissue over L zigomatic. dental attrition. probably male from sexing features. non intentional deformation of parietals with bulging on the sides and particularly L side. A lot of wormian bones on occipital suture. Foramina under mastoid. dental abcess over maxilla. | adult | separated from body | no | no | | no | yes |
| | adult | separated from body | no | no | | un-known | yes |
| Adult mummy in crouched position, legs crossed over chest. Back and torso with no textile cover, it seems to have been rolled back. Skin well preserved on legs, arms and torso but big break over pelvis area allows for female sexing. Hair in two braids over sides of head. extensive dental wera visible. | adult | separated head from body. Strong smell probably due to resin or decomp. | no | no | | yes | yes |
| adult left hand and forearm, separated post mortem and post dissecation at ulna. NO tatoo but 2 rings on index and anular finger both prob. Copper. Nails are reddish color, some fabric threads stuck to fingers. | adult | separated from body | no | no | | no | yes |
| leg bone, ossified. | adult | separated from body | no | no | | no | yes |
| adult left hand and forearm, separated post mortem an post dissecation at ulnar head. Tattoes are vvisible over ulna on presered skin. Chuquitanta on pencil over dorsal surface of hand. | adult | separated from body | no | no | | no | yes |
| Ifant 1-2 years. Crouched position, left foot over right foot. Arms crossed over chest and under chin. Some skin present over skull and eyes. Some dental pieces visible which allows for age assesment. | infant | outer layer removed. | no | x-rays and Ct scans perfor-med by the swiss mummy project. | | no | yes |
| Fully closed bundle. Juvenile. Probably internal shroud visible, three layers of textiles. Craddle visible under t1 and t2. Probably resting upside down on craddle in relation to skull position. | juveni-le | no | no | no | | no | yes |

| Study # | Museum Data | Collection Data | | | | | Project Data |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Museum Name | Catalogue # | Type of remains | On Exhibit | Textiles | Associated artifacts | Observations |
| 199 | Musée d'ethnographie de Genève | ETHAM 000300 | bundle | no | yes | none | Crouched full adult mummy. Posible ACD though position of mummy not allows for measuring. Sediment found over bones and textiles. Prob. Male sex assesment of skull and pelvis. |
| 200 | | ETHAM 000301 | bundle | no | yes | none | Female with ACD (anular), well preserved tissue. Textile imprint visible. Crouched position, no hair. Dental development incomplete for third molars. |
| 201 | | ETHAM 000302 | bundle | no | yes | none | Well preserved skin. Inside insect pupae. Facial area without skin, visible frontal fracture with radiating fractures and area missing (prob perimortem). ACD anular. Dental development incomplete suggests 6-9 years of age. Post mortem tooth loss of all decidious incisors. Crouched position. No anal tampom but visible cut under ribs could indicate evisceration. |
| 202 | | ETHAM 064090 | head | no | no | none | probably female. Dental development incomplete on third molars. Hair medium lenght. Skin present over craneal vault but not inder occipital or mandible. Red coloration (ocre?) over sides of frontal and eyes and over maxilla. Inisors and canines lost post mortem. Fabric incert in head and mouth post mortem and post separation from body. |
| 203 | Nationaalmuseet Denmark | O.6782 | bundle | yes | yes | yes but not specified | |
| 204 | | ODI.c.120 | unbundled individual | no | yes | none | adult mummy. Crouched position curretly stored on wooden support and upright. Dissecated tissue covers the body |
| 205 | | ODI.c.224 | bundle | no | yes | none | infant with several layers of textile. Small cotton string necklace (Lima maybe)seen under head. |
| 206 | | ODI.c.225 | bundle | no | yes | corn on a cob dissecated. | Adult, crouched position with head separated from body. Some areas skeletonized but mostly covered in tissue. Right arm and hand missing. Organs could be seen inside, so no evisceration. |
| 207 | | ODI.c.270 (a) | bundle | no | yes | yes but not specified | Two mummies seated squatting. Individual bundles tied together with string. |
| 208 | | ODI.c.270 (b) | bundle | no | yes | yes but not specified | Two mummies seated squatting. Individual bundles tied together with string. |
| 209 | | O.4002 | False Head | no | no | none | false head |

