

2007

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Recommended Citation

Steinberg, Ellen F. and Prost, Jack H. (2007) "Bringing Ethnography Home: Knut Hjalmar Stolpe's Works in Peru (1884)," *Andean Past*: Vol. 8 , Article 13.

Available at: https://digitalcommons.library.umaine.edu/andean_past/vol8/iss1/13

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BRINGING ETHNOGRAPHY HOME:
KNUT HJALMAR STOLPE'S WORK IN PERU (1884)

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INTRODUCTION

Ancón, on Peru's central coast, is one of the most explored, excavated, and plundered sites in that country. Located approximately 32 km north of Lima, the small fishing village has been a seaside resort for more than one hundred years (Figure 1). Its real fame does not reside in its sandy beaches but rather in its huge graveyard. The dry desert climate naturally preserves virtually everything that is buried. Around 1870, the railroad linking Lima with Chancay inadvertently cut through the southern edge of the Necropolis, thereby exposing huge numbers of pre-Contact period artifacts and mummy bundles. This rail connection between the capital and Ancón encouraged and facilitated the weekend sport of pot hunting in and around the graveyard. The magnitude of burials at the site practically assured that anyone who put shovel or metal prod into the sand would discover some sort of prehistoric souvenir. Any number of these items, including human skeletal remains, ended up in Lima for sale to tourists, while others, mingled with sand used as steam ship ballast, found their way to both America and Europe (Reiss and Stübel, 1998 [1880-1887], Volume I, Introduction to Plates 1-4, np).

Two of the earliest scientists recorded as having worked at Ancón were the German geographers, Wilhelm Reiss and Alphons

Stübel. Their intent was to document the tombs before the Necropolis was totally destroyed. The results of their 1875 excavation were originally published between 1880 and 1887 in 15 volumes titled *Das Todtenfeld von Ancon in Peru*, republished in English as *The Necropolis of Ancon in Peru . . .* The next large scientific excavation at the site was performed by George Amos Dorsey in 1891. Dorsey wrote about this work in his 1894 dissertation, *An Archaeological Study Based On A Personal Exploration of Over One Hundred Graves At The Necropolis of Ancon Peru*. The mummies and artifacts he recovered are housed in the Field Museum (Chicago), but the dissertation remains unpublished. In between Reiss and Stübel, and Dorsey, a number of other men found their way to the site. Among the most prominent was Dr. Knut Hjalmar Stolpe, a Swedish archaeologist, who did so while a member of the 1883-1885 *Vanadis* Expedition.

STOLPE AND THE VANADIS EXPEDITION

In December 1883, the Swedish frigate *Vanadis* began her circumnavigation of the globe, a trip that lasted until May 1885 (Stolpe 1889:5). Ports of call included Brazil, Chile, Peru, the Marquesas, Hawaii, the Marshall Islands, Tahiti, Japan, the Philippines, Siam (Thailand), Singapore, British Hong Kong, India, Africa, Egypt, Malta, and Gibraltar. Aboard the frigate were Crown Prince Oscar, meteorologist Gottfrid Fineman, Dr. Karl Rud-

berg, physician and marine biologist, the photographer O. B. Ekholm, and Dr. Knut Hjalmar Stolpe, along with more than 300 officers and sailors (Manneby 1978:16-19). The voyage provided an opportunity to train Swedish seamen, but there were other goals as well.

According to Hans Manneby, in the 1978 introduction to *Båtsman* (Seaman) Johan Oskar Humbla's expedition journal:

The *Vanadis* had some scientific missions [to accomplish that were] similar to those of her predecessor, the *Eugénie* [in 1851]. The captain's orders were: "Regarding the useful facts that this expedition will collect, it is your duty to facilitate matters for those whose jobs it is [to gather] scientific data, both the people who are employed by the King his Majesty, like scientists, and persons, such as officers and doctors, who are commanded by the ship."

One prominent scientist onboard was the archaeologist and ethnographer, [Dr. Knut] Hjalmar Stolpe. He was most famous for his extensive excavation of the Viking trading center Birka at Björkö in Lake Mälaren. During the ten years [he spent] at that site, he examined over one thousand graves, and by so doing, had begun serious research on the earliest "city" in Sweden. After that time, Stolpe began to move away from archaeology, and devoted himself instead to the relatively new science of ethnography.

At this time in Sweden, ethnographic research was in its infancy. There was still no ethnographic museum and only a small collection of objects from foreign cultures stowed away in the section for vertebrates at the National Museum. However, interest in social anthropological research was steadily increasing, and Hjalmar Stolpe was among its foremost enthusiasts. In 1873, he became one of the founders of the Society for Anthropology, and five years later he arranged a general ethnographic exhibition in Stockholm. [For this exhibit] Stolpe borrowed a large number of the items from

private citizens around Sweden. When the exhibition, which garnered a great deal of attention, was over, and the items were about to be returned to their owners, the lack of an ethnographic museum seemed more acute than ever.

In 1883, Stolpe secured an opportunity to lay the foundation of an independent collection. He was asked to join, in an official capacity, the frigate *Vanadis* for a 'round the world voyage, and to collect objects for a Swedish ethnographical museum. This [mission] was not a problem-free task since the circumnavigating vessel frequently did not have time to stay [at places] where it was most suitable [to secure specimens] from an ethnographical point of view, and, [too,] there was no time to wait [while materials were being accumulated]. During the short shore leaves, the energetic work by the "photo assistant," O.B. Ekholm, proved to be an invaluable complement to that performed by Stolpe himself (Manneby 1978:16-17; for the original Swedish, see Appendix, Text 1.)

Humbla recorded the *Vanadis*'s arrival in battle-scarred Peru. He stated,

On the third of April [1884], we dropped anchor at Callao, a port town 10 km from Lima, the capital of Peru [Figure 1] . . . The city of Callao had been bombed out [during the War of the Pacific, 1879-1883] and its fortifications had been destroyed during the war that had raged for several years. The soldiers who had survived the war were so thin and miserable it was tragic to see them (Manneby 1978:31; for the original Swedish, see Appendix, Text 2).

That Humbla was not exaggerating about the extent of the destruction the Chileans had wreaked upon Peru during the war can be verified by two Courret photographs taken of

the city of Chorrillos (Figures 2-3).¹ The damage was so extensive, and Peru's treasury so empty, that the struggle to rebuild lasted many years past the 1883 Treaty of Ancón which officially ended the conflict.

Because the *Vanadis's* voyage was of great interest to the Swedish people, Hjalmar Stolpe filed regular reports about his activities, which were then published in a series of "Letters to the Editor" in the provincial edition of the daily newspaper, *Stockholms Dagblad*. He also supposedly kept journals for the countries the frigate visited. Yet, if he made any record in book form detailing his 11 days in Peru, it was not among the other *Vanadis* Expedition journals donated to the Etnografiska Museet in Stockholm. All told, the Museum owns ten extant notebooks from that voyage. These are numbered 1 through 11, and are archived with the *Vanadis* Expedition materials. The first notebook contains data about Stolpe's activities in Brazil and Chile. Notebook number 3 begins after the *Vanadis* has left Peru. Notebook number 2 which, theoretically, would have covered Peru, is missing.

Stolpe used some of the materials he collected during the *Vanadis* voyage to illustrate his theory about the evolution of ornamentation in art (Stolpe 1890; 1896; 1927). However, he never published his field notes or journals from that trip. Further, secondary sources have fostered a misconception concerning the nature of his work at Ancón, Peru.

This paper, using Stolpe's written works and previously untapped archival sources, addresses these issues. Data contained herein will also permit a better understanding of the theoretical framework to which Stolpe subscribed, and by

which he organized and collected materials while on the *Vanadis* Expedition.

STOLPE'S ACTIVITIES AT ANCÓN

Documentation of Stolpe's activities in Peru include a news report Stolpe filed, correspondence mentioning him from a contemporary source, information that Stolpe published later, his handwritten lists with original catalog numbers, dated photographs from a museum in Lima, as well as pictures taken by the expedition's photographer. Together, they permit a reasonably accurate reconstruction of Stolpe's activities in Peru.

In August 1884, Stolpe wrote to the *Stockholms Dagblad* editor that he had visited Ancón (*Stockholms Dagblad*, *landsortsupplaga*, *Bref från Vanadis*, Number 6, 18 August 1884, columns 1-3; subsequent citation = SD 18 August 1884). The town, as shown in a Courret photograph taken around 1880 from the Mendoza private collection in Lima (Figure 4), was not of great interest to the archaeologist. What intrigued Stolpe were Ancón's prehistoric graves. As he reported in that letter to the editor, "[When] a stranger comes to Peru he always wants to study the archaeology of the country, more or less" (SD 18 August 1884; for original Swedish see Appendix, Text 3). Stolpe continued:

... Despite the short time [we were ashore in Peru], I wanted to personally examine the Ancón graveyard located a couple of hours out from Lima by railway.

Before the war, the seaside resort of Ancón had been the most elegant in Peru. The rich families from Lima stayed there during the hottest period [of the summer]. The place was almost totally destroyed due to Chilean bombardments [during the War] and now what is left is about to be covered by flying sand. This is because the entire site is only flying sand. A long valley extends toward the mountains from

¹ French photographers Eugène and Aquile Courret and their successors operated a fashionable Lima photography studio from 1865 until the 1940s.

the bay where some houses are located, but I do not dare give an exact distance because the fields of flying sand deceive the eye. However, I am not exaggerating when I say that the site is about 8 km, or perhaps 10 km, wide. The whole area is a graveyard. Wherever you dig you will reach a grave, or at the very least you will find relics, because the field has been plundered in an abominable way. Very few careful searches have been done [of the graveyard], and among these, the examinations by the German doctors, Reiss and Stübel, are the best.

Ever since the railway was finished [circa 1870], it has become a common Sunday excursion for amateurs to travel out to Ancon to explore [the graveyard], hire a couple of cholos (half- or full blood Indians), then start to dig. All this [effort] to find unbroken and beautiful huacos. The damaged or simple [undecorated] pieces are thrown away. Mummies are dug up, but if they do not have any valuable things on them, or if they are not in very good shape, they are left on the ground. Because of this, the whole field is now covered by pot sherds, and fragments of, or even complete, mummies, ample numbers of pieces of woven cloth from which one can make a selection, as well as skulls and parts of skeletons [Figure 5]. It breaks my heart to see this destruction!

I brought a waiter from Callao [with me to the site to serve] as a guide and an interpreter. He was an experienced treasure hunter, and I had been told that he knew Ancon well. When we arrived [there,] I discovered that he was totally useless, so I joined a North American [treasure hunter] who was taking things from the graves. I hired him and his team for 5 days and began to dig.

You dig by first sticking a long, thick iron rod into the sand. If this rod penetrates further than 2 feet into the ground, you will usually find a grave.

The graves are round cavities in the sand, of different depths, 5-10 feet or more, and perhaps 5-6 feet in diameter, and the corpse has

been placed in a seated position with the knees under the chin and wrapped in several types of clothing or woven carpets. Around the corpse, the person's belongings, such as huacos, weapons (wooden spears) etc. are placed. Everything is covered with air-dried "adobe", stones formed by mud and water. If the sand sifts between such "adobe", a grave is certainly there [Figure 6].

I examined 11 such graves. They did not contain any valuables, but nonetheless, some of the recovered artifacts were good because they could tell you how the funeral ceremony had been carried out. A large number of boxes were filled with mummies, crania, ceramics etc. Textiles of all kinds, some of which had been surface finds, others that had been wrapped around the mummies, were used as stuffing in the boxes. "Textiles are cheaper than straw", said the American.

