

1994

The Paracas Mummy Bundles of the Great Necropolis of Wari Kayan: A History

Richard E. Daggett

University of Massachusetts, Amherst, rdaggett@library.umass.edu

Follow this and additional works at: https://digitalcommons.library.umaine.edu/andean_past



Part of the [Archaeological Anthropology Commons](#)

Recommended Citation

Daggett, Richard E. (1994) "The Paracas Mummy Bundles of the Great Necropolis of Wari Kayan: A History," *Andean Past*: Vol. 4 , Article 7.

Available at: https://digitalcommons.library.umaine.edu/andean_past/vol4/iss1/7

This Article is brought to you for free and open access by DigitalCommons@UMaine. It has been accepted for inclusion in Andean Past by an authorized administrator of DigitalCommons@UMaine. For more information, please contact um.library.technical.services@maine.edu.

THE PARACAS MUMMY BUNDLES OF THE GREAT NECROPOLIS OF WARI KAYAN: A HISTORY

Richard E. Daggett

University of Massachusetts, Amherst

Introduction

On October 25, 1927, a small team of excavators from the Museum of Peruvian Archaeology made a major discovery while working on the Paracas Peninsula (Figure 1). The team was under orders from the museum director, Julio C. Tello, to investigate systematically the three terraces of Cerro Colorado on which tombs of the Paracas Cavernas culture had been found by museum staff in 1925. Toribio Mejía Xesspe, the leader of the 1927 expedition, ordered his four workmen to sink test pits near the visible remains of an ancient wall on the north face of a rocky promontory known locally as Wari Kayan and situated below the first terrace of Cerro Colorado. This led to the discovery of a large concentration of mummy bundles representative of the succeeding Paracas Necropolis culture. The cemetery is now known as the Great Necropolis of Wari Kayan (Mejía Xesspe 1950; Tello and Mejía Xesspe 1979:300-301).¹

The discovery of the mummified remains of hundreds of individuals of the Paracas Necropolis culture on the terrace of Wari Kayan had a major impact on the careers of Tello and his closest associates. During the ensuing years, they directed much of their attention toward the opening, study, preservation and display of these funerary remains of the Paracas Necropolis culture. It is no exaggeration to say that during the decades following their discovery, these remains played an important role in the history of Peruvian archaeology, in general, and that of Lima's national museums of archaeology, in particular. As such, the elucidation of this history becomes an important task.

The purpose of this paper, therefore, is to present an account of that part of the history of Peruvian archaeology which deals with the Wari Kayan mummy bundles. This sometimes controversial account will be drawn from the considerable body of published information which has accumulated on the discovery and disposition of these remains. At center stage in this discussion will be the institutions and individuals most responsible for the safekeeping and study of these unique archaeological resources. The careers of many were enhanced by the existence of these finds, most notably Tello and his chief disciples, Toribio Mejía Xesspe and Rebeca Carrión Cachot. The disposition of these bundles during the stewardships of Tello, then Carrión and, finally, Mejía will be detailed, and this discussion will form the bulk of this paper. Discussion will be preceded, however, by a review of the published accounts on the number of mummy bundles found at Wari Kayan and their subsequent assortment by size into lots. This review will serve to clarify the often conflicting published accounts regarding the total number of bundles which were excavated from the Wari Kayan necropolis. This review will also serve to introduce the reader to the numerous inconsistencies in the published literature regarding the criteria actually used to sort the bundles into three distinct lots.

The Number and the Assortment of Mummy Bundles

In his first public report on the discovery of Wari Kayan, Tello (1929:131) says that 429 mummy bundles were taken from the 260 square meter area comprising the Great Necropolis. He says, too, that they were sorted into lots of 33 large, 42 medium, and 354 small bundles. This matter is not as clear-cut as this first report makes it appear, however.

¹ See Daggett (1992) for an in-depth review of the discoveries of the remains of the Paracas Cavernas and the Paracas Necropolis cultures made at Paracas by Tello, Mejía, and others.

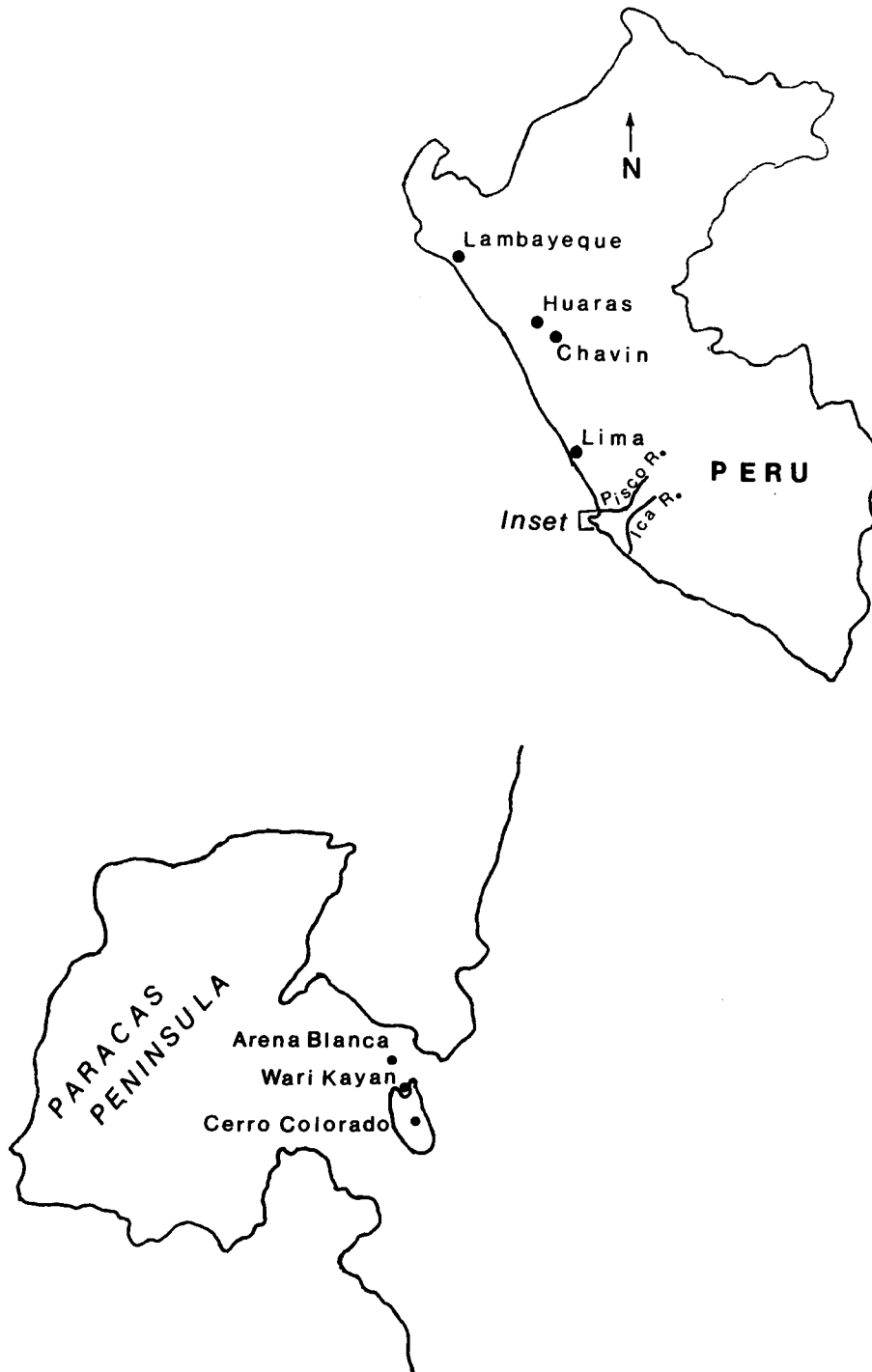


Figure 1. Map showing the locations of the Paracas sites and other places mentioned in the text. After Paul 1990:Maps 3.1 and 3.2.

In a speech that Tello made in 1929, he is reported to have said that 451 mummy bundles had been found at Paracas (Anonymous 1929d), and this number is echoed by Alejandro Arancibia (1929:532).² A few years later, while complaining about the lack of government action in the preservation of the nation's archaeological heritage, Tello wrote that 451 mummy bundles had been extracted from the site of Wari Kayan (Tello 1933). This total is corroborated by Mejía (Tello and Mejía Xesspe 1979:322; 326; 334) who says that 252, 96, and 103 bundles were taken from the eastern, western, and intermediary sectors of the necropolis, respectively.³ Which is the correct total: 429 or 451?

Fortunately, it has been reported that, while 451 was the highest number assigned to a Necropolis bundle, the 22 bundles discovered in the Paracas Cavernas tombs VI and VII were assigned numbers 266 - 287. The 429 bundles removed from the Great Necropolis were assigned, then, numbers 1 - 265 and 288 - 451 (Paul 1990:Note 2:25; see also Tello and Mejía Xesspe 1979:191-204). While this resolves one inconsistency, there are others which remain to be clarified.

As indicated earlier, Tello reported the division of the 429 Necropolis bundles into lots of 33 large, 42 medium, and 354 small bundles. Mejía (Tello and Mejía Xesspe 1979:322; 326; 334), however, reports that the 451 bundles were divided into groups of 33 large, 31 medium, and 387 small ones, despite the fact that, in graphic form, he shows the relative location of 33 large, 45 medium, and, presumably, 351 small ones (*ibid.*:318, figure 86; 323, figure 87; see also Paul 1990, Map 3.3:27; Map 3.4:28). To add to the confusion, Mejía says that the 22 bundles found in the Paracas Cavernas tombs

VI and VII were sorted into lots of 5 large, 4 medium, and 13 small ones (*ibid.*:191-204). This would mean that the Necropolis comprised 28 large and either 27 or 41 medium bundles, depending on whether one begins with his total of 31 or 45. The fact that Mejía (*ibid.*:338) says elsewhere in the same source that the 429 Wari Kayan bundles comprised 33 large, 33 medium, and 363 small ones further clouds the issue. Unfortunately, Mejía, in publishing long awaited details about the excavations conducted at Paracas by the staff of the Museum of Peruvian Archaeology, has left the division of the 429 Wari Kayan bundles in a sea of doubt. While it may be concluded that 33 large bundles were found at Wari Kayan, the evidence is inconclusive for the remaining two size categories.