| Project Data | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Diagnostic traits | Original Provinence /Discrepancy | Size | Age group | Changes from original state | Association with other collections | Medical Images | Other tests | Odor/ Adipocere | Visual Examination |
| no | unknown | big | adult | A hidden platform has been placed under pelvis, extensve metal threads winded around Right arm, Right leg and over left leg. Head held in Place by metal rod. Not visible by but described by curator. Resin extensive over body, applied for exhibition, even over teeth. | no | no | | no | yes |
| Textile reed bag consistent with Tihuanaco | Tihuanaco | big | juvenile | Textile removed and in lab. Rods have been inerted along spine to keep head attachedd and may have broken ribs and pnious process in vertebrae. | no | no | | No | yes |
| Textile bag made with reeds. On original bundle face must have been exposed. Could indicate Tihuanaco filiation. | Tihuanaco | medium | infant | no | no | no | | yes | yes |
| no | unknown | fragment | adult | outer layer removed. | no | no | | no | yes |
| no | unknown | big | adult | no | no | no | | no | yes |
| female (orbits and margins, mastoid processs and nuchal crest.) Dentition indicate older adult. Shape of pelvis indicates female as well but could be forced due to position of the remain on support. | unknown | big | adult | outer layer removed. Wooden support added. | no | no | | no | yes |
| recorded as male by museum. Around 1 year of age. Nodental visible. Male sex confirmed by dissecated genitals. | Wari | small | juvenile | string holding together parts of the remains but now falling appart. | Trocadéro | no | | no | yes |
| Probably male from skull features. | unknown | medium | adult | outer layer separated | Trocadéro | no | | no | yes |
| yes | unknown | big | adult | outer layer separated | no | no | | yes | yes |
| yes | unknown | big | adult | outer layer separated | no | no | | yes | yes |
| yes | Chancay | small | none | false head separated from bundle | Berlin | no | no | no | yes |

| Study # | Museum Data | Collection Data | | | | | Project Data | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Museum Name | Catalogue # | Type of remains | On Exhibit | Textiles | Associated artifacts | Diagnostic traits | Original Provinence /Discrepancy | Size |
| 210 | Royal Museum of Arts and History | AAM5934 | bundle | no | yes | yes but not specified | no | unknown | medium |
| 211 | | AAM5935 | bundle | no | yes | none | yes | unknown | medium |
| 212 | | AAM5936 | bundle | no | yes | none | no | unknown | medium |
| 213 | | AAM5937 | head | no | no | none | no | unknown | fragment |
| 214 | | AAM5938 | unbundled individual | no | no | none | no | unknown | small |
| 215 | | AAM5939 | unbundled individual | yes | no (but imprint can be seen | yes but not specified | yes | Lima | medium |
| 216 | | AAM5940 | unbundled individual | no | no | vases but cannot be located | no | unknown | medium |
| 217 | Museu Department Anthropologia Universidade do Coimbra | ANT.90.10.23 (a) | unbundled individual | yes | yes | yes but not specified | no | unknown | medium |
| 218 | | ANT.90.10.23 (b) | bundle | yes | yes | yes but not specified | no | unknown | medium |
| 219 | Museu Arqueologico do Carmo | AAP | unbundled individual | yes | Cotton strand bracelet over elbow . Brown. | Tools under left arm. Rope winded around body to keep shape. | no | unknown | medium |
| 220 | | AAP | unbundled individual | yes | Cotton strand bracelet over elbow on left side. Brown and light brown color, maybe two separate strands. Cotton braided cordon rope around body to hold position )probably original) | Weaving tool under crook left arm. Two metal bracelets on both writs. Probably modern reatachment. | no | unknown | medium |

