The collected past

Review of:


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The history of archaeology in Peru and Chile has been strengthened over the past two decades by ever deeper and sophisticated works employing internalist perspectives, and above all, externalist ones.\(^1\)

Stefanie Gänger belongs to a new generation of researchers in the history of archaeology of Peru and Chile. Her book is an important contribution to this field, especially because the epoch related to antiquarianism and collectionism has almost always been marginalised for failing to meet the requirements of modern scientific discipline. The practice of collecting, which today has negative connotations, however, used to be quite widespread and was viewed very differently. Indeed, this was recognised and valued by the local elites in Latin America and was the basis for the subsequent founding of many national museums. In fact, collecting has lived alongside scientific and professional archaeology until the modern day, and there is debate surrounding this activity from anthropology, history and, of course, from archaeology.

Gänger’s book examines this phenomenon in two countries: Peru and Chile during much of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (1837-1911). Her information comes from archives, primary and secondary sources, and visits to the countries and institutions mentioned in the text. The four chapters of this book are organised geographically from north to south, starting with Peru. Before starting with the topics to be developed in detail, Gänger’s introduction explains the basic development of the book. She then closes the book with a series of conclusions. A simple location map of cities in South America, another map from the late nineteenth century to give an idea of the cartography of the time, an illustration of the first Inca of Tawantinsuyu, Manco Capac, by Guamán Poma de Ayala, a photo of street with Inca walls in Cusco from collection Squier, a representation of the Inca Dynasty from the late nineteenth century, a map of the area of Araucanía and Valdivia in Chile in the late nineteenth century and thirteen other illustrations of objects isolated and arranged in archaeological collections from the late nineteenth century provide an idea of the topics covered here. Abundant footnotes complete references to the various topics covered in the book.

In her introduction Gänger describes the environment in which the collecting habits of the local elites were developed in Peru and Chile, especially in the capital cities and other major cities of each country. It also summarises the studies that have been conducted on collecting and the history of archaeology in general in both countries, describing the different approaches that the authors have taken, and finishes by summarising the chapters of the book.

With regard to the milieu of nineteenth century cities where antique collections are found, Gänger make visible a phenomenon that has not been carefully studied, which justifies the publication and reading of this book: the historical analysis of the formation of the collections generated by native and immigrant residents of these cities. As Gänger states, because they come from countries with colonial or economic ascendancy at that time, travelers of different forms (military, scientific, religious, etc.) have received increased attention in the archaeological and historical historiography. In addition, many were part of expeditions sponsored by state or academic institutions that assured academic visibility and allowed them to operate in the hegemonic academic circles of the time. In fact, as noted in this book, many of these travellers made first contact with many collectors and visited, studied in detail, and even bought parts of their collections. Thus, Gänger’s book aims to balance the contribution of local collectors within networks of dealers and scholars of the time. It is also important that this perspective of collectionism precedes and follows the conflict that pitted the two countries against each other.

Gänger states that the book is not an exhaustive or complete history of this phenomenon, but is inspired by the biography of objects (sensu Kopytoff 1986)² through the ‘biographies of particular things and the knowledge and the

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relationships woven into them3 in the nineteenth and early twentieth century, touring the phenomenon of collecting and its links with archaeology, history and political-economic overlapping ideas. Thus the book ‘traces the movement of four human and material objects through time and space – an Incan maskapaycha [tiara], a khipu [Incan artifact of accounting], an Araucanian Indian, and Valdivia pottery bearing both Incan and Araucanian ornaments’.4 Each chapter opens with the story of the origin of each item before entering the collection and closes with their destiny (loss, demise or final abode). The narrative of the book is composed of the different perceptions that these objects have aroused in different people and generated through their exposition. These perceptions and experiences of the objects are not limited to their place of display, but also, obviously, transcend the borders of Peru and Chile to reach North America and Europe. This is also a story about the creation of the idea of the nation, especially based on the differentiation between past and present, the former being represented by the Indians materialised in its antiquities.

These antiquities were located in spaces, ‘Spaces of Collecting’, the second subchapter of Gänger’s introduction. Here she develops a presentation of the great collections that are treated in her book, such as those of Ana María Centeno, José Emilio Montes or Caparó Lucas Muniz in Cusco, José Dávila Condémarín, José Mariano Macedo and Christian Theodor Wilhelm Gretzer in Lima, and the ones formed by other characters in southern Chile and its capital: Santiago.5 These private collections coexisted with and even contributed objects to the foundation and accretion of the collections of the National Museums of Peru and Chile. In those times, scholarly societies (the Geographical Society of Lima, for example) joined with the museums to create an important intellectual forum that included the description and explanation of the antiquities of the past.6 In the international sphere, universal expositions and the International Congress of Americanists gathered those interested in antiques, including collectors, with the aim of sharing knowledge and studying collections in other countries.7 As the nineteenth century came to a close, private collections began to be absorbed into domestic and foreign museums and thus became more open to the general public.8 This process of founding and strengthening national museums in Peru and Chile coincided with the work of Max Uhle in both museums and the establishment of archaeology as a positive science in the early twentieth century. Thus, scientific archaeology took its disciplinary role, replacing collecting with a scientific practice that was valued highly, especially by the governments of Peru and Chile.9 I agree with the author when she highlights the fact that the figures of the great archaeologists Max Uhle and Julio César Tello have obscured the ‘minor’ characters and non-professionals who continued contributing in different ways to the constitution of knowledge of