At the moment, I cannot list everything that was sent home, but [can tell you that] 18 boxes were shipped with assistance from the Swedish consul in Callao, via Hamburg to Stockholm. . . .

The work I did [at Ancón] made it impossible for me to accompany Prince Oscar and most of the officers for an excursion on [the] Oroya Railroad line (Figure 1). [Consequently,] I only know that area from looking at photographs. But my face actually becomes hot [all over again] when I recall how I felt in that field of flying sand at Ancon, where it was impossible to stand still for more than half a minute without getting burned through the soles [of my] shoes. And the sand that blew into my face! In spite of this, I would have missed one month [of the voyage] or more if I could have examined the desert of Ancon! And [just think] how many other, even more important places are in Peru to which the railway and the grave robbers have not yet come! . . . (SD 18 August 1884; for original Swedish see Appendix, Text 4).

Numerous items in the Swedish Etnografiska Museet's *Vanadis* Expedition catalogue are listed as having come from Ancón (original catalogue numbers V.21.1a-11e and V.21b.2-258; now catalogued in the Museum as 1887.8.932a-942e, 943-1189). These include five mummies with their grave goods, along with surface-collected textiles. This material along with purchases of artifacts Stolpe made in Peru, then shipped back to Stockholm, form a well-known but seldom-studied assemblage.

STOLPE'S OTHER ACTIVITIES IN PERU

Stolpe informed the *Stockholms Dagblad* editor that while he was in Lima he studied ancient artifacts belonging to Professor Antonio Raimondi, Dr. Sáenz, Dr. Macedo, and the German businessman, Wilhelm Gretzer (SD 18 August 1884). Two of the collections Stolpe examined in Lima are listed in Museum records as belonging to "Nicholas Sáenz" and "[J]osé M[ariano] Macedo". Photographs of Macedo's museum taken by the professional photographer, R. Castillo of Lima are among the *Vanadis* Expedition materials (Figure 7). These photos most likely date to around 1877 as suggested by the small sign in front of the ceramic vessels. However, they also have the additional date of April 5, 1884 written in Stolpe's hand. Although Stolpe mentioned that he photographed almost every piece in Gretzer's smaller collection, those pictures were not located. Next, Stolpe said he bought antiquities in Lima from a number of sources. These purchases included the contents of an entire shop owned by a bankrupt shoemaker. According to Stolpe, the shoemaker had begun collecting because he was interested in Peruvian material, but after the War of the Pacific ruined him, found he needed to sell his pieces. Stolpe examined the collection, and began to negotiate a price for the entire inventory. These negotiations required that Stolpe leave the store a few times, but then return to continue haggling. He commented

that the final price for more than 200 ceramic vessels, a few of which were modern, "weavings, spinning equipment, idols etc." was a bargain. Then, while at the city market, he managed to secure articles made by Indian tribes living in the highland interior of Peru. All these pieces were intended for a planned Ethnographic Museum in Stockholm. (For original Swedish see Appendix, Text 5.)

The Etnografiska Museet's *Vanadis* Expedition catalogue lists item numbers and descriptions for the purchases Stolpe made in Lima. From M. P. J. Laporte, Stolpe bought a huge number of "clay vessels from Guadalupe, Pacasmayo, Chiclayo, Chimbote, Pachacamac, Trujillo, Chancay, Ancón and Piura," human and animal figures in clay, textiles, weaving implements, basketry, woven slings, rings, mummy hands, and shells, interspersed with a few modern pieces (original catalogue number V. 16.1-728; now 1887.8.153-874). Most likely, then, Laporte was the bankrupt shoemaker whose entire inventory Stolpe bought for the bargain price of "250 piaster" (SD 18 August 1884).² From M. Tronchin, he acquired mostly ethnologic objects made by the "Campa [Eastern Peru], Rio Ucayali [Amazon] and Chunchos [Iquique, Chile]" groups. These were textiles, beads, necklaces, and arrows (original catalogue number V.17.1-28; now 1887.8.875-902). From J. J. Brulante, he secured bowls and figures, reputedly from Chancay (original catalogue number V.18.1-12; now 1887.8.903-914). From

² The word "piaster" came to be applied to all pieces of silver (*Oxford English Dictionary* 1971, *s.v.*). Stolpe did not indicate which currency he used to pay the shoemaker for his entire collection, but the amount was the most that he had spent for artifacts up to that time. It is this cost, when coupled with the large number of artifacts purchased from M. P. J. Laporte, then added to Stolpe's report to the editor of the *Stockholms Dagblad* concerning the shoemaker's inventory, that strongly suggests that Laporte was the war-ruined shoemaker forced to liquidate his collection.

the market in Lima, he purchased modern items listed initially as “from the highlands” on museum records (original catalogue number V. 19.1-15; now 1887.8.915-929). From “George Kilfer [sic] of Ancón and Lima”, he bought pottery, textiles, and woven slings (original catalogue numbers V.22.1-97; now 1887.8.1190-1286).³

About his last Sunday in Peru, Stolpe noted,

Easter Day I visited several ruins of ancient buildings, huge things built from ‘adobe’, at Magdalena del Mar. . . . Even Huaca ruins are good for digging because [later] in Lima on Easter Day [,] I saw a man who had been working along with a couple of other men to break down one of the most beautiful ruins at Magdalena del Mar, selling curios. If I—I won’t say what I was tempted to do to that man” (SD 18 August 1884; for original Swedish see Appendix, Text 6).

Ekhholm’s photographs in the Etnografiska Museet show ruins identified only as being at Magdalena del Mar (Figure 1). In one picture at that site, Stolpe appears to be taking notes on a folded piece of paper while standing next to a wall frieze (Figure 8). Scattered skeletal remains are to his right. Museum records list one human cranium, a reed mat fragment, and two shells from that locale (original catalogue number V. 23.1-4; now 1887.8.1287-1290). Because there is no seller’s name attached to these particular articles, the implication is that Stolpe collected

them from the surface of the site himself. He only spent a single day exploring those ruins because, according to Humbla, “[The *Vanadis*] weighed anchor and left [Peru] on Easter Monday the 14th of April [1884]” (Manneby 1978:31; for original Swedish text see Appendix, Text 7).

The photographic archives in the Etnografiska Museet also contain three pictures of Peruvians, perhaps helpers Stolpe hired at Ancón. One shows a full-length portrait of young boy, while the other two are full-face and profile views of an older man (Figure 9). Most likely Stolpe directed the photographer, O. B. Ekhholm, to take these particular shots.

THE NATURE OF STOLPE’S WORK AT ANCÓN

The earliest reference in English that concerns Stolpe’s activities at Ancón appears to have been his obituary in the 1906 *American Anthropologist* (Culin 1906:150-156). This obituary was “condensed from a memoir by Dr. Gustaf Retzius in *Ymer*, Part 1, 1905” (Culin 1906:150). In his version, Culin stated, “From this expedition [on the *Vanadis*], which extended over a period of two years, [Stolpe] brought home more than 7,500 specimens, in part from South America where he made excavations at Ancon in Peru” (Culin 1906:151).⁴

Chronologically, the next reference in English, found about Stolpe’s activities at Ancón was written by Gösta Montell in 1948 for the Swedish journal, *Ethnos*:

The first more significant archaeological collections from Peru, which were incorporated

³ Stolpe’s original catalogue shows this seller’s name as “George Kiefer.” When these lists were transcribed following the donation of the *Vanadis* Expedition material to the Etnografiska Museet in 1887, the artifacts were renumbered, and the seller’s name was incorrectly typed as “Kilfer” with the notation “of Ancon and Lima” added. A similar non-intentional name change occurred when Kiefer’s photograph in the Courret Archives of the National Library in Lima was scanned for their on-line catalogue. The Archives hold other photographs of “Kieffer” family members living in Peru who were no relation to George.

⁴ On page 5 of his 1889 address at the Eighth International Congress of Orientalists, Stolpe stated he had collected approximately 6,300 articles during the *Vanadis* voyage, but the Etnografiska Museet records list 7,000 items.

with the Swedish State collections, were brought home by Dr. Hjalmar Stolpe. In the capacity of ethnographer and archaeologist he had, as is known, the opportunity to accompany the frigate *Vanadis* on its sail round the world in 1883-1885. The result was huge collections from all the countries whose coasts the vessel put in at, and from the visit to Peru he brought home thousands of objects, mainly from the central coastal grave fields. Dr. Stolpe even managed to make excavations of a number of graves in Ancón. Unfortunately his material still lies unpublished, which is all the more regrettable as he was one of the first to apply European archaeological working methods in Peru.

Stolpe's collections are naturally exceedingly valuable to the museum, but they can in no way be said to be representative of Old Peruvian art as a whole. Practically speaking, only the central coastland culture is represented, with comparatively primitive pottery, textiles, and so on (Montell 1948:103-104).

A later mention, although in Spanish, of Stolpe's work in Peru appears in John Rowe's 1959 chronological listing of Peruvian archaeology and archaeologists. He wrote that Knut Hjalmar Stolpe, the archaeologist who, in 1871, invented modern excavation techniques, dug a number of tombs at Ancón, and that these excavations were accomplished while Stolpe was part of the *Vanadis* Expedition. Rowe further stated that although the materials Stolpe excavated were housed at the Ethnographic Museum in Stockholm, his field notes about the excavations had disappeared (Rowe 1959:4; for original Spanish, see Appendix, Text 8).

Montell believed that Stolpe, famous for his careful excavations at the early Viking settlement of Birka on the island of Björkö, Sweden, in which he recorded the contents of each tomb and the precise placement of objects within, was among the first Europeans to apply scientific methods when excavating in Peru. It is unclear

how or why he arrived at this conclusion, but it has become an accepted "fact." However, Stolpe's obituary written by Culin (1906:152) provides a clue. Referring only to Stolpe's field notes from his Swedish excavations, Culin stated:

It is to be regretted that Stolpe did not find the opportunity to publish more exhaustive descriptions. By nature he was extremely punctilious and critical both in form and in content before publication. A series of works of monumental character, both in Swedish archaeology and in general ethnology, might have been built upon his researches, but partly through force of adverse circumstances and partly on account of his deep consciousness, he was not successful in concluding them before his untimely death.

Four contemporary lines of evidence suggest that Montell's assumption about the scientific nature of Stolpe's excavations at Ancón is not accurate. The first is Stolpe's previously quoted newspaper account about his activities at Ancón. In that article, Stolpe in no way implied that he excavated in an organized, scientific manner. In fact, he stated that he linked up with a North American "who was taking things from the graves."

The second is letters written by George Kiefer in 1884 [called "George Kiefer of Ancón and Lima" in the transcribed Etnografiska Museet records]. Kiefer is the North American whom Stolpe joined at Ancón. Ekholm's photograph of Stolpe at that site shows an unidentified man who may be Ekholm, himself, to Stolpe's left, and a bearded Kiefer backed by a team of five native helpers to his right (Figure 10).

Identification of Kiefer was made with the assistance of Federico Kauffmann Doig who recognized the bearded man in the Ekholm photograph as "*Un colector de antigüedades*" once caricatured by B. Garay in the cultural and

literary magazine, *El Peru Ilustrado* (1887:12; Figure 11). A note on page two states that the subject of this caricature was a well-known figure in the area (*Un colector de antigüedades, bien conocido en este lugar. . .*). Kauffmann Doig (1971:83) later reproduced the caricature in *Arqueología Peruana: Visión Integral*. According to the author, the drawing had been based on a Courret photograph (Federico Kauffmann Doig, personal communications 20 September 2002-2 December 2002). The photograph was located in Lima's *Archivo Fotográfico Courret, Biblioteca Nacional del Perú* (Figure 12). Although listed in their records as being of "George Kieffer, *Coleccionista de antigüedades*", a contemporary notation on the side of the negative spells his name correctly as "George Kiefer."