| Project Data | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Observations | Age group | Changes from original state | Association with other collections | Medical Images | Other tests | Odor/ Adipocere | Visual Examination |
| Semi open adult bundle. The individuals head seems to have come apart from the rest of the bundle postmortem. From visual examination, the current position of the individual is crouched, lower limbs have been flexed with the knees towards the thorax, hands over shins and holding the legs. | adult | no | no | no | no | no | yes |
| Original burial in in crouched position, with the arms on the side of the body, and hands crossing over the lower legs, almost parallel to the feet. The body is covered in textiles | adult | no | no | no | no | no | yes |
| Funerary bundle and skull. Their association is unclear at the moment from the positioning of the remains, as well as the conflicting age ranges of the different remains. The skull is that of a juvenile between 1-2 years of age. | adult | two different mummies oint together. Skull from youn individual mixed in adult bundle. | no | no | no | no | yes |
| Registered as a "Pachacama Head". It is a mummified skull with hair and some skin. Facial area ossified, no nasal and orbital fractures. The existing hair has been braided extensively and is half length. A possible flattening of occipital is noted. | adult | separated from body | no | no | no | no | yes |
| This is the mummified remains of an infant, which have been unbundled. The age of the individual has been determined between 5-7 years of age. The only visible pathologies are dental pathologies, of which the most important is the gum infection on the right side maxilla over premolars and molars. | infant | wrappings removed. | no | no | no | no | yes |
| Rascar Capar. Mummified adult individual. Flexed position with legs against stomach, crossed feet and turned slightly towards left side. Arms parallel to chest bent at elbow and over chest; hands over shoulders. | adult | wrappigns removed | no | no | no | no | yes |
| Mummy of an adult, in bad state of preservation - everything under pelvis is missing. The head is completely skeletonized, visible dental features show complete development. Sexing of individual point to female, given gracile skull features and pelvis | adult | wrapings removed | no | no | no | no | yes |
| Full unbundled adult mummy. In wooden case shared with other individual. | adult | wrapings removed | no | no | no | no | on storage |
| Full unbundled adult mummy. In wooden case shared with other individual. | adult | wrapings removed | no | no | no | no | on storage |
| Adult mummy, crouched position. Legs over chest. NO mandible displacement. No long textiles, but prints visible over skin, back, legs and arms. Wooden case. Thrachea peeling away from body. According to visible dental wear the inividual is a young adult. Incisors over arm. Long hair, no braiding. | adult | Probable varnish for exhibit added. textiles removed, insect activities | no | no | no | no | on storage |
| Juvenile mummy, crouched position, legs against chest, hands under chin. Feet folded uner buttox, right over left. Wooden case, no textiles . Dental eruptionincomplete and visible. Age estimate 9-11 years. | juvenile | Probable varnish for exhibition added. Probabl- Chest has been opened, dissection maybe? Ribs visible., textiles removed. | no | no | no | no | on storage |

| Study # | Museum Data | Collection Data | | | | | Project Data | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Museum Name | Catalogue # | Type of remains | On Exhibit | Textiles | Associated artifacts | Diagnostic traits | Original Provinence /Discrepancy | Size |
| 221 | Nápstrek Museum | 112/69/50 | bundle | no | yes | fishing hooks and netting but stored separately | yes | Arica | big |
| 222 | | 13/68/1 | head | no | no | none | no | unknown | frag-ment |
| 223 | | 94/67/2 | bundle | no | yes | none | no | unknown | small |
| 224 | | 94/67/1 | bundle | no | yes | several gentilar vases and weaving artifacts. | no | unknown | small |
| 225 | | 22/68/5 | bundle | no | yes | none | yes | Tihuanaco | big |
| 226 | National Museum of World Cultures | SKV A | bundle | no | yes | none | yes | chinchorro | medi-um |
| 227 | | SKV B | bundle | no | yes | none | yes | chinchorro | medi-um |
| 228 | Reiss-En-gelhorn Museum-Mannheim | M1 | unbundled individual | yes | yes | | | | |
| 229 | | M1a | unbundled individual | yes | yes | | | | |
| 230 | | M1b | unbundled individual | yes | yes | | | | |
| 231 | | M2 | unbundled individual | yes | yes | | | | |
| 232 | | M3 | unbundled individual | yes | yes | | | | |
| 233 | | M4 | unbundled individual | yes | yes | | | | |
| 234 | | M5 | bundle | yes | yes | | | | |
| 235 | | M8 | head | yes | yes | | | | |
| 236 | | M9 | head | yes | yes | | | | |
| 237 | | M13 | head | yes | yes | | | | |