4 Gänger, Relics of the Past, 4.
5 Gänger, Relics of the Past, 8.
6 Gänger, Relics of the Past, 9.
7 Gänger, Relics of the Past, 10.
8 Gänger, Relics of the Past, 11.
9 Gänger, Relics of the Past, 12.
the past. Thus, a view of the agency of collectors themselves, as offered by Gänger, transcends official narratives that are set by these characters and also reveals national boundaries more flexibly, allowing us to recognise that collectors created their own agendas and networks with other national and international communities, especially in an environment in which the sale of antiquities was becoming a lucrative business.

The first chapter, ‘The Maskapaycha: Collections of Incan Antiquities in Cuzco’, interestingly does not begin with the political and economic capital of Peru but with its ‘archaeological capital’. Treating the maskapaycha first, Gänger introduces us to the history of the Inca elite from colonial times, through the later failed revolt of Jose Gabriel Condorcanqui, Túpac Amaru, and the consequences it had on the elimination of most of the rights possessed by the descendants of Inca elites. From this moment, the maskapaycha becomes a symbol of past Inca elites: an archaeological object. Despite the ban on such objects that served to limit the rights of the Inca elite, high status Inca symbols such as the maskapaycha continued to be important signs recognising the glory of Inca times during the revolutionary process. Subsequently, it remained a symbol for the Republic through which a restructuring of the sense of belonging of native populations was taking place. All this, despite Simón Bolívar (1825) ending the few privileges that these communities still possessed, such as removal of the titles of kurakas and indigenous peerages and the abolition of communal land.

By the end of the eighteenth century, the maskapaycha, like so many Indian antiques, only had value as a relic, and was no longer useful, as it had been to the indigenous elites of Cuzco. This was the vision of Ana María Centeno when she obtained it and displayed it in her own residence.

The formation of the Centeno collection began in 1830s and was nurtured until Ana María’s death in 1874. During this time the maskapaycha entered her collection. It is important to recognise that these efforts to exhibit Peru’s antiquities would be the first steps in the creation of Peruvian museums, in this case, a museum of the elite. In fact, the first archaeological museum in Cuzco consisted of donations from families such as Centeno’s. The biography of Ana María Centeno is explored in this section, which helps the reader understand her intellectual curiosity and her position in Cuzco society, a society where the elite shared her attitude towards antiquities, even though her mind was closer to Europe than to Peru. Another collector in Cusco was José Lucas Caparó, who three years after the death of Centeno opened his own museum in his mansion with a collection that grew to have 2,000 items in 1919, the year of his death. Interestingly, Gänger notes that in addition to being a collector, Caparó, like his Cuzqueños contemporaries, excavated

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10 Gänger, *Relics of the Past*, 16.
12 Gänger, *Relics of the Past*, 35.
13 Gänger, *Relics of the Past*, 44.
16 Gänger, *Relics of the Past*, 47.
17 Gänger, *Relics of the Past*, 49.
and made drawings of Inca buildings. However, by the end of the nineteenth century it was still assumed that all antiquities had been produced by the Incas. Nevertheless, people like Caparó possessed considerable knowledge of the Inca material culture and organised their collections according to the types of objects. Even Caparó was able to criticise the way in which objects were exhibited in the National Museum of Lima: ‘unsystematically, without classification’. Gänger calls attention to the knowledge that cuzqueño collectors had about the Quechua names of artifacts (and therefore functions) that they treasured. At the same time, given that their training was inspired by European elites, Cusco collectors like Emilio Montes understood advances in the antiquarianism and archaeology of the Old World, allowing for analogies between their objects and those of Greco-Roman antiquity, especially Rome. It is important for the history of Peruvian archaeology that characters like Caparó or Manuel González participated in the founding of archaeological societies such as the Peruvian Archaeological Society, founded by González de la Rosa in 1868, or the Cuzco Archaeological and Linguistic Society chaired by Caparó in the 1880s. However, the aim of these organisations was to keep the study of antiquity in the hands of the Cuzco elite, the same few who also possessed estates such as those belonging to Centeno, Montes and Caparó. Their ethical and political connections were closer to a paternalism with respect to the indigenous people of their time. In fact, they were ethnically more closely related to the Creoles and Hispanics than to indigenous groups.

