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John Victor Murra (August 24, 1916 - October 16, 2006): An Interpretative Biography

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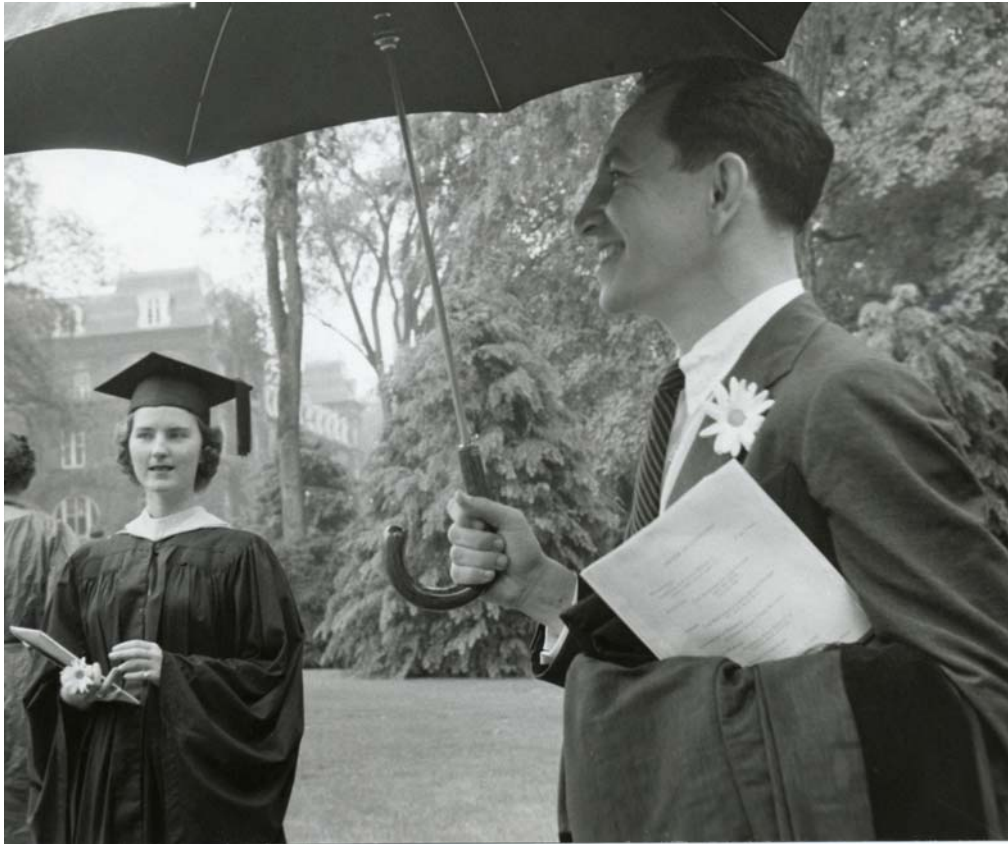
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JOHN VICTOR MURRA (AUGUST 24, 1916 - OCTOBER 16, 2006):
AN INTERPRETATIVE BIOGRAPHY

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BIBLIOGRAPHY BY DAVID BLOCK (*University of Texas, Austin*)
and MONICA BARNES



John Victor Murra at the 1958 Vassar College graduation. Graduate is Margaret Johnson-Gaddis; photograph by John Lane Studio, Poughkeepsie, New York, courtesy of Vassar College.

INTRODUCTION

John Murra's life spanned the short twentieth century. He was born during the First World War and died more than five years after the September 11, 2001 attacks on New York and Washington. He personally encountered

many of the problems presented by his perilous times. These included Communism, McCarthyism, Fascism, war, anti-Semitism, and immigration. He faced and overcame them with the tools of armed struggle, psychoanalysis, and anthropological research, emerging as one of the most influential Andeanists to date. His major

contributions to our understanding of how prehispanic cultures, especially the Inca, functioned economically, politically, socially, and ecologically are set out in his doctoral dissertation (Murra 1956a), and in a long, oft-republished and re-worked series of short articles, book chapters, and published comments, usually in venues where peer review was not a constraint.¹ He also made available a good deal of the documentation supporting his interpretations (Guaman Poma 1980; Murra [editor] 1991; Ortiz de Zúñiga 1967, 1972). His archaeological work is significant (Murra 1942, 1955f, 1962, 1966a; Murra and Morris 1976; Thompson and Murra 1966). Indeed, his first scholarly publication (Collier and Murra 1943), based in part on his M.A. thesis (Murra 1942), remains essential to an understanding of Ecuadorian prehistory, and was last republished in 2007. The results of his Huánuco Project, officially called “A Study of Provincial Inca Life”, although incompletely reported, nevertheless are a major component of Inca studies. However, his greatest contribution is probably the insight that documents, the raw material of historical reconstructions, could be viewed from an anthropological perspective and integrated into research incorporating archaeological evidence. Given that anthropology itself in the mid-twentieth century was rather a-historical, with emphasis on a timeless “ethnographic present”, this was a stunning breakthrough.²

¹ C.f. Lechtman and Wolf, n.d.; Murra 1958a, 1958b, 1960a, 1961b, 1962, 1964a, 1964b, 1966b, 1972a, 1974a, 1974c, 1975a, 1976a, 1978b, 1978c, 1982a, 1982b, 1985a, 1985b, 1985c, 1985d, 1986a, 1987a, 1999, 2002a. For work by and about John Murra not incorporated into the text of this obituary see the bibliography that is part of this special section on the life and work of John Victor Murra.

² In stating this, I do not wish to diminish the importance of other scholars who simultaneously and independently arrived at similar conclusions. In this respect, as in many others, the works of John H. Rowe and R. Tom Zuidema are particularly noteworthy. Rowe’s close and sustained study of colonial records was an approach strongly en-

Murra discouraged scholars from studying the Spanish Colonial Period *per se*. To Murra, Spain’s Golden Age was a time of catastrophe for the indigenous peoples of the Americas. He felt that intellectual effort in New World ethnohistory should be concentrated on those early documents by eyewitnesses that could elucidate prehispanic times. Following the leads of his Peruvian friends, the novelist, poet, and anthropologist José María Arguedas³ and the historian María Rostworowski,⁴ Murra recognized the importance of *visitas*, colonial reports of official inspection tours. Several were published or republished under his general direction (Murra [editor] 1964, 1991, Ortiz de Zúñiga 1967, 1972). From the minute details available in *visitas* (some make house-by-house inventories, while others contain information on regional shrine systems or economic production) Murra could discern large patterns in Incaic and early colonial organization.

dorsed by Murra. Although Murra did not share Zuidema’s emphasis on religion, ritual, and symbolism, he respected Zuidema’s scholarship and supported him with positive grant recommendations.

³ **José María Arguedas Altamirano** (1911-1969) is one of Peru’s most famous writers in both Spanish and Quechua. His fiction often explores the clashes between ethnic groups in early twentieth century Peru. Arguedas was director of Peru’s Casa de Cultura during part of the time John Murra directed field-work at Huánuco. Arguedas died as a result of his second suicide attempt.

⁴ **María Rostworowski Tovar de Diez Canseco** (b. 1915) spent her childhood in Peru, Poland, France, England, and Belgium. In 1935 she returned to Peru, living on her father’s hacienda in Huánuco. She took courses taught by historian Raúl Porras Barrenechea at the Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos. She has concentrated on the social, economic, and religious dimensions of the prehispanic societies of the Peruvian coast. She is a founder of the Instituto de Estudios Peruanos and the author of several books of collected essays and numerous articles.

He was one of the first to appreciate that the Mestizo Peruvian chronicler and artist Guaman Poma de Ayala was not a deranged malcontent, but rather a key reporter and insightful analyst (Murra 1956a:7). Working with Rolena Adorno (see Adorno's contribution, this volume, pp. 77-79) and native Quechua speaker Jorge (George) Urioste,⁵ Murra produced what has become the standard transcription of Guaman Poma's *Nueva crónica y buen gobierno* (Guaman Poma de Ayala 1980 [c.1616]). His contributions to Andean ethnohistory are immense.⁶

Murra's best known explanatory framework is his theory of "vertical complementarity" which posits that Andean societies provided for themselves by managing disparate ecological niches. The steepness of the Andean terrain insures that ecological conditions often vary greatly over relatively short distances. Because no single ecozone can produce all that is necessary for subsistence, Andean ethnic groups and states, according to Murra, maintained control of various zones, frequently not in the form of contiguous territory, but rather as strings of "islands" in an imagined "vertical archi-

pelago". Thus, high altitude grasslands could produce meat and animal fibers. At slightly lower altitudes just below the upper limit for plant cultivation tubers such as potatoes, oca, and *ulluco* were grown. Other crops, including quinoa, maize, beans, chilli peppers, lupines, cotton, coca, and fruit were planted at still lower altitudes. Establishments in the tropical forests on the eastern slopes of the Andes yielded wood, feathers, and other forest products while fish, seafood, and aquatic plants were obtained from lakes and the ocean, and salt and guano were collected where they occurred. Different forms of land tenure and exchange are possible under such conditions, but Murra postulated that ethnic groups and polities controlled or shared at least some non-contiguous territory in each important zone. Murra also made significant contributions to our understanding of the role of craft production and state-sponsored settlement practices under the Incas (Murra 1958b, 1978c, 1982b).

POLITICS, BUT NOT AS USUAL

John Victor Murra was born Isak Lipschitz in Odessa, Ukraine, then part of imperial Russia. Murra's father was raised in a Jewish orphanage after his own father had died. Murra's mother was a visually impaired teenager when she married. Although both his parents were Romanian Jews, Murra did not have a particularly religious upbringing. Murra's father was anti-clerical due to his experiences in the orphanage. Nevertheless, Murra celebrated his Bar Mitzvah as a boy and in his later years he expressed a belief in God and God's intervention in his life.

Murra spent the greater part of his childhood in Bucharest, Romania. During Murra's early years Ukraine was a violent place as the First World War morphed there into the Ukrainian War of Independence which blazed from 1917 until 1921. Although his father was

⁵ **Jorge L. Urioste** was born in Bolivia and is a native Quechua speaker. He is a Professor Emeritus of Anthropology at the University of Nevada, Las Vegas. He has collaborated with a number of people associated with Cornell University, most notably linguist Donald Solá (1922-2008), anthropologist Frank Salomon (note 48), literature specialist Rolena Adorno and John Victor Murra. Among his important publications are *The Huarochiri Manuscript: A Testament of Ancient and Colonial Andean Religions* (with Frank Salomon; 1991) and the various Murra/Adorno/Urioste editions of Guaman Poma's *Nueva crónica* . . .

⁶ Murra 1946, 1948, 1956a, 1958a, 1958b, 1960a, 1961a, 1961b, 1962, 1964a, 1964b, 1966b, 1967a, 1967b, 1967c, 1967d, 1968a, 1968b, 1970a, 1970b, 1970c, 1972a, 1972b, 1974a, 1974b, 1974c, 1975a, 1976a, 1976c, 1978a, 1978b, 1978c, 1978d, 1979a, 1979c, 1980a, 1981a, 1982b, 1981b, 1982b, 1982c, 1983b, 1984a, 1984b, 1985a, 1985b, 1985c, 1985a, 1986a, 1986b, 1987a, 1987b, 1987c, 1988a, 1988b, 1989a, 1991a, 1991b, 1992, 1998, 1999, 2002a, 2002b.

one of eight children, Murra was not close to family members. Exceptions were his only sibling, his sister, physicist Beatrice [Ata] Lipschitz Iosifescu, who later translated and compiled Murra's dissertation and other works, creating a volume in Romanian published in 1987 (see Murra 1956a), and his father's younger brother, who played a key role in Murra's life. Although Murra often expressed negative feelings towards his mother, they remained in contact until her death in August 1980.

As a teenager, Murra's passions were soccer, books, and politics (Castro *et al.* 2000:22-23). His father insisted that he study modern languages at the Lycée Georghé Lazer in Bucharest and with private tutors. Before the age of eighteen, in addition to Romanian and Russian, Murra had mastered French, English, and German. Later, while a soldier in the Spanish Civil War, he acquired fluency in Spanish. There is no evidence that Murra studied ancient languages such as Latin or Greek, but he apparently knew enough Hebrew to read from the Torah at his Bar Mitzvah. He later expressed regret that he was unable to acquire proficiency in Quechua. Murra's father also required him to apprentice in Romanian and Yugoslavian paper factories. This gave Murra some familiarity with the Croatian language, and arguably his first anthropological experiences as he interacted with workers who were members of various ethnic groups (Murra in Rowe 1984:635).

Not a sufficiently talented athlete to play sports professionally, Murra remained involved with soccer by publishing reports on matches in *Dimineata*, a Romanian newspaper. By age 16 his involvement with Communism and the Social Democratic movement, although legal, had cost him jail time and expulsion from his lycée (Cas-

tro *et al.* 2000:17). Nevertheless, he passed his baccalaureate exams in 1933.⁷

Murra must also have suffered from the virulent prejudice against Jews which was common in Romania during the 1920s and '30s. The Ministry of the Interior organized and financed university anti-Semitic groups like the Legion of Michael the Archangel which became the fascist Iron Guard. In December 1927, when Murra was eleven years old, the Legion carried out a pogrom that destroyed thirteen synagogues and their Torahs. Jews were beaten and humiliated and throughout the 1930s the situation of the Romanian Jews became increasingly desperate as Nazi influence grew.

To extricate him from a difficult situation, Murra's father sent him to Chicago in December 1934, to live with his youngest paternal uncle, a professional double bass player (*ibid.*). Although Murra's initial residence in Chicago was one of the accidents of his life, the academic connections he forged there influenced him during his entire career. In Chicago Murra perfected his English and enrolled as an undergraduate at the University of Chicago, with advanced standing, and he began to study social sciences. In 1936 he obtained his A.B. in Sociology and married Virginia Miller, a fellow student-militant.

Murra's teachers at Chicago included such famous figures as A.R. Radcliffe-Brown,⁸ Fred

⁷ A European baccalaureate is a formal educational qualification generally more advanced and specialized than an American high school diploma, but less advanced than an American bachelor's degree. It is intended as preparation for university studies.

⁸ **Alfred Reginald Radcliffe-Brown** (1881-1955) was a prominent English social anthropologist who contributed greatly to an understanding of small, non-Western societies. He studied at Cambridge University, conducted extensive field-work in the Andaman Islands and Western

Eggan,⁹ Harry Hoijer¹⁰ (*ibid*: 28), R. Redfield,¹¹

Australia, and then taught at the University of Chicago from 1931 to 1937. Two of his best-known books, *The Andaman Islanders* (1922), and *The Social Organization of Australian Tribes* (1931) are based on his field-work. In books such as *A Natural Science of Society* (1957), and in numerous articles, he set out his views of so-called primitive societies as phenomena.

⁹ **Frederick Russell Eggan** (1906-1991) received a Ph.B (1927) and Master's Degree (1928) in psychology from the University of Chicago. He then became an anthropology student of A.R. Radcliffe-Brown (note 8) and Fay-Cooper Cole (Note 12) at Chicago, receiving a Ph.D. in 1933. Eggan first taught at the University of Chicago in 1935, became the Harold H. Swift Distinguished Professor there in 1962, and retired from Chicago in 1974. He was a member of the National Academy of Sciences and a President of the American Anthropological Association. In his work he combined the principles of British socio-cultural anthropology with the historical approach of Franz Boas and applied them to the study of American Indian tribes, especially the Hopi, and to the Tinguian, a group in the Philippine highlands also studied by Fay-Cooper Cole. He developed an approach called "controlled comparison". Among his works are *The Kinship System and Social Organization of the Western Pueblos* (1933), *Lewis Henry Morgan and the Future of the American Indian* (1965), and *The American Indian . . .* (1966). For an interview see Ernest L. Schusky's "Fred Eggan: Anthropologist Full Circle" published in *The American Ethnologist* (1969). Several obituaries of Eggan have been published, including one by one by Alfonso Narvaez (*The New York Times*, May 9, 1991), one by Nathalie F. S. Woodbury (*Anthropology News*, September 1991), and another by Aram A. Yengoyan (*Asian Studies*, 1991).

¹⁰ **Harry Hoijer** (1904-1976) was an anthropological linguist who studied American Indian languages including Athabaskan and the now-extinct Tonkawa isolate. He taught at the University of Chicago as a temporary instructor from 1931 until 1940. He was the co-author, with Ralph Beals, of *An Introduction to Anthropology* (1953) and the author of articles in journals including *American Anthropologist*, *Language*, and *International Journal of American Linguistics*, among others. For biographical information on Hoijer see "Harry Hoijer, 1904-1976" by Ralph L. Beals, published in *American Anthropologist* (1977).

¹¹ **Robert Redfield** (1897-1958) received his A.B. from

and Fay-Cooper Cole¹² (Redfield and Cole 1947). Cole became one of Murra's strongest advocates. For his part, Murra always expressed respect for Cole (Murra in Rowe 1984:636), in particular crediting Cole with introducing him to ethnohistory through the Jesuit Relations, annual accounts sent to the General, or head of the Jesuits, about mission conditions in the Mississippi drainage and in other parts of the

the University of Chicago in 1920 and a J.D. from its law school in 1921. After work as an ambulance driver in World War I, a brief stint in law practice, and a trip to Mexico in 1923, he began his anthropological career as a student of Fay-Cooper Cole's at the University of Chicago. In 1927 he was hired as an instructor in anthropology by the University of Chicago and, in 1928, he received his doctorate in anthropology and was appointed an assistant professor, the start of a successful career as a teacher and administrator. His published studies of Mexican communities include *Tepotzlán*, (1930), *Chan Kom* (with Alfonso Villa-Rojas, 1934), and *The Folk Culture of Yucatan* (1941). His major books also include *The Primitive World and its Transformations* (1953), *The Little Community* (1955), and *Peasant Society and Culture* (1956), among others. For an obituary see "Robert Redfield, 1897-1958" by Fay-Cooper Cole and Fred Eggan, published in *American Anthropologist* (1959).

¹² **Fay-Cooper Cole** (1881-1961) was an expert on the peoples and cultures of Malaysia and the Philippines, and one of the developers of twentieth century American archaeology. Cole graduated from Northwestern University in 1903. He obtained a doctorate from Columbia University in 1914. This was based on work among the Tinguian that he did under the auspices of the Field Museum. He is the author of *The Wild Tribes of the Davao District, Mindanao* (1913), based on field-work performed with his wife in 1910-12, and of *Traditions of the Tinguian* (1915) among whom he and his wife did field-work in 1907-1908, as well as *The Peoples of Malaysia* (1945). The Coles' last ethnographic expedition was to Indonesia in 1922-23. In 1924 Cole was appointed an assistant professor in the University of Chicago's Department of Sociology and Anthropology where he had a long and distinguished career. During the 1930s he conducted an archaeological survey of Illinois in which Murra participated. He published *Kincaid, a Prehistoric Illinois Metropolis* (1951), and *Rediscovering Illinois . . .* (with Thorne Duel, 1937). For an obituary see "Fay-Cooper Cole" by Fred Eggan, published in *American Anthropologist* (1963).

world where the order worked. Murra also appreciated the Illinois field school that Cole operated for many years because it helped to build Americanist vocations (Frank Salomon, personal communication, 9 November 2008).

In Chicago Murra re-established contacts with Communist youth groups and demonstrated against war and racial segregation (Anon. 1947b; Redfield and Cole 1947). In November 1936 he was recruited to fight Fascism in the Spanish Civil War. His passage to France was paid with Communist funds and his military identification document was issued on 14 April 1937 (Lechtman, this volume, p. 66). In contrast to many Second World War veterans of both sides who had experienced heavy combat and were reluctant to mention their participation, for the rest of his life Murra proudly listed his service as an infantry corporal, in the 58th Battalion, 15th Brigade of the Spanish Republican Army on his *curriculum vitae* as part of his employment history. Nevertheless, privately he admitted that he considered his time in Spain to have been unsuccessful. On 15 October 1963 Murra wrote in his diary, "Think of conversation with Tabb and Iraqui (*sic*) at Genoa when I refused to volunteer a second time. I told them that as far as my personal goals were concerned, Spain had been a failure. I suppose what I meant by that was that I had not become heroic, masculine, a man different from what my mother wanted." Nevertheless, Murra was able to cope with military life, make useful contributions, face battle, and win affection and respect, as Murra's friend, fellow combatant, and journalist Harry Fisher (1911-2003) makes clear in *Comrades* (1998).

Murra summarized his experiences by stating, "Yo soy graduado de la guerra civil española, no de la Universidad de Chicago" (Castro *et al.* 2000:29).¹³ It was during the Civil War

that he took his adult name and had his first adult experiences. Isak Lipschitz acquired the permanent *nom de guerre* John Victor Murra. John (or Johnny as he was known when he was young) was chosen for its qualities as a straightforward American name, Victor in anticipation of a successful struggle, and Murra because it is close to the Romanian word for mulberry. That was Johnny's nickname when he was a boy, because of his large, dark eyes. At the time it was common for immigrants and travelers in the United States to adopt such strong and plain masculine names. For example, the famous French photographer, Henri Cartier-Bresson, often called himself Hank Carter when in the U.S.