George W. Kiefer had arrived in Peru during October 1880 with Captain Paul Boyton (1848-1924). Boyton, an intrepid Irish-American soldier of fortune, was famous for floating down the waterways of the world in his inflatable, patented Merriman suit. He often employed advance men, newsmen, or assistants to drum up local interest in his standardized entertainment routine (Paul Boyton Papers, Margaret M. Tobin Center for Archives and Special Collections, Pasquerilla Library, St. Francis University, Loretto, Pennsylvania, volumes 1-4). As the finale of his act, for which he charged admission, Boyton paddled out to a miniature full-rigged ship, attached an explosive charge, then called a torpedo, to its hull, and then blew it up using an electric timing device. Nicolás de Piérola, the on-again-off-again President of Peru, met Boyton in Paris during the 1878 World Exposition where Boyton was performing (Boyton 1892: 260).

During the War of the Pacific, Chilean warships blockaded Peru's ports and wreaked destruction along her coast. Piérola, who at that time had returned to power in Peru, remembered Boyton. He subsequently hired him to

blow up the marauding warships (Boyton 1892: 257). Boyton and Kiefer, a Prussian-German immigrant who was Boyton's assistant at that time, were unsuccessful in their attempts. Boyton was captured by Chileans when Lima fell in January 1881, and sentenced to death. In April of that year, he escaped from prison, ultimately landing in New York with nothing in his pockets. According to Boyton's autobiography, Kiefer fled to the mountains to avoid arrest (Boyton 1892: 295).

During the course of his war work Kiefer became familiar with the Ancón cemetery (Anon. 1889:5). After the conflict ended, Kiefer remained in Peru selling antiquities until illness forced his return to the United States in 1889. He died a few months later, with the Peruvian antiquities from his estate being auctioned in New York City on October 25, 1889 by George A. Leavitt and Company. (For the text of the auction notice see Appendix, Text 9.) It was purchased by Dr. G. J. Fischer and Charles Steigeowalt or Steigerwalt (Anon 1890:1), the latter a rare coins dealer. Before his death, Kiefer had set up an antiquities export business with Boyton occasionally acting as Kiefer's agent in New York. Kiefer also sold artifacts directly to customers who included Sypher & Company, New York antiquities dealers; William Eleroy Curtis, a newsman for Chicago's *Inter-Ocean* paper and State Department Commissioner to Latin America; S. F. Baird, Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution; and Dr. Knut Hjalmar Stolpe. Some of Kiefer's buyers are mentioned in letters he addressed to S. F. Baird and Paul Boyton. This correspondence is in the Smithsonian Institution Archives, Record Unit 305 (Office of the Registrar, 1834- 1958), Box 71, Accessions 14878 and 14978; subsequent citation = SIA 1884).

On May 22, 1884, Kiefer wrote to S. F. Baird about his activities in Peru (SIA 1884).

Portions of that communiqué follow without corrections to spelling or punctuation.

. . . I am just now preparing an expedition in search of Inca antiquities to Chancay and Pasamayo which is on the coast several leagues to the north of Ancon. I could not give you a complete list of articles on hand as what I have are constantly changing— however I can partly fill your request with what I have at present and probably complete your demand at the completion of my intended expedition which will begin in five days from date— . . . I dug a grave at Arica two years ago . . . The Chilean authorities prohibited me from making any further excavations— The articles I have most consistently on hand is all kinds of pottery. White and red— such as cooking pots sometimes containing the remnants of food occasionally plainly discernable such as potatoes, beans, yucas, camote (sweet potatoes) corn &c. Gourds such as the Incas used for cover of cooking pot which also served as a plate, and a smaller kind of cover for “chicha Jug” which also served as a drinking glass. Gourds are also found inside the inner wrappings of the mummies with food and ears of toasted corn. “Chicha Jugs” of all dimensions from 1 foot to 5 in circumference. I have seen one of 18 feet in circumference dug out of a grave in which were twelve human bodies— Water crofts, which is always the most fantastic article in pottery— they bearing all kinds of hieroglyphics and representations in etchings and sketchings also figures in bold relief of animals, birds, reptiles, and fish, which in some instances whistles by a cleverly constructed whistle. “Earthen Plates” both deep and flat. Drinking Cups. “Idols” from one to sixteen inches in height. Cloths made from vicuna wool, and cotton, some with figures and different colors woven in, others stamped as with dye. Some marked with paint—Works in straw, in the shape of oblong square workbaskets with cover on corded hinge, hats &c articles made from Reed in the shape of baskets, hollow reed sticks containing lime. Sometimes gold or silver dust—Mummies generally in their wrappings and sometimes entirely nude. Articles in Wood

such as reels, spindles, weaving sticks, idols, implements of war &c. In the matter of implements of war in copper, bronze, and stone, are always a rarity. I nevertheless had quite a collection which was purchased by Dr. Henry Stople, the Swedish archaeologist who payed me the honor of a visit in company with Prince Oscar of Sweden who came here with the Man of War Kwangle Flottan recently but I will undoubtedly be in possession of some such articles soon—Articles of gold and silver are not uncommon but seldom in a good state of preservation. . . .

On June 23 of that same year, Kiefer wrote to Boyton who was then acting as his New York-based sales agent (SIA 1884). As before, no corrections have been made to spelling or punctuation in the sentences quoted.

. . . The mummies are all wrapped in paper undo this and you will find several more wrappings around them in Inca cloth some large and yet strong— pieces you will then come to another wrapping of paper which is directly over the natural togs of the mummy and must not be removed—as it would go to pieces. However as bad a state as the mummy may arrive, it will always be received in a museum and have its equal merit. I did up others in a worse state for Dr. Henry Stople the renown Swedish archeologist, who accompanied me in an expedition in company with Prince Oscar of Sweden. . .

A third piece of evidence concerning Stolpe's work at Ancón is Ekholm's photograph of a tomb following excavation (Figure 13). The picture shows a shovel, possibly for scale, along with cloth and poles. The grave is otherwise empty. This photograph does not fit with the excavation methods for which Stolpe had become famous, *i.e.*, careful documentation of the contents of tombs and their relations to one another (*cf.*, Stolpe *et al.* 1927). Had the tomb been rifled before Stolpe arrived? Probably not, because another Ekholm photograph clearly shows a looted tomb into which sand had drift-

ed, and in which only a few bones plus a rope or sling remained (Figure 6).

That the tomb in Figure 13 was one Kiefer and his crew had excavated while working for Stolpe is supported by Stolpe's own newspaper report that during his time at Ancón he hired a North American treasure hunter, now identified as George Kiefer, who participated in the opening of 11 tombs, then, with Kiefer's help, wrapped the mummies and their grave goods for shipment back to Sweden. Catalogue notes in Stolpe's own hand, archived in the Etnografiska Museet, list 11 separate graves as being from Ancón (original catalogue numbers for V. 21.1a-p; 2a-i; 3; 4a-g; 4a-m; 6a-n; 7a-b; 8; 9; 10a-e; 11a-e; now 1887.8.932a-942e). In cases where mortuary furnishings were found in a grave, Stolpe listed each item individually by type following its specific grave number. Moreover, ever careful in his recordings, he noted both Grave 3 and Grave 8 as *plundrad graf* (plundered grave) and Grave 9 as containing one *Liggande mumie, för öfrigt intet* (supine mummy, with nothing more [in the grave]).

There is no certain way to identify where in the Necropolis the tombs Kiefer unearthed for Stolpe were found. However, circumstantial evidence can be used to approximate their location. The data are contained in two photographs that Ekholm took of the graveyard (Figures 14-15), the picture of the "adobe-lined" grave in Figure 6, and Stolpe's single reference to a "supine mummy" found in Grave 9.

The two Ekholm photographs are labeled in pencil "Ancon southwest" and "Ancon north." The notations on the photographs are misleading. They actually identify the area(s) of the cemetery in which Ekholm set up his camera, *i.e.*, in the north and in the southwest of the graveyard, not the direction in which the camera was pointing.

Ekholm's photograph taken in the north section of the cemetery (Figure 14) shows the characteristic sand dunes to the south and southwest of the Necropolis. These dunes are indicated both in Reiss and Stübel's map of the site of Ancón (*cf.*, the 1998 [1880-1887] facsimile edition of *The Necropolis of Ancon, Peru*, Volume I, Plate 1), and in Dorsey's (1894:12) sketch. The picture Ekholm took while standing in the southwestern part of the graveyard (Figure 15) shows an eastern view of the hills. This scene is almost identical to one reproduced in Volume I, Plate 2, Figure 2, of Reiss and Stübel's book. This engraving, as with the others in the book, was based on drawings made on site by Stübel.⁵

The eastern portion of the cemetery is bordered by a wall. The middle sector of the wall, identified by Reiss and Stübel (1998 [1880-1887]) as Area 3 in Volume I, Plate 1, is near where Dorsey (1894:12, 22-23) discovered what he called "stone-lined" graves. It also adjoins the only area of the graveyard, which is slightly north of the wall's central portion, where Dorsey (1894:34-35) located a few "full-length mummies," an interment style he classified as infrequent and unusual. These data, then, suggest that Kiefer and his crew dug along the eastern wall of the graveyard.

The fourth, and strongest piece of evidence comes from Stolpe's own report to the Eighth International Congress of Orientalists (Stolpe 1889:5-6). The Orientalists were meeting in Stockholm so the attendees could tour the *Vanadis* exhibits, opened in 1886, in the Arffurstens Palace (Stolpe 1886). Stolpe told them:

Regarding the collections from the Americas, there are approximately 100 items from Tierra

⁵ See notes [np] in Reiss and Stübel's introduction to each volume.

del Fuego and the straits of Patagonia, 20 from Chile, around 500 from Peru, all together, a rather large collection of antique [ceramic] vases, [plus] a collection of artifacts discovered in a rather serendipitous fashion in the Necropolis of Ancón, and a rich group of crania from that same site, [which are] currently maintained in the Anthropology Museum of the School of Medicine [here] in Stockholm. . . . (for original French text see Appendix, Text 10).

From all of this evidence, it appears certain that Stolpe did not excavate the graveyard at Ancón with anything approaching the thoroughness he used at Birka and Vendel. However, something else happened in Peru that may be of greater historical importance than documenting Stolpe's activity at Ancón. This relates to his theory of the evolution of art, his philosophy of the ethnographic method, and the subsequent organization of his museum displays.

Stolpe and the Ethnographic Method

In his address to the Orientalists, Stolpe stated that after he returned to Sweden, he organized the materials from the *Vanadis* Expedition into museum displays according to the "ethnographic method" (Stolpe 1889:7). In order to do that, he explained, he first classified them "by eye," then grouped them geographically. Within each assemblage, he arranged individual types of objects in order to show their various developmental phases (Stolpe 1889:7; for the original French see Appendix, Text 11). This design, outlined in Stolpe's exhibition catalogue published in 1886, was consistent with the German anthropological philosophy that avoided classifying cultures on a hierarchical basis.