As for the dimensions of the mummy bundles, Tello (1942:691) says that they ranged in height from 1.6-0.5 m, and that they were sorted into three categories (I-III) based on decreasing measurements of height and base diameter. Furthermore, he states, (Tello 1929:131) that the Category I bundles measured more than 1.5 m high by 1.5 m in diameter, the Category II bundles measured 1 m high by 90 cm at the base and the Category III bundles had still smaller height and base measurements. Elsewhere, however, Carrión (1949b:20) says that some of the Category I bundles measured 1.2 m high by 1.7 m in diameter at the base, while Mejía (Tello and Mejía Xesspe 1979:364) reports a height of 1.7 m for bundle No. 310, or slightly greater than the maximum such figure given by Tello. The 1.2 m height measurement reported by Carrión does not fit into the greater than 1.5 m range provided by Tello, and the same problem exists for a group of four other Category I bundles: Nos. 4, 12, 27, and 49, reported to measure 1.2, 1.4, 1.2, and 1.45 m in height, respectively (*ibid.*:319-321).

While it may be concluded from the above that Tello meant to say that only Category I mummy bundles measured greater than one meter in height, the fact that two Category II bundles, Nos. 401 (Tello and Mejía Xesspe 1979:442) and 323 (*ibid.*:445) are reported to measure more than one meter high leads one to discard this notion quickly.

² Included among the University of San Marcos students assigned by Tello to work on the collections of the new Museum of Peruvian Archaeology on December 23, 1924, was Alejandro Arancibia (Tello and Mejía Xesspe 1967:136).

³ This contention is further supported by the fact that, in his November 4, 1940 report to the General Director of Education, Tello states that 450 mummy bundles had been found at Wari Kayan (Tello and Mejía Xesspe 1967:232).

To confuse the issue further, mummy bundle No. 4 is said to have qualified for Category I status, in part, because of the quality of the exterior funerary offerings which accompanied it (*ibid.*:319). This suggests a greater degree of subjectivity in the selection process than one might otherwise think. The most that can be said at this point is that conflicting data exist concerning just what criteria, measurements and otherwise, were used to sort the bundles. The fact that individual measurements of height and base diameter have not been provided consistently for those bundles which have been studied and reported upon means that a satisfactory resolution of this situation is highly unlikely.

The Disposition of the Mummy Bundles

The Tello Years: 1927-1947

The task of removing the 429 mummy bundles from the Wari Kayan necropolis and shipping them to the Museum of Peruvian Archaeology in Lima was divided into three stages. The bundles found in the eastern sector were removed first, during the period November 29 through December 9, 1927 (Tello and Mejía Xesspe 1979:317-322). Then the bundles from the western sector, plus two adjacent ones, were taken out and shipped during the period December 11 through December 23, 1927 (*ibid.*:322-326). Finally, the remaining bundles found in the intermediate sector were extracted and shipped during an eight-day period beginning April 6, 1928 (*ibid.*:329-334).

Prior to their removal, twelve small or Category III bundles (Nos. 5, 11, 13, 19, 84, 117, 128, 137, 138, 143, 181, and 197) were opened in the field because of their poor state of preservation (Tello and Mejía Xesspe 1979:341). Mejía (*ibid.*:447-449) provides details for those numbered 5, 13, 19, and 84. Perhaps with specimens obtained from these first bundles to be opened, and with some of the more spectacular larger unopened bundles, the Museum of Peruvian Archaeology initiated a special exhibit on December 23, 1927 in honor of the Latin American Congress of Medicine then being held in Lima (Tello 1959:10).

A year later, during the first week of December 1928, Tello presented a Paracas textile to President-elect Herbert Hoover while the latter visited Lima during a tour of South America (Anonymous 1928b; Speers 1928).⁴ Then, in preparation for a major exhibit by the Museum of Peruvian Archaeology to feature the Wari Kayan discoveries, a number of the larger bundles was unwrapped at the museum. Accordingly, during 1929 the Category I bundle No. 253 was opened during the period February 15-20 (Tello and Mejía Xesspe 1979:423-441), the Category I bundle No. 290 was opened on May 17 (*ibid.*:384-423) and the Category II bundle No. 401 was unwrapped on May 24 (*ibid.*:442-443). Published details are available for the Category I bundle No. 319 (Carrión Cachot 1949b:27) and the Category II bundle No. 382 (*ibid.*:24). As for the four Category I bundles numbered 89, 157, 190, and 421 which are also reported to have been opened prior to 1930 (Carrión Cachot 1931:48), archival information relative to their contents has recently been published in a summary format (Paul 1992:Tables 5.2 and 5.3:60).

On October 16, 1929, in commemoration of the opening of the Museum's Paracas exhibit, Tello addressed an audience of dignitaries which included the President of Peru. Taking advantage of this opportunity, Tello requested increased government funding for the museum which he said was made necessary by the discoveries at Paracas. He indicated that there was a need for more workshops, exhibition rooms and technical staff (Anonymous 1929d; Tello and Mejía Xesspe 1967:168-170). In response to his plea, a government decree was issued at the end of 1929 which provided for the enlargement of the museum and which authorized the purchase of cases in which to exhibit the Paracas materials (Tello 1959:10).

⁴ Restoration of this textile, ". . . part of a great find of bundles of ancient garments in the mid nineteen twenties in Peru's Paracas region . . .", took place in 1957 at the American Museum of Natural History in New York City. Measuring 66 by 121 inches, and fringed in multi-colored twisted yarn, it was restored by Miss Kathryn Scott in preparation for its inclusion in an exhibit by the museum (Knox 1957).

The opening of the museum's new exhibit, which featured 17 Wari Kayan mummy bundles in various stages of unwrapping (Arancibia 1929:532), was organized to occur in conjunction with the meeting of the Second South American Congress of Tourism (Anonymous 1929c).⁵ The organizing commission of this body sponsored a publication by Tello (1929) which provided the first details about the discoveries made at Wari Kayan. On October 20, 1929, delegates to this Congress visited the Museum (Anonymous 1929e), where Tello and Carrión led them on a guided tour of the exhibit. During this tour, Tello announced that he was going to allow his guests to witness the opening of a Wari Kayan mummy bundle. This was the Category I bundle No. 91, the unwrapping of which had begun on July 7 of that same year. To the surprise of all, including Tello, the core of the bundle was found to contain a sack of black beans instead of a mummy (Anonymous 1929e; Carrión Cachot 1931:50; Tello and Mejía Xesspe 1979:489).⁶ Two other unwrappings which are reported to have occurred prior to 1930 were not atypical, however, and contained human remains. On November 8, 1929 the Category II bundle No. 262 was opened (Tello and Mejía Xesspe 1979:443-445), while the Category II bundle No. 378 was opened on an unspecified date (Tello 1929:134-141, figures 89-96).⁷

The staff of the Museum of Peruvian Archaeology had been kept quite busy during 1929 in making preparations for an exhibit which was to highlight the discoveries made at Paracas. Added to their burden was the government's charge to prepare the prehis-

toric part of Peru's exhibit for the Spanish American Exposition to open in Seville, Spain in October 1929. A permanent, three-storied structure, neo-Peruvian in style, and occupying 1500 square meters (Anonymous 1929a) was being erected in Seville's gardens of San Telmo (Anonymous 1928a). Tello had placed an order on September 26, 1926 with the firm of H.C.E. Eggers in Hamburg, Germany for the delivery of 40 metal and glass exhibition cases. Because the order was delayed until the end of 1928, permission was sought and granted to have the cases sent directly to Seville for use in the exhibit (Tello and Mejía Xesspe 1967:152-154). In part, the 38 cases actually delivered (Mejía Xesspe 1948:23; Tello and Mejía Xesspe 1967:164-165) served to exhibit six Wari Kayan mummy bundles which were shipped from the Museum of Peruvian Archaeology on January 10, 1929. Chosen to be exhibited in Spain were the Category I bundles numbered 54, 90, 155, and 192 as well as the Category II bundles numbered 33 and 203 (Tello and Mejía Xesspe 1967:162-163; Tello and Mejía Xesspe 1979:318, figure 86).

Unfortunately, the Seville exhibit was short-lived, falling prey to economic and political instability wrought by the Great Depression. During July 1930, the Peruvian exhibit at Seville was closed and, the following month, the government of Peru was itself brought to an end by a successful coup (Tello and Mejía Xesspe 1967:159-160). Finally, ended too was Tello's reign as Director of the Museum of Peruvian Archaeology. After having defended himself against libelous attacks printed in a series of politically-inspired articles (Tello 1930), Tello was notified on October 9, 1930 that as of September 30th, Luis E. Valcárcel had been named to replace him as director (Tello and Mejía Xesspe 1967:172).⁸ In effect, Tello and his loyal

⁵ Elsewhere (Tello 1959:11), it is reported that the textiles from 25 large Paracas mummies were on exhibit.

⁶ Tello and Mejía (1979:489) say that 12 kilos of black beans were found in this bundle, a seemingly extraordinary quantity. Years later, Carrión reminisced that on two occasions (one perhaps being that under discussion), she had found nothing but beans upon opening a mummy bundle. In the same article, Luis E. Valcárcel reported finding only a ten pound sack of black kidney beans when he unwrapped a mummy bundle in 1932 (Anonymous 1949g).

⁷ See Paul (1992:35-39; 119-136) for a discussion of the contents of mummy bundle No. 378.

⁸ On September 29, 1930, Tello wrote a memo to José de la Riva Agüero in which he apologized for his recent absence at the Museum of Peruvian Archaeology. Tello went on to invite Riva Agüero to attend the opening of a Paracas mummy bundle planned for the following day (Tello 1978). A lawyer and historian, Riva Agüero had just returned from Europe where he had spent years in political exile. The political winds were now blowing in his favor

followers, who had resigned *en masse* in protest, were no longer the official caretakers of the Paracas collection, in general, and that of Wari Kayan, in particular.

To summarize, Tello and his staff at the Museum of Peruvian Archaeology had effected the discovery of a major Paracas Necropolis period cemetery at the site of Wari Kayan. A total of 429 mummy bundles, sorted into three size categories, was discovered there, six being sent to Seville to be exhibited, while 17 others were placed on exhibit at the parent museum in Lima. For the purpose of this latter exhibit, a number of bundles was opened by museum staff, while a dozen others had been opened at Wari Kayan due to their poor state of preservation.