Initially Murra arranged food and lodging in southern France for international volunteers seeking to infiltrate Spain. Soon he was translating for American, British, and Canadian commissars and for Slavic officers and soldiers. Then he was in active combat. He was seriously wounded and paralyzed for a time. The resulting limp stayed with him for the rest of his life. He spent most of the first half of 1939 in notorious French internment camps near Perpignan, but eventually managed to return to Chicago, assisted by his teachers there, arriving back in the United States on June 3, 1939 (Anon. 1947a). It was during his time translating that Murra became disillusioned with Communism, having had direct experience of the secret meetings, true policies, and extreme cruelty of its leaders. In this he was far ahead of his times because the Soviet Union itself did not fully acknowledge its own history until the 1980s. Although Murra did not set down specifics in his published works, Harry Fisher was more forthcoming in *Comrades*. In any event, by the end of the Spanish Civil War, John Murra's political problems had worsened.

¹³ "I am a graduate of the Spanish Civil War, not of the

University of Chicago" (translation by the author).

Back in Chicago, Murra resumed his studies as a scholarship student,¹⁴ doing course work from 1939 to 1941. In addition to translating the Jesuit Relations, Murra worked as a waiter, a house painter, and a washer of archaeological ceramics to supplement his scholarships and keep body and soul together. In the summer of 1940 he had his first archaeological experience, at Cole's Illinois field school. One of his contemporaries was Richard S. [Scotty] MacNeish, who later became famous for his studies of the transition to agriculture in the New World, leading archaeological projects in Mexico's Tamaulipas State and in the Tehuacán Valley of Puebla state as well as in Peru's Ayacucho Department. Murra often cited MacNeish's work as offering support for his own ideas.

Meanwhile, Romania had adopted a fascist constitution on February 12, 1938, making it impossible for Murra, a recent anti-fascist fighter, to return there. In addition, during the course of the Second World War, tens of thousands of Romanian Jews were massacred, although most survived. Murra's mother and sister were among that majority. Romania did not become a Communist country until 1947 and, in any case, Murra was no longer an advocate of that form of government. His sister, however, joined the Communist party.

Normally it would have been easy for Murra, as the spouse of an American, to have claimed United States citizenship. However, Murra's Communist connections stood in his way even with the official sponsorship of Fay-Cooper Cole. Cole, in addition to being a well-known Chicago educator, was a member of a powerful New York family (Cooper family file, Brooklyn

Historical Society). Sponsorship was a serious commitment because it involved a guarantee of financial support should the immigrant become indigent. After being twice denied it, Murra was eventually granted American citizenship in 1950 (Anon. 1947b, 1947c, 1948b, 1948c, 1948d, 1948e, 1949a, 1949b, 1950a, 1950b) although the issuance of a passport was delayed until 1956 or 1958,¹⁵ preventing Murra from traveling to countries where that document was required. Murra's case achieved national importance, having been brought to the attention of President Harry S. Truman's Committee of Civil Rights, established in 1946 to strengthen and protect the civil rights of the American people. It was recommendations of this committee that led to the racial desegregation of the United States armed forces. Murra's case was studied by the Committee because it was one of the first in which prior attachment to Communism was considered as a possible disqualification for citizenship.

¹⁵ Sources on the date of issue of Murra's first passport vary. Heather Lechtman has a clear memory of Murra's jubilation when he received notification of his passport while she was still a student at Vassar (Lechtman, personal communication, 12 November 2008). Lechtman graduated in 1956. In the interview Murra gave to John Rowe Murra states that he received his first passport in 1956 (Murra in Rowe 1984:639). However, in *Nispa Ninchis* (Castro *et al.* 2000:52-53) and in an interview given to Waldo Ansaldi and Fernando Calderón G. first published in 1989 and republished in 2000, Murra states that he received his first United States passport in 1958. A 1956 letter in the NAA from one of Murra's attorneys advises Murra that he could expect a passport shortly. I have not been able to locate Murra's first United States passport. The fact that he apparently did not travel to areas where a passport was required until 1958, coupled with Murra's oft-expressed eagerness to return to South America, makes me think that Murra's first United States passport was issued in 1958.

¹⁴ Letter from Fay-Cooper Cole to Duran Ballen, Ecua2dorian Consul to the United States, August 8, 1941, National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution, John Victor Murra Papers, hereinafter Murra, NAA.

ANTHROPOLOGY IN THE ANTI-FASCIST STRUGGLE - JOHN MURRA'S WAR WORK

Ecuador

Although Murra's injuries precluded his enlistment in the United States military forces,¹⁶ he put his anthropological education to good use in war work. From August 28, 1941 through mid-February 1942,¹⁷ he was in Ecuador, participating in survey and excavations officially directed by Fay-Cooper Cole with Donald Collier¹⁸ of the Field Museum serving as the Assistant Director in the field (Collier and Murra 1943:11). It is unclear if Cole ever visited Ecuador in connection with this project. Murra held the formal title of Supervisor. The work was

¹⁶ Letter from John V. Murra to Frances Jay, July 9, 1941, in the archives of the Institute of Andean Research, Division of Anthropology, American Museum of Natural History (hereinafter I.A.R., A.M.N.H.). It is possible that Nelson Rockefeller personally facilitated Murra's draft exemption (letter from Donald Collier to John Victor Murra, June 5, 1941, Murra, NAA).

¹⁷ Anon. 1947a; Letter from Donald Collier to George C. Vaillant, February 5, 1942, I.A.R., A.M.N.H.

¹⁸ **Donald Collier** (1911-1995) received his Ph.D. from the University of Chicago (1954). Anthropological interests were shared by Collier family members. Donald's father was United States Commissioner of Indian Affairs. His brother, John Collier, Jr. (1913-1992) was a noted photographer and visual anthropologist. In the 1950s John Collier was a member of the Cornell University Department of Anthropology. The Colliers' brother-in-law, René D'Harnoncourt directed the Museum of Modern Art (1949-1967). D'Harnoncourt was an expert on Mexican art and ancient Peruvian textiles. Donald's wife, Malcolm Carr Collier, published on the Navajo. Don Collier's early archaeological and ethnological work was in the western United States. From 1936 he studied land use in the Andes and in 1937 worked with Julio C. Tello in the Casma Valley. His Ph.D. dissertation was produced as part of his participation in the Virú Valley Project. As a curator at the Field Museum Collier organized many important exhibitions. A short obituary of Collier by Donald Thompson along with a bibliography of Collier's works appears in the 1996 volume of *American Antiquity*.

sponsored by the Institute of Andean Research (I.A.R.) At the time Nelson Rockefeller¹⁹ had arranged for the I.A.R. to receive its funding from the United States Department of State's Council of National Defense, Division of Commercial and Cultural Relations.²⁰ The work in Ecuador was part of a co-ordinated series of major sub-projects that were also staged in Mexico, El Salvador, Cuba, Colombia, Venezuela, Peru, and Chile. These were considered part of the national defense,²¹ the idea being both to put intelligent, if often inexperienced, observers into parts of Latin America suspected to be of interest to the Nazis, and to improve United States-Latin American relations. The Ecuador portion was designated "Project 9B-Ecuador-1941-42". Because Murra's United States citizenship application was pending²² and he did not have a passport as

¹⁹ **Nelson Aldridge Rockefeller** (1908-1979) was a president of the Museum of Modern Art (1939-1958), the forty-ninth governor of New York State (1959-1973), and the forty-fifth vice president of the United States (1974-1977). He was also a businessman and philanthropist. Rockefeller promoted economic development and liberalization, as well as North American culture, in Latin America, while holding important national appointed offices. He was Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs (1940-1944), Chairman of the Inter-American Development Commission (1940-1947), and Assistant Secretary of State for Latin American Affairs (1944-45). Rockefeller believed that by promoting United States culture he could counter perceived Fascist and Communist influences in the region. In the 1950s, under President Eisenhower, he supervised secret C.I.A. operations.

²⁰ Letter from George C. Vaillant to Donald Collier, February 14, 1941, I.A.R., A.M.N.H.; Collier and Murra 1943:11).

²¹ Letter from Donald Collier to John Victor Murra, June 5, 1941, NAA; Letter from C.C. Miller, Registrar, University of Chicago to Selective Service Board Number 9, June 16, 1941, Murra, NAA.

²² Letter from Fay-Cooper Cole to Wendell C. Bennett, April 30, 1941, I.A.R., A.M.N.H.

normally required for admission to Ecuador,²³ he was issued a permit signed by Marshall E. Dimock, Special Assistant to the Attorney General in Charge, Immigration and Nationalization Service, United States Department of Justice, which provided permission for Murra to leave the United States and return within a year without loss of residence credit under exemptions provided by Section 307 of the Nationality Act of 1940.²⁴ In effect, Murra was not to be penalized for leaving the United States to undertake work tied to the United States war effort.

Collier hoped to determine the relationship of early archaeological material to the Inca Horizon in the southernmost part of Ecuador and the cultural connections, if any, to what is now northern Peru (Collier and Murra 1943: 15). However, by the time he and Murra arrived in Ecuador, Peruvian armed forces had invaded that country, and Collier's first area of interest had fallen under military occupation. Collier and Murra adjusted their research plan to conduct reconnaissance in the southern part of Chimborazo Province, and in the provinces of Cañar, Azuay, and Loja in order to find stratified sites. This fit in well with the whole series of I.A.R. projects whose main goal was to create linked cultural sequences for prehispanic North and South America as a whole.²⁵ Radiocarbon dating had not yet been developed, so the sequences were to be established through coordinated longitudinal surveys, stratified

excavations, and seriation of artifacts. The design of the projects assumed that the prehispanic cultures of the Americas were not isolates, but rather, interconnected, much as Nelson Rockefeller saw the American republics.

It is stunning to contemplate the scope of the work that very small, and relatively inexperienced, teams set out to accomplish over vast territories in brief spans of time, especially by comparison with European-sponsored projects at important sites such as at Pompeii (Italy), Uruk (Iraq), Knossos (Crete), and Mucking (England) where large groups of specialists, workmen, and students established themselves for decades. At the start of their Ecuador project, Murra had never been in any Latin American country. Donald Collier described his own knowledge of Ecuador to be too "slight" to be able to give Murra any useful suggestions for preparation²⁶ and Collier needed a translator to function.

September 1941, Murra's first full month in Ecuador, was spent in orientation, including establishing contacts with local colleagues, obtaining permissions, and acquiring equipment and supplies. In October he and Collier spent ten days (Collier and Murra 1943:16) or, perhaps, as much as two weeks at the Hacienda Zula in Chimborazo Province where they conducted test excavations on the four hundred square mile paramo ranch.²⁷ That month they also photographed private archaeological collections in the town of Riobamba. They spent

²³ Information provided by the Consulate General of Ecuador, New York, 1941, Murra, NAA.

²⁴ Letter from John Victor Murra to United States Immigration Commission, July 10, 1941, Murra, NAA; letter from Marshall E. Dimock to Fay-Cooper Cole, July 16, 1941, Murra NAA; Letter from Fay-Cooper Cole to George C. Vaillant, July 18, 1941, I.A.R., A.M.N.H.

²⁵ Letter from George C. Vaillant to Paul Martin, March 14, 1941, I.A.R. A.M.N.H.

²⁶ "As to whom to make contacts with in Ecuador, what transportation and other conditions will be there, etc. I have no knowledge—but you can expect to do some traveling on mule back"; letter from Donald Collier to John Victor Murra, May 27, 1941, Murra, NAA. A photograph of Murra on muleback on the Ecuadorian paramo later became iconic.

²⁷ Letter from Donald Collier to George C. Vaillant, October 22, 1941, I.A.R., A.M.N.H.

November doing archaeological surveys of Cañar, Azuay, and Loja Provinces, recording about twenty sites. They visited Alausí and photographed private collections in Cuenca. During December they excavated at three sites near Cañar including Cerro Narrío (*ibid.*: 16-17). In January 1942 Murra went to Quito for analysis and write-up. Over forty thousand artifacts, mostly potsherds, were shipped to the Field Museum.²⁸ Some of these were apparently shared with other museums. Although this schedule did not allow for detailed archaeological research, it did give Collier and Murra a good strategic overview of an important portion of the Ecuadorian highlands. Other Americans, for example Edwin Nelson Ferdon, were conducting archaeological operations in other parts of the country (Lubensky, *Andean Past* 8).

In the field Collier and Murra were assisted by Aníbal Buitrón Chávez,²⁹ then a 27-year-old Quito school teacher who received grants from the U. S. Department of State and the Institute of International Education to come to the United States for further training in anthropology during the 1942-43 academic year. Buitrón also worked with Don Collier's brother, John Collier, Jr. to produce *The Awakening Valley* (1949), a photographic essay about Otavalo. Buitrón went on to a career in international development. Although Murra was disappointed that Buitrón did not persist with anthropology, Murra became convinced from his field-work in Ecuador that the education in anthropology of young Latin

Americans was important. He never lost sight of that goal.

Murra received his master's degree from the University of Chicago in 1942 (Anon. 1942). During the last year of his master's program he held the University Fellowship awarded to the highest-ranking member of the graduate student body.³⁰

Fear and Courage under Fire

During the latter part of 1942 and a portion of 1943 Murra continued his war work, this time under John Dollard³¹ of Yale's Human Relations Institute who was himself employed by the United States Department of War. Murra's task was to help interview and administer questionnaires to men who had fought with the Abraham Lincoln Brigade in the Spanish Civil War. The goal was to understand how men overcame their fear and developed courage in combat. A short, stand-alone report of the results, *Fear in Battle*, was published by the United States Army's *Infantry Journal* in 1944. Nevertheless, the purportedly leftist slant of the questionnaires was later cited against Murra in his citizenship hearings (Anon. 1947b). In any case, the contacts which Murra maintained and forged across the country during this research made him pivotal to the corporate identity of American Spanish Civil War veterans.

²⁸ Letter from Donald Collier to John Victor Murra, February 18, 1942, Murra, NAA; Letter from John Victor Murra to the Honorable Boaz Long, American Minister, Quito, April 2, 1942, Murra, NAA; Collier and Murra 1943:17.

²⁹ An Archaeological Reconnaissance of the Southern Ecuadorian Highlands—Memorandum on the Institute of Andean Research Expedition in Ecuador, August 1941-January 1942. Quito, January 9, 1942, Donald Collier and John V. Murra, Murra, NAA; Collier and Murra 1943:11.

³⁰ Letter from Fay-Cooper Cole to the Honorable S.E. Duran Ballen, Consul General of Ecuador, August 8, 1941. Murra, NAA; press release, Vassar College Office of Public Relations, December 1959, John Victor Murra Faculty File, The Catherine Pelton Durrell '25 Archives and Special Collections Library, Vassar College (hereafter the John Victor Murra File, Vassar College).

³¹ **John Dollard** (1900-1980), who received his Ph.D. from the University of Chicago (1931), was a psychologist and social scientist best known for his studies of race relations, especially in the American South.

Siamese Folk Tales and Cultural Values

During the summer of 1943, Murra worked for the United States Department of War Information under the supervision of Ruth Benedict.³² Murra admired Benedict, whom he considered a true anthropologist, as opposed to Benedict's friend and putative lover, Margaret Mead,³³ whom Murra characterized as a "Sunday supplement anthropologist".³⁴ However, Benedict's death in 1948 precluded a long association.

Murra interviewed Siamese (as they were then called) immigrants in the United States, collecting folk tales. The goal was to discern belief systems because understanding of these was deemed desirable in case the United States acquired responsibility for Siamese territory.

³² **Ruth Benedict** (1887-1948), a student of Franz Boas, received her Ph.D. in 1923 and joined the Columbia faculty with which she was associated until her death. One of her most famous students there was Margaret Mead (note 33). Benedict was part of the Culture-Personality school of anthropology, a movement heavily influenced by psychoanalysis. She is the author of *Patterns of Culture* (1934), a very important book of that school. In it, adapting a model taken from Friedrich Nietzsche, she argues that various cultures emphasize particular personality traits. She presented her most important wartime research as *The Chrysanthemum and the Sword* (1946), an exploration of traditional Japanese culture.

³³ **Margaret Mead** (1901-1978) was one of the most famous anthropologists of all time. She produced a stream of books and articles for both academic and popular audiences beginning with interpretative accounts of her Polynesian field-work and continuing with observations on American popular culture. She is credited with broadening sexual mores and elucidating the interplay of culture and personality. She held a variety of teaching posts, and from 1946 to 1969 was Curator of Ethnology at the American Museum of Natural History. Several book length biographies of Mead, and of Mead and Benedict together, are available.

³⁴ Letter from Laura Rand Orthwein to John Victor Murra, Murra, NAA (n.d., c. 1960).

Murra recognized that cunning and the ability to deceive others were valued in Siamese culture, at least as it manifested itself in stories. Therefore, captives, he advised, could not be shamed and broken down by calling them "traitors". That would seem a form of praise.

Teaching at the University of Chicago

In the fall of 1943 Murra became an instructor in Anthropology at the University of Chicago to fill in for Fred Eggan, who was serving as Chief of Research for the Philippine Government in exile and was instructing United States Service personnel about the cultures of East Asia. Murra continued to teach in Chicago until 1946. From 1946 to 1947, he was a Fellow of the Social Sciences Research Council. In his Chicago teaching Murra maintained the legacy of A.R. Radcliffe-Brown by promoting what Murra perceived as a new anthropological paradigm developed in the 1920s and 30s by British and Commonwealth socio-cultural anthropologists led by Raymond Firth,³⁵ Broni-

³⁵ **Sir Raymond Firth** (1901-2002) was a New Zealand-born ethnologist who made distinctions between the ideal rules of behavior within societies (social structure) and actual behavior (social organization) and became an expert in the societies of the Pacific. He pioneered economic anthropology. His first degree was in economics from Auckland University College (1921) where he also earned an M.A. (1922) and a Diploma in Social Science (1923). His 1927 Ph.D. dissertation from the London School of Economics is entitled *Primitive Economics of the New Zealand Maori*. Among his other famous works are *We the Tikopia* (1936) based on field-work he did in the Solomon Islands in the late 1920s. Firth continued work with the Tikopia and published at least ten books based on his observations of their culture. Firth became a lecturer at the L.S.E. in 1933, was appointed Reader there in 1935, and succeeded Bronislaw Malinowski as Professor of Social Anthropology in 1944, remaining there in that position until 1968. After retirement from the L.S.E. he took up a number of distinguished visiting professorships, including one at Cornell University in 1970 and another at the University of Chicago in 1970-71. An obituary by Judith Huntsman appears in the *American Anthropologist* (2003). His wife, Rosemary Firth, was also a distinguished

slaw Malinowski³⁶ and Radcliffe-Brown. This paradigm emphasized field-work in living cultures, especially those of Africa and Polynesia. It also advocated the study of state level societies, not just small, isolated groups (Murra in Calderón 2000:254; see also Ansaldi and Calderón 1989).

THE CARIBBEAN

Once the regular, tenured faculty completed their wartime assignments, Murra was out of a job and his life entered a new phase. He was not able to settle down for almost a decade. With his citizenship and passport issues unresolved, he was limited in his travels until 1958 when his first passport was issued. He worked as an instructor at the University of Wisconsin in the summer of 1946. From 1947 to 1950 he taught at the University of Puerto Rico, Río Piedras, first as an Assistant Professor and Field Director of Community Studies, and then as an Associate Professor and Field Director. Murra supervised studies of several communities with support from the Rockefeller Foundation and the University of

social anthropologist.

³⁶ Bronislaw Kasper Malinowski (1884-1942), born Polish, became one of the most important anthropologists of the early twentieth century during his British-based career. He held a doctorate in mathematics and physical sciences from Jagiellonian University. He went on to study anthropology at Leipzig University and at the London School of Economics. He emphasized extensive field-work, conducted, in his case, in what is now Papua New Guinea, and among the Trobriand Islanders of the South Pacific. A pioneer of the participant-observer method which requires the anthropologist to take an active role in the society he is studying, Malinowski contributed to our understanding of non-Western economic systems such as the famous kula shell exchange ring. Among his works are *The Sexual Life of Savages* (1929), *Argonauts of the Western Pacific* (1922), *Coral Gardens and their Magic* (1935), *Magic, Science, and Religion . . .* (1948), *A Diary in the Strict Sense of the Term* (1961), and *The Dynamics of Culture Change: An Inquiry into Race Relations in Africa* (1967). There are many book length analyses of Malinowski's life and work.

Puerto Rico. From 1948 to 1949, working under the auspices of Julian Steward's³⁷ "Peoples of Puerto Rico Project" (1947-1950), Murra did ethnographic field-work in six communities on the island (Salomon 2007:793). In the summers Murra supervised field-work students from Yale and other United States mainland universities, working in Jamaica, and in Martinique in 1956 and 1957 under the auspices of "The Research and Training Program for the Study of Man in the Tropics".³⁸ During the 1950s, drawing upon this experience, Murra frequently published (Murra 1951a, 1955b, 1955d, 1955e, 1957a, 1957b, 1959a) and spoke (Gillespie 1950; Wakefield 1959) on Caribbean issues.

DOCTORAL DISSERTATION

Murra was, by this time, dedicated to anthropology. He knew that to continue in that field in a full professional capacity he would have to obtain a doctorate. Ecuador intrigued Murra, as did the struggles of peasant communities and issues of land tenure. Murra was aware that the Indians of Otavalo had freed themselves from serfdom by somehow acquiring the means to purchase the lands they worked.

³⁷ Julian H. Steward (1902-1972) held a B.Sc. in Zoology from Cornell University (1925). He obtained his doctorate from the University of California, Berkeley (1929). In addition to editing the influential *Handbook of South American Indians* (1946-1959), Steward conducted field-work in the American West and exerted considerable power as an administrator in both government and academe. He helped to develop the concept of cultural ecology. He held a variety of prestigious teaching positions. In his latter career he became interested in issues of modernization. His biography, *Scenes from the High Desert: Julian Steward's Life and Theory* was published in 2003 by Virginia Kerns.