| Project Data | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Observations | Age group | Changes from original state | Association with other collections | Medical Images | Other tests | Odor/ Adipo-cere | Visual Exami-nation |
| smells like menthol. Called the Fisherman. Sevveral associatd textiles including a feather ppncho brown and white, they are not weaved but plstered to each other. Full adult individual incrouched position. Right arm over knees. Head wrapped in textiles but separated from body. | adult | placed in box. Outer layer remo-ved. | no | CT | no | no | yes |
| femenine head. Multiple braids and hair hanging low. Red cotton decoration visible on top. Oblique ACD. | adult | separated from body | no | no | no | no | yes |
| fully closed bundle. Textile is delicate dark brown weave, with a 1x1m knitt. | infant | no | no | no | no | no | yes |
| 7yrs estimated by radiologists. Full body no head. Right side missing a lot of tissue. Cracking of skin and decoloration. | juvenile | no | no | CT | no | no | yes |
| called the "peruvian bundle". Posible secon-dary burial, bones shifted insie. Reed bag open adult individual. | adult | no | no | no | no | no | yes |
| twin mummies. Two to three months from CT | infant | yes | no | x-ray and CT | no | | no |
| twin mummies. Two to three months from CT | infant | yes | no | x-ray and CT | no | no | no |
| | | | | yes | | | |
| | | | | yes | | | |
| | | | | yes | | | |
| | | | | yes | | | |
| | | | | yes | | | |
| | | | | yes | | | |
| | | | | yes | | | |
| | | | | yes | | | |
| | | | | yes | | | |
| | | | | | | | |

## Summary

This dissertation approaches collections of Andean mummies in European national and university museums as the focus to understand the relationship between objects, documents, and the practice of collecting in the period from 1850 to 1930. Over 200 mummies, kept by 18 different museums in Western European countries were analyzed. The comparative examination of these mummified human remains and their associated documentation kept by the museums has highlighted the importance of considering the process of formation of collections. This is especially true when dealing with sensitive archaeological "objects" during a specific historical timeframe, and within a contemporary setting. The importance of considering museum collections as embedded in global narratives, rather than isolated cases of collecting, is also emphasized.

This research details the changes that some of these collections have undergone over the years, and the importance of using interdisciplinary approaches within archaeology, including museum archaeology, physical anthropology and paleo-imaging, to understand them. A discussion on the ethical treatment of human remains in archaeological practice and museum collections is undertaken as an important framework for the information presented on the dissertation. Similarly, a comparison between collections of Andean mummies held in their countries of origin in Latin America is presented.The contraposition of the type of remains, documentation and associated artifacts still held in the Latin American collections is vital to understand the positioning of the European collections part of this research. Looking at timeframes, actors and places of collecting, as well as the information recorded about all three by museums, can result in vital information not only about the process of collecting itself, but also about the motivations and contacts between source countries and the European repositories of these remains.

Though an interpretation of the consequences of such processes and motivations on the way these human remains have been stored, exhibited and classified in national museums necessitates further looks into their materiality and history once within the museum, the information presented in this dissertation serves as a valuable starting point to continue exploring these critical topics.