That the philosophy guiding the displays was based on German principles is supported by Olof Ljungström (1998). He stated "the most immediately relevant frame of reference for the study

of nineteenth century anthropology in Sweden is the contemporaneous science in Germany" (Ljungström 1998:1). Indeed, Stolpe's interest in ethnography came directly out of the German anthropological tradition that incorporated travel literature into methodological ethnography in an attempt to write a sociological study of man, society, and history (Zammito 2002:235). Further, the term ethnography had been coined "for Germany by August Ludwig von Schlözer precisely in order to raise historical inquiry to the level of true 'universal history'" (Zammito 2002:236).

Within that same tradition, Victorian-era archaeologists and ethnographers oftentimes crossed into neighboring fields of research in an attempt to discover "the laws of nature that applied to man" (Ljungström 1998:2). German doctors and physical anthropologists, such as the anti-evolutionist founder of German anthropology, Rudolf Virchow, were also intensely interested in anthropometry, cranial morphology, and racial typography. Then, too, beginning in the mid-1800s, German museums had typically been arranged according to racial, ethnic, and/or cultural groups. This system was believed to give the most accurate picture possible about each group's relative progress, artistic development, as well as the nature of their interactions and past exchanges with other peoples.

The linkage between German and Swedish anthropology and science goes far in clarifying why Ekholm, most likely under Stolpe's direction, took the kind of portraits of the Peruvians at Ancón that he did. However, it does not fully account for the subjects' poses. These were anthropological study photographs. At that time, full-face/profile views, and full-length nude poses were used to assist scientists in measuring, comparing, and classifying racial

types.⁶ In other words, those pictures were physiometric, anthropometric tools that, along with the five mummies, and 80 crania from Peru would greatly interest physicians and scientists, Gustav Retzius (1842-1919), the Swedish anatomist and physical anthropologist, among them.

While in Lima, Stolpe not only examined collections of artifacts, he purchased a variety of objects from local dealers primarily to make certain he would have enough Peruvian material for the planned museum. Except for the mummified human hands and shells, the material he bought falls into specific categories: textiles; ceramics, both ancient and modern; technological items, such as projectile points, slings, weaving implements, spindle whorls, and needles, often made of wood; and metal items, such as jewelry. The crafted articles fit neatly into Gottfried Semper's categories that included all aspects of humankind's industry. The categories were textile, ceramic, and metal arts, wood, stone and/or brick works (Egenter 1990). These divisions were listed in Semper's two-volume work, *Der Stil in den technischen und tektonischen Künsten, Oder Praktische Ästhetik* published in 1860 and 1863 and republished in 1878 and 1879..

The theory that Semper, an architect, introduced was a universally applicable functionalist system for analyzing arts and crafts, categories in which he also included architecture and building structures. He and his adherents believed real art had symbolic as well as aesthetic value. Semper also argued that textiles were historically the most important and funda-

mental craft in the development of human culture because they created and defined space. He cited the wall-creating role of carpets in a nomad's tent, and the protective aspect of clothing as examples of this same function (Egenter 1990). According to Alfred C. Haddon (1895:75), in addition to the above mentioned ideas, Semper "was [also] the first to show that the basket maker, the weaver, and the potter originated those combinations of line and colour which the ornamentist turned to his own use when he had to decorate walls, cornices and ceilings." Stolpe thought along similar lines to Semper because he wrote, "We are familiar with the changes undergone by curved lines in plaited or woven textiles – how they tend to become rectilinear. Attractive as they are through their striking regularity, patterns constructed after this fashion, when transferred to other departments of technical art as decorative painting or carving, bear evidence of their textile origin" (Stolpe 1927:67).

Stolpe had become interested in art and the development of art styles a few years prior to his *Vanadis* voyage. During 1880-1881, Stolpe, funded by a private grant, had toured numerous European ethnographical museums (Stolpe 1927:[1]; Culin 1906:153). He found most museum collections to be in disarray or in storage. However, he was still able to secure hundreds of rubbings of artifact designs from a number of assemblages. These rubbings are now archived in the Etnografiska Museet along with other materials from the trip (Letterstedtska resan 1880-1881; subsequent citation=LR 1880-1881). In direct preparation for the *Vanadis* trip, Stolpe consulted with Pontus Fürstenberg, a well-known art collector from Göteborg, Sweden about how to distinguish counterfeit from authentic artifacts so he would make no mistakes when buying pieces (SD 18 August 1884; for the original Swedish see Appendix, Text 12). Stolpe's keen interest in the subject of the development of design elements

⁶ Additional data concerning these types of photographs, along with the rationale for them, are located in the Etnografiska Museet Stolpe Archives (Documents A–Z) in the form of a letter dated September 13, 1884 from Enrico H. Giglio of the *R[eale] Istituto [di Studi Superiori Pratici e di Perfezionamento]*, Florence, Italy in which he praises Stolpe for documenting the "races of man" during the *Vanadis* voyage.

also led him to leave the expedition a few months early, in January 1885, so he could study East Indian material (Stolpe 1889:5; Svensson 2002:71).

Sometime around 1896, Stolpe recalled that “it soon became apparent that one real key to a scientific treatment of ethnographic objects is found in the comparative study of ornamental art” (Stolpe 1927:67; Culin 1906:153). He stated that in order to make sense of the different types of ornamentation that he saw during the course of his studies, and to fit them into an evolutionary scheme, he had classified them all according to terms developed by Henry Colley March, that were “afterwards modified by Haddon” (Stolpe 1927:67-70).⁷ These were anthropomorphic, zoomorphic, phytomorphic, physiomorphic, and ideomorphic (Stolpe 1927:67).

In 1890, Stolpe set forth his elaborated theory about the development of art styles in an article for the periodical, *Ymer*, published by the Swedish Society for Anthropology and Geography of which he was a founding member (Stolpe 1890:193-250). The article, “Utvecklingsföreteelser i naturfolkens” was later translated into English with the title “On Evolution in the Ornamental Art of Savage Peoples” (Stolpe 1903). Still later, this essay appeared in a limited edition of *Collected Essays On Ornamental Art* (Stolpe 1927:1-57).

Stolpe's theory of art, also discussed briefly in *Primitive Art* (Boas 1955 [1927]) and *Evolution in Art: As Illustrated By the Life-Histories of Designs* (Haddon 1895), held that every geometric form must have been derived from a naturalistic representation. Stolpe, himself, attributed this insight to Augustus Henry Lane Fox Pitt-

Rivers. In his opinion, General Pitt-Rivers had clearly shown that art styles devolved from the realistic to the abstract (Stolpe 1927:62). Stolpe also believed that a given design might be traceable to a plurality of origins, but that every design should be studied in terms of its culture, environment, purpose, fabrication technique, and material (Stolpe 1883:320; Stolpe 1927:65). In his essay on the evolution of art, Stolpe observed, with reference to Hawaiian materials, that specific ornamental elements within a geographical region frequently showed gradations, often from East to West. He added that “[a] genetic connection between the varying kinds can not be proved, yet a marked increase in cultural development is unmistakable” (Stolpe 1927:6). He further suggested, based on his studies of American ornamentation, that, unless diffusion could be proved, some designs or design elements found in the New World should be considered the product of independent invention (Stolpe 1927:71).

Stolpe's art theory has a distinct Darwinian flavor, in keeping with most Swedish scientific work published from the 1870s onward (Bromberg 1989:164). In fact, in the 1927 English translation of his 1896 work, *Studier i Amerikansk Ornamentik, ett bidrag till ornamentens biologi*, Stolpe credited both Darwin and Herbert Spencer for providing the theoretical bases from which he could analyze the progression of art styles from naturalistic to abstract (Stolpe 1927:62). However, by mentioning that some designs and design elements in the New World were not necessarily the result of diffusion unless the spread could be traced, Stolpe, perhaps unintentionally, intellectually allied himself with Adolph Bastian who held much the same belief, at least in this one instance (Koepping 1983:175).

With Semper's theory in mind, one can place Stolpe's keen interest in textiles, as demonstrated by the large numbers he bought in

⁷ According to Stolpe's footnotes, the references to Haddon's and March's works most likely pertain to Haddon (1895) and to March (1890).

Lima and surface collected at Ancón, as well as his attention to the decorated friezes on the walls at Magdalena del Mar, into a new context. The textiles were not simple purchases for a yet-to-be-established Ethnographic Museum. The textiles lying on the surface of the Necropolis were not souvenirs. The trip to Magdalena del Mar was not a mere sightseeing excursion of special attraction to an archaeologist. Instead, all these were key data for his embryonic theory about the evolution and development of art and ornamentation.

Under Semper's classificatory scheme, textiles and walls had identical protective, space-defining functions. Like Semper, Stolpe also believed that all types of technical arts retained "evidence of their textile origin" (Stolpe 1927: 67). Consequently, although Stolpe never specifically wrote about the Peruvian textiles or ruins, he considered their designs to be central to, and supportive of, the hypothesis about art and art styles that he began formulating while in Europe between 1880-1881. In fact, in his *Studies in American Ornamentation*, Stolpe commented, "My key to the interpretation of savage ornament dates from 1880 and it was precisely my South American studies that led me to its discovery" (Stolpe 1927:63).

As a model for his own planned museum exhibits, Stolpe used the typological exhibits that Pitt-Rivers had set up in London (Stolpe 1927:[1]).⁸ When it came time to organize the ethnographic material he had collected during the *Vanadis* Expedition, Stolpe, like Pitt-Rivers, arranged them so that no single group stood out

from another. However, he went further than Pitt-Rivers in that he set each type of object within a geographical-cultural exhibit, so that different types of materials showed (relative) changes through time. There were no accompanying pedagogical texts. Spatial design was such that visitors could wander the galleries, comparing items and cultures. Then they could draw very personal conclusions about, and connections among, them.

We suspect that Stolpe's scheme, while owing much to Pitt-Rivers, was actually based upon Bastian's design for the ideal ethnographic museum (Stolpe 1927:[1]; Lowie 1937:30; Penniman 1965:111). Bastian's model called for ethnological items to be the "building blocks for a comparative ethnology that would be able to supply significant elements to the knowledge of mankind" (Cole 1985:57). Further, Stolpe (1889:24) told the Orientalists, "[Everywhere I traveled on the *Vanadis* Expedition], I tried to obtain the most accurate information about an object's name and use [that I could]. I [then] grouped these items together [according to their place of origin] as best I was able so that they [would] portray the daily life of the people [who used them] . . ." (for original French text see Appendix, Text 13). Although applied to museum exhibit displays, Stolpe's "field collection model" comes directly out of the German Romanticism of Johann Gottfried von Herder, his interest in *Volksggeist* (national character), and in exploring the connections among thought, language, lifeways, and folk art(s).⁹

⁸ Pitt-Rivers organized his exhibits so that the artifacts formed a tree of progress distinguishing "the leading shoots from the inner branches" (Thompson 1977:41). In 1884, he donated approximately 16,000 items from his own collections to the University of Oxford to establish the Pitt-Rivers Museum. The museum has kept the original typological arrangement but has re-grouped most of the artifacts geographically.

⁹ Herder's idea about the *Volksggeist* is best outlined in his 1773 essay, "Shakespear," reprinted in the 1999 edition of *Von deutscher Art und Kunst*.

Zammito (2002:485) states that Broce (1986) is the most recent scholar to point out Herder's interest in the *Volksggeist*. Broce (1986:163) wrote "Herder is especially concerned with the world views and values of native peoples as expressed in language, mythology, folk-song, (continued...)"