On April 19, 1931, the Museum of Peruvian Archaeology merged with the Bolivariano Museum and the National Museum of History to form the National Museum. In his capacity as its General Director, Valcárcel oversaw the new museum's departments of anthropology and history, in addition to three institutes which were its dynamic organs. Then, on June 12, 1931, an agreement of cooperation was formalized between the National Museum and the University of San Marcos. The purpose of this agreement was to allow the University's National Institute of Anthropology to assume the role of one of the Museum's institutes, that of the Institute of Anthropological Investigations. Because he had been the director of the University's institute since its founding in 1920, Tello assumed the position of Director of the Institute of Anthropological Investigations (Gálvez 1931; Mejía Xesspe 1948:24; Tello and Mejía Xesspe 1967:187-191).

and, I suspect, Tello was very conscious of this fact and was seeking to shore up his own very shaky political standing. In any case, Riva Agüero was elected Mayor of Lima in 1931 and 1932, and, from 1933-1934 as Minister of Instruction, he oversaw the nation's archaeological institutions (Milla Batres 1986, vol. 8:21-24). That he may have been less than enthusiastic in his preservation of Peru's archaeological heritage during this tenure is suggested by Luis E. Valcárcel's remark that his friend Riva Agüero had become an hispanophile during his enforced absence from Peru (Valcárcel 1981:266).

The absence of an adequate facility in which to house all of the collections of the National Museum (Valcárcel 1981:264) meant that the unification of Lima's three national museums took place in an administrative sense only (Tello 1959:11). The Bolivariano Museum in Magdalena Vieja or Pueblo Libre served as a provisional site for the Institute of Anthropological Investigations, and, by a decree dated April 23, 1931, those archaeological collections deemed indispensable to its mission were directed to be sent there. During September 1931, the transfer of the Paracas collection to the Bolivariano location was begun (Tello and Mejía Xesspe 1967:189; 212). By the start of 1932, the unopened Wari Kayan bundles had been transferred to a site adjoining the Pueblo Libre museum. Carrión, Mejía, and others who had remained loyal to Tello were then able to resume their study of the Wari Kayan collection. That is, with the exception of the bundles which formed part of the 1930 exhibit, and which remained at the National Museum.

The study of the bundles was not without difficulty, however. Although the Category II bundle No. 323 was opened on January 11, 1933 (Tello and Mejía Xesspe 1979:445-446), the Category I bundle No. 310 was opened on January 20, 1933 (*ibid.*:362-384)⁹ and the Category III bundle No. 94 was opened sometime during 1935 (Niles 1937:82-86), lack of funding greatly inhibited work on the collection. From May 1931 to December 1931, the Institute of Anthropological Investigations was funded by a miserly government stipend of 1,000 soles a month. To make matters worse, this amount was reduced to 666.66 soles for the period January 1932 to September 1938 (Mejía Xesspe 1948:24). A change in official attitude regarding the preservation of the Paracas collection was to be stimulated, however, by a demonstration of foreign concern; a concern which Tello strove hard to nurture.

In July 1936, Tello began a trip which would have a significant impact on his ability to conduct archaeological research in Peru.

⁹ See Paul (1992:39-42; 137-158) for a discussion of the contents of mummy bundle No. 310.

By the same token, this trip afforded him numerous opportunities to speak out on a matter very dear to him, the deteriorating condition of the Paracas collection. On July 10th, he was made a Corresponding Member of the Chilean Academy of History and, after speaking about ancient Peru at the University of Panama, he was made a Corresponding Member of the Panamanian Academy of History on July 19th. Then, during August, he presented a series of 24 lectures on Peruvian archaeology at the summer field session of the University of New Mexico.¹⁰ Held at Chaco Canyon, this session was under the joint auspices of the School of American Research, the University of New Mexico, and Southwestern University (Mejía Xesspe 1948:29; see also Valcárcel 1937:60). It is likely that Tello was invited to participate in the Chaco Canyon session by Edgar Lee Hewett.¹¹

Hewett had arrived at the Port of Callao on June 27, 1935 as director of an expedition to Peru and Bolivia. He was assisted by Professor of Architecture Verle L. Anis of the

¹⁰ On November 8, 1936, Tello delivered a talk entitled "Gods and Demons of Ancient Peru" at the National Academy of Sciences in Mexico City (Anonymous 1936e). During an interview he gave at that time in Mexico City, Tello said that he had been invited by the University of New Mexico and the Archaeological Institute of America to give a course on Peruvian archaeology at Chaco Canyon. In addition to twenty professors and instructors, there were about eighty students. He took the opportunity to explore the principal archaeological ruins of the American Southwest and he familiarized himself with the methods of investigation and preservation practiced there on monuments and artifacts (Heliodoro Valle 1937:20).

¹¹ Hewett was the founder and Director of the School of American Research and he had established the Department of Anthropology at the University of New Mexico (Fisher 1947:78). He may have met Tello in Rome in 1926 when they each presented papers at the XXII International Congress of Americanists. In his paper, Tello (1928) discussed the discoveries made by the Museum of Peruvian Archaeology at the sites of Arena Blanca and Cerro Colorado on the Paracas Peninsula in 1925 and 1926. For his part, Hewett (1928:550) had presented a paper in which he referred to the "extraordinary fabrics of Peru", suggesting thereby that he would have had reason to hear Tello speak in Rome.

University of Southern California at Los Angeles in overseeing a group of seventeen students, nine from the University of New Mexico and eight from the University of Southern California.¹² Staying at the Hotel Plaza for nine days, the group visited Lima's museums of archaeology as well as a number of sites in the vicinity of the capital. Tello and Valcárcel, among others, went out of their way to assist this group (Dutton 1935:97-100). Earlier that year, Valcárcel had issued a call for individuals and institutions to conduct investigations in southern Peru through the newly inaugurated Institute of Cuzco (Editor 1935:372). During its ten-week stay, Hewett's team was associated with this institute (Valcárcel 1936:43-44), and it may have been during the initial stay in Lima that Hewett invited Tello to come to the United States.¹³ By the same token, the invitation may have been tendered at some point during the planning stages of Hewett's trip to Peru. In any case, it seems likely that Tello went to Chaco Canyon at Hewett's invitation.

On Saturday, August 29, 1936, the Board Meeting of the School of American Research, in joint session with the Regents of the Museum of New Mexico, was held in Santa Fe. Hewett presided and Tello, representing the University of San Marcos in Lima, was one of two individuals appointed new members of the School (Anonymous 1936g:37-38; see also Walter 1939:47). Tello subsequently left for California where, on September 4th, he was made an Honorary Member of Mu Alpha Nu, the Fraternity of American Anthropologists (Mejía Xesspe 1948:30). While in California, Tello lectured on the archaeology of Peru at the Department of Anthropology of the University of California, at the San Francisco Museum of Fine

¹² The student members of the expedition were Edwin Ferdon, Albert Ely, Bertha Dutton, Barbara Loomis, Marion Hollenbach, Jean Cady, Alice and Doris Leinan, Honor and Betty McCreery, Margaret McCarry, Esther Funk, Margaret Betkowski, Virginia Bebermeyer, Nan Glenn, and Mary Arthur (Anonymous 1935).

¹³ During the first year of its existence, Tello represented the University of Cuzco at the meetings of the National Foundation of Archaeology (Anonymous 1929b; 1930), the forerunner of the National Institute of Culture.

Art, and in Santa Barbara, and it is likely that Tello spoke at the Los Angeles campus of the University of California where Hewett had been affiliated with its Department of Anthropology since 1932 (Bloom 1939:23). The San Francisco talks, given on September 8, included a discussion of Paracas (Bennett 1937:315-316). Tello's lecture in Santa Barbara was sponsored by Robert Woods Bliss (Mejía Xesspe 1948:29).

From California Tello went to Rochester, Minnesota where, in Plummer Hall on September 24th, he presented a talk which featured a discussion of the discoveries made at Paracas (Anonymous 1936b; 1936e). This lecture was sponsored by the Mayo Foundation Chapter of Sigma Xi (Mejía Xesspe 1948:29) which was located in Rochester, the site of the renowned Mayo Clinic. An earlier meeting between Tello and one of the Mayo brothers, William, may have taken place in 1920 when the latter was awarded an honorary degree by the University of San Marcos in Lima (Clapesattle 1941:582).¹⁴

The purpose of Julio C. Tello's trip abroad was "to visit museums and to secure technical backing and cooperation" (Lothrop 1948:52). The latter goals were achieved on September 26, 1936 when the Institute of Andean Research was founded in New York City (Tello 1959:11).¹⁵ Later incorporated in February 1937, this institute was initially supported by grants from Robert Woods Bliss and Mrs. Truxton Beale (Strong

1943:2-3).¹⁶ Although this institute later sponsored the publication of two volumes dealing with the work done by the Museum of Peruvian Archaeology on the Paracas Peninsula during the period 1925-1930 (Tello 1959; Tello and Mejía Xesspe 1979), it did not provide funds to help preserve the sadly neglected Wari Kayan mummy bundles. Such funding was to come later from an unexpected source.

In 1937, Nelson Rockefeller abruptly decided to take a three-month tour of South America.¹⁷ Although he subsequently assumed the position of Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs in the summer of 1940, on this trip he was not a representative of the American government. Earlier he had invested in Creole Petroleum and he wanted to review the company's holdings (Desmond 1964:52-56). Arriving in Lima on May 17th (Anonymous 1937a), he took the opportunity to view the Paracas collection at Pueblo Libre the following day (Tello and Mejía Xesspe 1967:214). It is possible that Tello's trip to the United States the previous year had some bearing on this visit. In any event, Rockefeller was shocked to learn that the Peruvian government refused to pay for the preservation of priceless Indian mummies because the Spanish-descended rulers looked down on the natives. This so offended his artistic sensibilities (and, presumably, his sense of social justice) that he made arrangements to provide financial assistance (Desmond 1964:52-54). Tello received a letter from Rockefeller dated May 21 in which the latter offered \$3,000 to help defray the cost of preserving the decaying Wari Kayan mummy

¹⁴ On September 26, the archaeologist Horacio Tello left Lima for Rochester aboard a commercial airplane bearing the skull of an Inca (Anonymous 1936c). Julio C. Tello had planned to donate this skull to the Mayo Clinic for inclusion in its museum, but the absence of trephination marks on the skull caused him to change his mind. He decided that he would send a better pathological example at a later date (Anonymous 1936d). There is no evidence that he ever did so.

¹⁵ Although mentioned as having played a role in the foundation of this institute (Tello 1959:11), Edgar Lee Hewett was not listed as a founding member (Strong 1943). The fact that Hewett was held in contempt by his colleagues (Woodbury 1993:88-89) probably accounts for this apparent snub.

¹⁶ A graduate of Harvard University, Bliss served thirty years as a professional diplomat, during which time he became a noted art collector. He was a patron of the Harvard Peabody Museum and a trustee of both the American Museum of Natural History and the Metropolitan Museum of Art (Anonymous 1962; Lothrop 1963:93). As for Mrs. Beale, she was the widow of the noted American diplomat Truxton Beale, and she shared with him an interest in art and archaeology (Anonymous 1936a; 1956b).

