

Julio C. Tello,
Politics, and Peruvian
Archaeology

Richard E. Daggett

Andean Past Monograph 1

University of Maine, Department of Anthropology

ANDEAN PAST MONOGRAPH 1

**JULIO C. TELLO, POLITICS, AND PERUVIAN ARCHAEOLOGY
1930–1936**

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2016

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First edition: 17 December 2016

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Cover photo: Chavín de Huántar, 1937. Photograph by Wendell C. Bennett courtesy of the Division of Anthropology, American Museum of Natural History.

EDITORS' PREFACE

ANDEAN PAST MONOGRAPH 1

This volume launches a new initiative for *Andean Past*. We have always been flexible in terms of the length of papers we publish. Our shortest peer-reviewed article is a mere five pages, while our longest is eighty-nine. However, we have, up to this point, resisted requests to publish book-length manuscripts. Now evolving technology enables us to formulate a new policy. Beginning with volume 12 (2016), *Andean Past* is published primarily on-line as a green route, open-access journal. The invention of the Espresso Book Machine will allow us to continue to offer print copies of *Andean Past* at low cost. This technology also means that we can now publish monographs in the same formats. We are, therefore, happy to offer *Andean Past Monograph 1, Julio C. Tello, Politics, and Peruvian Archaeology 1930-1936* by **Richard E. Daggett**. We hope this will be the first of a long series.

From the initial issue of *Andean Past* in 1987 we have published Dick Daggett's work on Julio C. Tello, one of the founding fathers of Peruvian archaeology. During his lifetime, Tello wrote frequently for the popular press of his country. For over thirty years Daggett has been examining Tello's work by gathering his articles, which appeared largely, but not exclusively, in Lima's *El Comercio*. He has also looked at press coverage of Tello's activities, and those of his contemporaries, most notably Luis Valcárcel, in *El Comercio* and in newspapers including *The West Coast Leader*, *La Crónica*, *La Prensa*, *El Universal*, *The New York Times*, and the *Illustrated London News*, among others. By doing this, Daggett has been able to recover "lost" aspects of Tello's fundamental work. This should be considered complimentary to informa-

tion available in the Tello Archives at the Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos and the Museo Nacional de Arqueología e Historia, both in Lima.

Daggett credits the editors of *Andean Past* as one of his sources of encouragement. In turn we can state that Daggett has helped shape the development of our journal and this monograph series.

Periodicals, especially Latin American newspaper Sunday supplements, have long been important outlets for intellectual exchange in many fields, including archaeology, anthropology, literature, art, history, popular science, and politics. I learned this from the late Argentinian philosopher Juan Adolfo Vasquez. Independently, in his important book, *The Inka Road System*, John Hyslop made good use of the illustrated articles on sites that Geraldine Byrne de Caballero published in Bolivian papers. Readers should note that it was through a series of nineteenth century articles in the Swedish newspaper *Stockholms Dagblad* that Ellen FitzSimmons Steinberg and Jack Prost were able to reconstruct the activities of archaeologist Knut Hjalmar Stolpe at Ancón, Stolpe's notebook from his Peruvian visit being missing (*Andean Past* 8). However, old South American newspaper articles are often difficult to find, and Daggett has done Andean archaeology an excellent service by locating, summarizing, and analyzing as many by and about Tello as possible.

Andean Past 1 included Daggett's "Reconstructing the Evidence for Cerro Blanco and Punkurí" with transcriptions of articles from *El Comercio* relevant to those sites. In *Andean Past*

4 we published Daggett's "The Paracas Mummy Bundles of the Great Necropolis of Wari Kayan: A History" along with a translation into English of a relevant *El Comercio* article by Rebeca Carrión Cachot de Girard. *Andean Past* 8 contains another of Daggett's contributions, "Tello's 'Lost Years': 1931-1935", as well as an additional piece relevant to Julio C. Tello, the "Introduction" to Gordon R. Willey's "Experiences with the Institute of Andean Research 1941-42 and 1946". Readers are also referred to Daggett's unpublished papers posted on his Academia.edu webpage.