At this time, American museums adopted quite a different organizational philosophy and plan. For example, the Smithsonian Institution's National Museum of Natural History displayed ethnographic materials according to the didactic, synoptic, evolutionary scheme espoused by G. Brown Goode, the assistant director (Lubar and Kendrick 2001:128). Following ideas found in Gustav Klemm's widely quoted *Allgemeine Cultur-Geschichte* (1843-52), Otis T. Mason, curator of ethnology at the same institution, further influenced the displays (Hough 1908:661-662; Cole 1985:112). Mason grouped objects together typologically both as Klemm suggested in his 1858 book, *Werkzeuge und Waffen*, and as Pitt-Rivers did in his museum, but without regard to geographic localities (Thompson 1977:41). In addition, the dual mission of the National Museum was perceived to be both public education and scholarly research (Hinsley 1981:86; Cole 1985:9; Lubar and Kendrick 2001:126-127). Toward those ends, S. F. Baird initiated a program to amass as many ethnographic and archaeological artifacts as necessary to present a more thorough view of humankind's progress than could be obtained from incomplete, private collections (Rivinus and Youssef 1992). In order to build the museum's Peruvian collection, Baird also acquired many items from George Kiefer and his agent,

Paul Boyton (Smithsonian Institution Archives, Record Unit 305 [Office of the Registrar, 1834-1958], Box 71, Accessions 14878, 14978, 15522 [SIA 1884]).

CONCLUDING REMARKS

Although Stolpe's journal made during his 11 days in Peru, if it ever existed, is not among the Etnografiska Museet *Vanadis* Expedition materials, it is possible to reconstruct his activities in that country with more than a fair degree of accuracy using other sources. These documents that Stolpe spent time in Lima studying collections and making purchases, acquiring textile fragments lying on the surface of the Necropolis of Ancón, participating in the opening of 11 tombs at that site, and exploring the ruins at Magdalena del Mar.

Contrary to what is implied in some published accounts of Stolpe's activities at Ancón, it does not appear that he initially intended to excavate any graves in the Necropolis. More likely, he only wished to visit the famous site. That he was already familiar with Ancón and the types of materials that had been recovered there before leaving on the *Vanadis* Expedition is demonstrated by two facts.

The first is that Stolpe made drawings of decorated artifacts from Ancón while in London on October 22, 1880 (LR 1880-1881). According to Stolpe's notations, these sketches were copied from artifacts in Reiss and Stübel's book. The second is documented in a report summarizing Stolpe's presentation at the Fifth International Congress of Americanists in Copenhagen (Stolpe 1883:320-324). The subject of this talk was the development of ornamentation in the Americas. Following the paper, Wilhelm Reiss, addressing Stolpe, mentioned his own work at Ancón, as well as some of the decorative motives he had noted (Stolpe 1883:324).

⁹ (...continued)
and 'national character.'"

Much of Herder's philosophy about the interplay among mankind's development, geography, climate, and language is found in his "Essay on the Origins of Language" (1966 [1772]). See also Herder (1968 [1784-91]).

According to Penniman (1965:112), Adolph Bastian (1860) later explored the connections between geography, psychology, and the expression of *Völkergedanken* (folk-ideas). The link between Bastian and Herder "are the two scholars of folk-psychology, Heymann Steinthal (1823-99) and Moritz Lazarus (1824-1903), the co-founders of the famous *Journal for Folk-Psychology and Linguistics* (*Zeitschrift für Völkerpsychologie und Sprachwissenschaft*) in 1860" (Koepping 1983:55).

Contemporary data strongly imply that Stolpe's decision to open tombs at Ancón was almost spur of the moment. At first, he employed a waiter from Callao to show him around the site. He soon determined this man was worthless, as both a guide and interpreter. While still at Ancón, Stolpe discovered George Kiefer and his crew who were treasure hunting. Stolpe then hired Kiefer and his workmen to locate some burials for him, and to perform the actual digging. Per Kiefer's June 23, 1884 note to Boyton, as well as Stolpe's letter to the newspaper, he also engaged Kiefer to pack the finds. Stolpe's notebook may have disappeared, or may never have existed, but Ekholm's on-site documentary photographic records supply much information about how those excavations were carried out.

Stolpe never revealed where he met Kiefer in Lima or Ancón. Yet, it is possible to reason through where and when the meeting occurred. In his letter to the *Stockholms Dagblad* editor, Stolpe recounted what he did and whom he saw in Peru, but mentioned no dates. However, using Humbla's journal entries, dated notations on photographs of Macedo's museum, the sequence of Stolpe's activities as reported in the *Stockholms Dagblad*, and his consecutively ordered acquisitions, as shown by the original catalogue numbering system for collections V. 16-23, it is possible to reconstruct Stolpe's activities almost to the day.

The *Vanadis* docked in Callao on April 3, 1884. Two days later, Stolpe was in Lima looking at Dr. Macedo's antiquities, according to the date written on photographs taken of Macedo's museum. While in Lima, Stolpe also examined collections belonging to Professor Antonio Raimondi, Dr. Nicolás Sáenz, and Wilhelm Gretzer. He spent time photographing this last assemblage. Further, he purchased artifacts from M. P. J. Laporte, M. Tronchin, and J. J. Brulante. Then he bought modern items of

native manufacture identified as coming from the market in Lima (*På Torget i Lima*).

Stolpe told the newspaper editor he had studied collections in Lima to inform himself about Peruvian antiquities, had gone back more than once to see the shoemaker's inventory before purchasing it, then discussed the price for these authentic pieces with the experts (SD 18 August 1884). Although Stolpe never named these experts, it is logical to assume they were some or all of the men whose collections he had examined earlier in Lima.

Stolpe assigned each dealer or source a unique collection number. Every object coming from a single source was then listed numerically under its individual collection number. All the artifacts that Stolpe purchased in Lima from Laporte, Tronchin, and Brulante were originally tagged with catalogue numbers V.16-18 (now 1887.8.153-874; 1887.8.875-902; 1887.8.903-914). The modern items from the interior highlands of Peru purchased in the city market were enumerated under collection number V.19 (now 1887.8.915-929). Consequently, Stolpe's purchases from those men and at the Lima market must have been made before he went to Ancón on the 8th of April, because items from that site were originally numbered V. 21 and V.21 b (now 1887.8.932a-942e; 1887.8.943-11890).

Although not mentioned in his *Stockholms Dagblad* report, Museum records show that Stolpe received two clay bowls from a Callao restaurant owner named Olsen. Stolpe gave these pieces the catalogue numbers V.20.1-2; now 1887.8.930-931. Based on this ordering, Stolpe must have returned to Callao from Lima after the 5th of April, but before the 8th of that month, at which point Olsen gave him the bowls. While in Callao, he hired a waiter, probably recommended by Olsen, to take him to Ancón.

Each artifact that Stolpe uncovered at Ancón and surface-collected at that site was marked *Fynd i Ancon* (Find [made] in Ancon). Every item he bought from Kiefer in Lima was given a number starting with V.22, then listed as *Inköp hos Kiefer i Lima* (Purchase from Kiefer in Lima). This implies that Stolpe first encountered Kiefer at Ancón, worked with him over a four-day period, then returned to Lima on the 11th or 12th of April. Once back in Lima, Stolpe acquired additional artifacts from Kiefer. As Kiefer mentioned in letters to Baird and Boyton, he wrapped up mummies from Ancón for Stolpe, sold antiquities to him, and also accompanied him on an expedition. Most likely, this trip was to the ruins at Magdalena del Mar. In any case, Stolpe was at that site on the 13th of April. Material from there was initially labeled as collection V.23 (now 1887.8.1287-1290), *Fynd i Huaca vid Magdalena del Mar, nära Lima* (Find[s] [made] in a ruin at Magdalena del Mar, near Lima). Stolpe sailed for Nuka Hiva in the Marquesas the following day aboard the *Vanadis* (SD 18 August 1884).¹⁰

Although, in a very broad sense, Stolpe did excavate at Ancón, there is very little evidence that he conducted those excavations using the methodology for which he had become famous. Nowhere in Ekholm's photographs from Ancón is there a picture of a tomb in the process of excavation, nor is there a photograph of a mummy surrounded by its mortuary furnishings. In other words, the photographs do not provide the kinds of relational data about burials one would expect from the archaeologist who was well-known for his meticulously detailed drawings/descriptions of tombs and the relationships among their contents. There is even less indica-

tion that Stolpe imposed his scientific excavation methods on Kiefer and his men.

Stolpe spent one day of his shore leave at Magdalena del Mar. The reason he went there rather than continuing excavations at Ancón was most probably because the site was close to Lima, and his time on shore was short. Once at Magdalena del Mar, he saw the ruins with their decorated friezes as data supporting his thoughts about the evolution of art. The collections of ancient Peruvian art works he had seen in Lima, and earlier in Continental Europe, then fell into place (Stolpe 1927:2, 63).

Stolpe could not have failed to notice that the frieze design was almost identical in appearance to at least one of the textiles he had collected at Ancón (Figure 16). Such similarities on different media supported his theory that design motives always retained evidence of their textile origin.

Before he left on the *Vanadis* Expedition, Stolpe had already decided that, between archaeology and ethnography, "ethnography was the dearer to him" (Culin 1906:152). This documented shift of interest from archaeology to ethnography goes far in further explaining why Stolpe did not spend more time excavating in Peru. Then, too, Stolpe's job during the *Vanadis* voyage was not to dig sites in the countries where the frigate docked. His assignment was to amass large numbers of ethnographic artifacts. Toward that end, he selectively purchased items of material culture, both prehistoric and modern, to be displayed in the anticipated Swedish Ethnographic Museum.

The Nineteenth Century has become known as the Age of Empire. It was also the Era of Grand Exploration. During this period, curiosity about areas of the world and cultures still largely unknown, as well as the desire to document those cultures before they disappeared, drove

¹⁰ Stolpe concluded his August 18, 1884 letter to the *Stockholms Dagblad* editor stating it seemed best to end his report about Peru at that point, and promising that he would write again when he reached Nuka Hiva ("Då ar bäst att sluta. . . [S]å råkas vi på Nukahiva.")

scientific inquiry and discovery as surely as the quest for colonies, wealth, and national prestige. The items that geographers, travelers, explorers, scientists, and treasure hunters brought home formed the bases of innumerable museum collections in the Americas and Europe. Stolpe's news report, address to the Orientalists, and artifact catalogue from the *Vanadis* Expedition reveal much about the kinds and quality of objects that were actively pursued at that time.

Interestingly, when European and North American museums were building their own institutional holdings, the types of ethnographic artifacts they collected and purchased were often similar. However, the philosophies underpinning these accumulations were not. These distinct paradigms produced very dissimilar organizational schemes in museum case exhibits in the years preceding 1890 that, in turn, told very different stories.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Thanks are owed to many people who assisted in this aspect of our research on Ancón, Peru. We would like to acknowledge in particular Kathy A. Domonkos, Librarian and Public Services Manager, at St. Francis University, Loretto, Pennsylvania, who permitted us unrestricted access to the Paul Boyton papers; Traci Elizabeth Robinson, Assistant Archivist, Smithsonian Institution Archives, and James Krakker, Ph.D., Archaeological Collections Specialist, Department of Anthropology, National Museum of Natural History, Smithsonian Institution (Washington, DC), who provided access to the Kiefer correspondence and Ancón collection; Sara Tedebrand Frant, Archivist, Krigsarkivet Swedish Military Museum (Stockholm), who sent copies of *Båtsman* Humbla's diaries with the pages pertaining to the *Vanadis's* time in Peru; Staffan Brunius, Ph.D., Curator of the Americas, Etnografiska Museet (Stockholm), Anne Murray, Assistant to the Director, Anita Utter, Collections Manager, Kristin Peterson, Textile Conservator, Irene Svensson, Curator of Documentation, and Sanna Törneman, former Curator of Photographic Collections, at that same institution, who sent photographs, accession lists, news articles concerning Hjalmar Stolpe's excavations at Ancón, and in general provided tremendous assistance to us before, during, and after our trip to Stockholm; Dajana Mendoza (Lima) who graciously permitted the reproduction of Courret photo-

graphs from her personal collection; Federico Kauffmann Doig, Director, Instituto de Arqueología Amazónica (Lima) who furnished us a copy of the George Kiefer caricature from *El Perú Ilustrado* that enabled positive identification of this enigmatic man; Sara Weber, Reading Room Supervisor, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, University of Notre Dame (Indiana), who located the caricature of Kiefer in the José Durand Collection; Irma López de Castilla, Director, Centro de Servicios Bibliotecarios Especializados, for permission to reproduce the Courret photograph of George Kiefer in the Biblioteca Nacional del Perú, Archivo Fotográfico Courret (Lima); Michel Lopez, President, Historical Society of Retz (France) for his help with the etymology of some French words; Linda Jacobs who first alerted us about the Kiefer-Boyton connection to Ancón, and also transcribed the text of the Leavitt sale catalogue found among her family records; the reviewers whose helpful comments made this a better manuscript, and finally Anna Bergsmedh, Ph.D., without whose careful translation of Stolpe's Swedish text our work would remain incomplete. As always, any errors or omissions are our own.