In the same century, during the 1830s, one character differentiated himself from others through his claims to descent from the Inca nobility. Justo Sahuaraura came from a lineage linked to Inca elites, and his writings attempt to elucidate debates on his royal dynasty based on information from his lineage and the writings of the chroniclers. His ‘Memoirs of the Inca Dynasty’ proclaimed him as the last descendant of the dynasty of the Incas. Despite this claim, his education and career were related to Western culture, with him being a Catholic priest who held high positions in the church of Cusco. In this way, Cusco collectors forged an idea about the past that agreed well with the political and economic ideas about the Indian, following the evolutionary theory of the day. This ‘reliquization’ of the objects of the past, no longer present, served as a prelude to the institutionalisation of Cusco archaeology. Finally, the relics of collectors like Caparó served as the foundation of the Museum of the University of Cusco in 1919, these objects eventually passing into the hands of researchers like Valcárcel and, consequently, toward the institutionalisation of Inca archaeology.

18 Gänger, Relics of the Past, 50, 54-55.
19 Gänger, Relics of the Past, 57.
20 Gänger, Relics of the Past, 59.
21 Gänger, Relics of the Past, 59.
22 Gänger, Relics of the Past, 64-65.
23 Gänger, Relics of the Past, 66.
24 Gänger, Relics of the Past, 70.
25 Gänger, Relics of the Past, 71-72.
26 Gänger, Relics of the Past, 73-74.
27 Gänger, Relics of the Past, 75.
28 Gänger, Relics of the Past, 82.
The sale of the Caparó collection to the Museum of the University of Cusco is best understood when it is remembered that, in the late nineteenth century, it was common practice to purchase antiquities in order to increase the collections of museums, especially by Americans and Europeans. In this way, Gänger, reminds her reader of the sale of the Centeno collection to the Ethnological Museum in Berlin in the nineteenth century.\(^{29}\) Since the mid-nineteenth century these purchases of collections were accompanied by huge searches, through excavations, for similar objects in Cusco. Increased prices and sales are demonstrated in this chapter, which makes it clear that supply and demand in the antiques market has existed since the early nineteenth century.\(^{30}\) In fact, the competition was not only between countries but between museums within the same countries, such as in the USA and Germany.\(^{31}\) However, the original leit motiv of many collectors was not economic,\(^{32}\) at least at the beginning. Other examples, such as Montes, make it clear that an interest in antiques as objects of study was important to foreign institutions in a sales environment, and as such was part of a strategy for selling collections.\(^{33}\) Finally, the maskapaycha was sold as part of the collection to the Ethnological Museum in Berlin and much of its biography as an object was lost with this transaction and the subsequent death of its original collector.\(^{34}\) Gänger also highlights the epistemic importance of these collectors in giving function to the objects of their collections, thanks to the anthropological, ethnological and archaeological knowledge accumulated throughout their life experience.\(^{35}\) However, these situations in which Peruvian collectors equalled their foreign partners, especially those from Europe, as in the case of maskapaycha, were lost with the sale of the object. Finally, this maskapaycha disappeared in 1888, with nothing more known about it until now.

The chapter closes with the inevitable conclusion: over the life of the maskapaycha during the nineteenth century, what is described is an environment in which archaeology was part of the Cusco intellectual elite, outside of the generally accepted foundation of the discipline in Peru by Uhle or the discovery of Machu Picchu by Bingham; in the city of Cusco there was a very similar milieu to what was happening in other parts of the Western world. In fact, objects such as the maskapaycha were part of the material elements of the archaeological knowledge that intellectuals like Valcárcel began to develop in early twentieth century.

Continuing on to the biography of another artifact, the second chapter, ‘The khipu: Antiquarium and Archaeology in Lima’, takes us to the Peruvian capital in the late nineteenth century. This time the story begins in 1876, when José Mariano Macedo opened his private collection to the public of Lima, installed at his home in Plaza Bolívar. Like so many other collections of the time, it held a number of objects from different origins, and among them stood a khipu - an artifact composed of

\(^{29}\) Gänger, Relics of the Past, 83.

\(^{30}\) Gänger, Relics of the Past, 87.

\(^{31}\) Gänger, Relics of the Past, 89.

\(^{32}\) Gänger, Relics of the Past, 90.

\(^{33}\) Gänger, Relics of the Past, 91.

\(^{34}\) Gänger, Relics of the Past, 93.