³⁸ The Research Institute for the Study of Man (R.I.S.M.) was founded by Vera D. Rubin in 1955. Rubin and her colleagues brought the methodologies of the social sciences to the study of rapidly changing societies. The records of the R.I.S.M. are now in New York University's Bobst Library.

There were other instances of indigenous communities liberating themselves in similar ways. Murra wished to return to Ecuador, base himself in Otavalo, and use the Otavaleño experience as his principal example, making shorter stays in other Andean communities to study comparable cases. However, Murra was concerned about growing older without a doctorate in hand and his passport problems dragged on.

Murra had become interested in the Inca in 1939-40 when he took a course from Harry Hoijer on Andean civilizations (Murra 1956a:ii). As a graduate student he had presented term papers on Inca social structure and economics. He, therefore, decided to do a library dissertation on Tawantinsuyu,³⁹ the Inca polity, working in the New York Public Library and incorporating only published evidence. Although Murra seems to have resented this restriction, his 1956 University of Chicago doctoral dissertation, *The Economic Organization of the Inca State* was immediately recognized as one of the most important works of synthesis ever written on Tawantinsuyu. Murra read and interpreted the chronicles of the early colonial Andes with a fresh perspective. Essentially he reconstructed the Inca economy, elucidating many features including modes of production, land tenure, labor arrangements, and the extraordinary value of cloth. In particular, he was able to determine that the Incas had a “redistributive” economy, reallocating the production of some segments of society for the benefit of others. In evaluating a depiction of the Inca by another scholar, Murra sometimes asked the question, “Does it go

beyond William H. Prescott’s 1847 *History of the Conquest of Peru?*” It is clear that in his own work, Murra did progress beyond that classic.

Readers of *The Economic Organization of the Inca State* have noted that Murra’s analytic framework seems to owe something to that of Karl Polanyi’s⁴⁰ studies of non-market economies (c.f. Van Buren in *American Anthropologist* 98[2] 1996; Wachtel 1973) who was at Columbia University when Murra was writing his dissertation. Polanyi, Conrad M. Arensberg, and Henry W. Pearson had not yet published *Trade and Market in the Early Empires* (1957) but they, and their students, were laying the groundwork for that book in a seminar that Polanyi and Arensberg⁴¹ taught in the early-to-mid 1950s. In the acknowledgments section of his dissertation Murra states that he attended “half a dozen” meetings of this seminar in 1953-

⁴⁰ **Karl Polanyi** (1886-1964) was an economic journalist and theorist, a democratic socialist, and the founder of Substantialism, a school of thought which emphasizes the imbeddedness of economics in the rest of culture. He obtained a doctor of laws degree from the University of Budapest (1908) and was called to the Budapest bar in 1912. Polanyi also studied at the University of Kolosvar in Romania. After World War I he was forced to flee from Hungary for political reasons. He worked as a newspaper man in Vienna from 1924 to 1937. The development of Austrian Fascism forced him to flee once more, first to London, then to North America. He taught at Bennington College (1940-1943) and Columbia University (1947-1953), remaining at Columbia as a researcher after his formal retirement. His 1944 book, *The Great Transformation*, an exploration of the emergence of modern capitalist economies brought him worldwide fame. In 1957 he published *Trade and Market in Early Empires*.

⁴¹ **Conrad Maynadier Arensberg** (1910-1997) studied complex societies from an anthropological perspective and was well-known for his research in Ireland and in New England. He was educated at Harvard College, obtaining both an A.B. (1931) and a Ph.D from that institution (1934). Arensberg taught at M.I.T., Brooklyn College, Barnard College, and Columbia University. An obituary of Arensberg by Lambros Comitas was published in the *American Anthropologist* (2000).

³⁹ The earliest known recorded use of a term similar to Tawantinsuyu, Taguansuyu, was made in 1577 in a *memorial* presented to the Viceroy don Francisco de Toledo. In this context it designated the social and physical divisions of Cusco, which were projected outwards to encompass territory within 55 kilometers of that city. This document was published by Waldimar Espinoza Soriano in the *Bulletin de l’Institut Français d’Études Andines* (1977).

54 and notes that he found Polanyi's studies of redistributive systems stimulating (Murra 1956a: iv). However, in *Nispa Ninchis*, a long interview of Murra conducted in 1993 and published in 2000, Murra explicitly denies the influence of Polanyi, except for supplying the term "redistribution", and provides an alternate chronology, saying that he heard talks by Polanyi when he, Murra, was working at the U.N., that is in 1951, (Castro *et al.* 2000:93; Murra 1951b, 1951c, 1951d, 195e, 1951f, 1951g) and that he attended two of Polanyi's seminars after he had finished his dissertation, that is, after 1955 or 1956 (*ibid.*; see also Murra 1981b). Polanyi, Arensberg, and Pearson, for their part, in the Preface to *Trade and Market in the Early Empires* acknowledge Murra as among those who have contributed "ideas and ideals; moral, intellectual, and technical assistance" (p. xi). Murra was probably also influenced by Helen Codere's⁴² now-classic book on the Kwakwaka'wakw (Kwakwilt) potlatch, *Fighting with Property* (1950) in which she noted that the potlatch had "distributing and redistributing functions not however properly called trade" (p. 20). Nevertheless, the detailed synthesis in Murra's dissertation of many early sources on the Inca is certainly his own, and his inferences about Inca economic practices follow logically from that synthesis. For many years Murra continued to develop the ideas presented in his dissertation and they form the cores of his early articles on

Andean cultures. Murra remained a materialist and a leftist, although he was no longer a Marxist. The value of studies of non-market economies was confirmed in 2009 with the award of the Nobel Peace Prize to Elinor Ostrom for her work on the cooperative management of shared resources such as fisheries (see *Science* 16 October 2009, p. 374).

FRIENDS AND FAMILY

In 1940 Murra and Virginia Miller divorced.⁴³ In February 1946 he married Elizabeth Ann "Tommy" Sawyer. That marriage ended formally in a Mexican divorce in 1958. In 1959 Murra met and formed a romantic association with one of his freshman Vassar students, the strikingly beautiful debutante Laura Rand Orthwein.⁴⁴ Laura, wishing to free herself of a patronymic, adopted part of Murra's *nom de guerre*, legally becoming Laura Murra from 1963. By the late 1960s she had assumed the name Laura X. As Laura X she became a well-known feminist writer, editor, and human rights and anti-Vietnam War activist. In 1968 she founded the Women's History Research Center in her Berkeley, California home. The Center developed an outstanding collection of feminist ephemera. She is now once again known as Laura Rand Orthwein and is a major philanthropist in her native St. Louis. In his diaries Murra referred to Laura as "Lilac". Sometimes he called her his third wife. In his latter years Murra's trusted friend was Judith Willis, whom he met when she was a secretary at Cornell.

⁴² **Helen Codere** (b.1917) earned a B.A. from the University of Minnesota (1939), and a Ph.D. from Columbia University (1950). She taught at Columbia and at the University of Minnesota, joining the Vassar faculty in 1946. In 1954, on leave from Vassar, she was a visiting Professor at the University of British Columbia. In 1958 she was promoted to the rank of Professor. After leaving Vassar she became a dean at Brandeis and is now Professor Emeritus there. Her geographical areas of interest include the Northwest Coast of North America, Iceland, and Africa, especially Rwanda. She is the author of *Fighting with Property: A Study of Kwakiutl Potlatching and Warfare 1792-1930* (1950) and *Biography of an African Society: Rwanda 1900-1960 . . .* (1973).

⁴³ Letter from Elizabeth Ann "Tommy" Sawyer Murra to Henry Heineman, July 30, 1948, Murra NAA.

⁴⁴ Laura Rand Orthwein, personal communication, 4 January, 2009; see also letters from Orthwein to Murra and from Murra to Orthwein, and photographs of Orthwein, Murra NAA.

Although Murra never formed a nuclear family of procreation, he filled this gap with many close and life-long friendships with people including former students who became colleagues, such as Rolena Adorno, Jorge Hidalgo,⁴⁵ Heather Lechtman (see Lechtman's essay, this volume, pp. 66-68), Ann Peters,⁴⁶ Roger Rasnake⁴⁷ and his wife Inge Harman (see Harman's essay, this volume, pp. 80-82), Frank Salomon (see Salomon's essay, this volume, pp. 87-102),⁴⁸

Peruvian anthropologist, poet, and novelist José María Arguedas, as well as anthropologists and historians including Carlos Sempat Assadourian,⁴⁹ Gonzalo Aguirre Beltrán,⁵⁰ Ruth Benedict, Wendell Bennett,⁵¹ Thérèse Bouysse-

⁴⁵ **Jorge Hidalgo Lehuédé** (b. 1942) is a Chilean historian with an anthropological and international perspective. He holds a doctorate from the University of London and is Dean of the Faculty of Philosophy and Humanities of the Universidad de Chile (Santiago). His works emphasize the role of indigenous communities, especially of the desertic north, in his reconstructions of Chilean colonial history. A close colleague of John Murra, Hidalgo is the author of *Historia andina en Chile* (2004), a collection of essays, and an editor of *Nispa ninchis/decimos diciendo: Conversaciones con John Murra* (with Victoria Castro and Carlos Aldunate, 2000).

⁴⁶ **Ann Hudson Peters** (b. 1955) holds a bachelor's degree in fine arts from Yale University (1979). While studying in Lima on a traveling fellowship she attended a lecture by John Murra and, inspired by that experience, went to Cornell University to obtain her M.A. (1983) and Ph.D. (1997). Her dissertation is entitled *Paracas, Topará, and Early Nasca: Ethnicity and Society on the South Central Andean Coast*. She has conducted field research in Peru's Pisco Valley and in Northern Chile and archival work with the materials left by Julio C. Tello. She is the author of important articles on ancient Andean textiles.

⁴⁷ **Roger Neil Rasnake** (b. 1951) received his doctorate in anthropology from Cornell University (1982). He has done field-work and ethnohistorical research pertinent to the Yura, a Quechua-speaking ethnic group of Bolivia. He is the author of *Domination and Cultural Resistance: Authority and Power Among an Andean People* (1988) which emphasizes the expression of authority through the fiesta system. He is an expert in cross-cultural and international education.

⁴⁸ **Frank Salomon** (b. 1946) is the John V. Murra Professor of Anthropology at the University of Wisconsin, Madison. Among his notable publications are *Native Lords of Quito in the Age of the Incas* (1986), *The Huarochirí Manuscript: A Testament of Ancient and Colonial Andean Religion* (with

George Urioste, 1991), *Los Yumbos, Niguas, y Tsatchila o "Colorados" durante la colonia española: Etnohistoria del Noroccidente de Pichincha* (1997), and *The Cord Keepers: Khipu and Cultural Life in a Peruvian Village* (2004). With Stewart Schwartz he is the editor of the *Cambridge History of the Native Peoples of the Americas: South America (Prehistory and Conquest)* (1999).

⁴⁹ **Carlos Sempat Assadourian** was an Argentinian economic historian who taught in Mexico for many years. Among his works are *El Tráfico de esclavos en Córdoba argentina, 1588-1610 . . .* (1965), *De la conquista a la independencia* (with Guillermo Beato and José C. Chiaramonte, 1972), *El sistema de la economía colonial: Mercado interno, regiones y espacio económico* (1982), and *Transiciones hasta el sistema colonial andino* (1994).

⁵⁰ **Gonzalo Aguirre Beltrán** (1908-1996) held various positions in Mexico during the mid-20th century, including the Mexican sub-secretariate of education, the directorship of the Instituto Indigenista Interamericano, and the editorship of *América Indígena*. Under American Anthropological Association auspices and with support from the Wenner Gren and Ford Foundations, he and John Murra organized two international conferences on the relationships between research and anthropological training in the Americas. The 1967 conference was held in Austria at Burg Warthenstein, the Wenner-Gren Foundation European Conference Center from 1958 to 1980, and the 1968 one was held in Mexico (John Victor Murra c.v. Murra, NAA). Aguirre Beltrán contributed greatly to our understanding of the development of anthropology in Mexico. He is the author of numerous works including *Formas de gobierno indígena* (1953), *Aguirre Beltrán: Obra polémica* (1976), *Antropología médica* (1986, 1994), and *Crítica antropológica* (1990).

⁵¹ **Wendell [Wendy] C. Bennett** (1905-1953) held Ph.B. (1927), M.A. (1929) and Ph.D. (1930) degrees from the University of Chicago. His dissertation is a comparative study of Polynesian religious structures. In the early 1930s Bennett worked with Robert M. Zingg among Tarahumara Indians of northern Mexico. From this project he formulated an understanding that archaeology and ethnology should be done in tandem when possible. In 1931 he joined the American Museum of Natural History as

Cassagne⁵², Jesús Contreras Hernández,⁵³ Éric de Dampierre,⁵⁴ Pierre Duviols,⁵⁵ Gordon D.

Hadden,⁵⁶ Olivia Harris,⁵⁷ John Hyslop (Murra 1994a), Agustín Llagostera,⁵⁸ José Matos Mar,⁵⁹

Assistant Curator of Ethnology and continued a program of research in Andean archaeology established by his predecessor, Ronald L. Olsen. Bennett made many major field trips to the Andes during the 1930s and '40s, excavating at Tiwanaku and Chiripa, in Bolivia, and in the Virú and Lambeyeque Valleys, and at the sites of Chavín and Wari in Peru. He also excavated in Venezuela, Colombia, and Ecuador. In 1938, after holding a post at the Bishop Museum in Hawaii, he became an Associate Professor at the University of Wisconsin and in 1940 moved to Yale. A short obituary of Bennett by Irving Rouse appears in *American Antiquity* (1954). Another by Alfred Kidder II, and a poem dedicated to Bennett by Eugene Davidson were published in the *American Anthropologist* (1954).

⁵² **Thérèse Bouysse-Cassagne** is a historian and a Director of Research at the Sorbonne and a member of the Institut Français d' Études Andines. She has contributed to our understanding of the indigenous and Mestizo cultures of Lake Titicaca, especially in terms of religious syncretism. She is the author of *La identidad Aymara: Aproximación histórica, siglos XV-XVI* (1987), *Lluvias y cenizas: Dos pachacuti en la historia* (1999) and has edited *Saberes y memorias en los Andes* (1997) in memory of Thierry Saignes (see note 66). She is also, with Tristan Platt and Olivia Harris, an author of *Qaraqara-Charka: Mallku, inka y rey en la "Provincia de Charcas", siglos XV-XVII; Historia antropológica de una confederación aymara* (2006).

⁵³ **Jesús Contreras Hernández** (b. 1946) is a Spanish historian. He is the author of *Subsistencia, ritual y poder en los Andes* (1985), *Identidad étnica y movimientos indios: La cara india, la cruz de 92* (1988), *Los retos de la inmigración: Racismo y pluriculturalidad* (1994), and *La gestión comunal de recursos: Economía y poder en los sociedades locales de España y de América Latina* (with Marie-Noëlle Chamoux, 1996), among other works.

⁵⁴ **Éric de Dampierre** (1928-1998) was one of the most important French sociologists of the generation after the Second World War and the founder of the Maison René-Ginouvès de l'Archéologie et Ethnologie, part of the Université de Paris and supported by the Centre National de Recherche Scientifique. He conducted field research in Central Africa. He was deeply influenced by the two years he spent at the University of Chicago as a member of the Committee on Social Thought.

⁵⁵ **Pierre Duviols** is a Professor at the Université de Provence and Director of Studies at the École Pratique des

Hautes Études. In 1993-94 he was a scholar at The Getty Center. He takes an interdisciplinary approach to his research, combining anthropology and history in the study of Andean religious culture. His books include *Dioses y hombres de Huarochiri* (with José María Arguedas, 1966), *La lutte contre les religions autochtones du Pérou colonial: L'extirpation de l'idolâtrie entre 1535 et 1660* (1971), and *Procesos y Visitas de Idolatrías: Cajatambo, siglo XVII* (2003).

⁵⁶ **Gordon D. Hadden** (b. 1932) was a curator at what is now the Science Museum of Minnesota. After working at Húanuco with John Murra and assisting in the reconstruction there, in 1967 Hadden participated in the reconstruction of the Ecuadorian Inca site of Ingapirca.

⁵⁷ **Olivia Harris** (1943-2009) studied anthropology at the London School of Economics. At the time of her death she was a Professor at that institution. Previously she taught at the University of London's Goldsmith College where she co-founded the Anthropology Department. Her main research area was highland Bolivia. She explored issues of gender, households, kinship, feminist theory, law, economic anthropology, symbolism and ritual, as well as the nature of historical time and change. She was the author of *To Make the Earth Bear Fruit: Essays on Fertility, Work, and Gender in Highland Bolivia* (2000). See note 52 for another of her major published works.

⁵⁸ **Agustín Llagostera Martínez** obtained an undergraduate degree in biology from the Universidad de Chile (1967), studied archaeology at the Universidad Nacional San Antonio Abad del Cusco (1973), and obtained his doctorate in anthropology from the Centro de Investigaciones y Estudios Superiores en Antropología, Mexico (1984). He is now retired from the Instituto de Investigación Arqueológico and the museum in San Pedro de Atacama. He is a specialist in the early cultures of Chile. His published works include his doctoral dissertation *Formaciones pescadoras prehispánicas en la costa del Desierto de Atacama* (1984).

⁵⁹ **José Matos Mar** (b. 1921) was born in Coracora, Ayacucho. He studied at the École Pratique des Hautes Études de la Université de Paris and the Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos (Lima) where he obtained a doctorate in anthropology (1958). He was Chairman of the San Marcos Anthropology Department from 1950 to 1969 and Director of the Instituto de Estudios Peruanos

Craig Morris (Lynch and Barnes, *Andean Past* 8), Sidney Mintz,⁶⁰ Antoinette Molinié,⁶¹ Pierre Morlon,⁶² Franklin Pease,⁶³ Tristan Platt,⁶⁴

from 1964 to 1984, as well as the Director of the Instituto Indigenista Interamericano in Mexico City from 1989 to 1995. He was one of Peruvian President Alan García's advisors during his first term (1985-1989) and has held a number of important posts in his adopted Mexico. Matos Mar has published more than twenty books including *Perú problema* (1969), *Desborde popular y crisis de estado* (1984), *Población y grupos étnicos de América* (1994).

⁶⁰ **Sidney Wilfred Mintz** (b. 1922), a student of Julian Steward and Ruth Benedict at Columbia, is an American anthropologist known both for field-work in the Caribbean and for historical research on the global commercial roots of agro-industrial rural society. He taught at Yale (1951-74) and then helped found the Anthropology Department at Johns Hopkins. He is the author of *Caribbean Transformations* (1974), *An Anthropological Approach to the Afro-American Past* (with Richard Price, 1976), and *Sweetness and Power: the Place of Sugar in Modern History* (1985), among many other works.

⁶¹ **Antoinette Molinié** (b. 1946) is Research Director at the Maison René-Ginouvès de l'Archéologie et Ethnologie. She specializes in the study of traditional Andean societies. She has conducted field-work in the Cusco region, in the Chancay Valley, and at Ambana in Bolivia. Currently she works in Andalucía where she applies Freudian psychology to the analysis of culture. Among her published works are *La vallée sacrée des Andes* (1982), *Mémoire de la tradition* (with Aurore Becquelin, 1993), *Le corps de Dieu en fêtes* (1996), and *Les néo-Indiens: Une religion du IIIe millénaire* (with Jacques Galinier, 2006).

⁶² **Pierre Morlon** (b. 1948) is an agronomist at the Institut National de la Recherche Agronomique, France who has conducted research in Senegal, Peru, and France. His varied interests include solar energy, the archaeology of households, and adult literacy in indigenous languages. He is the editor of *Comprendre l'agriculture paysanne dans les andes centrales* (1992) and the author of *La troublante histoire de la jachère: Pratiques des cultivateurs, concepts de lettrés et enjeux sociaux*, with F. Sigaut, (2008).

⁶³ **Franklin Pease García Yrigoyen** (1939-1999) was a Peruvian historian born into a privileged background. He was educated at the Universidad Pontificia Católica del Perú in history and law. An obituary of Franklin Pease by Noble David Cook appears in the *Hispanic American*

Historical Review (2000). Pease published general histories of Peru and editions of important chroniclers.

⁶⁴ **Tristan Platt** (b. 1944), the director of the Centre for Amerindian Studies and a Reader at the University of St. Andrews, Fife, Scotland, is an interdisciplinarian who has done extensive ethnographic, ethnohistorical, and sociolinguistic work in Andean countries, especially Bolivia. He has lived with the Macha Ayllu in northern Potosí and has published on peasants and markets, economic space, state and society, mining, shamanism, and methods of child-birth, among other broad and varied topics. See note 52 for one of his major recent works.

⁶⁵ **Ruggero Romano** (1923-2002) was, for many years, Director of Studies at the École d'Études des Sciences Sociales and was a member of the *Annales* school of history which elucidates the social and economic life of the past through statistics and everyday documents. He studied the European and Latin American economies from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century. Among his published works is *Conjonctures opposées: La "Crise" du XVIIe siècle en Europe et en Amérique ibérique* (1992).

⁶⁶ **Thierry Saignes** was a French historian who concentrated on the Andes. Among his works are *Los Andes orientales: Historia de un olvido* (1985).