¹⁷ Just as abruptly, Rockefeller returned to the United States after learning of the death of his grandfather (Anonymous 1937b). It is interesting to contemplate what would have happened to Tello and the Paracas collection had this death occurred a mere week earlier.

bundles. Though but a quarter of the amount requested by Tello, Rockefeller indicated that a donation of four or five of the mummy bundles might help him to persuade the New York Metropolitan Museum of Art, of which he was a Director, to provide additional funding (Tello and Mejía Xesspe 1967:214).

Tello advised the Acting Director of the National Museum of this offer in a memo dated May 24, 1937 (Tello and Mejía Xesspe 1967:214) and, on June 5th, the government issued an edict in which it agreed to accept the \$3,000 and to donate four mummy bundles to the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York City (Tello and Mejía Xesspe 1967:215-216). On June 14th, the same day that he was asked by the Acting Director of the National Museum to do so, Tello selected for shipment the Category I mummy bundles numbered 16 and 188, the Category II bundle No. 114, and the Category III bundle No. 113, all of which were in immediate need of restoration (Tello and Mejía Xesspe 1967:215).

The subsequent disposition of these four bundles then followed a somewhat interesting path. Although designated to become part of the collection at the Metropolitan Museum, three of the bundles ended up at the nearby American Museum of Natural History where they were opened by Wendell C. Bennett and then exhibited from January 9 through February 23, 1938 (Anonymous 1938a; Bennett 1938).¹⁸ The bundles numbered 113, 114, and 188 were labeled A, B, and C, respectively, by the staff of the American Museum and, in 1946, they were acquired by the museum as a gift from Nelson Rockefeller (John Hyslop, personal communication). As for bundle No. 16, it was sent to the Harvard Peabody Museum in 1937 at the request of Nelson Rockefeller.¹⁹ There it

¹⁸ The transfer of objects not considered appropriate to the collection of the Metropolitan Museum of Art to the American Museum of Natural History was and continues to be a common practice (Craig Morris, personal communication).

¹⁹ Tello graduated from Harvard University in 1911 with a masters degree in anthropology (Lothrop 1948:51), and on December 11, 1936 he was appointed honorary curator of Andean Archaeology at Harvard's Peabody Museum (Anonymous 1936f).

was opened during the first quarter of 1938 as part of a class project under the primary direction of Alfred Kidder II (Lane Beck, personal communication). At this time it was given the Peabody Museum catalogue number 38-28-30/4107-4233 (Towle 1952:223).

From January 10 to June 30, 1938, the staff of the Institute of Anthropological Investigations worked to preserve the Paracas collection and a complete accounting of the costs involved was presented to Rockefeller by Tello in a memo dated July 11, 1938 (Tello and Mejía Xesspe 1967:216-217). The \$3,000, or 11,870 soles, were used to repair, clean, and otherwise preserve this collection (Mejía Xesspe 1948:25); with some of the money being used to construct shallow wooden boxes in which the restored textiles were placed and sealed with a glass cover (Paul 1990:6). A total of 346 textiles was saved, of which 181 were exhibited at the Institute's site in Pueblo Libre (Tello and Mejía Xesspe 1967:216).

Rockefeller's unexpected generosity was a boon to Tello, his Institute, and the people of Peru, but it was an embarrassment to the leaders of Peru. Following discussions between Tello and the Minister of Foreign Affairs, the President of the country, General Benavides, visited Tello at the Institute on August 15, 1938. The President had "appeared unexpectedly and spent several hours with Tello inspecting the collections. Remarking that what was good enough for Rockefeller to support was good enough for Peru, Benavides ordered Tello to build a new museum to house the Paracas collections and promised him the funds and a free hand to do it" (Lothrop 1948:52). After offering unsuccessfully to buy the restored Paracas textiles on display, and with an eye toward the upcoming VIII Pan-American Conference to be held in Lima in December, Benavides asked Tello to present in memo form what he would need to set up a special exhibition. Three days later, Tello presented to the Minister of Public Education a plan to organize a new institute at which the proposed exhibition would be held (Mejía Xesspe 1948:25; Tello and Mejía Xesspe 1967:219).

In an earlier memo concerning the proposed Special Exhibit of Peruvian Art dated

August 6, 1938, Tello noted a set-up cost of 26,100 soles. After saying that the exhibit would include approximately 20 large Paracas mummy bundles already opened and studied, he argued that the Paracas material still held at the National Museum should be reunited with the material at the Institute of Anthropological Investigations. He was to repeat this plea for reunification in a later memo dated August 19 and, on September 2nd, a presidential decree in fact gave Tello the authority to bring together the Paracas collection (Tello and Mejía Xesspe 1967:217-221).²⁰

On September 22, 1938, a law reorganizing the nation's museums was enacted and, on October 8, 1938, the Museum of Anthropology was created by presidential decree (Tello 1959:12) as an entity separate from the National Museum and under the direction of the National Foundation of Archaeology (Tello and Mejía Xesspe 1967:222).²¹ An appropriate exhibition hall with air-conditioning and exhibition cases was established at an enlarged locale of the Institute of Anthropological Investigations. Then, on December 25, 1938, the institute opened its doors as the Museum of Anthropology and the Institute of Anthropological Investigations or, more simply, the Museum of Anthropology (Tello 1959:12). On January 3, 1939, Tello was officially named its Director and then, on November 3, 1939, he and Valcárcel signed a memo agreeing to the reunification of the Paracas collection. This pact included the understanding that the most representative of

the Paracas artifacts found on Cerro Colorado by the staff of the National Museum in 1931 would continue to be exhibited at this museum (Tello and Mejía Xesspe 1967:224).²²

On May 31, 1937, the opening of one of the Wari Kayan mummy bundles was witnessed by the wife of Alfred Kidder II (Kidder 1942:9-10). Alfred Kidder was a founding member of the Institute of Andean Research (Strong 1943:4), and he had come to Peru to conduct a preliminary survey upon which later research sponsored by the Institute would depend (Kidder 1943:v). Then, in March 1941, Thomas Dale Stewart of the Department of Physical Anthropology of the Smithsonian Institution visited Tello in Lima for the express purpose of studying Paracas skeletal material (Anonymous 1941; Davis 1941; Stewart 1943). With Tello's permission, Stewart examined the skeletal remains of thirteen Wari Kayan mummy bundles. These were comprised of nine Category I (Nos. 38, 157, 190, 243, 253, 290, 310, 392, and 421), one Category II (No. 251) and three Category III (Nos. 94, 234, and 382) bundles (Candela 1943; Trotter 1943; Tello and Mejía Xesspe 1979:318, figure 86; 323, figure 87). Finally, Samuel K. Lothrop, who had financed and personally assisted Tello in his discoveries of the Paracas sites of Cerro Colorado and Arena Blanca in 1925 (Tello and Mejía Xesspe 1967:139-141), is reported to have been in charge of the Paracas Mummy Bundle Project of the Institute of Andean Research (Willey 1988:206). Unfortunately, there is no evidence that he ever published on this work (*e.g.*, Easby 1966) and neither apparently did Marshall Newman, a physical anthropologist, also reported to have been working closely with Tello on this project (Willey 1988:90).

²⁰ After losing his position as Director of the Museum of Peruvian Archaeology in 1930, Tello is reported to have made extensive use of his friendships with foreign dignitaries, American and British, in an attempt to recover his office. For example, on one occasion the wife of the American Ambassador to Peru is said to have spoken to President Benavides on Tello's behalf, but to no avail (Valcárcel 1981:294). However, with the help of Carlos Concha in 1938, Tello was finally able to win government approval (Valcárcel 1981:359). Concha was President of the VIII Pan-American Conference which was held in Lima in 1938 (Milla Batres 1986, Volume 3:4).

²¹ Ironically, around the same time, an interview with Valcárcel was published in the Lima press in which Valcárcel indicated his future plans for the National Museum (Anonymous 1938b).

²² Under the direction of Valcárcel, a team from the National Museum excavated three Cavernas type tombs on the third terrace of Cerro Colorado during the period July 29 through August 5, 1931 (Muelle 1931; Yákovleff and Muelle 1932). In addition, on August 26, 1932, the Wari Kayan mummy bundle No. 217 was opened by staff of the National Museum (Yákovleff and Muelle 1934). Though reported to be mid-sized, measuring 70 cm high by 80-100 cm wide (*ibid.*:69), it is elsewhere reported to be a Category I bundle (Tello y Mejía Xesspe 1979, Figure 86:318).

On November 4, 1940, Tello sent a memo to the General Director of Education in which he detailed the progress being made toward reorganizing the nation's archaeological collections. Not surprisingly, he took the opportunity to renew his complaint that part of the Paracas collection remained in the National Museum (Tello and Mejía Xesspe 1967:227-233). Then, in 1941, an ex-Senator of Peru, Don Germán Luna Iglesias, offered to donate land adjacent to the Museum of Anthropology to the government for use in the expansion of the museum. Amounting to 7,754.96 square meters, this donated property would allow an already overcrowded museum room to expand (Tello 1959:13). This gift, dated August 19, 1941, was delayed because of a lack of government funding to see to the expansion of the museum. A subsequent agreement by Luna to donate an additional 7,000 square meters was sufficient to free the necessary funding. A decree dated August 27, 1943, and publicized the following December 22nd, formalized the agreement to construct a new museum (Tello and Mejía Xesspe 1967:227).

On January 29, 1945, the National Museum of Anthropology and Archaeology was created with Tello named as its Director. Comprised of the Museum of Anthropology, the Institute of Anthropological Investigations, and the three regional museums of archaeology in Lambayeque, Huaráz, and Chavín, it went a long way toward uniting the nation's archaeological collections. This goal was essentially achieved on April 24, 1946 when an agreement of federation was formalized between the new National Museum and the Museum of Archaeology of the University of San Marcos (Mejía Xesspe 1948:25; 1964:105; Tello and Mejía Xesspe 1967:234-259). The fact that one of the departments of the new national museum was named Paracas indicates the continuing importance of the Paracas collection to Tello and his followers (Tello 1959:14).

On July 26, 1946 the first symptoms of what was to prove to be a fatal disease struck Tello. During September of that year he traveled to the Mayo Clinic where his problem was diagnosed and where he received initial treatment (Mejía Xesspe 1964:106-107;

110). He suffered from lymphosarcoma, a form of cancer commonly known as Hodgkin's Disease, and he sought treatment as well at Johns Hopkins Hospital and Memorial Hospital in Baltimore (Anonymous 1947a). Tello returned to Lima with his daughter Elena on November 28, 1946 (Anonymous 1946). During the ensuing months he was treated in Lima by the staff of the Losada Clinic and, then, as his condition worsened, he was admitted to the Archbishop Loayza Hospital. During his final days, students and employees of the National Museum of Anthropology and Archaeology donated blood on his behalf, but, after being operated on the day before, Tello died on June 3, 1947 (Anonymous 1947a; Valcárcel 1981:283). A year later his remains were brought to the National Museum of Anthropology and Archaeology where they were interred in a mausoleum which had been donated by Luna (Anonymous 1948b).