\(^{35}\) Gänger, Relics of the Past, 96.
strings, onto which the Inca administrators made records through the creation of knots, (a typical use would be to record the quantities of items).\textsuperscript{36} For Macedo, these khipus represented an Incan writing system.\textsuperscript{37} After its introduction in the subsection ‘Khipus and Communication in the Andes’, Gänger again relocates the khipu in its context of production and use in the Inca empire thanks to knowledge gained by researchers in the early twentieth century.\textsuperscript{38} Gänger also notes their use as a recording device from the colonial era through to modern times.\textsuperscript{39} However, Gänger also draws attention to the idea that the khipu is presented as an enigmatic and indecipherable object.\textsuperscript{40} By the end of the eighteenth century, the interest of the Lima intellectual elite was embodied in the Lovers of the Country Society (Sociedad Amantes del País) for the study of the antiquities of Peru.\textsuperscript{41} Nevertheless, during the process of independence from Spain and after consolidation, indigenous symbols were removed from the construction of the new national identity.\textsuperscript{42} The creation of the National Museum in 1826, led by Mariano Eduardo de Rivero, had little influence on the intellectual life of Lima activity. Collectors such as Macedo came to Lima during an economic boom when the export of guano provided the economic conditions to support culture in the Peruvian state and this allowed the elite to return to an interest in ancient artifacts. This introduction allows Gänger to open the subchapter ‘Antiquarianism, Antiquities Collecting, and Archaeology’ where she describes the environment surrounding these activities in Lima during the mid- to late-nineteenth century, when, for example, long-opened excavations in the necropolis of Ancón provided so many artifacts to private and public collections,\textsuperscript{43} and where, possibly, Macedo obtained one of their khipus for his collection. In fact, Macedo was joined on some of his trips to the ruins on the outskirts of Lima by Ernest Middendorf, a known German ‘traveler’, in a common practice among the intellectual elites of Lima, much of it stimulated from abroad.\textsuperscript{44} Other Germans in Lima like Christian Theodor Wilhelm Gretzer and Eduard Gaffron were important collectors who were also in contact with Macedo.\textsuperscript{45} In addition to these foreigners, others interested in the past were native engineers like José Domingo Encinas o Santiago Flores.\textsuperscript{46} Their findings were the result of different exploratory works, infrastructure construction or exploitation of raw materials during an era of economic development. Later in this century, Adolph Bandelier, who was commissioned to gather and buy collections by the American Museum of Natural History, made his appearance.\textsuperscript{47}

\textsuperscript{36} Gänger, Relics of the Past, 101.
\textsuperscript{37} Gänger, Relics of the Past, 102.
\textsuperscript{38} Gänger, Relics of the Past, 103.
\textsuperscript{39} Gänger, Relics of the Past, 105.
\textsuperscript{40} Gänger, Relics of the Past, 107.
\textsuperscript{41} Gänger, Relics of the Past, 107.
\textsuperscript{42} Gänger, Relics of the Past, 108.
\textsuperscript{43} Gänger, Relics of the Past, 109.
\textsuperscript{44} Gänger, Relics of the Past, 110.
\textsuperscript{45} Gänger, Relics of the Past, 111.
\textsuperscript{46} Gänger, Relics of the Past, 113.
\textsuperscript{47} Gänger, Relics of the Past, 115.
It was during the second half of the nineteenth century that the medical doctor Macedo, who had arrived in Lima from the southern highlands, began to build his collection. That time became an important collecting period in Lima, and collectors included the president of Peru José Rufino Echenique, as well as many liberal professionals of the time. Macedo, as a professional of a liberal discipline, was part of the newly emerging Limeo middle class and the door to the antiquarianism sphere of Lima’s intellectual elite was opened to them.

This elite consisted of both native and foreign middle classes and was important for the construction of archaeology in Peru. Indeed, in 1872 Ernesto Malinowski, Thomas Hutchinson and Antonio Raimondi were commissioned to prepare an archaeological section for an international exhibition. Later with universal expositions, Peru began to show its antiquities abroad, many of which were on loan from private collections. Macedo was part of this elite and a member of the Geographical Society from Lima that also included José Toribio Polo, Luis Carranza, Malinowski, Sebastián Barranca, Sebastián Lorente and Middendorf. This society already included archaeology on its agenda of academic interests, publishing related articles in its journal. There was already an archaeological atmosphere that increasingly attracted more stakeholders from North America and Europe, especially those who were interested in building the collections of museums. One of these stakeholders was Adolf Bastian from the Ethnological Museum in Berlin, who visited the Macedo collection in 1876. Such people not only visited Macedo to see his collection, but because its owner had become an authority on Peruvian archaeology and even was able to criticise the work of ‘foreign travelers’. Macedo possessed a knowledge of the main debates in archaeology of the time, attended academic meetings and visited the major museums of Europe. Another contemporary, González de la Rosa, had also transcended national boundaries and was part of international networks of knowledge. Macedo’s collection was slotted into the collecting of ‘art’ where aesthetics prevailed. In fact, his collection and interest were centered on northern coast pottery, especially the ceramic style now known as Moche. Collectors based in Lima, like Macedo, recognised different ceramic styles from the Peruvian coast and highlands, and explained the meanings of these pieces through ethnohistorical sources. These collectors began to organise objects by style in a chronological way. Thus for Gänger, these collectors were freely transcending the boundaries between antiquarianism, history and archaeology.

Accompanying collecting, however, came the perception of people like Raimondi and Larrabure that the ‘natives’ had their own interests regarding antiquities, that they ‘kept secrets’, and that they respected and even feared the evils of the ‘huacas’.