⁶⁷ **AnaMaría Soldi** (1919-2009) studied chemistry at the Università di Genoa. A long time resident at the Ocucaje vineyard in the Ica Valley, Peru, she developed a deep knowledge of the archaeology of Peru's South Coast. She published *Chacras excavadas en el desierto* (1979) on the prehistoric system of sunken field agriculture and edited *Tecnología en el mundo andino* (with Heather Lechtman, 1981). Soldi was a steadfast colleague of Lechtman, Craig Morris, Murra, and María Rostworowski, and, for more than fifty years, of many other scholars of the Andean region.

⁶⁸ **Enriqueta Vila Vilar** obtained a doctorate from the Universidad de Sevilla (1972). She is a research professor of the Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas at the Escuela de Estudios Hispano-Americanos, Sevilla. She has concentrated on colonial Spanish America. Among her works are a series of publications of letters from the cabildos of Guatemala, Mexico, and Panama and *Aspectos sociales en América colonial: De extranjeros, contrabando, y esclavos* (2001).

among Murra's close friends were his fellow Spanish Civil War veterans Harry Fischer and anthropologists Ángel Palerm,⁶⁹ and Elman R. Service.⁷⁰ Murra preserved numerous letters to and from these scholars and others. The bulk are in the Smithsonian Institution's National Anthropological Archives, while others are in the Anthropology Division of the American Museum of Natural History, and in private hands. These letters are important not only in

terms of Murra's life and thought, but also for those of the many well-known anthropologists who were in communication with Murra over a span of some seventy years.

VASSAR COLLEGE YEARS

Murra left Puerto Rico and worked as a lecturer at Brooklyn College during the 1949-50 academic year. In 1950 Murra was hired as a lecturer in anthropology by Vassar College, then an academically and socially exclusive institution emphasizing the liberal arts education of undergraduate women. Murra was to fill in for Dorothy Lee who was on leave.⁷¹ In the Department of Economics, Sociology, and Anthropology he first taught general courses that had already been established. Murra's intellectual interests made him a good fit in a department dominated by economics. Likewise, time spent during the early 1950s in close contact with an economics faculty probably helped to shape the orientation of Murra's dissertation which he was preparing at the time.

Murra's Vassar courses included the intermediate level "Cultural Anthropology", that he co-taught at first with Helen Codere. This is described in the 1950-1951 catalogue number of the *Bulletin of Vassar College* as "a study of primitive social groups. The nature of culture.

⁶⁹ **Ángel Palerm** (1917-1980) arrived in Mexico in 1939. There he studied, and worked as a field assistant for archaeologist and I.A.R. member Isabel Truesdale Kelly and became her co-author. He worked for the Pan-American Union/Organization of American States in Washington, D.C. in their publications program. After leaving the O.A.S. he spent a year in Peru. He returned to Mexico where he became a professor at the Escuela Nacional de Antropología e Historia and the Universidad Iberoamericana where he founded the Anthropology Department. He founded the Centro de Investigaciones Superiores at Mexico's Instituto Nacional de Antropología y Historia (now the Centro de Investigación de Estudios Superiores de Antropología Social), as well as the Anthropology Departments of the Universidad Autónoma Ixtapalapa and the Colegio de Michoacán. His major works on prehispanic irrigation civilizations including *Obras hidráulicas prehispánicas en el sistema lacustre del Valle de México* (1973) are still frequently cited. Among his other notable works are *Antropología y marxismo* (1980) and *Historia de la etnología: Los precursores* (1973). In many ways Palerm personified Murra's ideal of an anthropologist who followed Marx's advice in founding institutions to insure the continuance of the discipline.

⁷⁰ **Elman R. Service** (1915-1996) graduated from the University of Michigan. He earned his Ph.D. at Columbia University (1951) and taught there until 1953. He taught at Michigan from 1953 until 1969 and at the University of California, Santa Barbara from 1969 until retirement in 1985. Service's research included Latin American Indian ethnology, cultural evolution, and method and theory. He developed theories on social systems and the rise of the state. Among his books are *Spanish-Guarani Relations in Early Colonial Paraguay* (1954), *Tobati: Paraguayan Town* (with Helen S. Service, 1954), *A Profile of Primitive Culture* (1958), *Profiles in Ethnology* (1963), *Cultural Evolutionism: Theory in Practice* (1971), *Origins of the State and Civilization: The Process of Cultural Evolution* (1975), and *A Century of Controversy: Ethnological Issues from 1860 to 1960* (1985).

⁷¹ **Dorothy Demedracapoulou Lee** (1906-1975), a Greek immigrant to the United States, graduated from Vassar College (1927). She taught there from 1939 until 1953 when she left to teach at the Merrill Parker School in Detroit which she helped to found, and where she remained until 1959. At Harvard from 1959 to 1961, she helped to establish the Freshman Seminar Program. She was married to Vassar philosophy professor Otis Hamilton Lee. A member of the Culture-Personality school of anthropology, she specialized in the cultures of American Indians and in issues concerning women, education, and family life, as well as in Greek folklore. She is the author of *Freedom and Culture* (1959), a collection of her essays. For an obituary see the April 20, 1975 issue of *The New York Times*.

Social and economic aspects of subsistence, kinship, and marriage.” Murra also taught advanced courses including “Language, Myth, and Society”, which explored “concepts and values as reflected in the language and mythology of different primitive groups. Relative status of animistic and mechanistic attitudes, magic and science, knowledge and belief” (*ibid.*). Murra was sometimes responsible for another advanced course, “Primitive Society” which included “Discussion of different approaches to the study of society. An intensive study of certain societies with a view to discovering their basic values and their relation to our own society” (*ibid.*). “Cultural Dynamics”, the only course mentioned in the catalogue which specifically dealt with ancient Peru, was taught by Helen Codere, until the 1955-56 academic year when Murra taught it. In a *c.v.* prepared in the late 1960s Murra stated that he taught an Inca course at Vassar (*c.v.* Murra, NAA). Perhaps he is referring to “Cultural Dynamics”.

During six months of 1951 Murra worked as a United Nations Economic Affairs Officer and Africa Area Specialist in the Trusteeship Division, helping to resolve issues of African land tenure and decolonization. Although he had never been to that continent, he at least had the advantage of being untainted by colonial involvements. Also in 1951 he was employed as a consultant by Stringfellow Barr’s⁷² Foundation for World Government. His time at the U.N. proved to be another pivotal experience. In the

⁷² **Stringfellow Barr** (1897-1982) was a historian and president of St. John’s College, Annapolis, Maryland, and founder and President (1948-1958) of the Foundation for World Government, as well as a developer of the Great Books Curriculum. He was an editor of the *Virginia Quarterly Review* (1931-1937). Among his books are *The Will of Zeus . . .* (1961) and *The Mask of Jove . . .* (1966), studies of ancient Greek and Roman culture, and, with Stella Standard, *The Kitchen Garden Book . . .*, a guide to growing and cooking vegetables. He also published a novel, *Purely Academic* (1958). Barr advocated tolerance of Communism.

U.N.’s early years it had very high levels of popular and international governmental support. Many prominent Africans and Afro-Americans worked on U.N. sponsored projects and Murra had the opportunity to come to know some of them personally, including his supervisor, Ralph Bunche.⁷³ Murra’s commitment to improved civil rights for Afro-Americans enhanced his interest in their ancestral homelands. As with his field-work in Ecuador, Murra took a brief practical experience, combined it with the anthropology courses he had taken from Radcliffe-Brown in Chicago in 1935 and 1936 and his own prodigious reading in multiple languages, and began to present himself as an expert, in this case on African affairs.⁷⁴

For a while Murra maintained his active interest in the Caribbean. In the summer of 1953, accompanied by Tommy Sawyer Murra, he worked for Sidney Mintz and Yale University in Jamaica. After their work was completed the Murras went to Cuba (intending to visit Ernest Hemingway who proved to be off the island) and on to Yucatan to visit Maya sites, and then to Mexico City to visit Ángel Palerm (Castro *et al.* 2000:42-43). This was Murra’s first trip to

⁷³ **Ralph Johnson Bunche** (1903-1971) was an Afro-American Marxist political scientist, educator, and diplomat and a holder of the Nobel Peace Prize for his mediation in Palestine, as well as a recipient of the presidential Medal of Freedom. He helped to found and administer the United Nations and was active in the cause of Afro-American civil rights. Bunche earned a B.A. from the University of California Los Angeles (1927), and a master’s degree (1928) and doctorate (1934) from Harvard. Bunche chaired the department of political science at Howard University (1928-1950), taught at Harvard (1950-1952), and was a member of the New York City Board of Education (1958-1964).

⁷⁴ Anon. 1951b, 1951c, 1951d, 1951e, 1951f, 1951g, 1954b, 1956c, 1957b, 1960a, 1961b, 1961c, 1961e; Murra 1951b, 1951c, 1951d, 1951e, 1951f, 1951g, 1954a, 1955a, 1955c, 1955g, 1955h, 1956b.

Mexico. At that time it was possible for United States citizens to go to that country without a passport.

Murra returned to teaching at Vassar in 1954. Around this time he began to collaborate with Vassar professor, David Lowenthal, and other members of the geography, economics, anthropology, sociology, history, and political science faculty in teaching Geography 208, an interdepartmental area study course focusing on the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. This course was offered in the spring of 1953, and in the 1953-1954, and 1954-1955 academic years according to various catalogue numbers of the *Bulletin of Vassar College*.⁷⁵

During the 1956-57 academic year, Murra initiated a course at Vassar on "The African Heritage", described in that year's catalogue as "A survey of a series of African cultures south of the Sahara; their history, characteristic social structures and value systems; the transfer of African institutions and arts to the New World and the changes they have undergone in Brazil, the Caribbean and the United States." Murra had previously taught a course on Africa in Chicago in 1944 (Murra in Rowe 1984:841) and it was in that context that he met Tommy Sawyer. This course became the basis for other courses on Africa that Murra taught at the Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos (Lima), at the Universidad de Puerto Rico, and at the Université de Paris, at Columbia University, and at the New School for Social Research (Murra in Rowe 1984:641). Africa interested Murra in part because he believed that early twentieth century field studies of that continent's native kingdoms that had not been

⁷⁵ According to Lowenthal's recollection, his collaboration with Murra began in January, 1953 (David Lowenthal, personal communication to Heather Lechtman, 11 June 2009). However, this chronology conflicts with *c.v.*'s Murra prepared in the 1960s (see note 86).

overthrown until the late nineteenth century reflected a pre-European, pre-Capitalist, and preliterate past (Murra in Rowe 1984:641). However, the extensive international slave trade had enmeshed African societies with European, Islamic, and American colonial economies for centuries.

The version of this course that Murra presented at Vassar suggested Africa as a possible home of the human species, and surveyed the ecology, languages, and biology of that continent. Topics included East and South African pastoralism, the lineage, age sets and their meaning for political organization among the Masai, Nuer, Nyakyusa, and Zulu, as well as state formation in East and South Africa as found among the Nuer, Ankole, Ganda, Rwanda, Garotse, and Zulu peoples. The matrilineal belt of Central Africa was discussed with the Mayombe-Kongo, Bemba, and Ila cultures as exemplars. European settlement and its consequences in East and Central Africa was another broad topic covered using the work of Godfrey Wilson,⁷⁶ Monica Hunter Wilson,⁷⁷

⁷⁶ **Godfrey Wilson** (1908-1944) was a British social anthropologist who studied change in Africa. He received a degree in classics from Oxford University (1931). He studied under Bronislaw Malinowski at the London School of Economics and married Monica Hunter (note 77). In Tanganyika he worked with the Nyakyusa-Ngonde. He was the first director of the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute, an anthropological institution in what was then Northern Rhodesia. With Hunter he wrote *The Analysis of Social Change Based on Observations in Central Africa* (1945). He served in the South African Medical Corps during World War II and committed suicide while on active service.

⁷⁷ **Monica Hunter Wilson** (1908-1982) was a South African social anthropologist who conducted field-work among the Pondo, a Xhosa group. She spoke Xhosa since childhood and was, for many years Professor of Social Anthropology at the University of Capetown. Monica Wilson and her husband Godfrey Wilson were members of Malinowski's seminar at the London School of Economics. Her major work is *Reaction to Conquest* (1936). She is

Peter Abrahams,⁷⁸ Julius Lewin,⁷⁹ and Ellen Hellmann⁸⁰ as sources. African law and litigation

as seen by Max Gluckman,⁸¹ A. L. Epstein,⁸² J. B. Danquah,⁸³

also the author of *The Analysis of Social Change, Communal Rituals among the Nyakyusa* (1959), *Langa: A Study of Social Groups in an African Township* (with Archie Mafeje, 1963), and the editor of *The Oxford History of South Africa* (with Leonard Monteith Thompson, 1969).

⁷⁸ **Peter Abrahams** (b. 1919) is a South African novelist. His books include *Mine Boy* (1946), *Tell Freedom* (1954), and *The View from Coyaba* (1985), among others.

⁷⁹ **Julius Lewin** was a lawyer and Senior Lecturer in Native Law and Administration at the University of Witwatersrand. He was a liberal Jewish opponent of the South African apartheid regime. He is the author of various books and pamphlets on race relations and inequality in Africa including *The Colour Bar in the Copper Belt* (1941), *Studies in African Native Law* (1947), *Politics and Law in South Africa: Essays on Race Relations* (1963), and *The Struggle for Racial Equality* (1967). Like Murra, Lewin wrote for *The Nation*.

⁸⁰ **Ellen Hellmann** (1908-1982) was the first woman to obtain a D.Phil. from the University of Witwatersrand (1940). Her thesis is entitled *Early School Leaving Among African School Children and the Occupational Opportunities Open to the African Juveniles*. She was a Zionist-Socialist and the author of numerous studies of race relations in South Africa including *Rooiyard: A Sociological Study of an Urban Native Slum Yard* (1948) based on field-work conducted in Johannesburg, South Africa in 1933, *Handbook of Race Relations in South Africa* (with Leah Abrahams, 1949), *The Application of the Concept of Separate Development to Urban Areas* (1961), *The Impact of City Life on Africans* (1963), and *Conflict and Progress: Fifty Years of Race Relations in South Africa . . .* (with Henry Lever, 1979). She realized the importance of combining diachronic studies with functionalism in order to understand migrant communities.

⁸¹ **Max Gluckman** (1911-1975) was a South African born British social anthropologist who had been a Rhodes Scholar at Oxford University. He was the second director of the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute (after Godfrey Wilson, see note 76) and the first Professor of Social Anthropology at the University of Manchester. He founded the Manchester School of anthropology which emphasized case studies. He is the author of *Custom and Conflict* (1955), *African Traditional Law in Historical Perspective* (1974), and *Economy of the Central Barotse Plain* (1968), among other work. He was a Structural-Functionalist, a Marxist, and active in the African independence struggle.

⁸² **Arnold Leonard (Bill) Epstein** (1924-1999) was a Jewish-British anthropologist who worked in Africa, particularly in the copper belt of what is now Zambia, as well as in Melanesia. Educated first in the law, he obtained a doctorate from the University of Manchester. Early in his career he was a Functionalist, but later he began to appreciate the role of individual emotions and representations. He was a member of the Manchester School of anthropology (see note 81) and, from 1950 to 1955 he was associated with the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute. He studied issues of urban and rural life, law courts, trade unionism, black-white relations, and mining. He is the editor of *The Craft of Social Anthropology* (1967). His book, *Mantupit: Land, Politics and Change among the Tolai of New Britain* (1967) was a result of his Melanesian field-work. An interview of Epstein is in *Current Anthropology* (1997) and an obituary by Moshe Shokeid appears in the *American Anthropologist* (2000).

⁸³ **Joseph Kwame Kyeretwi Boakye Danquah** (1895-1965) was a Ghanaian statesman, nationalist, and writer. He was a descendant of Akan royalty. He held a doctorate from the University of London. Danquah died in a Ghanaian prison where he had been incarcerated for political reasons. He is the author of *Gold Coast Akan Laws and Customs and the Akim Abuakwa Constitution* (1928) and *Akan Doctrine of God* (1944).

T. O. Elias,⁸⁴ and Julius Lewin were included in the course, as was a consideration of West Africa as a center of plant domestication. The shift to agriculture practiced by males, and surplus and redistributive economies in forest and savanna ecozones were the foci of other lessons. The West African history of state formation, with emphasis on the army and warfare, was another topic with the examples of ancient Ghana and Timbuktu, as well as the Fulani, Hausa, Ashanti, Benin, Yoruba, and Dahomey. There was consideration of the Ewe and Ibo, stateless West African groups presented from the perspective of Cheikh Anta Diop.⁸⁵ Dogon, Nupe, and Nuer

religions and cosmologies rounded out the course, along with an exploration of the African heritage in the New World (course syllabus, Murra, NAA). Although this course appears to have been a thorough introduction to African ethnology, human ecology, and ethno-history, it would be daunting for a scholar with decades of practical experience in Africa to attempt such a panorama. For someone with Murra's limited experience, it was a feat of breathtaking intellectual daring.

Murra remained on the Vassar faculty, with gaps, until 1963. He taught there in the 1950-51 academic year, and, nominally, from spring of 1954 to 1963.⁸⁶ Murra often expressed appre-

⁸⁴ **Taslim Olawale Elias** (1914-1994) was a distinguished Nigerian jurist and pan-Africanist. He received LL.B. (1946), LL.M. (1947), Ph.D. (1949), and LL.D. (1962) degrees from the University of London. He was called to the bar in London's Inner Temple in 1947. In 1951, while holding a UNESCO fellowship, he became a research fellow and instructor in anthropology at Manchester University. In 1954 he became a research fellow at Oxford University. In 1956, as a visiting professor, he was instrumental in developing an African Studies Department at the University of Delhi, India. He was a governor of the School of African and Oriental Studies (London) and a professor and dean at the University of Lagos. In the late 1950s he helped to draft Nigeria's independence constitution and in 1961-62 the constitution of Congo. He was the first attorney general of Nigeria, chief justice of the Supreme Court of Nigeria, and a president of the International Court of Justice (World Court). He was the author of *Nigerian Land Law and Custom* (1951), *Groundwork of Nigerian Law* (1954), *Makers of Nigerian Law* (1956), the *Nature of African Customary Law* (1956), and *Africa and the Development of International Law* (1972). He valued both British and traditional African law, believed that law evolved in tandem with social development, and advocated hybrid systems. He contributed to the development of concepts of a non-Eurocentric international law. In his writings Elias romanticized the medieval African empires of Songhai and Timbuktu.

⁸⁵ **Cheikh Anta Diop** (1923-1986) was a Senegalese historian, anthropologist, physicist, and politician. He studied pre-colonial African culture and is one of the most influential African intellectuals of the twentieth century. In Paris he studied physics under Frédéric Joliot-Curie, son-in-law of Pierre and Marie Curie. Diop's 1960 Paris doctoral

thesis, first presented in 1951, argues that Pharaonic Egypt was a black culture. It remains an influential work in the Black Pride movement. Diop's book *Nations nègres et culture* (1955) is based on that thesis. He established a radiocarbon laboratory at the University of Dakar (now the Cheikh Anta Diop University of Dakar). Among his many works are *The African Origin of Civilization: Myth or Reality* (1974), *The Cultural Unity of Black Africa . . .* (1978), *Civilisation ou barbarie: Antropologie sans complaisance* (1981), and the chapter on ancient Egypt in the *UNESCO General History of Africa* (1981-). Diop denounced racial biases and believed that there were broad patterns of African cultural unity. He argued that all languages could develop scientific terminology and translated Albert Einstein's *Theory of Relativity* into the Wolof language, Diop's mother tongue.

⁸⁶ Although Heather Lechtman remembers Murra teaching at Vassar during her freshman year, 1952-53 (personal communication, 11 December 2008), the documentary record at Vassar suggests he was not teaching there from fall of 1951 through fall 1953. In a "to whom it may concern" letter in Spanish setting out his professional qualifications and experience, dated 17 June 1964, Murra describes himself as a professor (catedrático) on leave (con licencia) from Vassar College when he worked for the United Nations in 1951 (Húanuco Project files, Junius B. Bird Laboratory of South American Archaeology, Anthropology Division, American Museum of Natural History, hereinafter Húanuco Files, A.M.N.H.). At the time Murra had been a part-time lecturer whose contract had not been renewed. Up until the late 1960s, in a series of dated *c.v.*'s which form part of the Murra

ciation to Vassar for having supported him at a time in his life when his Communist background and citizenship problems increased his difficulties in finding employment. However, by the time Vassar hired Murra he was already a United States citizen, and his Vassar contract was apparently not renewed during the worst years of McCarthyism. Murra encouraged student interest in politics from a leftist perspective, giving his favorites subscriptions to *The Nation* as graduation presents (Murra 1958d). These gifts were well in accord with Vassar's liberal political culture. Concurrently with his work at Vassar Murra taught at Columbia University in the spring of 1954-55, at Fordham University in the summer of 1954, and at the New School for Social Research in 1958-59. At Columbia he presented a course on the peoples of the Andes (Murra 1956a: iv).