The Carrión Years: 1947-1960

Rebeca Carrión Cachot was promoted to the position of Director of the National Museum of Anthropology and Archaeology on July 12, 1947 (Anonymous 1947b). She had been awarded her doctorate by the University of San Marcos in 1931 (Milla Batres 1986, vol. 2:296), and her dissertation, which was based on her study of the Wari Kayan mummy bundles, was published the same year (Carrión Cachot 1931). Her interest in the Paracas collection is reflected in her tenure as director of the national museum. On March 27, 1948, in conjunction with the opening of the Second Peruvian Congress of Surgery, the National Museum initiated an Exposition of Precolumbian Medicine and Surgery. With an emphasis on trephination, or skull surgery, the Paracas collection played a prominent role in this exhibit (Anonymous 1948a). A year later, the exhibit was enlarged (Anonymous 1949a; Carrión Cachot 1949a) and, around the same time, Carrión reported to the National Foundation of Archaeology the steps which had been taken to try to recover the materials from the 1929 Seville exhibit (Anonymous

1949b).²³ All of this activity served as a prelude to an event which would greatly enhance the prestige of Peru, its archaeological treasures in general, and that of the Paracas collection in particular.

At a subsequent meeting of the National Foundation of Archaeology held during June, 1949, it was reported that Carrión had received official permission to open a Paracas mummy bundle at the Twenty-ninth International Congress of Americanists to be held in New York City the following September. There, Carrión was to present a paper on the results of her years of study on the textiles which comprised the Wari Kayan mummy bundles (Anonymous 1949c; Editor 1949a), a paper already published in English (Carrión Cachot 1949b). Spurning the suggestion of a Peruvian official that she ask the United States to pay her expenses (Seegers 1950:9-10), she left by plane with her sister Raquel de Zubiarte but without the Category I mummy bundle No. 49 known irreverently in Lima as "Rebeca's boy friend."²⁴ Weighing 550 pounds and being four feet in diameter, it would not fit through the door of the plane, so it had to be crated and shipped aboard the vessel *Santa Isabel* of the Grace Line (Seegers 1950:7). The ship left the port of Callao on August 20 (Anonymous 1950a).

Carrión and her sister arrived at the Hotel Stanhope in New York City on September 3 (Anonymous 1949d). On September 12, after the closing of the international congress,

²³ The absence of 7,450 pesetas to pay a carpenter to pack up the exhibited materials and the exhibition cases meant that everything stayed in Seville (Tello and Mejía Xesspe 1967:164-165). In his October 20, 1931 memo to the Minister of Education, Tello argued that the Seville exhibit was the only one adequately arranged and in condition to be used for educational purposes. Hence, he felt very strongly that, rather than agree to a Belgian request to assume control of the exhibit, the government should see to its immediate return. He suggested that it could be set up in Lima's Pedagogic Institute or else in Cusco or Arequipa (Tello and Mejía Xesspe 1967:167).

²⁴ Carrión made this selection (Seegers 1950:7), perhaps aided by its impressive size and its good state of preservation. She may have been aided by the fact that this bundle had formed part of the 1929 exhibit at the Museum of Peruvian Archaeology (Tello and Mejía Xesspe 1979:487).

Pedro Rojas, an artist at the National Museum of Anthropology and Archaeology, arrived with the fragile five foot high by four foot wide mummy bundle. After it was removed from the encasing wood, Carrión and Rojas removed five layers of protective burlap for the benefit of the crowd of scientists and reporters which had gathered. Junius Bird of the American Museum of Natural History noted that the mummy was in excellent condition and that it was free of must (Anonymous 1949e). Mummy 49 had been exhibited at the Museum of Peruvian Archaeology in October 1929 and, in September 1931, it had been sent to the Institute of Anthropological Investigations facility in Pueblo Libre (Tello and Mejía Xesspe 1979:487; See also Tello 1929:133, figure 88).

Carrión and Bird began the process of opening mummy No. 49 on a floodlit table in Education Hall at the American Museum of Natural History on Friday, September 16 before an audience of 60 scientists and reporters which included Luis Valcárcel (Anonymous 1949f). This process continued on Monday and it was recorded by television cameras. News and museum photographers took still shots, and a dozen scientists and technicians helped to clean, strip, and number each specimen (Anonymous 1949g). The next day, with a hundred spectators, including newsreel, television, and news reporters, the body within the bundle was revealed (Kaplan 1949). Included among the recovered artifacts was a textile 87 feet long by 11 feet 3 inches wide (Anonymous 1949h). The mummy was then placed on display, beginning October 1, at Roosevelt Hall in the American Museum of Natural History. It was then exhibited at the Grace House on Fifth Avenue during the period October 14 through December 1 (Anonymous 1949m). In addition to newspapers in major American cities such as New York, Chicago, and Washington D.C. (Anonymous 1949m), the story of mummy No. 49 was covered in national journals such as *Newsweek* (Anonymous 1949i) and *Time* (Anonymous 1949j).

Carrión and her sister traveled to the Mayo Clinic in October, 1949 with a sample of green skin which had been taken from mummy No. 49 (Anonymous 1949k; Burger

1949:15; Seegers 1950:10). The mottled greenish appearance of the mummy's skin had surprised observers (Kaplan 1949) who had expected the skin to be bronze-brown in color. Hence, Carrión sliced off a sample to have it analyzed at the Mayo Clinic where she had had her eyes operated on several years before (Seegers 1950:10). Her projected itinerary after Rochester included stops in Chicago, Washington D.C., and New York City (Anonymous 1949k).

When she returned to Lima on November 18, 1949, it was after spending well over two months in the United States studying collections of Peruvian artifacts there and visiting various American museums and scientific institutions (Anonymous 1949m). While she had been away, a reporter from the New York *Daily Mirror* had been in Peru seeking background information on the Paracas culture (Editor 1949b). This interest in the Wari Kayan mummy bundles was not limited to the Americans, however, as Lima's press kept its readers apprised of the history of these bundles (Buse 1949) and noted that Carrión's report on her activities had been received by the National Foundation of Archaeology (Anonymous 1949l).

On January 4, 1950, mummy No. 49, called "the silent visitor" by the Americans, returned to Peru aboard the steamship *Santa Lucia* of the Grace Line (Anonymous 1950b). As he had before, Pedro Rojas traveled with the mummy, and he was met at the Port of Callao by Carrión, Mejía, and a number of officials (Anonymous 1950a). The mummy and its contents were inventoried the following day, and plans were made to have them exhibited at the National Museum of Anthropology and Archaeology the following week (Anonymous 1950b). A year later, a detailed report (Anonymous 1951a) and supporting testimony (Anonymous 1951b; 1951c; 1951d; Editor 1951a) concerning mummy bundle No. 49 were published in the Lima press.

During March 1951, Cirilo Huapaya of the National Museum accidentally discovered illegal excavation activity at Paracas. He had been sent there to obtain samples of minerals, fossils, shells, and plants for an upcoming Paracas exhibit. Instead he discovered the

remains of a number of looted tombs littering the surface of the site. After spending five days at the site herself, Carrión is reported to have noted that there were three excavations, one quite large, and that approximately 18 mummy bundles had been stolen. She is then reported to have concluded that the excavated sites appeared to correspond to an ancient cemetery dating to the same transitional phase to which mummy No. 49 belonged (Anonymous 1951e; see also Editor 1951b).

Clearly prompted by the success of the public opening of No. 49, Carrión initiated a series of such openings at the National Museum in 1951. The opening of the Category III bundle No. 136 was begun in the second patio of the museum on May 30 in the presence of an audience of members of the Ministry of Education, members of parliament, diplomats, professors, school directors, and university students. The opening of this bundle by a team including Mejía and others, was filmed and photographed (Anonymous 1951f). The opening continued the following day and details were published in the Lima press (Anonymous 1951g). Then, on the morning of June 12th, the opening of the Category II bundle No. 375 was begun. This was accomplished before an audience including representatives of the Ministry of Public Education, staff members of the National Museum and the Cusco Museum, professors, and students. Plans had been made to send the mummy to the University of Cusco after it had been classified and studied.²⁵ This was to be done in commemora-

²⁵ This was authorized by Ministry Resolution No. 2991 dated May 14, 1951. A second resolution, No. 6540, dated September 3, 1951, authorized the selection of an unopened Category I Necropolis bundle to be sent to Cusco as well (Pardo and Galimberti 1963:14). On October 2, 1951, mummy bundles No. 375 and 27 were officially transferred to the Museum and Archaeological Institute of the University of San Antonio Abad in Cusco. Acting on behalf of Dr. Luis A. Pardo, the Director of this Museum and Institute, San José Ricardo Respaldiza, Chief of the National Museums and Monuments Section of the Direction of Artistic Education and Cultural Extension of the Ministry of Public Education, selected No. 27 from among the four remaining unopened large Necropolis mummy bundles at the National Museum of Anthropology and

tion of an upcoming week of patriotic celebration in Cusco (Anonymous 1951h; Pardo 1953). Once again, details of the opening of the mummy were published in the Lima press (Anonymous 1951i).

The success of these openings brought a request that they continue and that medical students in particular be invited to observe (Editor 1951c). On September 12, 1951, the Category I bundle No. 352 was opened at the museum in the presence of representatives of the Ministry of Public Education, diplomats, university professors, students, and journalists (Anonymous 1951j; 1951k). Some details regarding the unwrapping of the bundle were subsequently published in the Lima press (Anonymous 1951m). Then, on November 26th, a Paracas mummy bundle, already opened and restored, was sent to the Regional Museum of Archaeology in Ica. Plans to send a second opened bundle to the same location were likewise reported (Anonymous 1951l). Finally, late in March 1952, Carrión oversaw the inauguration of a new exposition on precolumbian surgery at the National Museum. The exhibit featured artifacts discovered by Tello at a number of sites including Paracas (Anonymous 1952a). This exhibit marked the end of a very active period during which Carrión used the Paracas materials, in general, and the Paracas Necropolis mummy bundles, in particular, to promote Peruvian archaeology.