48 Gänger, Relics of the Past, 115.
49 Gänger, Relics of the Past, 116.
50 Gänger, Relics of the Past, 117.
51 Gänger, Relics of the Past, 120.
52 Gänger, Relics of the Past, 121.
53 Gänger, Relics of the Past, 123.
54 Gänger, Relics of the Past, 124.
55 Gänger, Relics of the Past, 126.
56 Gänger, Relics of the Past, 130.
57 Gänger, Relics of the Past, 135.
or archaeological sites.\textsuperscript{58} However, this was more of a discourse than it was a reality: an indigene linked to his ancestors. As Gänger states, Indians also looted tombs for treasure.\textsuperscript{59} So this colonial discourse also dismissed explanations of local indigenous peoples and was replaced by a more scientific explanation.\textsuperscript{60} The Indians were considered degraded and degenerate compared to their ancestors.\textsuperscript{61} Thus, finding the meaning of a khipu was impossible based on khipu of the time, as these were degenerate versions in comparison to those of the Incas and the Indians themselves.\textsuperscript{62} As Gänger and others have pointed out (i.e. Méndez 1996)\textsuperscript{63}, the need for a break between the present Indian and the past Indian in the discourses of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century was a construction of the Creole elites who wished to make that identity invisible and hide the connection between the past and the present.\textsuperscript{64}

The subchapter, ‘A Khipu in the Market’, has as historical context the War of the Pacific involving Peru, Bolivia and Chile from 1879 to 1883.\textsuperscript{65} Especially for Lima, the capital of Peru, war, looting and the Chilean occupation was the main factor that led Macedo to sell his collection in 1881, moving himself to Europe and first arriving in Paris\textsuperscript{66} where he began to exhibit his collection with the ultimate goal of selling it.\textsuperscript{67} He then transferred the exhibition to London. Macedo had already donated pieces to the Louvre Museum, and on this trip to Europe with the full collection, he deposited some artifacts of the Recuay culture in the Museum of Trocadero. Knowledge of the rules of the antiques market enabled to Macedo to negotiate firmly with Bastian.\textsuperscript{68} His knowledge was proof of the originality of the pieces, and a guarantee that they were genuine, since many fakes had been available since the mid-nineteenth century.\textsuperscript{69} Finally, much of the collection was sold to the Ethnological Museum in Berlin including, at the time, the rare khipu, being only the second one to enter the collections of the museum.\textsuperscript{70}

This chapter ends with a projection forward to the archaeology of the early twentieth century, the scientific archaeology proclaimed by Uhle (and his supporters) who despised private collectors. However, as this chapter demonstrates, the collectors were an integral part of, and participants in, archaeology in the broadest sense of the concept, contributing to the very formation of the idea of archaeology and museums in Peru.\textsuperscript{71}

\begin{footnotesize}
\textsuperscript{58} Gänger, Relics of the Past, 141.
\textsuperscript{59} Gänger, Relics of the Past, 141.
\textsuperscript{60} Gänger, Relics of the Past, 142.
\textsuperscript{61} Gänger, Relics of the Past, 143-144.
\textsuperscript{62} Gänger, Relics of the Past, 144.
\textsuperscript{64} Gänger, Relics of the Past, 146.
\textsuperscript{65} Gänger, Relics of the Past, 146.
\textsuperscript{66} Gänger, Relics of the Past, 146.
\textsuperscript{67} Gänger, Relics of the Past, 147.
\textsuperscript{68} Gänger, Relics of the Past, 150.
\textsuperscript{69} Gänger, Relics of the Past, 151.
\textsuperscript{70} Gänger, Relics of the Past, 153.
\textsuperscript{71} Gänger, Relics of the Past, 159.
\end{footnotesize}
Chapter 3, ‘Pascual Coña. Collecting and Colonization in Araucanía’, takes the reader to Chile through the narration of the life of Araucanian Indian Pascual Coña (1848-1927) which took place in the mid-nineteenth century but was written in the 1920s. This story is related to an event in Chile known as the ‘Pacification’ of Araucanía. This chapter tells the story of the transformation of this area and its people through new historical and archaeological narrative objects.

To do this, Gänger introduces us to ‘The Free Territories of Araucanía’ (the title of the subchapter), located south of the Bio-Bio river extending to the big island of Chiloé south of Puerto Montt. The territory of Araucanía, in which the inhabitants called themselves Mapuche, was the space and people to which Pascual Coña belonged. It was a people that resisted both the Incas and Spaniards, maintaining independence well into the Republic.

The next subchapter, ‘Collecting Araucanian Antiquities’ notes the difficulties that scientists such as Claudio Gay had in completing their atlas of Chile. Given the impenetrability of the warlike Araucanians, the archaeology of these territories was unknown, and it was assumed that it was not of great value, even for the collectors. The colonisation of Araucanía by immigrants, especially Germans, increased the knowledge of the area and allowed the director of the National Museum in Santiago de Chile, Rudolph Philippi, to increase collections from this area beginning in 1853. It is in the second half of the nineteenth century that collectors appeared in this area, for example Francisco Fonck who encountered Araucanian antiquities. These German immigrants, like Philippi, were instrumental in the formation of associations related to culture and in giving objects to the national museum. In the same vein, the Capuchin missionaries were important at this time as a result of their travels to these areas where they created Mapudungun language dictionaries, and served as intermediaries between Araucanian peoples and scientists concentrated in Santiago de Chile. In fact, priests such as Pablo de Royade or Evaristo Lazo sponsored and performed archaeological excavations in the Araucaria region. Finally, from the 1860s, the Chilean state embarked on the conquest of Araucanía and, leveraging these military campaigns, Philippi charged Chilean military officers and naturalists who accompanied them with gathering information and, above all, archaeological objects and skeletons from archaeological sites. A parallel discourse about the imminent demise of the Araucanians based on evolutionary perspectives of the time began to become popular and was used by politicians, such as Mackenna, to justify the occupation of the Araucanian territories, a practice that resonated with the British Empire in other parts of the world. This conquest of Araucanía saw a hiatus during the War of the Pacific in 1880, but was restarted again and efforts were made to record their last survivals.