In 1958 and 1959, with his passport in hand, and on leave from Vassar, Murra conducted ethnological and ethnohistorical work in Peru. He was joined in Lima by Harriett Davis (now Harriett Haritos) after her 1959 graduation with a major in anthropology. Davis had previously worked with Murra in Martinique in 1957 (Harriett Davis Haritos, personal communication, 15 June 2009). Davis later obtained a master's degree in anthropology from Columbia University. In the 1959-60 academic year Murra did additional archival research in Lima. During this period Murra taught a general course, "The Economic Organization of the Inca State", based on his dissertation⁸⁷ and an advanced seminar,

Papers in the National Anthropological Archive, Murra stated that from 1951 through 1953 he worked full-time on his doctoral dissertation and then resumed teaching at Vassar in 1954. However, at some point in the late 1960s he began to list his time at Vassar as continuous from 1951 to 1963 and he omitted the detail that he had first been hired as an adjunct lecturer.

⁸⁷ "To whom it may concern" letter by John V. Murra, 17 June 1964, Húanuco Files, A.M.N.H.

"Ethnohistorical Uses of the XVIth Century Sources on Inca Social and Economic Organization" at the Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos in Lima.⁸⁸ Up to this point Murra had had little opportunity to work with unpublished archival sources himself, although he saw the potential and had subjected available published sources to close readings. Attending his classes were many individuals who later became famous archaeologists or historians and close colleagues of Murra's, including Duccio Bonavia,⁸⁹ Luís Lumbreras,⁹⁰ Ramiro Matos

⁸⁸ This is according to typed notes, presumably by John V. Murra, in the John Victor Murra File, Vassar College.

⁸⁹ **Duccio Bonavia** (b. 1935) is an Italian-Peruvian archaeologist. He has investigated bioarchaeological topics including the introduction and development of maize in South America and the domestication of camelids. Among his books are *Arqueología de Lurín* (1965), *Ricchata quellccani: Pinturas murales prehispánicas* (1974) published in English as *Mural Painting in Ancient Peru* (1985), *Los Gavilanes: Mar, desierto, y oásis en la historia del hombre* (1982), and *Perú, hombre y historia: De los orígenes al siglo XV* (1991).

⁹⁰ **Luís Guillermo Lumbreras** (b. 1936) received both a bachelor's degree and a doctorate from the Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos. He established Peru's first Social Sciences faculty at Ayacucho's Universidad San Cristóbal de Huamanga during the 1960s and later helped to establish a similar unit at the Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos. Among his achievements are the construction of a cultural-chronological framework for Peruvian prehistory and the development of social archaeology, a Marxist analysis which relates the Andean past to the political present. He has held many important museum and teaching posts within and beyond Peru. Among his main publications are *La arqueología como ciencia social* (1981) and *Chavín: Excavaciones arqueológicas* (2007).

Mendieta.⁹¹ Franklin Pease, and María Rostworowski. Murra considered Rostworowski to be “the most imaginative Andean scholar in the use of ethnohistorical records” whose “earliest work is full of insights” (Murra in Rowe 1984:640). In Cusco Murra interacted with many exceptional people including archaeologists Richard Schaedel (see Dillehay, *Andean Past* 8) and John Howland Rowe (see Burger, *Andean Past* 8), as well as prominent writer Aldous Huxley (1894-1963). Huxley was then near the end of his life, but at the height of his fame and powers, and was considered by many to be something of a guru. His extended family, for at least four generations, had been deeply entwined into the bedrock supporting Britain’s literary, scientific, educational, and religious communities.⁹² Cusco’s

elite was thrilled by Huxley’s visit and relished the opportunity to learn from him. By contrast, Murra had no such illustrious family connections, and had not yet fully developed the expertise that would make him famous. Nevertheless, Murra undertook to educate an unwilling Huxley about the Inca (Alita Kelley, personal communication 19 April 2009).

In 1960 Murra also spent a few weeks in the Archivo General de Indias in Seville. In 1961 he taught under Organization of American States auspices at Mexico’s Escuela Nacional de Antropología e Historia. From 1961 to 1963 he taught at Yale as a visiting professor, offering a course on Andean anthropology. It was at Vassar, however, that Murra attracted his first principal students who went on to careers in anthropology. These include Heather Lechtman (Vassar class of 1956), then a physics major with a keen interest in anthropology, and now Professor of Archaeology and Ancient Technology and Director of the Center for Materials Research in Archaeology and Ethnology (CMRAE) at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (M.I.T.). Immediately after graduation Lechtman won a Vassar grant to spend the summer with Murra and Davis in Martinique, as a participant in the “Research and Training Program for the Study of Man in the Tropics” (Vassar College press release February 13, 1956).

Another of Murra’s Vassar students who went on to a successful career in anthropology is archaeologist Nan Rothschild, a member of the Vassar class of 1959.⁹³ At Vassar Rothschild

⁹¹ **Ramiro Matos Mendieta** (b. 1937), a native Quechua speaker, is currently Curator for Latin America at the Smithsonian’s National Museum of the American Indian. He obtained his doctorate in 1962 from Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos where he taught from 1970 to 1988 and is now a professor emeritus. Matos has conducted archaeological and ethnological research in Peru, Ecuador, Bolivia, Chile, and Argentina. Among his publications are *Pumpu: Centro administrativo inka en la Puna de Junín, Perú* (1994) and *Prehispanic Settlement Patterns in the Upper Mantaro and Tarma Drainages, Junín, Peru* (with Jeffrey Parsons and Charles Hastings, 2000).

⁹² One of Aldous Huxley’s maternal great grandfathers was Thomas Arnold (1795-1842), a famous headmaster of Rugby School. One of his maternal uncles was poet Matthew Arnold (1822-1888). Another was literary scholar Tom Arnold (1823-1900). Aldous Huxley’s maternal aunt, Mary Augusta Arnold Ward (1851-1920) became famous as the novelist Mrs. Humphrey Ward. Aldous Huxley’s paternal grandfather, Thomas Henry Huxley (1825-1895) was Charles Darwin’s famous defender. His father, Leonard Huxley (1860-1933), was an educator and biographer. Aldous Huxley’s brother, Julian Huxley (1887-1957), and half-brother, Andrew Huxley (b. 1917) became famous as biologists. Another half-brother, jurist David Bruce Huxley (1915-1992) compiled and revised the laws of Bermuda. Aldous Huxley’s son, Matthew Huxley (1920-2005) was an educator, epidemiologist, and anthropologist. Author Elspeth Huxley (1907-1997) was a cousin by marriage. Among Aldous Huxley’s early students were novelist George Orwell (Eric Blair, 1903-1950) and medieval

historian Stephen Runciman (1930-2000).

⁹³ **Anita (Nan) Askin Rothschild** (b. 1938) was awarded a doctorate from New York University in 1975. She taught at Barnard College from 1981 to 2007 and is now director of Museum Studies at Columbia University. She has done prehistoric, historic, and ethno-archaeology in New York City and in New Mexico. She has also worked with

worked as Murra's office assistant for two and a half years. She recalls him as a charismatic teacher who treated students as professionals, encouraging them to attend American Anthropological Association meetings and conduct field-work. Murra also contributed to anthropology at Vassar by inviting speakers to campus and organizing an anthropology club called Ohemaa after a Ghanaian term for "queen mother" the woman who sits behind the throne and advises the king (Rothschild, personal communication, 19 June 2009). At Vassar Murra also taught Janet Mathews Fitchen.⁹⁴

Later, at Cornell, Murra's well-known students included, in addition to Denise O'Brien⁹⁵ who also studied with him at Vassar, Javier Albó,⁹⁶ Rolena Adorno, Martha Anders

museum collections. Among her major works are *New York City Neighborhoods: The Eighteenth Century* (1990) and *Prehistoric Dimensions of Status: Gender and Age in Eastern North America* (1991), and *Colonial Encounters in a Native American Landscape: The Spanish and Dutch in North America* (1993). With Eleanor B. Leacock she edited *The Ethnographic Journals of William Duncan Strong, 1927-28* (1994).

⁹⁴ **Janet Mathews Fitchen** (d. 1995, age 58) graduated from Vassar in 1958. She was awarded a Master of Arts by the University of Illinois at Urbana (1959), and a Ph.D. from Cornell University (1973). All of her degrees were in anthropology. Fitchen grew up on a dairy farm in upstate New York, did field-work with Oscar Lewis in Mexico, and made major contributions to our understanding of rural poverty in the United States. At the time of her death she was the chairwoman of Ithaca College's department of anthropology. She is the author of *Poverty in Rural America: A Case Study* (1981) and *Endangered Spaces, Enduring Places: Change, Identity and Survival in Rural America* (1991). An obituary by Wolfgang Saxon was published in the April 7, 1995 issue of *The New York Times*.

⁹⁵ **Denise O'Brien** (d. 2008) obtained an A.B. from Vassar College (1959) and a Ph.D. from Yale (1969). She was the editor of *Rethinking Women's Roles: Perspectives from the Pacific* (with Sharon F. Tiffany, 1984).

⁹⁶ **Javier Albó** (b. 1934) is a Bolivian ethnohistorian,

(Sandweiss, *Andean Past* 3), informal student César Fonseca,⁹⁷ Inge Harman, Enrique Meyer,⁹⁸ Patricia Netherly (see Netherly this volume, pp. 72-73), Roger Rasnake, Frank Salomon, Izumi Shimada⁹⁹, and Freda Wolf (see Wolf, this volume, pp. 69-72).

Quechua and Aymara speaker, and Roman Catholic priest. Among his many publications are works on bilingual education, politics, ethnic relations, Quechua and Aymara language and literature, kinship, and aspects of Bolivian history.

⁹⁷ **César Fonseca Martel** (1933-1986) obtained a doctorate from the Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos (1972) where he taught. He worked with John Murra informally at the Smithsonian, and at Cornell University, as well as during the Huánuco Project. He was an economic anthropologist who developed John Murra's theories of verticality. From 1968 to 1985 he worked with his friend Enrique Mayer (see note 98) in Chaupiwara, Cañete, Tulumayo, and Paucartambo, Peru, studying Andean systems of production, forms of exchange, and economic development. He is the author of *Sistemas agrarios de la cuenca del río Cañete del departamento de Lima* (with Enrique Meyer, 1979) as well as numerous articles about the Peruvian peasant economy.

⁹⁸ **Enrique Meyer** (b. 1944), the son of Jews who fled from the Nazis, grew up in the Peruvian highlands. He studied for his undergraduate degree at the London School of Economics and received his Ph.D. from Cornell University (1974). He has taught at the Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, and has been head of the Department of Anthropological Research at the Inter-American Indian Institute in Mexico City. In 1982 he joined the faculty of the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign. In 1995 he moved to Yale University. His research interests include Andean agricultural systems and Latin American peasantry. He is the author of *The Articulated Peasant: Household Economies in the Andes* (2001).

⁹⁹ **Izumi Shimada** (b. 1948) is a Distinguished Professor of Anthropology at Southern Illinois University. He holds a B.A. from Cornell University (1971) and a doctorate from the University of Arizona (1976). He has excavated at the Moche site of Pampa Grande. Since 1978 he has directed the Sicán Archaeological Project and he also works at Pachacamac. Among his numerous published works are *Pampa Grande and the Moche Culture* (1994) and the edited volume *Technología y la producción cerámica prehispánica en los andes* (1994).

Murra's requests for generous leaves from Vassar became an issue. In 1963 he was awarded an \$89,300 National Science Foundation grant to direct archaeological, ethnological, and ethno-historical research on Inca provincial life in the Huánuco, Peru region. In accord with British sociocultural anthropologists such as Malinowski and Radcliffe-Brown, Murra believed that field-work should be continuous over several years. When he requested three additional consecutive years of leave for this research, there was a parting of the ways. Although Vassar encouraged faculty and student research, its commitment to undergraduate education required that faculty members spent much of their time teaching in Poughkeepsie. Furthermore, the anthropology section of the Department of Economics, Sociology, and Anthropology seems to have been experiencing some sort of crisis. Helen Codere who had long taught at Vassar, moved to Brandeis, leaving a subdepartment essentially without faculty. The dozen anthropology courses in the 1963-64 catalogue issue of the *Bulletin of Vassar College* were all listed as to be taught by a new lecturer, African specialist Alexander Alland, or with the instructors "to be announced". Alland did not remain long at Vassar, although he continued working in anthropology. It appears that John Murra left a subdepartment in collapse. However, Murra never expressed any bitterness over his years at Vassar. On the contrary, he seems to have appreciated the college's support during a difficult time in his life.

By the late 1960s, after an interim period presided over by the prehistorian Morton Levine, the Vassar Anthropology Department, which by then had separated from Economics, and later separated from Sociology, stabilized under the chairmanship of Walter A. Fairservis, Jr.¹⁰⁰ who

¹⁰⁰ Walter Ashlin Fairservis, Jr. (1921-1994) was an archaeologist, actor, and playwright who conducted field-work principally in Afghanistan, Pakistan, and Egypt. He held an A.A. from Chicago (1941), a B.A. (1943), and an

joined the Vassar faculty in the fall of 1968 and retired in 1993. The department has prospered ever since. It now offers over thirty courses taught by a full-time faculty of seven, plus visiting professors.

In Peru I once heard a deliciously garbled account of Murra's Vassar years. There a student, who had no idea I had graduated from that college, earnestly told me his version of John Murra's struggles to gain a United States passport. According to this account, Murra was in trouble with United States authorities because of his leftist background, but a convent of very intellectual and liberal nuns took up his cause and gave him sanctuary. Prior to the late 1960s Vassar's all female student body and somewhat isolated, walled campus with extensive grounds and neo-Gothic architecture made it resemble a rural monastery. I couldn't wait to relate this version of the "telephone" game to Murra who was aware of our mutual connection. When I did he looked baffled at first, then leaned closer and whispered in a mock-conspiratorial tone, "But it's true, you know!" John did have a sense of humor.

PUBLIC INTELLECTUAL

M.A. (1948) from Columbia, as well as an M.A. (1954) and Ph.D. from Harvard (1958). He began an association with the American Museum of Natural History in 1941 as a volunteer. He eventually became the scientific authority for the Museum's Gardner D. Stoa Hall of Asian Peoples. He taught at Vassar College from 1969 to 1993. As an actor and the son of an actress, Fairservis's lectures had a dramatic flair that attracted many students to Anthropology. The emergence of civilization in the Old World was one of his major theoretical interests and he often explored a speculative archaeology aimed at a mixed readership. Among his major works are *Excavations in the Quetta Valley, West Pakistan* (1956), *Archaeological Surveys in the Zhob and Loralai Districts, West Pakistan* (1959), *The Roots of Ancient India . . .* (1971), *An Experiment in Civilization: An Experiment in Prehistory* (1975), and field reports on his Hierakonpolis Project, published by Vassar College (1983). An obituary of Fairservis by Wolfgang Saxon appeared in the July 16, 1994 issue of *The New York Times*.

During the 1950s John Murra functioned as more than just a teacher at a small college for women. He was a public intellectual who had considerable credibility due to his anti-fascist role in the Spanish Civil War. Murra's anthropological and political interests were broad. In addition to Andean studies, they included the evolution of the state in Africa, patterns of land tenure, decolonization, and African art.¹⁰¹ He also continued his active research interest in Puerto Rico and the French Caribbean, adopting advocacy positions on the problems encountered by immigrants from these islands to the United States.¹⁰²

Fifty or sixty years ago most Puerto Ricans who settled in New York City struggled with a physical, social, economic, and cultural environment drastically different from what they knew on their home island. Many found themselves in the slums of Manhattan's Spanish Harlem or the West Side, a situation romanticized by the contemporaneous musical "West Side Story". It is a shock to revisit anthropological examinations such as *Up to the Slums* (1958) by Murra's friend and colleague Elena Padilla, or investigative journalism reports like Dan Wakefield's *Island in the City* (1959) or "The Other Puerto Ricans" (Wakefield 1959; see also Murra 1959a). The photos alone convey the horror of life in neighborhoods where every day was a constant struggle against poverty, discrimination, filth, overcrowding, crime, and ill-health, the like of which we have not seen in this country in decades. Murra did what he could to raise consciousness of these problems without blaming the victims, even living for a while in

Spanish Harlem, at 321 East 121st Street¹⁰³ in a house that was later destroyed in preparation for a public housing project. Later he moved to 27 Pierrepont Street, in Brooklyn Heights.¹⁰⁴

Murra wrote for a general readership in national publications, most notably *The Nation* (Murra 1954b, 1955a, 1955c, 1955e, 1955g, 1955h, 1958d, 1959a). He also published brief articles in limited circulation papers such as the *Vassar Miscellany News* (Murra 1955b) and the *Vassar Chronicle* (Murra 1956c; Murra and Mercer 1957). During the 1950s and early 1960s he often spoke to educated general audiences, most frequently about Africa (Anon. 1956c, 1957b, 1960a, 1961b, 1961c, 1961e), Puerto Rico and the Caribbean (Anon. 1958), and least frequently about Peru, the Incas, and Andean culture in general (Anon. 1961f, 1961g). Sometimes, though, Murra expressed impatience with the use of anthropology to shed light on contemporary problems. In a comment made to the *Vassar Miscellany News* Murra said anthropology "is like the case of the man who sold the bear skin while the bear was still in the forest" (Zahner 1950:3). People expected anthropology to provide overnight answers to questions arising in modern nations.

Meanwhile, in 1949, Murra had begun Freudian psychoanalysis, a process that became a vital part of his personal identity. In the mid-twentieth century, psychoanalysis was accepted by most intellectuals as an important heuristic system and Murra committed to it fully. Murra

¹⁰¹ Anon. 1956c, 1957b, 1957c, 1960a, 1961b, 1961c, 1961e; Murra 1951b, 1951c, 1951d, 1951e, 1951f, 1951g, 1954a, 1954b, 1955a, 1955h, 1956b, 1964c.

¹⁰² Anon. 1957d, 1958; Gillespie 1950; Murra 1951a, 1955b, 1955d, 1957a, 1957b, 1959a.

¹⁰³ Wakefield 1959:82; Memo, September 1950, the Vassar College Office of Public Relations, John Victor Murra File, Vassar College.

¹⁰⁴ An envelope sent to Murra at that address by César Fonseca and postmarked March 27, 1968 is among the Húanuco files in the Junius B. Bird Laboratory of South American Anthropology, Anthropology Division, American Museum of Natural History, hereinafter Bird Lab. A.M.N.H..

had met one of his future psychoanalysts, Saul B. Newton¹⁰⁵ during the Spanish Civil War (Castro *et al.* 2000:33). Newton seems to have influenced Murra deeply in terms of Murra's attitudes towards both sexual and parent-child relationships. At Newton's suggestion, starting in 1951 and continuing until 1996, Murra kept diaries recording his dreams, thoughts, conversations, and personal activities. Sometimes chaotic and impressionistic, sometimes clearly written, these are intimate and emotionally charged. They reveal a private personality very different from that of the confident authority Murra projected in public. Another of Murra's psychoanalysts was the Chilean Lola Hoffman who also worked with Murra's friend José María Arguedas. Murra placed great trust in Hoffman, crediting her with curing him of a Seconal (barbiturate sleeping pill) addiction and of keeping Arguedas alive longer than would otherwise have been the case. In the early 1950s Murra also worked with psychoanalyst Leon N. Goldensohn¹⁰⁶ (Murra 1956a:v).

¹⁰⁵ **Saul B. Newton**, né Cohen (d. 1991, age 85) was a New York psychoanalyst with ties to University of Chicago radical circles. From its foundation in 1957, until his death, Newton headed a controversial Manhattan therapeutic commune, the Sullivan Institute for Research in Psychoanalysis. Membership in the Institute peaked in the 1970s. Newton taught that family ties were at the root of most mental illnesses and urged the separation of parents from young children. He advocated personal liberation through multiple sexual partners, but denied that he pressured Institute members into unwelcome relationships. Newton was, however, an avowed Com-munist, a labor union organizer, and an opponent of nuclear arms and power. An obituary of Newton by Bruce Lambert was published in the December 23, 1991 issue of *The New York Times*. *The Sullivan Institute/Fourth Wall Community* by Amy B. Siskind is a disillusioned insider's view of Newton's commune (2003).

¹⁰⁶ **Leon N. Goldensohn** (d. 1961, age 50) was a United States Army psychologist who assessed the mental health of Nazi defendants during the Nuremberg Trials. The notes of his interviews were published as *The Nuremberg Interviews* (2004).

THE HUÁNUCO PROJECT

Murra conceived the idea for his major field research, the "Inca Provincial Life Project", better known as the Huánuco Project, early in his career. According to Murra, Wendell Bennett first drew his attention to Iñigo Ortiz de Zúñiga's 1562 Huánuco *Visita* (Castro *et al.* 2000:109). Bennett was both an advocate and practitioner of interdisciplinary studies that combined archaeology with ethnography, geography, botany, history, and other fields of research. A portion of Ortiz's Huánuco *Visita* as transcribed by Padre Domingo Angulo, head of the colonial section of Peru's national archive, had been published between 1920 and 1925 in the *Revista del Archivo Nacional del Perú*. In 1955-1962 more of this *visita* appeared in the same journal, while in 1955-56 Marie Helmer published the 1549 *visita* to the Chupachos in the *Travaux de l'Institut Français d'Études Andines*. Murra was also influenced by the *Annales* school of historiography and his friend Alfred Métraux¹⁰⁷ who, in his general synthetic work *Les Incas* (1961) stated that study of administrative records was often more fruitful than examination of formal, published chronicles about the Inca.