On August 14, 1952 Carrión began a flight to London via New York City. She was on her way to attend the Thirtieth International Congress of Americanists being held in London from August 18-23. After presenting two papers, neither of which dealt with Paracas, she planned to spend a few weeks in Europe studying and registering the principal collections of Peruvian artifacts to be found there. She estimated that 70 percent

of Peru's artifacts were to be found outside Peru (Anonymous 1952b). Upon her return in December, she noted that, with 50,000 artifacts, Berlin was second only to Peru in the size of its collection. She also noted that the richest collection of Paracas textiles was to be found at the Gothenburg Ethnographic Museum in Sweden.²⁶ Finally, she indicated that she had seen the abandoned 1929 Seville exhibit which included textiles in a poor state of repair. When she then stated that she had arranged for their quick return to Peru (Anonymous 1952d), I take this to mean that she was referring to the deteriorated textiles and not the entire exhibit. In any event, there is no evidence that any of the bundles or their contents have yet been returned to Peru, nor has any record of their opening been published (Paul 1990:7). Carrión returned on December 9, 1952, after having visited West Germany, Belgium, Holland, Switzerland, Italy, Greece, Spain, France, and Egypt (Anonymous 1952c).

In August 1953, it was reported in the Lima press that Isaias Mendoza del Solán, the Rector of the National University of San Agustín in Arequipa, had been told that the budget for the following year included funds to send a Paracas mummy bundle from the National Museum to the University's museum and that this transfer had been approved by the Ministry of Education (Anonymous 1953a; see also Paul 1990:7). Later, in October 1953, a Paracas mummy bundle was exhibited at the University of Trujillo (Anonymous 1953b).

Then, in October 1955, the Peruvian Senator Rodolfo Gálvez Sousa denounced the budget of 1,491 soles which had been established for the National Museum of Anthropology and Archaeology. He was outraged by the fact that lack of funding had led to the deterioration of much of its collection, including 160 of the Wari Kayan mummy

Archaeology (*ibid.*:14-18). Overseen by Dr. Pardo, Carlos A. Galimberti Miranda, a conservator at the Museum and Archaeological Institute of the University of San Antonio Abad, opened No. 27 on September 2, 1961. In this act he was aided by four others, including a photographer and the museum's artist, Emilio Araujo (*ibid.*:25-26). Details of the discoveries made during and after this opening were subsequently published (*ibid.*:26-44).

²⁶ The museum's Paracas collection was received from an unknown donor in 1935. Because the textiles relate closely to the Necropolis material found in Lima's National Museum of Anthropology and Archaeology in terms of iconography, style, and technique, it is thought that they came from a single mummy bundle taken from the Necropolis of Wari Kayan (Paul 1979:13).

bundles (Anonymous 1955a; 1955b; Editor 1955). Although Carrión had noted the needs of the museum years earlier (Anonymous 1950c), her marriage to the Swiss ethnographer Raphael Girard on December 3, 1955 (Anonymous 1955c) meant that this problem now belonged to her successor at the museum, Jorge Muelle (Anonymous 1956a).

Carrión did, however, arrange to have the Category II bundle No. 294 donated to El Salvador. She then published a detailed report on her opening of this bundle in the Lima press; a report in which she indicated her plan to present a paper on this mummy bundle at the upcoming Thirty-second International Congress of Americanists to be held in Copenhagen (Carrión Cachot de Girard 1956; English translation, this volume). Unfortunately, there is no mention of such a paper being given in the proceedings of this congress and, with her unexpected death on April 7, 1960 (Anonymous 1960) an era in which the Paracas culture held sway in Peruvian archaeology came to a close.

The Mejía Years: 1960 - 1983

With the death of Carrión, the task of continuing the work on the Necropolis bundles fell to Mejía. He had enrolled in Tello's class on general anthropology at the University of San Marcos in 1924 (Ravines 1986:334). Soon thereafter, he began a long association with Tello in which he became Tello's chief field companion and, after Tello's death, his chief biographer. Mejía was a major contributor to the work done by the staff of the Museum of Peruvian Archaeology on the Paracas Peninsula during the period 1925-1928, and, using the Tello Archive at the University of San Marcos, he has published the most detailed accounts of these excavations (Mejía Xesspe 1950; Tello 1959; Tello and Mejía Xesspe 1979). He was appointed sub-director of the National Museum of Anthropology and Archaeology in 1947 (Anonymous 1947b), but did not succeed Carrión as director. Instead, he retained his position as sub-director under Muelle. Hence, he did not have the opportunity to continue the museum's special interest in the Paracas Necropolis mummy bundles.

In 1966 Mejía retired and was named Director Emeritus of the National Museum of Anthropology and Archaeology (Milla Batres 1986, vol. 6:73). He then had time to devote to the publication of the second of a proposed three volumes on Paracas which was eventually published in 1979. In preparation for this task, he opened 54 Category III Wari Kayan mummy bundles at the National Museum of Anthropology and Archaeology during 1967 and 1968. In this endeavor, he was assisted by Oscar Santisteban Tello and Gregorio Segura Tello. Although 48 of these bundles have not been identified by number, let alone reported, information has been provided by Mejía for the remaining six. These are bundles numbered 45 (opened October 20, 1967), 48 (opened October 24, 1967), 52 and 98 (opened September 12, 1968), 99 (opened September 17, 1967), and 109 (opened September 25, 1968). Of special interest is the fact that bundles 52, 99, and 109 each contained the remains of a bearded male (Tello and Mejía Xesspe 1979:449-454). The body discovered wrapped in bundle number 52 was described as an adult male, about 50 years old, 1.6 m tall with black hair and a long black beard (Mejía Xesspe 1968).

On July 31, 1975, Mejía, assisted by James Vreeland (University of Texas at Austin), Hilda Vidal, and Tamotsu T.S. Ogata, the President of Japan's Association of Mummy Specialists, initiated the opening of Necropolis bundle No. 231 at the National Museum of Anthropology and Archaeology (Anonymous 1975a; 1975c). The opening was completed on August 2 and, despite the apparent absence of a published report, it was noted in the press that the sex of the mummified remains could not be determined (Anonymous 1975d). Though Luis G. Lumbreras, the sub-director of the museum, announced that the opening of No. 231 was to marshal in a new policy of daily public openings of mummy bundles (Anonymous 1975b), the total lack of press reports suggests that this policy was never actually put into effect.

Finally, during January, 1977, mummy bundle No. 226 was opened at the National Museum in Pueblo Libre by James Vreeland

(Tello and Mejía Xesspe 1979:489) as part of a general study of Peruvian mummy bundles (Vreeland 1977:167). No. 226 is a Category III bundle, and it is one of 51 Wari Kayan bundles for which there are reported to be text and illustrations in the Tello Archive in Lima (Valcárcel 1966:12-14). Of this total only 22 have been discussed in this paper. Limited information has been published on the contents of thirteen other bundles (Nos. 1, 2, 28, 199, 254, 258, 318, 347, 355, 364, 400, 438, and 451) (See Paul 1990:60, tables 5.2 and 5.3). That leaves sixteen bundles (Nos. 10, 39, 51, 56, 72, 75, 81, 86, 142, 151, 244, 248, 343, 362, 384, and 410) for which such information has not yet been made public.

Concluding Remarks

Since their discovery on the Paracas Peninsula over six decades ago, the 429 Wari Kayan mummy bundles have held the attention of scholars and laymen alike. Each bundle is a storehouse of information about the individual interred and the society of which he or she was a part. Technical specialists with ever increasing skill are able to discern much from their examination of even the most meager skeletal, botanical, fabric, ceramic, and mineralogic remains. By the same token, those artistically inclined can focus on concepts of style and marvel at the skill of prehistoric weavers, ceramicists, and other ancient artisans. To have participated in the opening of a bundle, to have observed such an opening, to have studied its contents, or simply to have seen such contents displayed, are all experiences to be treasured. Though the arid climate of south coastal Peru is especially conducive to the preservation of prehistoric remains, the discovery of one or a few such mummy bundles, left undisturbed by grave robbers, has proven to be an uncommon archaeological event (Paul 1992:2-8). Hence, the value in pure archaeological terms of the discovery at Wari Kayan of hundreds of such bundles.

The focus of this paper has not been on the contents of the Wari Kayan mummy bundles, nor on the nature and extent of the Paracas Necropolis culture which was responsible for leaving such remains to poster-

ity. This paper has focused instead on three individuals, Julio C. Tello, Toribio Mejía Xesspe, and Rebeca Carrión Cachot, all of whose careers became unalterably linked with the mummy bundles of the Great Necropolis of Wari Kayan.

While the history of Peruvian archaeology is often quite complicated, it seems especially so when it involves Tello. A brilliant yet volatile man, the story of his career is marked by controversy of both an intellectual and political nature. Interwoven as it is with the history of his career, then, it is not surprising that the first two decades of the history of the Wari Kayan bundles is complicated at best, and chaotic at worst. One goal of this paper has been to bring a degree of order to this chaos; to clarify and to chronicle a seemingly bewildering array of individuals and institutions, whose common thread with Tello is their relationship with these mummy bundles.

A second goal of this paper has been to bring to a wider audience the third decade of the history of these bundles, a period inextricably tied to the budding career of Tello's protégé Carrión Cachot. Cut short, first, by marriage and, then, an untimely death, her contributions have become largely forgotten. This is despite the fact that she was much more comfortable with the press and with the media at large. While Tello made limited use of the practice of the public opening of Wari Kayan bundles in order to promote their preservation and to secure operating funds for the museum that housed them, Carrión made this a much more open and normal practice. Out from under the shadow of her mentor, she demonstrated a sophisticated use of the media to promote the activities of the National Museum that she came to direct. She took full advantage of the public and professional infatuation with the Wari Kayan mummy bundles which continued unabated.

Finally, the death of Mejía in 1983 (Ravines 1986:333-340) brought to a close the involvement of persons intimately associated with the discovery of the mummy bundles of Wari Kayan. While Carrión demonstrated an obvious affinity for the spotlight during the post-Tello period, Mejía showed a preference for behind-the-scene ac-

tivities in his emphasis on archival research. In a determined fashion, he saw to the publication of two of three volumes on Paracas that had been promised by Tello. In so doing, Mejía conducted research on as yet unopened Wari Kayan mummy bundles, but out of the public eye. Though some details of these openings were made public, and though public openings were to have become once again routine at the National Museum, such has not proven to be the case. It will be interesting to see whether and to what degree an interest in these bundles remains kindled in the years to come. Be that as it may, the

mummy bundles of the Great Necropolis of Wari Kayan, their discovery and the precious insights they offer into a prehistoric life way, have achieved a significant place in the history of Peruvian archaeology.