## Samenvatting: "Ontbundeld: Europese verzameling van Andesmummies 1850-1930"

Dit proefschrift onderzoekt mummies uit de Andes die gecureerd worden in Europese nationale en universitaire musea om de relatie tussen objecten, documenten, en de praktijk van het verzamelen in de periode tussen 1850 en 1930 te achterhalen. In totaal werden meer dan 200 mummies bij 18 verschillende musea in West-Europa geanalyseerd. Het vergelijkende onderzoek van deze gemummificeerde menselijke resten en hun geassocieerde documentatie binnen de musea toonde aan hoe belangrijk het is om het ontstaansproces van museumcollecties in beschouwing te nemen. Met name bij gevoelige onderwerpen zoals dit type archeologisch "object", gedateerd binnen een bewogen historisch tijdskader, moet huidig onderzoek dit proces indachtig houden.

Deze thesis benadrukt verder ook hoe belangrijk het is om museumcollecties te zien als onderdeel van een wereldwijd narratief, en niet als geïsoleerde verzamelinstanties. Om dit alles te onderbouwen omschrijft het huidige onderzoek de veranderingen die sommige van deze collecties hebben ondergaan doorheen de jaren, en toont het hoe een interdisciplinaire aanpak, waarbij museumarcheologie, fysische antropologie en *paleo-imaging* worden gecombineerd, cruciaal is om de collecties te begrijpen. Als belangrijk denkkader voor de in dit onderzoek gepresenteerde informatie wordt een discussie omtrent de ethische behandeling van menselijke resten in de archeologische praktijk en museumcollecties gepresenteerd. Gelinkt aan deze discussie wordt een vergelijking gemaakt tussen collecties van mummies uit de Andes die worden gecureerd in hun land van herkomst in Latijns-Amerika. De contrapositie van het type menselijke resten, de documentatie, en de geassocieerde artefacten die nog aanwezig zijn in Latijns-Amerikaanse collecties is essentieel om de positionering van de Europese collecties binnen het huidig onderzoek te verstaan. Analyse van tijdskaders, betrokken individuen en plaats van oorsprong, in combinatie met de gedocumenteerde informatie die het museum over deze aspecten heeft, kan cruciale informatie opleveren over zowel het proces van verzamelen als de drijfveren van de betrokken landen en de contacten tussen de landen van herkomst en de Europese bewaarplaats van deze stoffelijke resten.

Hoewel er meer onderzoek nodig is naar de materialiteit en geschiedenis van deze menselijke resten eens ze in een museum zijn beland om een grondige interpretatie te kunnen maken van de gevolgen van dit soort processen, en van de motivaties waarom deze resten op zo een manier zijn bewaard, biedt de informatie die in deze thesis wordt gepresenteerd een waardevolle basis om deze kritieke onderwerpen verder te onderzoeken.

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*Fata viam invenient.*

## Curriculum Vitae

Maria Patricia Ordoñez Alvarez (Quito, 08- 02-1986) is an Ecuadorian archaeologist who has worked around Ecuador for over 12 years. Before completing her PhD at Leiden University, Ordoñez Alvarez obtained an MA in Archaeology (2014) and Museum studies from the same institution, and an MSc in Forensic Anthropology and Archaeology (2012) from Cranfield University in the United Kingdom. She has worked in archaeology and osteoarcheology in her native Ecuador and as part of the curatorial team at the National Museum of Ecuador during previous years. Her main work focuses on the analysis of mummified human remains from the Andes, and the intersections of archaeology and museums. She has written subject of agency of human remains in museum collections, the interaction of museum personnel with human remains collections and visitor experiences in regards to the exhibition of human remains in archaeological museums in Ecuador. Currently she is the curator at the Pre-Columbian Art Museum Casa del Alabado in Quito- Ecuador, and a lecturer in Human Evolution, Physical Anthropology, Forensic Anthropology and Cultural Management at San Francisco de Quito University.