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APPENDIX - ORIGINAL TEXTS CITED IN THIS ARTICLE

Text 1

Vanadis hade i likhet med föregångaren Eugenie även vissa vetenskapliga uppdrag. Fartygschefen fick i instruktionen följande förhållningsorder: "Med afseende å den nytta som i vetenskapligt hänseende må kunna dragas under expeditionen, åligger det Eder, att . . . bidraga till underlättande och befrämjande af de vetenskapliga iakttagelser och rön m. m. som under expeditionen må anställas, vare sig af de för sådant ändamål, med Kongl. Majts Nådiga tillstånd, Fregatten åtföljande vetenskapsmän, hvarom Ni erhåller särskild skrifvelse, eller af de å fartyget kommenderade officerare, läkare m. fl.

En framstående vetenskapsman ombord var arkeologen och etnografen Hjalmar Stolpe. Som arkeolog var han känd för sina omfattande utgrävningar av den vikingatida handelsplatsen Birka på Björkö i Mälaren. Där hade han under närmare tio års tid undersökt över tusen gravar och därigenom på allvar dragit igång forskningen kring den första kända "staden" i Sverige. Men därefter började Stolpe begränsa sina insatser på det arkeologiska fältet för att instället ägna sig åt den relativt nya vetenskapen etnografi.

I Sverige hade den etnografiska forskningen knappast börjat. Det fanns ännu inget etnografiskt museum, endast en smärre samling föremål från främmande kulturer, undanstoprade på Riksmuseets avdelning för ryggradsdjur! Men intresset för socialantropologisk forskning ökade stadigt och bland de främsta entusiasterna återfanns Hjalmar Stolpe. 1873 var han med och bildade Antropologiska sällskapet och fem år senare anordnades, på Stolpes initiativ, för första gången en allmän etnografisk utställning i Stockholm. En stor del av utställningsföremålen hade Stolpe lyckats låna in från privatpersoner runt om i Sverige. När sedan den uppmärksammade utställningen var över, och föremålen återlämnats till ägarna, tycktes saknaden av ett etnografiskt museum vara större än någonsin.

1883 fick emellertid Stolpe chansen att på ett verksamt sätt lägga grunden till en självständig samling. Han erhöll då offentligt uppdrag att som etnograf följa med fregatten Vanadis runt jorden för att skaffa samlingar till ett svenskt etnografiskt museum. Det var långt ifrån något problemfritt uppdrag eftersom det världsomseglande fartyget i regel inte hade tid att stanna där det var lämpligast ur etnografisk synpunkt och heller inte tid att vänta. Under de korta uppehållen i land blev därför "fotografibiträdet" O. B. Ekholms energiska insatser ett ovärderligt komplement till Stolpe eget arbete (Manneby 1978:16-17).

Text 2

Den 3:dje April fällde vi vårt ankar vid Callao som är en hamnstad till Perus hufvudstad Lima, en mil derifrån. . . Staden Callao var mycket nedskjuten och fästningsverken förstörda, emedan kriget hade rasat der i flere år. Soldaterna som hade lefvit öfver kriget, var så magra och eländiga så det var ledsamt att se dem (Manneby 1978:31).

Text 3

Allstå. En främling som kommer till Peru måste alltid mer eller mindre studera landets arkeologi (SD 18 August 1884).

Text 4

Sedan dessa affärer voro gjorda, blef jag hågad att trots den korta tiden sjelf göra undersökningar vid det ett par timmars jernvägsresa norr om Lima belägna graffältet vid Ancon.

Badorten Ancon var före kriget den elegantaste i Peru. Dit flyttade Limas rikaste familjer ut för att tillbringa den hetaste tiden. Nu är platsen nästan förstörd genom bombardement af chilenerna, och resten hotar att höljas af flygsand. Ty hela trakten är blott flygsand. Från viken, der resterna af husen ligga, sträcker sig en lång dalgång inåt landet, jag vågar ej säga hur långt, ty ögat bedrager sig så på flygsands fälten, men jag tror att jag ej tager till för mycket, om jag skattar den till en svensk mil. Bredden kan vara något öfver en åttandedels mil.

Hela detta fält är ett enda sammanhängande graffält. Hvar man gräver träffar man en graf, eller åtminstone lemningar deraf, ty fältet har på det afskyvärdaste sätt blifvit plundradt. Högst få äro de undersökningar som utförts med omsorg, och bland dessa intager de tyska doktorerna Reiss och Stübels främsta rummet. Det vanliga sättet att undersöka har varit att någon amatör i Lima, sedan jernvägen blef färdig, reste ut till Ancon öfver söndagen, legde ett par cholos (half-eller hel-indianer) och började gräva. Det gälde då blott att finna hela och vackra huacos. De skadade eller simpla kastades bort. Mumier uppgräfdes, men hade de inga dyrbarheter på sig eller voro osedvanligt väl bibehållna, fingo de ligga kvar på ytan.

I följd deraf är hela fältet nu täckt med krukfragment, hela och trasiga mumier, klädesträsor, bland hvilka man kan göra ett rikligt urval af alla slags väfnadsprofver, samt lösa skallar och skellettdelar. Det skär en i hjertat att se denna förstörelse!

Jag hade från Callao fått med mig en kypare som tolk och guide. Han hade sjelf mycket sysslat med skattgräfnig och kände Ancon väl, sades det. Vid framkomsten befans han emellertid vara fullkomligt oanvändbar, och jag måste associera mig med en nordamerikanare, som var sysselsatt att roffa i grafvarne...

Det tillgår så, att man först sticker i sanden med en lång, grof jerntråd; der denna utan motstånd går ned mer än 2 fot, der är vanligen graf.

Grafvarne äro runda gropar i sanden af olika djup, 5-10 fot eller vida mera och 5-6 fot i diameter. I denna grop har liket nedsatts i sittande ställning med knäna under hakan och insvepta i flera slags klädnader och mattor. Rundt omkring ligga den dödes tillhörigheter, såsom huacos, vapen (träspjut) m. m. Det hela är täckt med s. k. adober, stenar formade af lera och vatten och torkade i luften. Tränger sanden ned i fogarne mellan sådana adober, är tillvaron af graf otvifvelaktig. Jag undersökte 11 sådana grafvar. De innehöllo inga dyrbara fynd, men några saker voro utmärkta. Det viktigaste var att få lära känna begrafningssättet. En mängd lärar fylles med några mumier, många skallar, krukkärl etc., och såsom stoppning användes tyg af alla slag, som hittades på jordytan och som utgjort svepning åt förstörda mumier. "Tyg är billigare än halm", sade alltid amerikanaren.

Jag kan nu ej specificera allt hvad som hemskickades, men 18 lärar afgingo med svenske konsulns i Callao tillhjälp via Hamburg till Stockholm. . . .

De arbeten jag hade att utföra gjorde att jag ej kunde deltaga i den utfärd på Oroyajernbanan, som prins Oscar och flertalet af officerarne gjorde. Jag känner den trakten blott genom fotografi. Men deremot bränner det i ansigtet när jag tänker på hettan å Ancons flygsandsfält, der det var omöjligt att stå stilla en half minut utan att den heta sanden brände genom skosulorna. Och sanden som yrde upp i ansigtet! – Och dock, hur gerna skulle jag ej velat offra minst en månad åt undersökningen af Ancons öken! Och huru många andra, ännu viktigare fyndorter har ej Peru att uppvisa, till hvilka ännu ej jernvägen och med den grafplundrarne hunnit! . . . (SD 18 August 1884).

Text 5

Sådana samlingar, som äro att rekommendera, äro prof. Antonio Raimondis stora samling, dr. Saenz', dr. Macedos fordom stora, men efter försäljningen till Berlin betydligt reducerade, ytterligt eleganta samling. Men för en nybörjare nästan föredrager jag att rekommendera den betydande samling en ung tysk affärsman, Wilhelm Gretzer, bildat. Denna samling har ej så många af de allra dyrbaraste sakerna som de andra, men den visar tydligt det karakteristiska hos alla de olika graffälten, och jag tror, att Gretzers lokaluppgifter äro pålitligare än alla de andras. G. stälde, likasom alla de andra, sin samling till min disposition, och jag har låtit fotografera den nästan hel och hållen. . . .

En fransk skomakare hade under sin välmaktstid bildat en samling för sitt eget nöje af lerkärl (låt oss hädanefter kalla dem huacos), väfnader, spinnredskap, gudabilder m. m.; nu var han ruinerad genom kriget och behöfde sälja allt samman. Hans lilla anspråkslösa butik var full af antiqviteter, hvaribland omkring 200 lerkärl. Det hela bjöds ut för 300 piaster, men efter att hafva under några dagar gått dit och gått min väg för att "aldrig återkomma", tröttnade vederbörande vid både samlingen och mig och släppte den förra åt den senare för 250 piaster, ett pris som bland alla kännare ansågs ytterligt billigt. Och jag kan garranteras, att deri ej finnes ett enda falsarium. Der finnas 2-3 moderna huacos, sådana de än i dag göras och begagnas af allmogen, men dem tog jag afsigtligt för jmförelses skull.

Med några andra inköp, dels af mindre huaco-samlingar dels af drägter och vapen från indianstammar i det inre af Peru, utgör det hela en instruktiv och vacker samling, som jag hoppas skall pynda vårt museum, men också kräfvat ett imponerande utrymme (SD August 1884).

Text 6

Påskdagen hesökte jag flere ruiner af gamla byggnader, kolossala saker bygda af adober, vid Magdalena del Mar . . . Äfven i Huaca-ruinerna lönar sig att gräfvat, och jag såg en kuriositetshandlare från Lima på påskdagen vara sysselsatt med att med tillhjälp af ett par karlar bryta ned en af de vackraste ruinerna vid Magdalena del Mar. Om jag - ja, jag säger inte hvad jag kände mig frestad att göra med den karlen.

Text 7

Vi lättade ankar och gick derifrån Annan dag Påsk den 14: de April (Manneby 1978:31).

Text 8

Knut Hjalmar Stolpe, el arqueólogo que inventó (en 1871) la técnica moderna para la excavación de tumbas, visitó el Perú en el curso de un viaje alrededor del mundo a bordo de la fragata sueca *Vanadis*. Excavó varias tumbas en la Necropolis de Ancón durante su estadía en el Perú. Las colecciones se encuentran actualmente en el Museo Etnográfico del Estado en Estocolmo, pero los apuntes de Stolpe han desaparecido (Rowe 1959:4).