The present monograph continues Dick's detailed work, focusing on the period from 1930 to 1936. These were tumultuous years throughout the world, and Peru was not isolated from the Great Depression, nor from the rise of Fascism in Europe. Tough economic times led to stresses that affected Tello just as he was making some of the most important discoveries of his career. German and Italian Fascist philosophy and its interpretation of Nietzsche's writings influenced the Peruvian *indigenista* movement of the 1920s and '30s, as can be seen most clearly in Luis Eduardo Valcárcel's *Tempestad en los Andes* (1927), an influential work that has remained in print over the years. In addition, Peruvian politics was *sui generis*. Longtime dictatorial president Augusto B. Legía was overthrown in 1930, beginning a period of great political instability.

Tello was, of course, buffeted by these forces and events. Nevertheless, he managed to survive and continue his archaeological work and his struggle to preserve Peru's precolumbian heritage. Daggett provides a detailed account of the events of the early-to-mid 1930s as they affected Tello. By doing so he moves away from the hagiographic tradition of biography that is so often the posthumous fate of archaeologists, separating them from the historical conditions in which they worked and the influence of their

contemporaries (see Henry Tantaléan in volume 10, number 3 of the on-line *Revista Argumentos* for a discussion of this tendency).

Special thanks for this volume go to Daniel H. Sandweiss, editor and founder of *Andean Past*, for his work in launching this monograph series and for his advice during the preparation of this, our first effort in our new endeavor. We also thank David Fleming for drafting the maps and we thank Richard L. Burger, Víctor Ponte, and Thomas F. Lynch for helping us locate sites visited by Tello. We are grateful to Cheryl Daggett for the attention she has paid to this monograph at all stages of its production.

Andean Past Monographs will be distributed by the Department of Anthropology of the University of Maine, Orono via its Digital Commons. We thank Gregory Zaro for facilitating the transition from publication by the Cornell Latin American Studies Program. We are happy to announce that *Andean Past Monograph 2* will be a report on Late Horizon burials at the Peruvian North Coast site of Farfán by Carol Mackey, Andrew Nelson, and colleagues. *Monographs 3* and *4* are in the planning stages. Readers who are interested in submitting work for inclusion in this series are invited to contact Monica Barnes (monica@andeanpast.org) or Daniel H. Sandweiss (Dan_Sandweiss@umit.maine.edu).

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17 December 2016

JULIO C. TELLO, POLITICS, AND PERUVIAN ARCHAEOLOGY 1930-1936

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INTRODUCTION

Politics at various levels are a given in the practice of archaeology. National politics were especially disruptive in Peru during the early 1930s. At the start of this period, in an atmosphere rife with accusations, Julio C. Tello, Peru's leading archaeologist, was removed as director of the National Museum. His replacement, Luis E. Valcárcel, later admitted that he was inadequately prepared for this position. However, he had the backing of new leadership and took the opportunity to promote his view of an idealized indigenous past. This had an immediate and deleterious impact on Tello's ongoing program of archaeological preservation and study.

The purpose of this monograph is to chronicle both the rents in the national fabric and the resultant disruptions to the practice of archaeology that took place in Peru at the start of the 1930s. In addition, this publication demonstrates that an understanding of the history of Peruvian archaeology must include a comprehension of the roles played by public officials in promoting, or not promoting, the preservation and study of the nation's archaeological heritage. Newspaper accounts published in Lima and outside Peru will serve to give voice to the protagonists, both to clarify and to distinguish their perspectives.

Julio C. Tello was made director of the new University of San Marcos Museum of Archaeol-

ogy on 21 October 1919, (Mejía 1948:20). Four years later he began teaching the course entitled "General and Peruvian Anthropology" in the School of Sciences. In 1924, thanks to the help of Rector Manuel Vicente Villarán, he taught his first seminar in archaeology (Carrión 1947:38-39). In December of that year, what had been a private museum that Tello had helped to found in 1921 was purchased by the government of President Augusto B. Leguía and transformed into the Museum of Peruvian Archaeology (hereafter the National Museum or the National Museum of Archaeology). Tello was appointed head of this museum (Tello and Mejía 1967:116, 120, 123). Among those students who assisted him in the transitional period from private to national museum were two individuals of note, Rebeca Carrión Cachot and Toribio Mejía Xesspe (*ibid.*: 136).



