Unbundled: European Collecting of Andean Mummies 1850-1930

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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 Peru, Ancon		**2**	ODI.c.224 ODI.c.225	bundle bundle	Exchange between institutions
1894	Merchant M. Vessel			**2**	ODI.c.270 (a) ODI.c.270 (b)	bundle 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) ANT.90.10.23 (b)	Unbundled individual 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.