¹⁰⁷ **Alfred Métraux** (1902-1963) was a Swiss-Argentinian ethnographer and civil rights leader. Educated mainly in France, he received a doctorate from the Sorbonne (1928). Métraux was the founder and first director (1928-1934) of the Institute of Ethnology at the Universidad de Tucumán, Argentina. From 1941 to 1945 he played an important role in the production of the Smithsonian's *Handbook of South American Indians*. Métraux held a number of short term teaching posts in the United States, Latin America, and Europe. He conducted field research on Easter Island, in Argentina, Peru, Chile, Brazil, Mexico, Haiti, and in Europe immediately after the Second World War. He worked for the United Nations (1946-1962). Among his many works are *La civilización matérielle des tribus Tupi-Guarani* (1928), *Médecine et vodou en Haiti* (1953), *Ethnology of Easter Island* (1971), and *Les Inca* (1961).

During the late 1950s Murra had made field visits to the Huánuco area and knew from personal observations that late period archaeological sites of many types were abundant there, and that the great Inca administrative center of Huánuco Pampa was well preserved. Murra proposed an integration of several lines of evidence to create a more advanced interpretation of Inca life. The *visitas* provided a list of sites with a variety of functions. These included villages, shrines, markets, and fortresses, as well as roads and their way-stations or *tambos*. In his successful National Science Foundation application Murra expressed the belief that it would be possible to locate and visit every place mentioned, excavating a selection. Archaeological evidence could then be integrated with the detailed historical accounts. Because the documents included much economic data, including information on agricultural practices, Murra suggested that a botanist be an integral part of the project. He could observe contemporary plant use which, Murra believed, would shed light on past practices.

As project staff, Murra assembled a small team of American and Peruvian field-workers. Murra himself conducted the archival and ethnographic research. Donald E. Thompson agreed to serve as the senior archaeologist. Thompson was the son of famous Mayanist J. Eric S. Thompson. John L. Cotter,¹⁰⁸ of the United States Park

¹⁰⁸ **John L. Cotter** (1911-1999) held a B.A. (1934) and M.A. (1935) in Anthropology from the University of Denver and a Ph.D. (1959) from the University of Pennsylvania. Over the course of his life he excavated at a variety of famous North American sites including the Lindenmeier, Colorado palaeoindian site; the Clovis, New Mexico type site; the Bynum Mounds, a Mississippi Hopewell site; the Emerald Mound temple in Natchez territory; in colonial Jamestown, Virginia; and in urban Philadelphia. He was the founder, and the first president, of the Society for Historical Archaeology. He worked for the National Parks Service and taught at the University of Pennsylvania and was a curator at the University Museum there. A short obituary by John Rose appears in a 1999 issue of *Archaeology*. An

Service, also joined the team. Robert McKelvey Bird, then a graduate student at the University of California, signed on as the botanist, bringing along his wife, Mary Watson Bird. As a son of Junius¹⁰⁹ and Margaret [Peggy] Bird,¹¹⁰ Robert Bird had grown up with South American archaeology. Peter Jenson, a Peace Corps volunteer with museum experience, ran the lab for a while. Archaeologists Gordon D. Hadden and Daniel Shea¹¹¹ were also part of the team.

anthology of Carter's writings, with biographical material is *Witness to the Past: The Life and Works of John L. Cotter* published in 2007 by John L. Cotter (posthumously), Daniel G. Roberts, and David Gerald Orr.

¹⁰⁹ **Junius Bolton Bird** (1907-1982) was, from 1931, until his death, Curator of South American Archaeology at the American Museum of Natural History. His work at Fell's Cave in the south of Chile suggested that all of the Americas were first occupied quickly and at an early date, while his Huaca Prieta excavations in the Chicama Valley of Northern Peru yielded early decorated gourds and twined textiles. Bird was President of the Society for American Archaeology (1961) and received the order of el Sol del Perú in 1974. He may have been an inspiration for the fictional character Indiana Jones. His book *Travels and Archaeology in South Chile* was put together after his death by his colleague John Hyslop. Short biographies by Hyslop appeared in *Natural History* (1989) and in Christopher Winters' *International Dictionary of Anthropologists* (1991) An obituary by Craig Morris was published in the *American Anthropologist* (1985).

¹¹⁰ **Margaret (Peggy) Lee McKelvey Bird** (1909-1996) graduated from Bryn Mawr College in 1931, the same year she met her future husband Junius Bolton Bird whom she married in 1934. That summer the newlyweds participated in an archaeological excavation in Labrador, and then spent nearly three years in South America, conducting excavations at Fell's Cave, Palliaike Cave, and Mylodon Cave in southern Chile, among other projects. Peggy Bird continued to assist her husband in a variety of professional ways throughout his career.

¹¹¹ **Daniel Shea** teaches at the Department of Anthropology, Beloit College. He earned a MS (1967) with a thesis entitled *The Plaza Complex of Huánuco Viejo* and a Ph.D. (1968) with a dissertation entitled *Wari-Wilka: A Central Andean Oracle Site*, both from the University of Wisconsin, Madison. He currently conducts

The Peruvian archaeologists Manuel Chávez Ballón,¹¹² Ramiro Matos Mendieta, Luís Barreda Murillo,¹¹³ and Rogger Ravines¹¹⁴ joined the project, as well as Peruvian students César Fonseca Martel, Emilio Mendizábal Losack,¹¹⁵

and Juan M. Ossio Acuña,¹¹⁶ and American Freda Wolf.

According to the outline presented in Murra's N.S.F. proposal, and interim reports submitted, the first year of the project, to begin officially on July 1, 1963, was devoted to survey to identify the installations mentioned by Ortiz de Zúñiga, including the great site of Huánuco Pampa and fortresses noted by Ortiz but not visited by him. Of special interest was the market town at Chinchacocha. The extent to which markets, as opposed to other forms of state-sponsored or local exchange, functioned in the Andes remains somewhat unclear, but Murra addressed this issue in many of his writings, including his dissertation. In general, Murra's Huánuco-centered work has contributed a great deal to our understanding of the economic organization of the Inca state. The second year of the Huánuco Project was devoted to ethnological work and to excavation of selected sites. The third and final year, to end on July 1, 1966, was designated for analysis and the preparation of manuscripts for publication including the republication, with scholarly commentary, of Huánuco *visitas* (Ortiz 1967, 1972).

In his interim report to the N.S.F. Murra expressed some disappointment in the results achieved by the mid-point of the project. Al-

archaeological research in Chile's Atacama Desert.

¹¹² **Manuel Chávez Ballón** (1918-2000) obtained his doctorate in education from the Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos. After a few years as a secondary school instructor he began to teach at the Universidad Nacional San Antonio Abad del Cusco and at San Marcos. Chávez Ballón accompanied Julio C. Tello on some of his expeditions, including to the site of Wiñaywayna near Machu Picchu. Inspired by Tello, Chávez Ballón became a self-taught archaeologist dedicated to elucidating and preserving the cultural heritage of Cusco. In 1952 he led an expedition to the now famous Qero *ayllu* in Paucartambo. He discovered the site of Marcavalle, an Early Horizon site near Cusco. He is the father of archaeologist Sergio Chávez. Machu Picchu's site museum is named for him.

¹¹³ **Luís Barreda Murillo** (1929-2009) held a doctorate in anthropology and history from the Universidad Nacional de San Antonio Abad del Cusco. He was an archaeologist who specialized in the pre-Inca cultures of Peru's Departments of Apurímac, Puno, and Cusco and who held a variety of important teaching and administrative posts at UNSAAC.

¹¹⁴ **Rogger Ravines Sánchez** (b. 1940) holds a doctorate from the Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos and has also studied at the University of California, Berkeley and at Harvard. He is a Peruvian archaeologist who has held a variety of important administrative positions. He is the editor of *Technología Andina* (1978), and the author of *Panorama de la arqueología andina* (1982), *Chanchán: Metrópoli Chimú* (1980), *La cerámica tradicional del Perú* (with Fernando Villiger, 1989), *Arqueología práctica* (1989), and *100 años de arqueología en el Perú* (1970), among other works.

¹¹⁵ **Emilio Mendizábal Losack** (1922-1979) was an ethnologist and artist who contributed to our understanding of Peruvian folk art traditions, especially Sarhua paintings and Ayacucho retablos. Among his publications are *Pacaraos: Una comunidad en la parte alta del Valle de Chancay* (1964), *Patrones arquitectónicos inkas* (2002), and *Del Sanmarkos al retablo ayacuchano: Dos ensayos pioneros sobre arte tradicional peruano* (2003).

¹¹⁶ **Juan M. Ossio** (b.1943) studied history at the Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú (1960-1965) and anthropology at the Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos (1963-1966). From the University of Oxford he obtained a Diploma in Social Anthropology (1967), a B.Litt. (1970), and D.Phil. (1978). He is a senior professor at PUCP. He has twice been a Tinker Visiting Professor at the University of Chicago (1988, 2000). He is the editor of *Ideología Mesiánica del Mundo Andino* (1973) and the author of *Los indios del Perú* (1992), *Parentesco, reciprocidad y jerarquía en los Andes* (1992), *Las paradojas del Perú oficial* (1994), *El código Murúa* (2004), and *En busca del orden perdido: La idea de la historia en Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala* (2008).

though at the start Murra presumed that a one hundred percent match would be possible between installations mentioned by Ortiz and sites on the ground, Murra and his colleagues had been able to find and visit only about half of the places. Murra did feel that the project had successfully documented the ethnic frontier between the Yacha, including the site and village of Cauri, and the Wamali country around the present settlement of Jesús or Ñucon. Villages in Yacha territory had been partially excavated. At Huánuco Pampa Murra's team had excavated a house, as well as storehouses, and they had examined the site's extensive ceremonial architecture. They had also made a pottery sample and followed the Inca highway or Capac Ñan ("Great Road" in Quechua) north to the tambo of Tapataku and south to Tunsucancha.

However, Murra admitted that he had underestimated both the difficulties of doing archaeological field-work in a high altitude location not served by paved roads, and the suspicion with which Peruvians often regarded foreign researchers. He said that the time spent explaining and "mending fences" limited the amount of research he was able to accomplish. In an article published in a 1965 issue of *Curator* Peter Jenson is more explicit. He acknowledges tensions between foreign researchers and local people, both educated and illiterate. Because the concept of work done without monetary recompense was unfamiliar in the area, the motives of the scientists were widely questioned. There was a lack of cooperation, attempts at spying, and a formal accusation of gold theft. This closely parallels the reception of Charles Marie de La Condamine's survey work in Ecuador during the 1730s, suggesting that such reactions were wide-spread and deeply rooted in the Andes. Murra's team attempted to counter ill-will with gifts of photographs and a series of community addresses. When it became apparent that the costs of photo distribution were mounting, Jenson developed an exhibition of four

panels that could be carried by two men or one horse. This explained the work of the project and circulated in remote areas.

At the time Murra began his Huánuco field and archival research his practical experience with archaeology and the use of unpublished original documents was limited. He had attended Fay-Cooper Cole's Illinois summer field school and had participated in Collier's six month reconnaissance of Ecuador. He had also done some independent reconnaissance work in the Huánuco region. He had spent a few weeks in the Archivo General de Indias, and rather more time in Lima and Cusco colonial archives. Privately Murra was considerably more circumspect than one could be in a successful grant application. On October 8, 1963, en route to South America, he wrote in his diary ". . . I have no idea even of what *could* be done in Perú, re Inca, in Huánuco. . ." Inexperience and enthusiasm may have led Murra to promise more than could possibly have been revealed through colonial documents and archaeological remains.

In spite of disappointments and frustrations, the Huánuco Project, especially Murra's publication and studies of the Huánuco *visitas* (Murra 1972a; Murra, editor, 1964; Ortiz 1967, 1972) led him to his most influential explanatory framework, that of "verticality" or the simultaneous access of an ethnic group or state to various productive ecological niches. Murra established case studies that he argued supported his reconstruction. One encompasses the small ethnic groups of Huánuco, the Chupaychu and Yacha, each consisting of a few thousand individuals, who controlled or shared various resources at some distance from their population centers. These included pasture lands, salt works, cotton, maize, and coca fields, and forests.

Perhaps the most important case is that of the Lupaca, a large ethnic kingdom with its population center in the Lake Titicaca Basin but with outlying colonies in the desert oasis valleys of what is now northern Chile, as well as in the tropical forests of the eastern Andean slopes. Murra also thought that small ethnic groups centered on the central coast of Peru, as well as large north coast polities, may have controlled resources distant from their political and population centers.

Over the years Murra's insights have served as templates for other studies (c.f. Jorge Hidalgo's 2004 collection of articles, *Historia andina en Chile* and the Chincha Project [1983-2005] directed by Heather Lechtman, Luís Lumbreras, Craig Morris, and María Rostworowski). One of the outstanding Chincha Project participants is *Andean Past* editor Daniel H. Sandweiss who based his doctoral dissertation (Cornell University 1989) on his Chincha field research. This dissertation was published in 1992 as *The Archaeology of Chincha Fishermen: Specialization and Status in Inka Peru* in the *Carnegie Museum of Natural History Bulletin*.

Several lines of criticism have developed concerning Murra's notions of "verticality" and Andean complementarity. One is that a "pax incaica" or pax Tiwanaku would have been necessary for small and vulnerable groups of individuals to maintain control over valuable resources far from their major population centers, a condition that Murra himself admitted (Murra 1979b: 222). Another is that Murra was selective in the details he chose to include in his models, ignoring some of the information contained in his sources and dismissing other sources as "exceptions". Furthermore, knowledge of Andean agro-pastoral technology has developed since the 1970s. Thanks to the work of William M. Denevan,¹¹⁷ Clark Erickson,¹¹⁸ Alan L. Kola

ta,¹¹⁹ William P. Mitchell,¹²⁰ Charles R. Ortloff

M.A. (1958), and Ph.D. (1963), all in geography, from The University of California, Berkeley. Among his teachers were James Parsons, John H. Rowe, and Carl Sauer. He is the Carl Sauer Professor Emeritus of the Department of Geography of the University of Wisconsin, Madison. His recent work has offered criticisms of the "pristine myth" of American environments before 1492 and his current research includes a history of agriculture in the Americas. He is the author of *The Aboriginal Cultural Geography of the Llanos de Mojos, of Bolivia* (1966), and *Cultivated Landscapes of Native Amazonia and the Andes: Triumph over the Soil* (2001).

¹¹⁸ **Clark Lowden Erickson** (b. 1954) has an undergraduate degree from the Washington University in St. Louis (1976) and a doctorate from the University of Illinois (1988) and is an associate professor in the Department of Anthropology of the University of Pennsylvania and an associate curator at the University Museum. He has made enormous contributions to our geographical, archaeological, and practical knowledge of South American agriculture, especially of the raised fields in the Lake Titicaca region, and of the fields, paths, and other earthworks of the Bolivian lowlands. He is the editor of *Time and Complexity in Historical Ecology: Studies in the Neotropical Lowlands* (with William Balée, 2006). A biographical sketch of Erickson by Deborah I. Olszewski was published in *Expedition* magazine (2008).

¹¹⁹ **Alan L. Kolata** (b. 1951) obtained his Ph.D. from Harvard University (1978). He is the Neukom Family Distinguished Professor of Anthropology and Social Sciences at the University of Chicago. He leads interdisciplinary research projects studying the human ecology of the Lake Titicaca basin during the past 3000 years. He has also worked on the north coast of Peru and in Thailand and Cambodia. He is the author of *Valley of the Spirits: A Journey into the Lost Realm of the Aymara* (1996), *The Tiwanaku: Portrait of an Andean Civilization* (2003), and *Tiwanaku and its Hinterland* (2003).

¹²⁰ **William P. Mitchell** (b. 1937) obtained his Ph.D. from the University of Pittsburgh (1972). He is Professor of Anthropology and Freed Professor in the Social Sciences at Monmouth University, Monmouth, New Jersey. He has made a longitudinal study of the town of Quinoa in Peru's Ayacucho Department, and of Quinoan immigrants to Lima. He focuses on political economy, peace and war, human ecology, socio-cultural evolution, and religion. He is the author of *Peasants on the Edge: Crop, Cult, and Crisis in the Andes* (1991), *Picturing Faith: A Facsimile Edition of*

¹¹⁷ **William M. Denevan** (b. 1931) earned his B.A. (1953),

and Michael E. Moseley (see Ortloff and Moseley, this volume, 279-305), among others, we now understand that altiplano raised fields and irrigated highland terraces ameliorate microclimates and produce a variety of foodstuffs, albeit with the investment of a fair amount of labor. The management of concentrated resources may have been more effective than that of scattered ones.

Murra also formulated his ideas of settlement patterns before the rapid native depopulation of the Andes in the colonial period was fully understood. Demographic collapse provides opportunities for settlement reorganization and reallocation of resources. The patterns observed during and after drastic population reduction may not reflect the pre-collapse situation, however vehemently litigants may have asserted real or fictional past rights to bolster their claims as they had supposedly been in an economy where land purchase was unknown. Because Spanish law, as applied to the New World, affirmed pre-conquest land tenure arrangements, claimants needed to present arguments to Spanish officials that included claims to tenure extending into the remote past. The only ethnohistorical accounts of land use available to Murra, and to subsequent scholars, come from colonial contexts in which all participants, Spaniards, Indians, and even African slaves, are adjusting rapidly to new and shifting economic realities.

Most of the archaeological work conducted as part of the Inca Provincial Life Project was never published. Murra had the archaeologists in his project turn over their field notes to him. For many years he kept them in Ithaca, in upstate New York, but eventually, through Craig Morris,

they came to be stored in the Junius B. Bird Laboratory of South American Archaeology in the Anthropology Division of the American Museum of Natural History. Numerous small excavations were made at Huánuco Pampa, and those at storehouses were reported in Morris' doctoral dissertation, *Storage in Tawantinsuyu* (1967) and in subsequent articles by Morris. Daniel Shea's 1967 University of Wisconsin master's thesis, *The Plaza Complex of Huánuco Viejo*, and a preliminary article on the same topic published in 1966 in the *Cuadernos de Investigación* of the Universidad Nacional Hermilio Valdizán (Huánuco) also report results of the project. Reconstruction of the most spectacular architecture at Huánuco Pampa was also undertaken by the project after its N.S.F. termination date of July 1, 1966 because the Peruvian Patronato Nacional de Arqueología provided funds for Murra's team to rebuild a portion of the site (see cover, this volume and illustration, p. 64). John Murra hoped that Craig Morris would eventually produce a monograph that fully reported the archaeological aspects of the "Inca Provincial Life Project". However, Morris continued at Huánuco for many years, supported by his own major grants, then worked at the La Centinela site in Peru's Chincha Valley, at Tambo Colorado, in the Ica Valley, and, briefly, at Cochabamba, Bolivia. He was not able to completely publish his own independent work before his death, let alone that of Murra's Huánuco Project. Fortunately, archaeologists can expect this situation to be partially remedied soon. Alan Covey, who worked with Morris at the American Museum of Natural History, has prepared a monograph drawing on Morris' excavations at Huánuco. However, he did not incorporate materials from Murra's project (R. Alan Covey, personal communication, 20 January 2009). Having seen the Huánuco field notes left by Murra's team, it is my opinion that a solid regional archaeological survey report could have been produced.

the Pictographic Catechism in the Huntington Free Library (with Barbara H. Jaye, 1999), and *Voices from the Global Margin: Confronting Poverty and Inventing New Lives in the Andes* (2006). He is the editor of *Irrigation at High Altitudes: The Social Organization of Water Control Systems in the Andes* (with David Guillet, 1991).

Murra's return to South America marked a turning point for him. As he explained in a 1989 interview (Ansaldi and Calderón), much of his life had been accidental up to that point. He was sent to Chicago because he had an uncle there. He learned Spanish because his commitment to the anti-fascist left motivated his presence in Spain during the Spanish Civil War. He went to Ecuador in 1941 because he had to earn a living and the project needed a Spanish-speaker. Legal difficulties prevented him from returning to Ecuador for doctoral research in a living community, so he wrote a library dissertation on an extinct civilization. Murra's continuing need to support himself financially, his excellent Spanish and good French, and his citizenship problems led him to work in Puerto Rico and Martinique, although he had no special commitment to the Caribbean. Just as he was prevented from going to South America, he was unable to travel to Africa, another continent that interested him. However, once he obtained his United States passport and was free to go anywhere, Murra's life came more under his own conscious direction. From 1958, when he returned to South America after an absence of sixteen years, he devoted himself almost exclusively to Andean topics, albeit with a comparative perspective.

When Murra was able to travel to conferences in Africa he had the opportunity to interact with many European anthropologists, missionaries, and colonial agents, primarily British, French, and Belgian, who had decades of field and administrative experience on that continent. He also may have met Africans studying their own cultures, and other scholars whose university work in the British and French systems had focused exclusively on Africa. In his private writings there are hints that Murra realized that British socio-cultural anthropologists dominated African studies, leaving little room for someone outside their circle. However, until the end of his teaching career he continued

to integrate African material into his classes. He also encouraged Mesoamerican/ Andean comparisons (Murra 1977a, 1982e). Nevertheless, after 1958, with one minor exception (Murra 1964c), Murra never published on Africa, Puerto Rico, or the French Caribbean again except in the context of comparisons with Andean material. He did, however, remain for many years both a member of the International African Institute, and a fellow of the African Studies Association (*c.v.* Murra, NAA). During the Huánuco Project Murra acquired the deep expertise in Andean cultures for which he was famous during the second half of his life. His new focus allowed him to develop an impressive body of work on the Inca state, or Tawantinsuyu, as he preferred to call it.