72 Gänger, Relics of the Past, 160.
73 Gänger, Relics of the Past, 161.
74 Gänger, Relics of the Past, 161.
75 Gänger, Relics of the Past, 165.
76 Gänger, Relics of the Past, 165.
77 Gänger, Relics of the Past, 168.
78 Gänger, Relics of the Past, 173.
79 Gänger, Relics of the Past, 174.
80 Gänger, Relics of the Past, 175.
For example, in 1882, the leader of the hydrological expedition, Francisco Vidal Gormaz, ordered his men into the Araucanian territories to document the customs of the natives, and to make excavations and collections of objects and human remains of interest for its museums. It was in that decade that the foundational writings of Chilean archaeology were published: General History of Chile by Diego Barros Arana (1882) and Chilean Aborigines by José Toribio Medina (1884). Pascual Coña stood in the midst of these struggles of the assimilation and disintegration of the Araucanians by the Chilean government. This annexation process was finished in a decade that ushered in the perception of the Araucanians as relics which meant that in 1913 Tomás Guevara could publish his book The Last Araucanian Families and Customs. This perception provided a motivation to the Santiaguinas intellectual elites to preserve their entire culture, including the material elements. The debate about the position of the Araucanians in the universal process of humanity was directly linked to that which developed in Europe. The European system of the three ages, therefore, also began to be used in South American countries like Chile, placing the Araucanians in the earliest ages: savages and barbarians. After control of the Mapuche territory was taken from them, they were resettled on reservations or estates. One of them was Pascual Coña. The estate owners continued to send relics of the Mapuche to museums, many of them dug from their properties or close to them. Along with the remains, physical anthropology appeared and served as a basis for comparing skeletons excavated from cemeteries with Mapuche descendents that still existed. Thanks to the interest in these peoples, in 1912, the prehistory section was separated from the National Historical Museum to become the Chile’s Museum of Ethnology and Anthropology. Again, as in the Peruvian case, intellectual societies were founded and people like Fonck participated in academic meetings, such as occurred in Berlin, sharing their knowledge of the Araucanians. They also supplied Araucanian antiques to museums in Germany. After the ‘Pacification’, a process of idealisation of the Araucanians in the early twentieth century, the Araucanians were accepted as the ancestors of Chile. To accomplish this, the Araucanians that still existed were reduced to remnants of their ancestors, traces of an indomitable race. By 1900, these traces of the Araucanian race were sent alive to the Universal Exhibition in Paris to be shown to the civilised world: the Araucanians had become museum pieces.

In the subsection, ‘The Last of Their Kind’, a process of recording Araucanian customs from 1910 is described. One of those records is made by Wilhelm de Moesbasch based on the testimony of the life of Pascual Coña (1930). In this case, as in that of The Last Araucanian Families and Customs by Guevara, these ‘ethnographers’ translated indigenous words in a way that ‘made sense’ to the

81 Gänger, Relics of the Past, 175-176.
82 Gänger, Relics of the Past, 178.
83 Gänger, Relics of the Past, 180.
84 Gänger, Relics of the Past, 182.
85 Gänger, Relics of the Past, 184.
86 Gänger, Relics of the Past, 185.
87 Gänger, Relics of the Past, 189.
88 Gänger, Relics of the Past, 190.
89 Gänger, Relics of the Past, 192.
Western world: ‘Men like Pascual Coña or Segundo Jara were excluded from authorship, to become instead “exquisitely useful objects”; raw material for study. They were, like their bodies and objects, containers of data to be deciphered by linguists, anthropologists and archaeologists.’ However, these Mapuches (such as Manuel Manquilef), educated by missionaries and schools that began to appear in their territories, also had their own agenda and especially hoped to be recognised as authors, not only as the informants of people like Tomás Guevara. Manquilef eventually obtained the right, under a new ‘boss’, to publish under his name. The same happened with another Mapuche named Víctor Liberon, who also participated in academic societies. A number of them eventually founded the Capoulicán Society for the Defense of Araucanía in 1910. By 1921 Mapuche political representation was institutionalised through the Araucanian Federation and during the First Araucanian Congress. Manquilef became a member of the Chilean Congress in 1926 as a representative of the Liberal Democratic Party. Manquilef, like many other indigenous persons, cleverly used his indigeneity alongside his training in the context of Chilean citizenship, allowing him to be heard as part of both the intellectual and political elite. Despite this opportunistic use, Pascual Coña and other Mapuches were almost relics of the past, descendants of a nearly extinct race.