Acknowledgment

Assistance provided me by the staff of the Interlibrary Loan Office at the University of Massachusetts, Amherst, greatly facilitated research for this paper. I would like to take this opportunity to express my appreciation.

References

Anonymous

- 1928a La exposición Ibero-americana de Sevilla de 1929. *El Comercio*, Wednesday, April 25, page 10. Lima.
- 1928b Por Palacio. *El Comercio*, Wednesday, December 5, page 22. Lima.
- 1929a Lo que será el Pabellón del Perú en la próxima Exposición de Sevilla. *El Comercio*, Friday, February 8, page 7. Lima.
- 1929b Instalación del Patronato Nacional de Arqueología. *El Comercio*, Sunday, October 6, page 2. Lima.
- 1929c Exposición especial de arte antiguo peruano del Museo de Arqueología Nacional. *El Comercio*, Tuesday, October 15, page 2. Lima.
- 1929d En el Museo de Arqueología Peruana. *El Comercio*, Thursday, October 17, page 2. Lima.
- 1929e Segundo Congreso Suramericano de Turismo. *El Comercio*, Tuesday, October 22, page 3. Lima.
- 1930 Patronato Nacional de Arqueología. *El Comercio*, Saturday, May 10, page 2. Lima.
- 1935 Field Class Under Dr. Hewett Studies in Peru. *El Palacio* 39(1):8-9.
- 1936a Truxton Beale, 80, Ex-Diplomat, Dies. *The New York Times*, Wednesday, June 3, page 21.
- 1936b Old Civilization in Peru Region Described Here. *Post-Bulletin*, Friday, September 25, page 4. Rochester, Minnesota.
- 1936c Skull of Indian Surgeon Shown on Skull of Inca. *The New York Times*, Sunday, September 27, page 1.
- 1936d Skull of 12th Century Inca Brought Here. *Post-Bulletin*, Wednesday, September 30, page 5. Rochester, Minnesota.
- 1936e Una conferencia del Doctor J. C. Tello en la ciudad de Rochester, Minn. EE.UU. *El Comercio*, Sunday, October 25, page 3. Lima.
- 1936f Gets Harvard Archaeology Post. *The New York Times*, December 12, page 10.
- 1936g Annual Meeting of the School Managing Board. *El Palacio* 41(8):37-41.
- 1937a Procedentes de Huancayo, en un avión especial, llegaron ayer a Lima los señores Rockefeller, nietos del celebre multi-millionario yanqui. *El Comercio*, Monday, May 17, page 4. Lima.
- 1937b Debido a una falla del corazón murió, a los 97 años, John Rockefeller. *El Comercio*, Monday, May 24, page 10. Lima.
- 1938a Pre-Inca Remains Go On View Today. *The New York Times*, Sunday, January 9, Section 2, page 8.
- 1938b Hacia la formación del gran Museo Peruano. *El Comercio*, Wednesday, September 21, page 2. Lima.

(Anonymous)

- 1941 Conversando con el Doctor Thomas Dale Stewart. *El Comercio*, Thursday, March 13, page 5. Lima.
- 1946 Regresó de EE.UU. el Director del Museo de Antropología. *El Comercio*, Tuesday, November 28, page 4. Lima.
- 1947a Fallecimiento del Doctor Julio C. Tello. *El Comercio*, Wednesday, June 4, afternoon edition, page 1. Lima.
- 1947b Promociones en el Museo Nacional de Antropología y Arqueología. *El Comercio*, Monday, July 14, page 2. Lima.
- 1948a La ciencia en el antiguo Perú. *El Comercio*, Saturday, March 27, page 3, afternoon edition. Lima.
- 1948b Esta mañana fueron inhumados los restos del Doctor Julio C. Tello en el Museo de Antropología de la Magdalena Vieja. *El Comercio*, Thursday, June 3, page 1, afternoon edition. Lima.
- 1949a La cirugía en el antiguo Perú. *El Comercio*, Saturday, March 26, page 3, afternoon edition. Lima.
- 1949b Sesión del Patronato Nacional de Arqueología. *El Comercio*, Tuesday, March 29, page 8. Lima.
- 1949c Patronato Nacional de Arqueología. *El Comercio*, Thursday, June 9, page 7. Lima.
- 1949d Mummy Will Visit Conference Here. *The New York Times*, Sunday, September 4, page 30.
- 1949e Pre-Inca Mummy Here From Peru. *The New York Times*, Tuesday, September 13, page 58.
- 1949f 3000-Year-Old Peruvian Mummy Eagerly Studied by Scientists Here. *The New York Times*, Friday, September 16, page 29.
- 1949g Unwrappers Fear They May Find Peruvian "Mummy" Full of Beans. *The New York Times*, Tuesday, September 20, page 30.
- 1949h Pre-Inca Mummy Cloth is 87 Feet in Length. *The New York Times*, Friday, September 23, page 26.
- 1949i Old Timer. *Newsweek* 34(13):58. September 26.
- 1949j Fancy Unwrapping. *Time* 54(14):62. October 3.
- 1949k Director of Museum Here for a Few Day's Visit. *Post-Bulletin*, Thursday, October 6, page 10. Rochester, Minnesota.
- 1949l Patronato Nacional de Arqueología. *El Comercio*, Monday, October 24, page 2. Lima.
- 1949m Declaraciones de la Doctora Rebeca Carrión Cachot sobre su viaje a los Estados Unidos. *El Comercio*, Saturday, November 19, page 3. Lima.
- 1950a Fue desembarcada esta mañana la momia de Paracas exhibida en Nueva York con ocasión del Congreso de Americanistas. *El Comercio*, Wednesday, January 4, page 1, afternoon edition. Lima.
- 1950b Hoy será revisado e inventariado el fardo de Paracas en el Museo Nacional de Antropología. *El Comercio*, Thursday, January 5, page 5. Lima.
- 1950c Sobre la construcción del nuevo local del Museo de Antropología y Arqueología, nos habla la Dra. Rebeca Carrión. *El Comercio*, Friday, August 11, page 3, afternoon edition. Lima.
- 1951a Importantes descubrimientos en la momia de Paracas que fuera llevada a EE.UU. *El Comercio*, Friday, January 19, pages 3 & 5, afternoon edition. Lima.
- 1951b Sobre la momia No. 49 nos habla el radiólogo Doctor Oscar Soto. *El Comercio*, Saturday, January 20, pages 3 & 5, afternoon edition. Lima.
- 1951c Meditación ante la momia No. 49. *El Comercio*, Friday, January 26, page 3, afternoon edition. Lima.
- 1951d Como fue encontrada la momia No. 49. *El Comercio*, Wednesday, February 7, pages 3 & 5, afternoon edition. Lima.
- 1951e Excavaciones clandestinas en la zona arqueológica de Paracas. *El Comercio*, Wednesday, March 14, page 3, afternoon edition. Lima.

(Anonymous)

- 1951f Un sensacional desenfardelamiento de una momia de Paracas. *El Comercio*, Wednesday, May 30, page 1, afternoon edition. Lima.
- 1951g Se realizó ayer la apertura de un fardo funerario de Paracas en el Museo de Arqueología. *El Comercio*, Thursday, May 31, page 3. Lima.
- 1951h Hoy será abierto un fardo funerario de Paracas en el Museo de Antropología. *El Comercio*, Tuesday, June 12, page 5. Lima.
- 1951i Se realizó ayer la apertura de otro fardo funerario de la cultura Paracas. *El Comercio*, Wednesday, June 13, page 3. Lima.
- 1951j Apertura de un fardo funerario de Paracas en el Museo Nacional de Antropología. *El Comercio*, Tuesday, September 11, page 5. Lima.
- 1951k Apertura de una momia de Paracas en el Museo de Antropología. *El Comercio*, Wednesday, September 12, page 3. Lima.
- 1951l Hoy será trasladado a Ica un fardo funerario de la cultura de Paracas. *El Comercio*, Monday, November 26, page 3. Lima.
- 1951m Notable hallazgo en una momia de Paracas. *El Comercio*, Saturday, December 1, page 3, afternoon edition. Lima.
- 1952a Se inauguró una nueva Exposición de Cirugía Precolombina en el Museo de Arqueología. *El Comercio*, Friday, March 28, page 3, afternoon edition. Lima.
- 1952b Dos aportes peruanos al XXX Congreso Internacional de Americanistas, en Londres. *El Comercio*, Thursday, August 14, page 5. Lima.
- 1952c Llegada de la Doctora Rebeca Carrión Cachot. *El Comercio*, Tuesday, December 9, page 8. Lima.
- 1952d Conversando con la Doctora Rebeca Carrión Cachot sobre su gira de estudio por diversos países europeos. *El Comercio*, Saturday, December 13, page 4. Lima.
- 1953a Universidad de Arequipa tendrá un fardo funerario de Paracas. *El Comercio*, Saturday, August 8, page 11. Lima.
- 1953b Exhíbióse en Universidad de Trujillo momia de Paracas. *El Comercio*, Sunday, October 11, page 9. Lima.
- 1955a Cámara de Diputados: denúnciase que han sufrido completo deterioro 160 fardos funerarios de Paracas. *El Comercio*, Friday, October 14, page 4. Lima.
- 1955b Urge ayuda para salvar las momias de Paracas. *El Comercio*, Saturday, October 15, page 3. Lima.
- 1955c Bendíjose en enlace de la Dra. Rebeca Carrión con el Profesor Girard. *El Comercio*, Sunday, December 4, page 10. Lima.
- 1956a Nómbrase nuevo Director del Museo Nacional de Antropología y Arqueología. *El Comercio*, Friday, January 6, page 4. Lima.
- 1956b Mrs. Beale, Donor of Decatur House. *The New York Times*, Tuesday, June 12, page 35.
- 1960 Murió en Guatemala la Doctora Rebeca Carrión Cachot de Girard. *El Comercio*, Thursday, April 7, pages 1 & 12. Lima.
- 1962 Robert Woods Bliss Dead at 86; Former U.S. Envoy to Argentina. *The New York Times*, Friday, April 20, page 27.
- 1975a Hoy harán disección de un fardo funerario de Paracas. *El Comercio*, Thursday, July 31, page 5. Lima.
- 1975b Abrirán fardos funerarios ante el público en museos. *El Comercio*, Friday, August 1, page 1. Lima.
- 1975c Hoy se reanuda disección de fardo funerario de Paracas. *El Comercio*, Friday, August 1, page 5. Lima.
- 1975d Momia habría pertenecido a grupo social de privilegio. *El Comercio*, Sunday, August 3, page 5. Lima.
- Arancibia, Alejandro
1929 Los descubrimientos arqueológicos de Paracas. *Mercurio Peruano* 19:531-534. Lima.