It was in 1964, during the Huánuco Project, that Murra met his close associate, Craig Morris, then a young archaeologist, and another University of Chicago graduate. Murra and Morris remained friends for the rest of their lives. For some time Morris shared with Murra the responsibility for teaching Andean archaeology and ethnohistory at Cornell University. Poignantly, their obituaries appear side-by-side in the December 2007 issue of the *American Anthropologist*. During the 1970s and '80s, when Morris would commute from New York City to Ithaca, he would stay in the damp basement of John Murra's house on 515 Dryden Road near campus, which John Murra occupied from 1971 (purchase contract, Murra, NAA). Murra's home was a rather dramatic place, with a sun porch that combined ski lodge furniture and life-size murals of figures taken from the early seventeenth century account of the Peruvian Mestizo chronicler Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala painted for him by Freda Wolf's younger brother. To a large extent Murra lived with and for his work.

During the course of the Huánuco Project, Murra was frequently away from the field sites to do archival research, to attend conferences, to consult with psychoanalysts, and to teach. He taught at the Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos in Lima as a visiting professor of ethnology from 1965 to 1966. Murra described the space and facilities he was given as “lavish”, which contrasts with the sad situation of the university ten or fifteen years later. In 1966, upon leaving, he was made an honorary professor of San Marcos (investiture program, Murra, NAA). In 1965 Murra was a visiting professor of Inca studies at the Universidad de Chile in Santiago. When the Huánuco Project ended he was offered a professorship at the Universidad Nacional Hermilio Valdizán under the same terms as Peruvian professors. Murra did not accept this offer.¹²¹

CORNELL UNIVERSITY

In 1966-67, after returning from Huánuco, Murra became the first N.S.F. post-doctoral associate in anthropology at the Smithsonian Institution. There he continued his studies of Huanúco and of the Lupaca kingdom of Bolivia. In 1968, after Allan R. Holmberg's (1909-1966) untimely death had opened a faculty position, Murra was hired by Cornell University, from which he retired in 1982 as a professor emeritus. Murra's situation as Holmberg's successor was problematic. Holmberg is best known for the Vicos Project, which he directed. In 1952, with the cooperation of the Peruvian government, Cornell began an innovative development project in northern Peru that continued for some fifteen years. For five years the university leased the highland Vicos Hacienda in the Callejón de Huaylas, approximately 250 miles from Lima. There some 1800 Peruvian Indians had been living in virtual serfdom. The goal was to pro-

mote modernization and equality by converting Vicos into a semi-autonomous, self-directed community. This was a truly revolutionary effort in applied anthropology. The project immediately attracted criticism from both the political left and right, as well as from the anthropological profession. In 1963, as part of a national land reform program, the workers of Vicos acquired the hacienda. The Vicos Project had served as a model for the Peace Corps, but attitudes towards foreign interventions hardened in the 1960s. The Peace Corps itself was expelled from Vicos in 1965. Although Murra's friend José María Arguedas had supported the Vicos Project, Murra himself had a far different research agenda, one much more oriented towards understanding the past than ameliorating the present, except through moral encouragement. Nevertheless, assuming Holmberg's academic line must have created certain expectations Murra was unlikely to fulfill. When I studied at Cornell in the 1980s mention of the Vicos Project still elicited tense reactions from some faculty members. Cornell University's Koch Library holds extensive records of this project.

Murra's Cornell teaching of undergraduate and graduate students was more advanced and tightly focused than the general instruction in undergraduate anthropology he had given at Vassar. During his last year at Cornell, 1981-82, he offered an ethnohistory course, Anthropology 418, consisting of two parts African material, one quarter Andean topics, and one quarter themes on Siberian ethnography. The African portion examined the dynastic and demotic oral traditions of Rwanda, drawing upon the work of Alexis Kagame,¹²²

¹²¹ Letter from Ing. Pedro José Cuculiza, Rector, Universidad Nacional Hermilio Valdizán, Huánuco to John Victor Murra, 10 August 1966, Huánuco files, A.M.N.H.

¹²² **Father Alexis Kagame** (1912-1981) was a Rwandan historian, ethnologist, philosopher, priest, and intellectual leader of the Tutsi who articulated their cosmography in contemporary terms compatible with Christianity. He came from a family of court historians who converted to

Jan Vansina,¹²³ Luc de Heusch,¹²⁴ and Murra's old Vassar colleague, Helen Codere. It also covered Ashanti administration and military oral traditions as reported by Kwame Arhin¹²⁵ and Ivor Wilks.¹²⁶ Written sources for the Andes

including the accounts by indigenous chroniclers Guaman Poma de Ayala and Blas Valera and administrative, census, and litigation papers were combined with archaeological data. Siberian military and tribute collecting papers and scholarly reports in the fields of ethno-history and ethnology were used in discussions of ethnogenesis.

Roman Catholicism around the time of World War I. His published works include the multi-volume *La divine pastorale* (1952-1955), a creation myth and history of the world; *Le code des institutions politiques du Rwanda* (1952), a defense of Tutsi feudalism, and *The Bantu-Rwandese Philosophy of Being* (1956). In 1959 the rival Hutu nation violently overthrew Tutsi hegemony, but Kagame survived the bloodbath.

Murra also taught a course on the history of United States anthropology from Schoolcraft to the death of Benedict which is discussed in Frank Salomon's contribution to this volume. In addition, Murra taught Anthropology 633, "Andean Research", a course which emphasized sources other than chronicles. These included a microfilm of Gonzalez de Cuenca's colonial *visita* to what is now northern Peru, land and water court records, quipu transcriptions, *visitas*, Quechua oral traditions recorded in the Huarochiri manuscript, the chronicle of Guaman Poma de Ayala, reports by Domingo de Santo Tomas, better known for his early Quechua-Spanish dictionary, and by Juan Polo de Ondegardo.¹²⁷

¹²³ **Jan Vansina** (b. 1929) is an historian and anthropologist specializing in the peoples of Central Africa, especially in their history before European contact. He is a professor emeritus at the University of Wisconsin, Madison. Among his books are *Oral Tradition: A Study in Historical Methodology* (1965), *Kingdoms of the Savannah* (1966), *Oral Tradition as History* (1985), *Living with Africa* (1994), *Antecedents to Modern Rwanda: The Nyiginya Kingdom* (2004), and *How Societies are Born: Governance in West Africa Before 1600* (2004).

¹²⁴ **Luc de Heusch** (b. 1927) is a Belgian ethnographer and film-maker who studied at the Sorbonne in Paris before receiving a doctorate in anthropology from the Université Libre de Bruxelles (1955). Among his films are *Fête chez les Hamba* (1955), an account of daily life and ritual practice in a village of the Hamba of Kasai; *Ruanda: Tableaux d'une féodalité* (1956), an historic investigation of Rwandan society; *Sur les traces du Renard Pâle* (with Jean Rouch and Germaine Dieterlen, 1983), and *Une république devenue folle (Rwanda 1894-1994)* (1996) in addition to films on Belgian society. From 1955 to 1992 he taught at the Université Libre de Bruxelles, as a full professor from 1960.

In the 1970s and 1980s Murra drew hundreds of people to his lectures at Johns Hopkins, at San Marcos, in European cities, and at other distinguished venues. However, shortly before retirement he could not always attract even the four or six students he needed to run his advanced seminars at Cornell. Perhaps students were eager to hear him in the relatively anonymous context of a large lecture hall, but did not wish to accept the demands Murra would put upon them in smaller, more specialized classes.

¹²⁵ **Kwame Arhin** is the editor of *Ashanti and the Northwest* (with Jack Goody, 1965), *Ashanti and the Northeast* (1970), *The Life and Work of Kwame Nkrumah* (1993), and *The Cape Coast and Elmina Handbook: Past, Present, and Future* (1995) among many other works of a practical nature dealing with politics, economics, land tenure, and history of West Africa.

(1961), *Asante in the Nineteenth Century: The Structure and Evolution of a Political Order* (1975), and is an editor of "The History of Ashanti Kings and the Whole Country Itself", and *Other Writings by Otumfuo, Nana Agyeman Prempeh I* (with Adu Boahen et al., 2003).

¹²⁶ **Ivor G. Wilks** (b.1928) is a British historian and anthropologist who did field-work in Western Africa (1956-1996). He taught at the University of Northern Ghana (1953-1966) and at Northwestern University (1971-1993). He is the author of *The Northern Factor in Ashanti History*

¹²⁷ Letter from John V. Murra to Craig Morris, 26 iii 81, Bird Lab, A.M.N.H.

I believe that Murra had his biggest impact on South American audiences. In both his lectures and his writing he drew upon his extensive knowledge of general anthropology. Many of the key works in this field were unavailable to Latin American scholars both because there were few Spanish-language editions of the English and French classics and because Latin American library resources did not equal those of Europe and the United States (Murra in Rowe 1984: 646). John Murra, however, had the profound insights of many great minds informing his scholarship. Because these insights were not well-diffused throughout the Spanish-speaking world, Murra's work incorporating them must have seemed double-dazzling.

Just as at Vassar, Murra took frequent leaves and many trips of short duration away from Cornell, incidentally transferring many of his teaching, counseling, and administrative responsibilities to other faculty members. In 1970-71 he taught once again at Yale, replacing his friend Sidney Mintz who was on leave. Judging from published student evaluations, this was not a success. From 1974 on Murra taught at Cornell only in the autumn semester (Murra in Rowe 1984:646). In 1974-75 he was at the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton, New Jersey. For part of 1975 he was researching Aymara kingdoms in the Archivo Nacional de Sucre. In 1975-76 he was at the Université de Paris X Nanterre with Fulbright support. Simultaneously, he taught a three-month seminar, "Ethnicité et état dans le monde Andin" (Ethnicity and the State in the Andean World) at the École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales, Paris. In the spring of 1976, with Einaudi Foundation support, Murra lectured in Torino, at the Universidad de Sevilla, at the Departamento de Antropología y Etnología de América de la Universidad Complutense (Madrid), at Bonn University, at the London School of Economics, and at Cambridge University. During the last weeks of 1976 and the first weeks of 1977 he visited Bolivia, Lima,

Mexico, and Tokyo.¹²⁸ By May he was back in Mexico, at the Centro de Investigaciones Superiores of the Mexican Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia.¹²⁹ Here he encouraged scholars to combine the study of Nahuatl documents with Aztec archaeology.¹³⁰ In the fall of that year he was in Seville.¹³¹ In the fall of 1978 he was once more in Seville,¹³² but also participated in a conference on páramos in Venezuela (Murra 1979b). In 1978-79 he spent a total of eight months at the Archivo General de Indias. In January 1979 he taught at the Universidad de Antofagasta, Chile, while in June of that year he was in Paris.¹³³ In the spring of 1980 he was doing research in Lima under the auspices of the Instituto de Estudios Peruanos. In 1981 he was at Johns Hopkins University.¹³⁴ John Murra's international presence was vast and the time he spent at his home base minimal.

Throughout his teaching career, one of John Murra's concerns was the education of Latin American graduate students. With Ángel Palerm he organized the "Comparative Seminar on MesoAmerica and the Andes" in 1972. The

¹²⁸ Letter from John V. Murra to Craig Morris, 13 February, 1977, Bird Lab, A.M.N.H.

¹²⁹ Letter from John V. Murra to Craig Morris, 30 May 1977, Bird Lab, A.M.N.H.

¹³⁰ Letter from John V. Murra to Toribio Mejía Xesspe, 9 April 1977, Bird Lab, A.M.N.H.

¹³¹ Letter from John V. Murra to Craig Morris, 10 October 1977, Bird Lab, A.M.N.H.

¹³² Letter from John V. Murra to Craig Morris, 30 October 1978, Bird Lab, A.M.N.H.

¹³³ Letter from John V. Murra to Craig Morris, 4 June 1979, Bird Lab, A.M.N.H.

¹³⁴ Letter from John V. Murra to Craig Morris, March 26, 1981, Bird Lab, A.M.N.H.

next year, he established the “Lake Titicaca Field Project” with prominent Peruvian archaeologist and Marxist theorist Luís Lumbreras and support from the Fulbright Program. Among the participants were Javier Albó, Mónica Checa,¹³⁵ Freda Wolf, John Hyslop, Augustín Llagostera, Elías Mujica,¹³⁶ Franklin Pease, Marcela Ríos,¹³⁷ Mario Rivera,¹³⁸ and AnaMaría Soldi. “The Lake Titicaca Field Project” was the genesis of John Hyslop’s Columbia doctoral dissertation, *An Archaeological Investigation of the Lupaca Kingdom and its Origins*. This, in turn was a first step towards his 1984 book *The Inca Road System*

¹³⁵ There is no biographical information available for Mónica Checa.

¹³⁶ **Elías Mujica Barreda** (b. 1950) has built a distinguished career in Peruvian archaeology, anthropology, and history. He participated in a variety of projects that have studied the suitability and sustainability of traditional agricultural practices, the ancient Moche, the urban archaeology of Lima and Arequipa, colonial history, and Quechua folk tales. He has dedicated himself to the kind of institution-building advocated by John Murra. Mujica is Vice-President of the Andean Institute of Archeological Studies (INDEA) and the Deputy Coordinator of the Consortium for the Sustainable Development of the Andean Eco-region (CONDESAN), an Advisor for Cultural Heritage of the Backus Foundation, a member of the Peruvian National Technical Commission for Cultural Heritage, and a World Heritage Center Regional Expert for the monitoring of and regional reporting on the World Heritage in Latin America and the Caribbean. Among his many published books are a series of edited volumes on Moche conferences (with Santiago Uceda), *Arqueología de los valles occidentales del area centro sur andina* (1990), *Perú andino prehispánico* (with Rafael Varón); *La sostenibilidad de los sistemas de producción campesina en los Andes* (with José Luís Rueda, 1997), *El brujo: Huaca Cao, centro ceremonial Moche en el Valle de Chicama* (with Eduardo Hirose Maio, 2007), and *Investigaciones en la Huaca de la Luna . . .* (with Santiago Uceda and Ricardo Morales, 2007).

¹³⁷ **Marcela Ríos** is the wife of Peruvian archaeologist Luís Guillermo Lumbreras.

¹³⁸ **Mario Rivera** is a Chilean archaeologist who received his doctorate from the University of Wisconsin, Madison. He teaches at Beloit College.

(Murra 1994a:2) and the basis of several other publications.

In 1977 Murra organized the “Otoño andino”, a semester-long program at Cornell which brought together students and established scholars from both Latin America and the United States. One of Murra’s frustrations at Cornell was that he could not always obtain admission to graduate studies and fellowships for Latin American students whom he considered to possess real talent and personal merit. He seemed to feel that Cornell was not sufficiently flexible in matters of formal admission standards. On the other hand, he sometimes had to teach students whose presence he had not personally approved.

LIFE BEYOND CORNELL

Murra remained active for more than a decade after his retirement from Cornell. In 1982-83 he was a consultant to the Banco Nacional de Bolivia’s Museo Nacional de Etnografía in La Paz. In 1983-84 he held a Guggenheim Fellowship for research in Spanish archives, including the Archivo Nacional and the Academia de Historia, both in Madrid, and the Archivo de Indias in Seville. Simultaneously he taught at the Universidad Complutense (Madrid), and at the Universidad de Sevilla, as well as at the Institut Català d’Antropologi in Barcelona. He nevertheless found time to teach a summer school course at the University of Chile in 1984 (Castro, this volume). In the next academic year, 1985-86, he was once again a visiting professor at Complutense, at the Universidad de Sevilla, and at the Institut Català d’Antropologi. In the spring of 1987 he was the Suntory-Toyota Visiting Professor at the London School of Economics. In 1987-88 he conducted research at the Instituto de Antropología, Buenos Aires and taught as a visiting professor at the Universidad de Buenos Aires. In

1990-91 he was a fellow at the Archivo de Indias.

By then most Civil War wounds had healed. John Murra liked to tell the story of a chance encounter he had in a Spanish bar. There he fell into conversation with a fellow veteran, but was unsure whether the man had been a former Nationalist or a former Loyalist. The stranger broke the ice by dramatically and emotionally declaring, "Whichever side you were on, I was your comrade!" It turned out that this unfortunate old soldier meant it literally, not metaphorically. He had been fighting for one side when he was captured by the other and made to fight for it, allowing him the claim that he was a fellow-in-arms with *anybody* who had fought in the Civil War.

During the course of his long life John Murra received many honors. Perhaps the greatest is Peru's Grand Cross of the Order of the Sun which he was awarded in 1987. In addition to being an Honorary Professor of the Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos, Murra was also an Honorary Professor of the Humanities of the Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú. In 1998 San Marcos again honored him with the academic decoration "Honor al Mérito" and, on the same occasion he received an academic medal from the Universidad Nacional San Antonio Abad del Cusco (see Lechtman's contribution, this volume, group photo, p. 68). Murra was granted an honorary doctorate from the Universitat de Barcelona in 1993. In 1969 he presented the Lewis Henry Morgan¹³⁹ Lectures at

the University of Rochester, Rochester, New York. His series was entitled "Reciprocity and Redistribution in Andean Civilizations". Although these lectures were never published in Murra's lifetime, Heather Lechtman and Freda Wolf, with a grant from the Reed Foundation, are transcribing the lecture tapes in preparation for publication in the Morgan Lecture series of the University of Chicago (Lechtman, personal communication, 12 June 2009; Lechtman and Wolf, n.d.).

At least nine important publications carry John Murra's name as editor.¹⁴⁰ He also exerted his influence by serving on editorial boards including those of *Chungará* (Arica, Chile), *Histórica* (Lima, from 1976), *Historia Boliviana* (Cochabamba), the *Revista del Museo Nacional* (Lima), and *Runa* (Buenos Aires). He was an Advisory Editor of the *Hispanic American Historical Review* (1984-89). He was also a member of the Advisory Board of the *Handbook of Latin American Studies* published by the Library of Congress.

John Murra was active in many professional organizations. He was on the Board of the American Society for Ethnohistory (1962-1969) and was president (1970-1971). Murra was also a councilor of the American Ethnological Society (1961-1964) as well as president (1972-1973). He was president of the Institute of

¹³⁹ **Lewis Henry Morgan** (1818-1881) was a lawyer and pioneering anthropologist. He studied at Union College, Schenectady, New York. His residence in the Iroquois territory of upstate New York and contact with his Indian neighbors allowed him to produce his breakthrough account of Iroquois political organization, *The League of the Ho-dé-No-sau-nee or Iroquois* (1851). He discovered the phenomenon of social kinship systems and systematized worldwide comparisons of kinship in *Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity in the Human Family* (1870). He modeled a

universal unilinear sequence of "ethnical periods" in *Ancient Society . . .* (1877) as an attempt to explain the origin of family formations, political regimes, and economies. Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels read Morgan towards the end of Marx's life and chose his model as the cornerstone for Marxist ethnology. Several book length biographies of Morgan have been published.

¹⁴⁰ Arguedas 1996; Guaman Poma de Ayala 1980; Murra, editor 1964, 1976, 1991; Ortiz de Zúñiga 1967, 1972; Revel *et al.* 1978; Rojas Rabiela and Murra 1999.

Andean Research (1977-1983).¹⁴¹ He was nominated for the presidency of the American Anthropological Association in 1982, but not elected. However, he circulated his campaign statement widely, considering it to be an important commentary on the state of anthropology in the United States (Murra 1982f). He was a founding member of the Instituto de Estudios Peruanos and of the Asociación Peruana de Antropología e Historia. He was a member of the the Société des Américanistes de Paris, of the Instituto Indígenista Interamericano (Mexico), and the Sociedad Boliviana de Historia. After his retirement from Cornell John Murra used the Institute of Andean Research as his sole institutional affiliation, although he could have claimed many others.

PERSONAL REFLECTIONS ON JOHN VICTOR MURRA

Murra's international experiences, combined with his work in ethnohistory, archaeology, and ethnography helped him to formulate his holistic views of anthropology in general, and Andean studies in particular. To Murra, sub-disciplinary boundaries were invisible. All sources of information, as well as most approaches, were necessary to understand the totality of culture. However, although Murra maintained an impeccable personal appearance, he otherwise showed very little engagement with visual culture. His dissertation contains no illustrations, not even maps which would have been helpful to readers not intimately familiar with the geography of Peru. Of course, at the time Murra was writing, he was embedding his arguments in territory he, himself, had never seen. He discussed the importance and glories of Inca textiles, generally without providing any

photographs or line drawings of them. Likewise architecture, one of the universally acknowledged accomplishments of Inca civilization, seems to have interested Murra only in so far as it functioned economically and politically. He never published the vast majority of the plans, drawings, and photographs amassed by his Inca Provincial Life (Huánuco) Project, although he must have known that these would be of great interest to archaeologists. His seemingly poor ability to visualize restricted his full apprehension of Andean culture in subtle ways. It is tempting to make a psychoanalytic interpretation of this hiatus. Murra, the son of a nearly blind mother, was limited in his own visual skills.

Likewise, although Murra respected those who focused on the religious, ideological, and symbol systems of the Inca such as Pierre Duviols and R. Tom Zuidema,¹⁴² by Murra's own

¹⁴¹ For a short history of the I.A.R. see Daggett, this volume, pp. 307-314 and J. Alden Mason's 1967 pamphlet, *A Brief History of the Institute of Andean Research, Inc. 1937-1967*.