Text 9

The catalogue for this sale, in records belonging to the family of Linda Jacobs, reads, in part:

Leavitt, George A., Catalogue of an important collection of Peruvian antiquities made by the late George W. Kiefer, Esq., George A. Leavitt & Co., New York, 1889

The sale materials are comprising funereal vases, jars, diotas, vases, urns, bottles, etc. etc., in red, black and white terra-cotta; implements, textiles, mummies, skulls, all from the great Necropolis of Ancon; also Mexican antiquities, crystals, curiosities, etc. etc.

To be sold at auction by Messrs. George A. Leavitt & Co., 787 and 789 Broadway, New York. Friday afternoon, October 25th, 1889 at 2 o'clock. Catalogued by Ed. Frossard. 96th Auction Sale.

This collection of Peruvian Antiquities was gathered in person by the late George W. Kiefer, Esq, who devoted nine years of arduous labor to this work and spent large sums of money in the undertaking. To the cost of time and money must be added that of life itself, for, owing to the irritating dust arising from the freshly opened graves, Mr. Kiefer contracted a lung disease to which he succumbed a few months ago, in this city, where he had come for rest and with the hope of disposing of his Collection entire to some of our Museums.

Owing to the fact that the owner left no manuscript notes whatsoever concerning his Collection, the proposed work having been put off by him from time to time, on account of continued sickness, the compiler of this Catalogue is unable to state in what tomb or exact locality each particular object was found. All that he can assert, with absolute certainty, is, that each and all articles, excepting a few lots at the end, were found either at the great Necropolis of Ancon or in its close vicinity.

While certain forms, such as whistling and erotic vases, are lacking in this collection, the deficiency is amply made up by the large number of fine and large specimens of other equally rare and perhaps more important forms, which will be found described in the following pages.

The preservation of the specimens is, in general, remarkably good; noticeable imperfections have been noted, when found, but the compiler trusts that archaeologists and Curators of Museums, interested in this subject, will not fail to

personally inspect the Collection during the exhibit, and, if possible, be present at the public vendue, which is absolute and without any reserve whatsoever.

New York, October, 1889 Ed. F (Leavitt 1889).

Text 10

. . . Des collections américaines, environ 100 numéros se rapportent à la Terre de feu et aux détroits patagoniens, 20 au Chili, et environ 500 au Pérou, entre autres une assez grande collection de vases antiques, une collection de trouvailles faites pendant quelques jours de fouilles dans la nécropole d'Ancon, et une riche collection de crânes de la même localité, actuellement conservée au Musée anthropologique de l'École de médecine de Stockholm. . . . (Stolpe 1889: 506).

Text 11

Dans l'arrangement des collections, j'ai suivi la seule méthode juste à mes yeux, savoir la méthode *ethnographique* [emphasis in original], avec réunion et groupement de tous les objets appartenant à la civilisation d'un peuple d'après les diverses phases de culture de ce peuple. . . . (Stolpe 1889:7).

Text 12

Under detta arbete hade jag hundrafaldig anledning att med tacksamhet tänka på hr Pontus Fürstenberg i Göteborg, utan hvars bekanta frikostiga mellankomst det skulle varit omöjligt att draga full nytta af ett så utmärkt tillfälle att få en säker ledtråd för studiet af det gamla Perus keramik (SD 18 August 1884).

Text 13

Je me suis efforcé partout d'obtenir les renseignements les plus authentiques sur l'emploi des objets et sur leur dénomination dans la langue du pays. . . . Quoique je me sois efforcé de réunir aussi complètement que possible ce qui peut servir à illustrer la vie journalière du peuple proprement dit. . . . (Stolpe 1889:24).

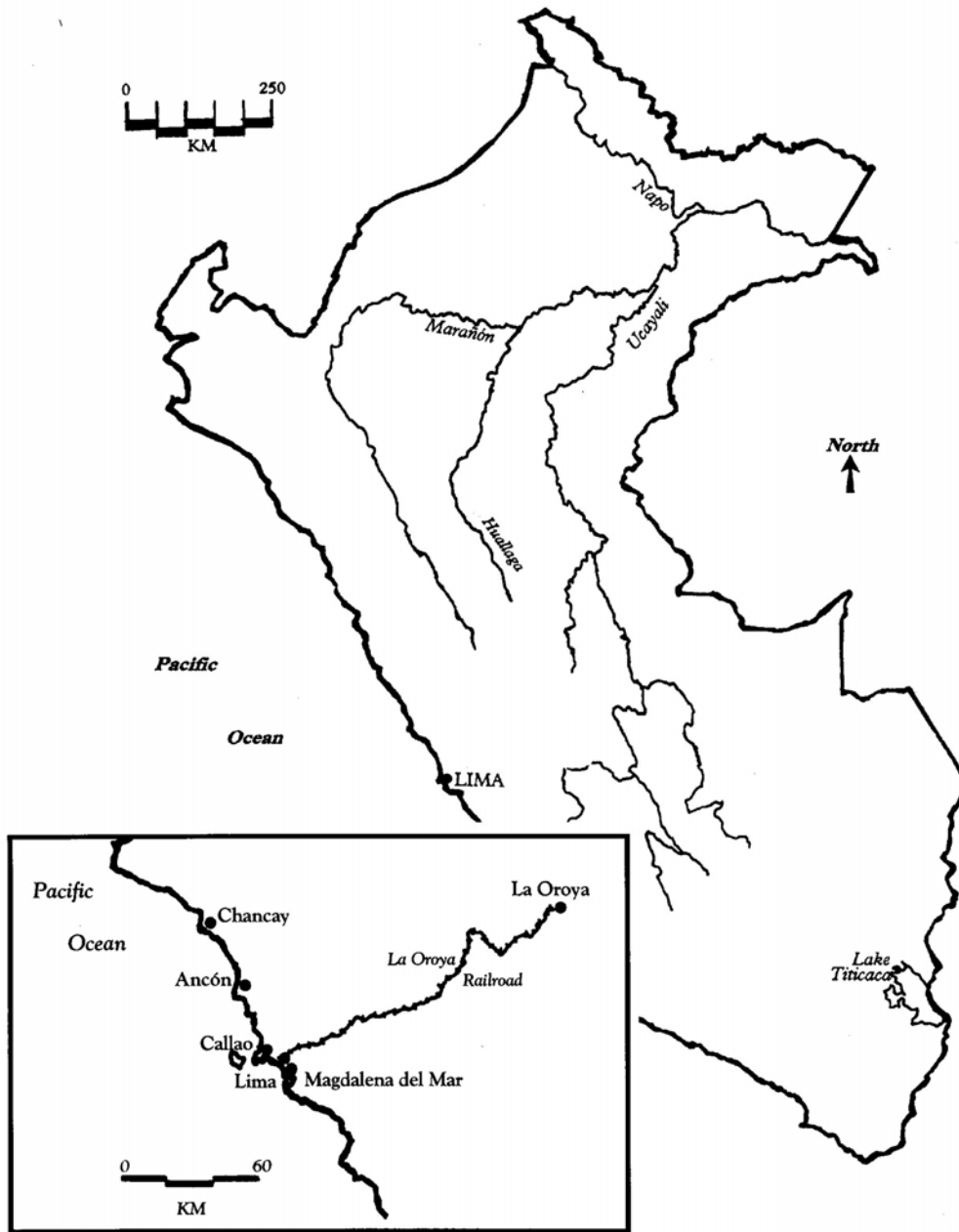


Figure 1: Map of Peru showing place names mentioned in the text.



*Figure 2: The destruction of Chorrillos, Peru ,1879,
(Courret photograph in the collection of Dajana Mendoza, Lima, published with permission).*



*Figure 3: Closer view of destruction of Chorrillos, Peru, 1879.
(Courret photograph in the collection of Dajana Mendoza, Lima, published with permission). This same photograph appears as the fourth of eight unnumbered plates in Guillermo Thorndike's 1979 novel La Batalla de Lima (Promoinvest Compañía de Inversiones, S.A., as being "La calle Santa Teresa en Chorrillos, destruido por el ejército chileno").*



Figure 4: Stereographic pair images of the town of Ancón, Peru, circa 1880
(Courret photograph in the collection of Dajana Mendoza, Lima, published with permission).



Figure 5: Skeleton lying on the surface of the “Necropolis” at Ancón, Peru (photograph by O.B. Ekholm, 1884 ©The National Museum of Ethnography, Stockholm, Sweden, published with permission).



Figure 6: Looted adobe-lined grave in the “Necropolis” at Ancón, Peru (photograph by O.B. Ekholm, 1884 ©The National Museum of Ethnography, Stockholm, Sweden, published with permission).