- Bennett, Wendell C.
 1937 Notes and News: South America. *American Antiquity* 2:315-316.
 1938 If You Died in Old Peru. *Natural History* 61(2):119-125.
- Bloom, Lansing B.
 1939 Edgar Lee Hewett: His biography and writings to date. In *So Live The Works of Men: Seventieth Anniversary Volume Honoring Edgar Lee Hewett*, edited by Donald D. Brand and Fred E. Harvey, pp. 13-34. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.
- Burger, Bob
 1949 Peruvian Archeologist Here Tells of Ancient Civilization. *Post-Bulletin*, Friday, October 7, pages 1 & 15. Rochester, Minnesota.
- Buse, Hermann
 1949 Los fardos funerarios de Paracas. *El Comercio*, Monday, September 5, page 3. Lima.
- Candela, P.B.
 1943 Blood Group Tests on Tissues of Paracas Mummies. *American Journal of Physical Anthropology* 1(1):65-67.
- Carrión Cachot, Rebeca
 1931 La indumentaria en la antigua cultura de Paracas. *Wira-Kocha* 1:36-86. Lima.
 1949a Medicina y cirugía en el antiguo Perú II. *El Comercio*, Tuesday, March 29, pages 3 & 7, afternoon edition. Lima.
 1949b *Paracas: Cultural Elements*. Lima: National Corporation of Tourism.
- Carrión Cachot de Girard, Rebeca
 1956 Apreciaciones científicas sobre el fardo funerario de Paracas No. 294. *El Comercio*, Thursday, July 19, page 2. Lima.
- Clapesattle, Helen
 1941 *The Doctors Mayo*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Daggett, Richard E.
 1992 Paracas: Discovery and Controversy. In *Paracas Art and Architecture: Object and Context in South Coastal Peru*, edited by Anne Paul, pp. 35-60. Iowa City: University of Iowa Press.
- Davis, Emily C.
 1941 Peru's Mummies Measured. *El Palacio* 48:164-165.
- Desmond, James
 1964 *Nelson Rockefeller: A Political Bibliography*. New York: The Macmillan Company.
- Dutton, Bertha P.
 1935 The 1935 Expedition to Peru. *El Palacio* 39(19):97-110.
- Easby, Dudley T. Jr.
 1966 Samuel Kirkland Lothrop, 1892-1965. *American Antiquity* 31:256-261.
- Editor
 1935 The Instituto Arqueológico del Cuzco, Peru. *American Anthropologist* 37:372.
 1949a Una muestra de la cultura peruana antigua en Nueva York. *El Comercio*, Wednesday, August 31, page 3, afternoon edition. Lima.
 1949b Arqueología y turismo. *El Comercio*, Saturday, November 19, page 3, afternoon edition. Lima.
 1951a Los estudios antropológicos y arqueológicos: la antigüedad del hombre de Paracas. *El Comercio*, Monday, January 22, page 3, afternoon edition. Lima.
 1951b Grave atentado contra nuestro patrimonio arqueológico. *El Comercio*, Thursday, March 15, page 3, afternoon edition. Lima.
 1951c Apertura de fardos funerarios de Paracas. *El Comercio*, Monday, June 18, page 3, afternoon edition. Lima.
 1955 Los restos de la cultura Paracas. *El Comercio*, Sunday, October 16, page 2. Lima.
- Fisher, Reginald
 1947 Edgar Lee Hewett. *American Antiquity* 13:78-79.

- Gálvez, José
 1931 Aprobación del convenio celebrado entre el Rector de la Universidad y el Director del Museo Nacional. *El Comercio*, Saturday, June 13, page 3. Lima.
- Heliodoro Valle, Rafael
 1937 Diálogo con Julio C. Tello. *Universidad*, October, pages 20-24. Mexico City.
- Hewett, Edgar Lee
 1928 On the Revival of Certain Indigenous American Arts. *Proceedings of the XXII International Congress of Americanists*, pp. 549-560. Rome, 1926.
- Kaplan, Morris L.
 1949 Ancient Mummy Exposed to Light with Gold Bands, Feathers on Head. *The New York Times*, Wednesday, September 21, page 33.
- Kidder, Alfred II
 1943 Some Early Sites in the Northern Lake Titicaca Basin. *Papers of the Harvard University Peabody Museum of American Archaeology and Ethnology* 27(1).
- Kidder, Mary B.
 1942 *No Limits But The Sky: The Journal of an Archaeologist's Wife in Peru*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Knox, Sanka
 1957 Experts Restore Peruvian Mantle. *The New York Times*, Sunday, May 5, page 87.
- Lothrop, Samuel K.
 1948 Julio C. Tello, 1880 - 1947. *American Antiquity* 14:50-56.
 1963 Robert Woods Bliss, 1875 - 1962. *American Antiquity* 29:92-93.
- Mejía Xesspe, Toribio
 1948 Apuntes bibliográficos sobre el Doctor Julio C. Tello. *Revista del Museo Nacional de Antropología y Arqueología* 2(1 and 2):1-34. Lima.
 1950 Historia del descubrimiento de la cultura Paracas. *El Comercio*, Wednesday, July 26, pages 3-4 and Thursday, July 27, pages 3-4. Afternoon editions. Lima.
 1964 Julio C. Tello. In *Biblioteca Hombres del Perú*, 3rd series, edited by Hernán Alva Orlandini. Volume 28, pp. 51-111. Lima: Editorial Universitaria.
 1968 Un hombre de Paracas con luengas barbas. *El Comercio*, Tuesday, June 11, page 2. Lima.
- Milla Batres, Carlos (editor)
 1986 *Diccionario histórico y bibliográfico del Perú, Siglos XV - XX*. 9 Volumes. Lima: Editorial Milla Batres.
- Muelle, Jorge C.
 1931 Paracas: nuevas excavaciones en Cerro Colorado. *El Comercio*, Sunday, October 4, pages 16-17. Lima.
- Niles, Blair
 1937 *A Journey In Time*. New York: Bobbs-Merrill.
- Pardo, Luis A.
 1953 Informe sobre la apertura del fardo funerario de Paracas No. 375. *Cuzco* 15:202-208. Peru.
- Pardo, Luis A. and Carlos A. Galimberti M.
 1963 Apertura del fardo funerario No. 27, procedente de Paracas. *Cuzco* 13(20):9-44. Peru.
- Paul, Anne
 1979 Paracas Textiles Selected From The Museum's Collections. Göteborgs Etnografiska Museum. *Etnologiska Studier* 34. Gothenburg, Sweden.
 1990 *Paracas Ritual Attire: Symbols of Authority in Ancient Peru*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.
 1992 Paracas: An Ancient Cultural Tradition on the South Coast of Peru. In *Paracas Art And Architecture: Object and Context in South Coastal Peru*, edited by Anne Paul, pp. 1-34. Iowa City: University of Iowa Press.

- Ravines, Rogger
1986 Toribio Mejía Xesspe (1896-1983). *Revista del Museo Nacional* 47 (1983-1985):333-340. Lima.
- Seegers, Scott
1950 Rebeca and the Mummy. *The Americas* 2:6-10, 40-41.
- Speers, L.C.
1928 100,000 Peruvians Shout "viva Hoover" in Streets of Lima. *The New York Times*, Thursday, December 6, pages 1 & 3.
- Stewart, T.D.
1943 Skeletal Remains from a Peruvian Mummy Bundle. *American Journal of Physical Anthropology* 1 (1):47-61.
- Strong, William Duncan
1943 Cross Sections of New World Prehistory: A Brief Report on the Work of the Institute of Andean Research, 1941-1942. *Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections* 104(2):1-46.
- Tello, Julio C.
1928 Los descubrimientos del Museo de Arqueología Peruana en la Península de Paracas. *Proceedings of the XXII International Congress of Americanists*, Volume 1, pp. 679-690. Rome, 1926.
1929 *Antiguo Perú: primera época*. Edited by the commission organized for the Second South American Tourism Congress. Lima.
1930 Una Carta del Director del Museo de Arqueología Peruana: Del periódico, del editor, de los títulos de los artículos y de los autores de éstos. *El Comercio*, Tuesday, September 16, page 15. Lima.
1933 Las ruinas del valle de Nepeña. *El Comercio*, Saturday, October 14, page 7. Lima.
1942 Origen y desarrollo de las civilizaciones pre-históricas andinas. *Proceedings of the XXVII International Congress of Americanists*, volume 1, part 2, pp. 589-720. Lima, 1939.
1959 *Paracas: primera parte*. Lima: Empresa Gráfica Scheuch S.A.
1978 Del epistolario de Riva Agüero. *Arqueología PUC* 17/18 (1975-1976):3-6. Lima.
- Tello, Julio C. y Toribio Mejía Xesspe
1967 Historia de los Museos Nacionales del Perú, 1822-1946. *Arqueológicas* 10. Lima.
1979 *Paracas II parte: Cavernas y Necropolis*. Anthropological publication of the "Julio C. Tello" Archive. Lima: University of San Marcos and New York: The Institute of Andean Research.
- Towle, Margaret A.
1952 Plant Remains from a Peruvian Mummy Bundle. *Botanical Museum Leaflets* 15 (9):223-245. Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts.
- Trotter, Mildred
1943 Hair from Paracas Indian Mummies. *American Journal of Physical Anthropology* 1 (1):69-75.
- Valcárcel, Carlos D.
1966 *El Archivo Tello*. Lima.
- Valcárcel, Luis E.
1936 La prehistoria peruana en 1934-35. *Revista del Museo Nacional* 5(1):39-51. Lima.
1937 Los estudios peruanos de 1936. *Revista del Museo Nacional* 6(1):58-66. Lima.
1981 *Memorias*. Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos.
- Vreeland, James
1977 Ancient Andean Textiles: Clothes for the Dead. *Archaeology* 30(3):166-178.
- Walter, Paul A.F. Sr.
1939 A Half Century of Achievement. In *So Live The Works Of Men. Seventieth Anniversary Volume Honoring Edgar Lee Hewett*, edited by Donald D. Brand and Fred E. Harvey, pp. 43-48. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.

Willey, Gordon R.

1988 *Portraits In American Archaeology: Remembrances of Some Distinguished Americanists.* Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.

Yácovleff, Eugenio y Jorge C. Muelle

1932 Una exploración en Cerro Colorado. *Revista del Museo Nacional* 1(2):31-102. Lima.

1934 Un fardo funerario de Paracas. *Revista del Museo Nacional* 3(1-2):63-153. Lima.

Woodbury, Richard B.

1993 *60 Years of Southwestern Archaeology: A History of the Pecos Conference.* Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.