The last chapter, ‘The Valdivia Jug. Archaeology over the War of Pacific’, interweaves the stories of the late nineteenth century in Peru and Chile through a vessel. For Eugenio Larrabure y Unáu, politician and collector, the vessel in question was taken as an example of the warlike character of the Incas in their attempt to conquer the territory that would later be Chile. In the context of war (1879-1884) and post-war between Peru and Chile, this discourse over the past was used as an object of struggle between nations. Also, as we saw in the previous chapter, the Chilean side also favoured reorienting the discourse about Chilean Araucanians for nationalistic purposes, using their brave character as a form of rejection of Peruvian discourses about Incan imperialism.

At the beginning of the subchapter, ‘An Inca Civilization for South Americans’, the story of the vessel in question — which had been discovered near the estate of Rudolph Philippi and was part of the National Museum of Chile — is described. Claudio Gay and Rudolph Philippi were interested in the large Old World cultures (in an attempt to link culture with those great civilisations of the world), including the Inca culture, which was represented in the museum through a number of objects. Many of these objects came to the National Museum of Chile through the Chilean and Peruvian collectors who, as we saw, were linked together beyond national borders. In Chile, this ‘Americanist’ atmosphere was well established even before the Pacific War, and a number of societies, including the short-lived Santiago Archaeological Society, joined in an interest in Inca antiquities

90 Gänger, Relics of the Past, 193.
91 Gänger, Relics of the Past, 198.
92 Gänger, Relics of the Past, 199.
93 Gänger, Relics of the Past, 200.
94 Gänger, Relics of the Past, 201.
95 Gänger, Relics of the Past, 207.
96 Gänger, Relics of the Past, 209.
and included them as part of their own past. In fact, this society had among its members Peruvians and immigrants such as José Mariano Macedo, Antonio Raimondi and José Sebastián Barranca. Conversely, the studies of Chilean researchers were published seamlessly in Peruvian journals, and there was a significant correspondence and dialogue among peers from both countries. This search for linkages to the great civilisation of the Incas by Chilean intellectuals also resembled that of some Argentine intellectuals and politicians, two countries where traces of the Inca Empire are scarce. However, war broke the Americanist movement and ushered in ethnic nationalism. Despite this, interest in these archaeological pieces did not cease with the end of the war, but the environment of economic prosperity allowed the National Museum of Chile, for example, to buy the collection of Peruvian Nicolás Sáenz. The acquisition of pieces from Peru continued. Additionally, with the eventual Chilean victory came the ideological appropriation of the ‘Greater North’, a territory that permitted great conservation of archaeological materials, including human remains. The Chilean government’s interest in antiques was so great that in 1912 it hired one of the most famous archaeologists of that time and previous director of the National History Museum of Lima: Max Uhle. The government’s main task was to work specifically in the new annexed territories. Thus, the ‘Greater North’ was also appropriated through the discourse of science, that the emerging Chilean nation, like so many nations of the world, should also be recognised as a ‘producer of archaeological knowledge’.

Subchapter ‘Antiquities Collecting, Archaeology, and National Ancestry’ explores the construction of identity among the Santiaguina elite based on its relationship with the indigenous past, especially related to the Araucanians as discussed in the previous chapter. This construction is clearly noted in the General History of Chile by Diego Barros Arana (1882) and Chileans Aborigines by José Toribio Medina (1884). In fact, the Valdivia vessel that gives this chapter its name appears in Medina’s book, which was found by Philippi and exhibited in the National Museum of Chile. In principle, for the authors of these foundational writings of Chilean archaeology, Barros and Medina, Inca dominion of Chilean territory was a positive thing. However, the debate at the time concerned the border which separated the domain of the Incas from that of the ‘indomitable’ Araucanian populations. For example, to Medina, the Incas never had territorial control beyond Santiago. Thus, to Medina, the Valdivia vessel was proof that the Incas had not reached the area and proof of the existence of a production center developing its own art without the influence of the Incas and therefore, truly Chilean and separate from ‘foreign domain’. Meanwhile, Peruvian investigators suggested that the Inca conquest of

98 Gänger, Relics of the Past, 211.
99 Gänger, Relics of the Past, 212.
100 Gänger, Relics of the Past, 213.
101 Gänger, Relics of the Past, 214.
102 Gänger, Relics of the Past, 214.
103 Gänger, Relics of the Past, 215.
104 Gänger, Relics of the Past, 216.
105 Gänger, Relics of the Past, 218.
106 Gänger, Relics of the Past, 220.
Chilean territory exceeded the Maule river in the Araucanian territory and had strongly influenced their native inhabitants. In fact Uhle, still working for Peru at the National Museum de Lima (1909), spoke of the Valdivia vessel while considering the extent of Inca design influence. Larrabure y Unanue looked at Uhle’s arguments in his book *The Peruvian Conquest of Chile*, considering the vessel as a symbol of Inca victory over the Araucanians savages. However, although the Chilean accepted that the Incas had been a great and important civilisation, his assessment of his government ranged between paternalistic and despotic. Even in the moments preceeding the occupation of Lima, Chilean visitors to archaeological sites such as Pachacamac, for example, Benjamín Vicuña Mackenna, interpreted this site as an usurpation of local elites by the Incas. Thus, the ‘purity’ of the Araucanians was especially at emphasis in the history and archaeology of the early twentieth century, leaving aside the possible influences from the country to the north:

While the ‘peruvian’ invaders were becoming, by virtue of their association with the ancien régime and Incan rule, synonymous with corruption, decadence and degeneration, Araucanians came to be imagined as the pure and primordial inhabitants of an untouched land.

Gänger highlights the similarities between the mythology of the wartime occupation of Lima with the German mythology of the nineteenth century. In this mythology, the peoples of ‘Germania’, which were characterised by their purity and courage, faced a high civilisation in Rome. In the Chilean case, the primordial and pure people were represented by the Araucanians, while the decadent civilisation was the Peruvian-Inca.

The fourth chapter ends with an extensive discussion about the building of Chilean and Peruvian nationalism based on the material remains of the past, a process that took place elsewhere in the world, especially in Western and Central Europe during the nineteenth and twentieth century. In the Peruvian and Chilean case, both countries made claims to the past through the generation of stereotypes assigning physical and cultural characteristics to the Araucanian and Inca peoples and its ‘races’ of the present. This happened especially within the context of the War of Pacific and after it, in which territorial possessions were defined and integrated within their national territories. The narratives about racial superiority also mingled with the influences of European settlers, particularly in Chile, projecting and expanding European ethnic nationalism into South America. Discussions about race in both Peru and Chile, with positive and negative connotations on both sides, continued until well into the twentieth century. In that discussion, archaeology and especially physical anthropology provided arguments. Especially in Peru the ‘inferiority of the indigenous race’ was the main cause of the defeat linked to the

107 Gänger, *Relics of the Past*, 221.
111 Gänger, *Relics of the Past*, 236.
Chilean ‘superior race’.\textsuperscript{112} In Chile, after the victory, the Araucanian groups still remained conquered and, as it had been fully accepted that they were a dying breed, the modernity that was implanted by force allowed and justified their disappearance as a people.\textsuperscript{113} The same policy of ‘integration’ into the Chilean society in Araucanía was applied to the ‘Greater North’, in the newly annexed territories after the defeat of Bolivia and Peru.\textsuperscript{114} Meanwhile some members of the intellectual elite in Lima proposed measures to control, educate, discipline and assimilate the indigenous population in order to homogenise the nation and to bring them progress and history.\textsuperscript{115} In an extreme example, the collector and politician Javier Prado y Ugarteche suggested that indigenous people be ‘crossed’ with a sufficient number of ‘whites’ to ‘redeem’ the population.\textsuperscript{116} If biological racism was unsuccessful in Peru it was due to the indigenous people themselves, as their labour was very valuable to the local elites who led the debate about indigenous peoples and had possessions and interests involving the use of an indigenous labour force.\textsuperscript{117} Thus, the Lima elite embodied the Inca elites in the sense that the indigenous masses should be supervised by them. Archaeology provided an important service to science and in reconstructing the past, justifying political discourses about indigenous peoples.\textsuperscript{118}

Gänger closes the book with conclusions derived from the four case studies in the book. A series of commonalities in Peru and Chile are raised, and other particularities about how the past was made in both countries are exposed. It is also clear that these regularities in the two South American countries are clearly connected with the concerns of collectors in Europe and North America, making it clear that the territorial boundaries had little to do with the interests of collectors. Finally, these findings make it clear that collecting, subsequently assimilated into controlled scientific archaeology, was part of the same process which, although invisible and reviled, decisively influenced the construction of both nation states and perceptions about the past that continued be influential throughout the twentieth century.

In sum, this book is an important work that brings us to an epoch little known to and marginalised by the official history of archaeology, especially in Latin America. It helps us to rethink the role of artifacts as an active part in the construction of nation states in the nineteenth and twentieth century. It also enters the economic, political and ideological contexts, and above all, the world of the creole elites in Peru and Chile which was brewing and building an idea about past and present indigenous populations. Additionally, this book makes it clear that these ideas about the past were important in developing social policies related to indigenous people and served as important catalysts in the political and economic processes of

\textsuperscript{112} Gänger, Relics of the Past, 237.
\textsuperscript{113} Gänger, Relics of the Past, 239.
\textsuperscript{114} Gänger, Relics of the Past, 240.
\textsuperscript{115} Gänger, Relics of the Past, 241.
\textsuperscript{116} Gänger, Relics of the Past, 242.
\textsuperscript{117} Gänger, Relics of the Past, 242.
\textsuperscript{118} Gänger, Relics of the Past, 248.
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