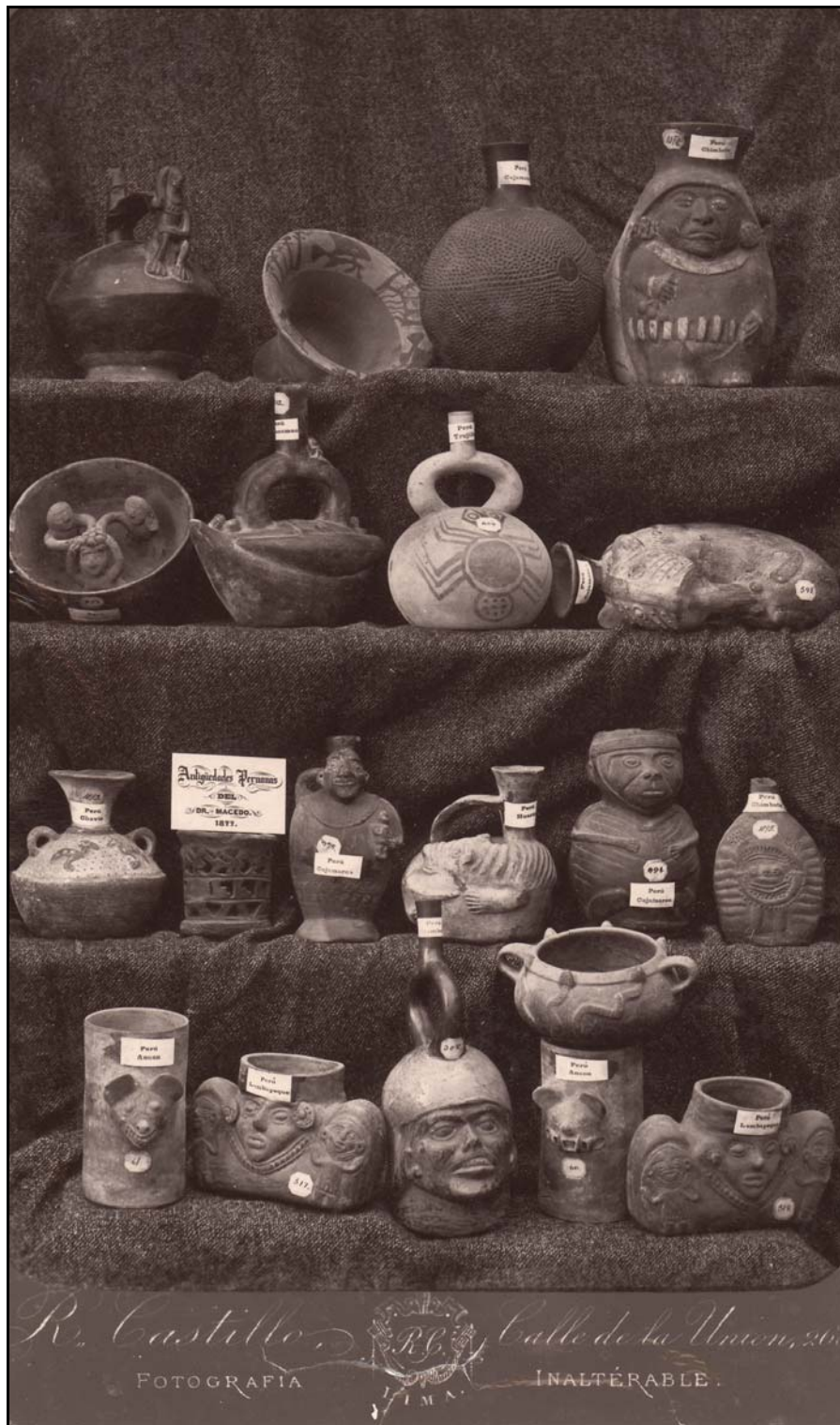
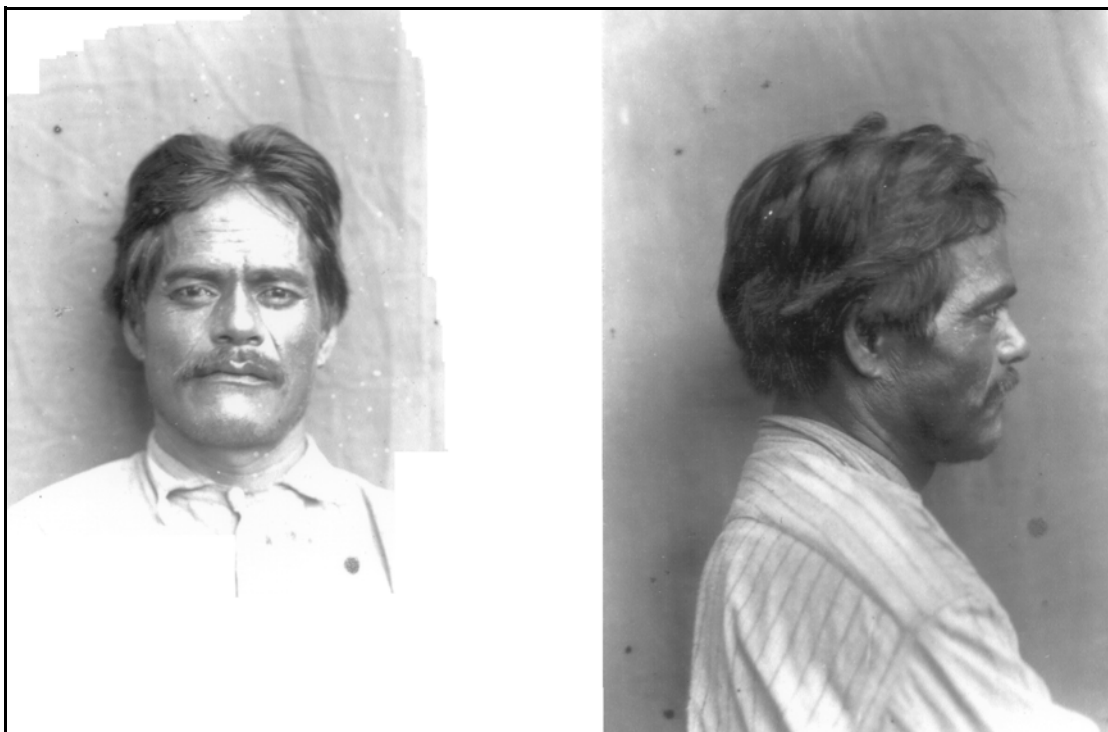


Figure 7: Photograph of Dr. José Mariano Macedo's Museum in Lima, by the professional photographer R. Castillo of Lima (Photograph © The National Museum of Ethnography, Stockholm, Sweden, published with permission).



*Figure 8: Hjalmar Stolpe at the ruins of Magdalena del Mar, Peru
(© The National Museum of Ethnography, Stockholm, Sweden, published with permission).*



*Figure 9: Anthropometric photograph of Peruvian man at Ancón, Peru
(photograph by O.B. Ekholm, 1884 © The National Museum of Ethnography, Stockholm, Sweden,
published with permission).*

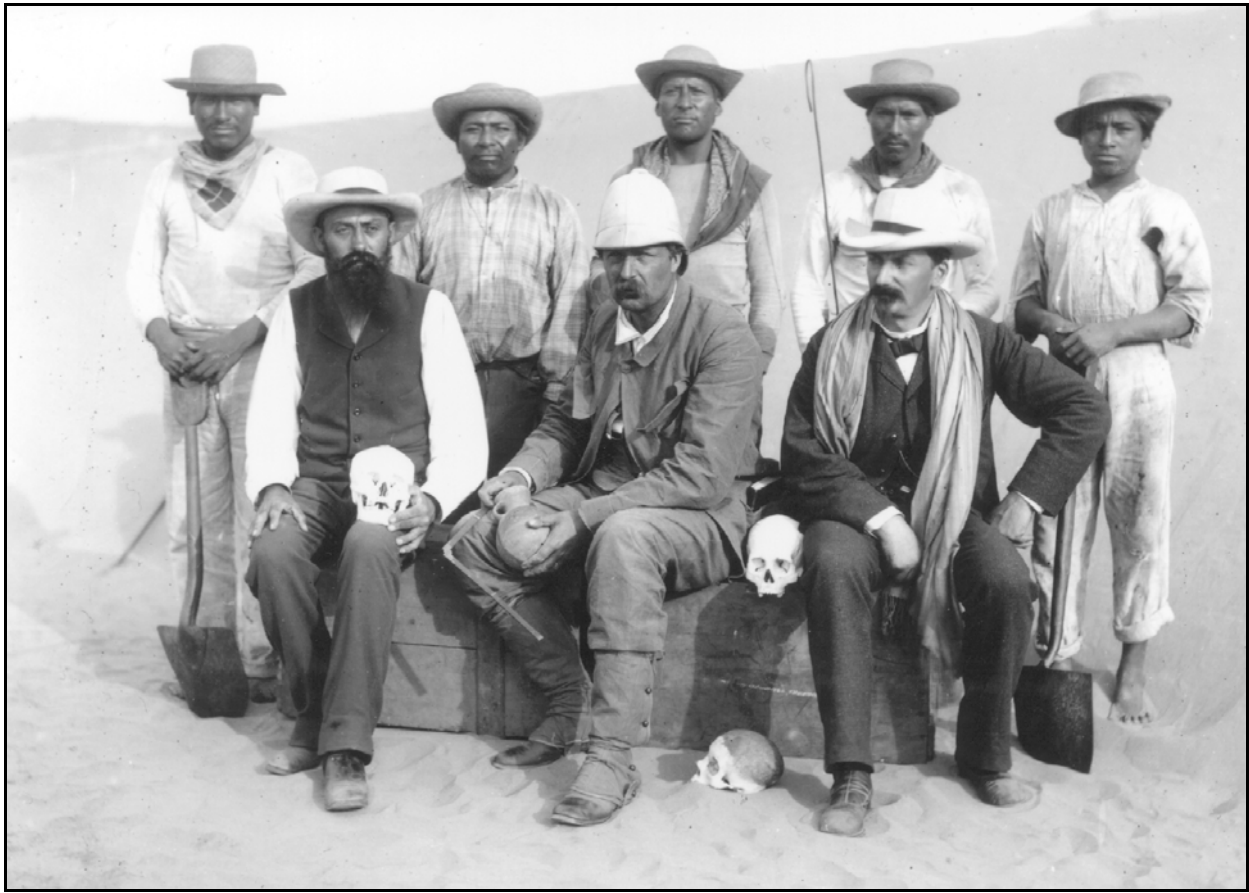


Figure 10: Hjalmar Stolpe (center) and the bearded George Kiefer (to his right) backed by Kiefer's excavation team at Ancón, Peru (photograph by O.B. Ekholm, 1884 © The National Museum of Ethnography, Stockholm, Sweden, published with permission).



Figure 11: Caricature of George Kiefer (1887), Un colector de antigüedades peruanas, bien conocido en este lugar / "A collector of Peruvian antiquities who is very well known here." In *El Perú Ilustrado* (Courtesy of Sara Weber, the Department of Special Collections, University Libraries of Notre Dame, the José Durand Collection, Notre Dame, Indiana, published with permission).



Figure 12: George Kiefer, Coleccionista de antigüedades /“Antiquities collector”
(Photograph circa 1887, Biblioteca Nacional del Perú (Lima), Courret Archives, published with permission).



*Figure 13: Tomb at Ancón, Peru following excavation
(Photograph by O.B. Ekholm, 1884 © The National Museum of Ethnography, Stockholm, Sweden,
published with permission).*



*Figure 14: View from the “Necropolis” at Ancón, Peru, looking toward the South-Southwest
(photograph by O.B. Ekholm, 1884© The National Museum of Ethnography, Stockholm, Sweden,
published with permission).*



Figure 15: View of the “Necropolis” of Ancón, Peru, looking toward the East (photograph by O.B. Ekholm, 1884 © The National Museum of Ethnography, Stockholm, Sweden, published with permission).

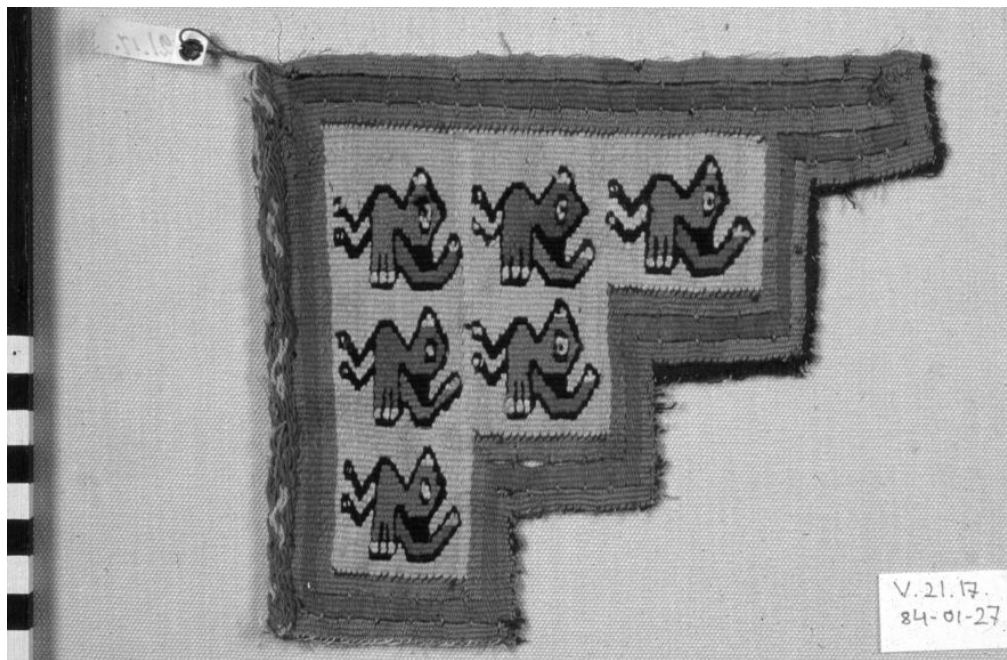


Figure 16: Tapestry fragment from the surface of Ancón collected by Hjalmar Stolpe (© The National Museum of Ethnography, Stockholm, Sweden, published with permission).