¹⁴² **Reiner Tom Zuidema** (b. 1927) began his studies at the University of Leiden with the intention of joining the civil service of the former Netherlands' Indies (Indonesia). However, in 1949 the Dutch government recognized the independence of Indonesia, so Zuidema shifted his focus to anthropology. From 1951 to 1953 he resided in Spain, preparing his doctoral dissertation on problems of social organization in the Inca empire. He then completed three years of field-work and archival studies in Peru, in the United States, and at Spain's Archivo de Indias. From 1956 to 1964 he was curator of the South American, North American, and Siberian collections of the State Museum of Anthropology of the Netherlands. From 1964 to 1967 he taught anthropology at the Universidad de San Cristóbal de Huamanga in Ayacucho, Peru, conducting field-work there with his students. From 1967 until his retirement in 1993 he was a professor of anthropology at the University of Illinois, Urbana. At both Huamanga and Illinois he was an inspiring teacher who educated many successful students. Most of his publications examine Inca culture, kinship, and social organization in relation to ritual, mythology, art, and concepts of time. Although often declared by others to be a structuralist, Zuidema's personal perspective is that, so much as possible, he studies the Incas on their own terms. His book, *The Ceque System of Cuzco* (1964) introduced a new paradigm to Inca studies.

admission he found it difficult to comprehend such approaches (see Castro, this volume, p. 75-77). He showed little interest in music, poetry, aesthetics, or ritual, except in so far as these revealed social and economic structure. This is striking given his devotion to Freudian psychoanalysis with its emphasis on symbols. Murra's work does not employ statistics or any of the "hard" sciences directly, although he saw the value of scientific approaches and appreciated the importance of human ecology.

Murra stressed the need to let the wishes and perspectives of people in the Andean countries guide research. By the time I had the opportunity for private conversations with Murra I had already done field-work in remote Mestizo and Quechua communities of Ecuador and Peru. I imagined that John was urging me to reach out to the "la gente humilde", everyday folk, perhaps unlettered and monolingual in Quechua or Aymara, poor, and without a public voice, but knowledgeable in their world-views and the ways of their cultures. I thought Murra was asking researchers to integrate the cosmologies, politics, aspirations, practices, and needs of these Andeans into research plans and grant proposals. I believed that he was advocating a search for alternatives to Western science and its methodology and underlying assumptions. From experience I realized how difficult this would be, even for ethnographers. Although Murra did not admit this to me, he, too, understood the problems from the perspective of his own field-work. I believe that he considered the willingness and ability to spend long periods of time in constructive interaction with ordinary local people to be a crucial test, and one that he, himself, had perhaps failed. Later I learned from the lives and work of Thomas Abercrombie,¹⁴³

¹⁴³ **Thomas Alan Abercrombie** (b. 1951) received a B.G.S. from the University of Michigan (1973), and an M.A. (1978) and Ph.D. from the University of Chicago (1986). He is an anthropologist and ethnohistorian who

Denise Y. Arnold¹⁴⁴ and Juan de Dios Yapita,¹⁴⁵ Clark Erickson, Chris and Ed Franquemont (Peters *Andean Past* 8), Tristan Platt, Matthias Strecker,¹⁴⁶ and Gary Urton,¹⁴⁷ among others, that an integration of science and non-scientific world views was, indeed, sometimes partially possible. However, at the time of my conversations with Murra, I also saw it as the

has done field-work among Aymara-speaking people as well as extensive research in Spanish colonial archives. He is Associate Professor of Anthropology and Director for the Center of Latin American and Caribbean Studies at New York University. He is the author of *Pathways of Memory and Power: Ethnography and History among an Andean People* (1998).

¹⁴⁴ **Denise Y. Arnold** is an anthropologist who has, for many years, worked within Aymara culture, along with her partner, Juan de Dios Yapita. She is the director of the Instituto de Lengua y Cultura Aymara, La Paz, Bolivia. Among her recent books with Yapita are *River of Fleece, River of Song* (2001), and *The Metamorphosis of Heads: Textual Struggles, Education, and Land in the Andes* (2006). Another of her recent books is *Heads of State: Icons, Power, and Politics in the Andes* (with Christine Ann Hastorf, 2008).

¹⁴⁵ **Juan de Dios Yapita Moya** is an Aymara anthropologist, linguist, and poet who often works with his partner Denise Y. Arnold (see note 144).

¹⁴⁶ **Matthias Strecker** (b. 1950) is a German-Bolivian teacher who has dedicated himself to the preservation of Bolivia's cultural patrimony, especially its rock art. He is the editor of numerous publications of the Sociedad de Investigación del Arte Rupestre de Bolivia (SIARB).

¹⁴⁷ **Gary Urton** (b. 1946) received a B.A. from the University of New Mexico (1969), and an M.A. (1971) and Ph.D. (1979) from the University of Illinois. For many years he taught anthropology at Colgate University, but is now the Dumbarton Oaks Professor of Pre-Columbian Studies at Harvard University. He conducted field-work at Pacariqtambo near Cusco, Peru. On the basis of that research he published *At the Crossroads of the Earth and Sky: An Andean Cosmology* (1981). For over a decade he has been regarded as one of the world's experts on the quipu. On that topic he has published *Signs of the Inca Khipu: Binary Coding in the Andean Knotted-String Records* (2003) among other works.

political and quasi-mystical vocation that it indeed is. As I got to know John Murra better I also realized that the Andean people he often had in mind were established intellectuals like José María Arguedas or Franklin Pease who did set much of their country's research agendas.

One of Murra's very great personal strengths was that he was willing to change course abruptly when he realized mistakes. He repudiated Communism forever when he understood the discordance between its ideology of a better world and the cruel behavior of its Russian leaders. Once he saw from face-to-face contact at conferences how deeply versed the British socio-cultural anthropologists were in African knowledge, he knew he couldn't match them and no longer presented himself as a public expert on Africa. However, by the time the Huánuco Project was finished he had developed true expertise in Andean cultures and he was the John Murra who became famous in that field.

Murra was well-integrated into the Andeanist communities of South America, Europe, and the United States. His circle can be reconstructed not just from the friends and colleagues he mentioned in interviews, and from his voluminous correspondence in the Smithsonian National Anthropological Archives and elsewhere, but by noting the many reviews and comments he published.¹⁴⁸ Murra was generally an appreciative reviewer except when he encountered films aimed at a popular audience. His reflections on the relative merits of contributions to ethnohistorical literature can be found in the series of annotated biographies he

produced for the *Handbook of Latin American Studies* (Murra 1967c, 1970b, 1972b, 1974b, 1976c, 1978d, 1980a, 1982c). John Murra held the keys to many doors, as I discovered when he wrote my letter of introduction to the Archivo de Indias in Seville.

Murra's lecture style was outwardly confident, elliptical, and even cryptic. He would often make statements like, ". . . as Arguedas said . . ." and students would have to figure out that he meant José María Arguedas, the Peruvian anthropologist, *indigenista* novelist, and poet, not Alcides Arguedas (1879-1948), the Bolivian statesman, diplomat, historian, and *indigenista* novelist whose life overlapped in time with José María's. This was very difficult in the days before the Internet. Murra was impatient with direct questions. Students were just supposed to *know* that "the Lake" was Titicaca, not Poopó or Cayuga and prove themselves worthy of his attention through their knowledge of Andean cultures and their dedication to them. In this respect those born into such cultures clearly had the advantage. Although Murra advocated a broad, internationalist anthropology, he privileged the study of one's own culture, perhaps without intending to do so, while divorcing himself from the subculture into which he, himself, had been born (see Salomon, this volume, p. 97). At the risk of tedium, I have included many footnotes with this biography, making explicit the identities and accomplishments of people Murra referenced only vaguely. The difficulty of this task convinced me of its necessity.

Murra maintained a good personal library. Towards the end of his life he divided his books to be sent to Latin America. Then, as now, theft from Latin American public and university libraries was a problem. I asked Murra if it bothered him that many of his books would not remain where they were sent, but would disappear into private collections. He gave me

¹⁴⁸ Murra 1951a, 1954a, 1954b, 1955b, 1955c, 1956d, 1958c, 1959a, 1959b, 1960b, 1960c, 1964c, 1965, 1966c, 1967e, 1968c, 1969, 1970c, 1970d, 1970e, 1973, 1974c, 1975b, 1975c, 1976e, 1976d, 1977b, 1977c, 1977d, 1978e, 1978f, 1978g, 1978h, 1979d, 1980a, 1981b, 1981c, 1982c, 1982d, 1982e, 1983a, 1983c, 1984a, 1984c, 1985d, 1985e, 1988c, 1988d, 1988e, 1989b, 1990, 1993a, 1993b, 1994b, 1994c, 1996a, 1996b; Murra and Wachtel 1998.

one of his sphinx-like smiles. He assured me that anyone who would appropriate *his* books would be someone who would appreciate them. He then gave me a few duplicates for my own private library with his signature and good wishes. He encouraged scholarship in many ways and had a fine sense of irony.

Murra sometimes wrote about the anthropologists he knew personally, enhancing our understanding of *their* lives. Murra's greatest contribution along these lines was his publication of letters to him, and to their mutual psychoanalyst Lola Hoffmann, by José María Arguedas (Arguedas 1996; see also Murra 1978e and 1983a). Murra first met Arguedas in 1958 at a conference during which he also met historians María Rostworowski and Franklin Pease. Reading Arguedas' letters is a haunting experience. One perceives him slipping deeper and deeper into a depression which, in those pre-Prozac days, could not be interrupted, in spite of the efforts of Arguedas and his physicians. One knows the sad ending in advance. Murra also published an appreciation of Julio C. Tello¹⁴⁹ (Murra 1980b) and an obituary of his close associate in the Institute of Andean Research, John Hyslop (Murra 1994a).

¹⁴⁹ **Julio César Tello** (1880-1947) was one of the founders of Peruvian archaeology. In spite of a humble background he obtained a bachelor's degree in medicine in Peru (1909) and then studied at Harvard where he earned an M.A. in anthropology (1911). Tello was an energetic field worker who discovered the famous Paracas mummy bundles in 1925, and also identified the Chavín culture. Between 1917 and 1929 he represented his native district of Huarochirí in the Peruvian national congress. He founded the Museo de Arqueología y Etnología of the Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos and the Museo de Arqueología Peruana. Chapters in the life of Julio C. Tello as reconstructed by Richard Daggett have appeared in *Andean Past* 1, 4, and 8. Tello communicated his findings mainly through a series of newspaper articles, especially in Lima's *El Comercio*. His articles have been collected in *The Life and Writings of Julio C. Tello* (2009), edited by Richard L. Burger. Tello is also the author of *Paracas* (1959).

My first encounter with John Murra was at the London School of Economics when he lectured there in 1976. His presence created buzz, and a large number of people assembled to hear the famous intellectual expound. Murra's talk was highly specialized and tightly focused, with no compromises made toward his audience. It was obvious that some people had come expecting a more general presentation, but were trapped in the intricacies of vertical archipelagos and household inventories of four hundred years before. It was impossible to leave, with eager academics standing in every space not occupied by a chair. A few people at the back of the large room began unobtrusively to pass the time by reading books and newspapers held on their laps. Most speakers would have ignored this, but John Murra demanded everyone's full attention whenever he spoke. He turned adults into recalcitrant and embarrassed schoolboys by telling them to put away their books or leave. On the other hand, if Murra himself was bored by a lecture, he did not hesitate to convey that to the speaker. At one of the Northeast Conferences on Andean Archaeology and Ethnohistory, a student had lost control of his presentation and was talking beyond his allotted time. Although he was neither the organizer nor the moderator, Murra began clapping loudly, slowly, and rhythmically, completely humiliating the student. Murra could be fearsome, indeed, and few had the force of personality to withstand him.

One of my regrets in life is that although I studied in two of the places Murra taught, our time in those places did not overlap much, if at all. When I first came to Cornell in 1966 as a high school advanced placement student Murra had not yet arrived there and I had not yet developed an interest in the Andean countries. When I returned to Cornell eighteen years later he had already retired, although he was still quite a Presence in Ithaca, and on campus during his relatively rare visits. He would,

however, usually participate in Cornell projects and events, if expressly invited to do so. He was a gracious moderator at the Fifth Northeast Conference on Andean Archaeology and Ethnohistory, held at Cornell in 1986, and contributed to *Andean Past* 4.

The trajectory of John Murra's life has been eloquently set out elsewhere, both in his own words, and in those of others. At least nine interviews of Murra have been published, broadcast, recorded, or posted on the Internet.¹⁵⁰ One, Castro *et al.*, is book length. Other details of Murra's life can be gleaned from Arguedas' letters to him (Arguedas 1996) and from tributes published during Murra's lifetime (Castro *et al.* 2002; Contreras 1993; Henderson and Netherley 1993; Lorandi *et al.* 2003; Neira 2006; Raczynski 1995; Vásquez 1970; Vega 1983) as well as from the many appreciative obituaries written in his memory.¹⁵¹ Salomon's tribute, in particular, is an insightful summary of Murra's intellectual contributions to anthropology. Readers should also not miss *Comrades* (1998), Harry Fisher's memoir of the Spanish Civil War, which contains many admiring recollections of Murra. At least a couple of denunciations of Murra have also been published (Anon. n.d. [c. 1950]; Condarco 1977).

In spite of all that has been written about John V. Murra, an original book length biography remains possible, and I have begun that task. In it I am making use of the richness of Murra's personal and professional papers which are now part of the Smithsonian Institution's National Anthropological Archives. These include the

¹⁵⁰ Ansaldi and Calderón 1989; Castro *et al.* 2000; Gerassi 1980; Harriman 1983; Hermosa n.d.; Ipiña 1976; Rowe 1984; de Siles 1983; Wolf 1966.

¹⁵¹ Albó and Bubba 2007, Anonymous 2006a, 2006b, 2006c, 2006d, 2007e; Gleach *et al.*, Harris 2006; Hevesi 2006; Neira 2006; Salomon 2007, also forthcoming in an edition of *Formaciones* edited by Jacques Poloni-Simard.

bulk of his correspondence and his diaries. The latter reveal his second abiding intellectual passion after Andean studies—psychoanalysis. More than anything else, they demonstrate that John Murra was, as Wordsworth wrote of Isaac Newton in “The Prelude”, “a mind forever voyaging through strange seas of Thought, alone”.

For years I sought to understand John Murra's transition from young Communist activist to anthropologist, scholar, and sage, but without success. It was only over the course of writing this biography that I realized that from youth to old age he seems to have been drawn into the deep river of utopian thought, a stream that runs from Plato to Thomas More, to nineteenth century Welsh socialist Robert Owen, to Karl Marx and the Marxists, to the Quechua utopia of José María Arguedas, and to the psychotherapeutic commune of Saul B. Newton. The abandonment of Communism did not end Murra's longings for an ideal society, or rather, for ideal societies. Like other utopians Murra sometimes produced authoritative work before he had experienced the facts on the ground.

Inca culture has long served as a template for utopian thinkers such as Garcilaso de la Vega, el Inga in the early seventeenth century, Voltaire in the eighteenth, and Philip Ainsworth Means in the first half of the twentieth. Around the time that Means wrote *Fall of the Inca Empire . . .* (1932), anthropology was suggesting new models for living, with its insistence on cultural relativism and its explorations of cultural diversity. Murra's attraction to the Incas seems quite natural in terms of his utopian vision. At the same time, anthropology helped Murra appreciate the thousands of possible solutions to human problems. Murra learned to identify, elucidate, and praise the Andean approaches to those problems. Eventually he came to admit that his

enthusiasm for the Andean world probably bordered on exaggeration, but he did not lose his faith in the overall importance of Andean contributions to culture. The Communist stepped to one side, but the Anthropologist-Advocate took his place.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS AND AN INTRODUCTION

Because Murra's life story has already been well told by others, I realized that to add to the narrative already established I would need not only to draw upon my own experiences, recollections, impressions, and interpretations, but also to channel the spirit of John Murra himself by conducting some original archival research. Partial records of John Murra's Civil War experiences and of the Fear and Courage Under Fire Project can be found in New York University's Tamiment Library & Robert F. Wagner Labor Archives. I thank the librarians there for granting me access.

Ghostly footprints of Murra's time at Vassar College remain there, and I thank Dean Rogers of The Catherine Pelton Durrell '25 Archives and Special Collections Library, Vassar College, and Lucy Lewis Johnson and Terri Lynn Cronk of the Vassar Anthropology Department for helping me discern them. Clifford Sather and I shared memories of Vassar in the 1960s and '70s. Heather Lechtman worked with me to mesh her memories with the documentary evidence. Harriett Davis Haritos and Nan Rothschild also gave me their perspectives as Murra's Vassar students.

Lechtman, along with *Andean Past* board member Richard L. Burger facilitated my access to Institute of Andean Research records at the Anthropology Division of the American Museum of Natural History. Paul Beelitz and Alex Lando of the A.M.N.H. assisted my access. Sumru Aricanli graciously made available John

Murra's Huánuco Project files, Craig Morris' files of letters, articles, and unpublished papers by John Murra, and John Hyslop's file of letters and articles by Murra, all at the A.M.N.H.'s Junius B. Bird Laboratory of South American Archaeology. The cover photograph of this issue of *Andean Past* and the one accompanying the bibliography of works by and about John Victor Murra come from the A.M.N.H. My discovery of the Cooper Family Files at the Brooklyn Historical Society was entirely fortuitous.

Robert S. Leopold, Director, Smithsonian Institution, National Museum of Natural History, National Anthropological Archives and Leanda Gahegan, Archivist made my research there a valuable and enjoyable experience. As Marcus Porcius Cato the Censor wrote more than two millennia ago, "Pabulum aridum quod consideris in hiemem quam maxime conservato, cogitatoque hiemis quam longa siet."¹⁵²

Jacinta Palerm shared childhood recollections of John Murra and her father, Ángel Palerm. Laura Rand Orthwein/Laura Murra/Laura X confirmed details of her relationship with John Murra. I am grateful to Jesús Contreras Hernández, William M. Den-evan, Pierre Duviols, Jorge Hidalgo, Antoinette Molinié, Pierre Morlon, Elías Mujica, Juan Ossio, Ann Peters, Tristran Platt, Frank Salomon, and Tom Zuidema for providing me with autobiographical information. Eugene B. Bergmann, Alita and Alec Kelley, Daniel J. Slive, and Freda Wolf were also of enormous assistance in the preparation of this biography. I thank Junie Valhund for her cheerful companionship. My fellow editor Daniel H. Sandweiss helped me imagine Murra in his teaching days at Cornell. I am grateful to Thomas F. Lynch for letting me borrow some of

¹⁵² "Keep as much dry fodder as possible for winter and remember how long winter lasts" (loose translation by the author).

his insight. Ellen FitzSimmons Steinberg joined the search for references. It was Ellie Schrum who pointed out that Murra did not adhere to old mistakes. My husband and fellow editor David Fleming participated in, and supported, my research and suggested many good leads.

In many ways Dick Daggett's serial biography of Julio C. Tello, published in earlier issues of *Andean Past*, has inspired my approach to this biography of John V. Murra. It was Dick who showed me that truth resides in the details. Josephine P. Meeker taught me the value of constructing a time-line as a tool to understanding. If David Block had not spontaneously sent me a draft of what became our bibliography of works by and about John Murra I could never have begun the research for this appreciation of Murra's life and work. I also owe a debt to John Murra himself. I believe that by depositing his papers in the Smithsonian, Murra invited biographical scrutiny. I think he showed implicit approval of such projects by publishing, late in his life, both the Arguedas letters and a book length interview of himself (Castro *et al.* 2000).

While I have worked hard to establish and confirm the time-line and connections of John Murra's life, I have felt free to indulge myself by relating anecdotes and to write about John Murra's writing and teaching, and to make certain leaps of interpretation. I hope that my tribute will serve as a good introduction to the rest of our special section on Murra which emphasizes his place as a mentor. This is among the most important roles scholars assume and some of their most penetrating insights are often conveyed during classes, and in private consultations, but are seldom recorded for posterity.

For instance, in the fields of philosophy, jurisprudence, and Hispanic studies, Francisco de Vitoria (1492 [?]-1546) exemplifies both the importance and the elusiveness of teaching.

Vitoria was a Dominican priest who taught at Salamanca, Spain for many years. Credited with developing the important concepts of both natural law and international law, and a defender of the rationality of Amerindians, Vitoria influenced many people, including King Charles V of Spain and Bartolomé de las Casas, the Indians' great advocate. Nevertheless, Vitoria's ideas are only known to us through the books of his students.

Although Murra published widely during his lifetime, he did not publish everything he wished. Frank Salomon is able to convey some of Murra's ideas which, otherwise, would fade with human memory—Murra's thoughts on the history of American anthropology as revealed in his courses, classes described in his published interviews (Castro *et al.* 2000:80-83) but never converted into a book by Murra himself. In addition, Rolena Adorno, Victoria Castro, Inge Harman, Heather Lechtman, AnaMaría Lorandi, Patricia Netherly, Silvia Palomeque, and Freda Wolf de Romero share Murra's impact as a mentor of women, collectively presenting a remarkably coherent portrait. Complementing all this is a bibliography of works by, in honor of, and about John Murra which David Block and I have compiled.

Its length, breadth, and complexity serve as an approximation of John Murra's scholarship. In addition to appearing in this volume of *Andean Past*, an earlier version will be part of the French language translation of *Formaciones*, Murra's pioneering collection of articles on Andean culture. I hope that this special section of *Andean Past* dedicated to the memory of John Victor Murra will stimulate fresh thought on the cultural dynamics of the Andean region to which he dedicated most of his adult life.



John Victor Murra instructs Vassar College anthropology class in Blodgett Hall, c. 1960. The student second from the viewer's right is Laura Rand Orthwein/Laura Murra/Laura X. Photo by Howard Green, Poughkeepsie, New York courtesy of the Smithsonian Institution, National Museum of Natural History, National Anthropological Archives.