Figure 1. Julio C. Tello, 1929.

On 26 July 1925 Tello was guided by a local *huaquero* (looter) to the source of spectacular textiles on sale in Lima, the contiguous ruins of Cerro Colorado and Arena Blanca on the Paracas Peninsula (Maps 1, 2). On 18 August of the same year Tello and staff from the National Museum headed to Paracas to begin excavations (Mejía 1950). This work essentially ended in March of the following year after the discovery and removal of the last four mummy bundles that were found on the peninsula (Tello and Mejía 1979:273).



Figure 2. Rebeca Carrión Cachot, 1929.

Tello sent out a new expedition on 27 January 1927. The commission designated to oversee the nation's exhibit at the upcoming international exposition to be held in Seville, Spain had provided funds for further work on the South Coast (Mejía 1948:48). Toribio Mejía Xesspe was given the task of leading this expedition (Tello and Mejía 1979:298) and on 25 October one of his team members discovered a burial ground at Wari Kayan (Map 2) on the north slopes of Cerro Colorado. This led to the recovery of 429 mummy bundles. These bundles were sent to the National Museum during the period 1927–1928.



Figure 3. Toribio Mejía Xesspe, 1929.

In January 1929, six of these bundles were among the artifacts turned over to the international exposition commission to be shipped to Seville (Tello and Mejía 1967: 159, 162–163). The National Museum held its official opening of an exhibit of some of these mummies on 15 October 1929 (Anonymous 1929d). Both Tello and President Leguía spoke at this event. At this time Tello requested additional funding for the museum (Anonymous 1929e) and this was followed by a government decree issued at the end of the year granting the money (Tello 1959:10).

In addition to this major exhibit, toward the end of 1929 Tello saw the creation of the National Board of Archaeology (hereafter National Board) after years of tireless work on his part in the lower house of the national legislature. By law the minister of education represented the nation's president and acted as chair at meetings of the board attended by the rector of the University of San Marcos, the president of the Geographical Society of Lima, as well as delegates representing the national museums, and the Universities of Cusco, Arequipa, and Trujillo. The director of the National Museum of History represented the national museums at the inaugural meeting, while Tello represented the University of Cusco (Anonymous 1929b).

It was reported in the press that at the December 1929 meeting of the National Board the issue of ongoing excavations at the major coastal ruins of Pachacamac (Map 3), just south of Lima, was discussed. A supreme resolution

issued by the secretary of the National Board had been made to determine if this work was scientific in nature, and it was reported to the board that ongoing treasure hunting had been stopped and that restorative actions were being undertaken (Anonymous 1929f). It was later reported in the press that at the meeting held in February 1930 it was decided to request the government to post a permanent guard at Paracas after an unsubstantiated report had been made that a particular individual had been conducting illegal excavations there (Anonymous 1930a). Not only was the board taking actions to protect the national pre-Columbian patrimony, summaries of its meetings were being published in the press.

What this all meant was that by the beginning of 1930, as museum director and as a member of the faculty, Tello reported to the rector of the University of San Marcos. By law the rector, in turn, reported to the minister of education, who represented the executive branch of government, hence, the nation's president. As director of the National Museum of Archaeology and as a sitting member of the National Board of Archaeology, Tello reported to the minister of education, who reported to the president. As we shall see, the immediate years to follow were politically unstable, and this instability had consequences for these many roles played by Tello.

ABRUPT CHANGE: 1930-1931

On 23 August 1930 the Lima press reported that a military revolt had begun at Arequipa (Map 1) (Anonymous 1930b). Two days later the Leguía government fell (Basadre 1961-64 Volume 9:4321) and was replaced by a military junta headed by Lieutenant Colonel Luis Sánchez Cerro (*ibid.*: 4237-38).¹ By this time, Tello

was a member of the School of Letters and Human Sciences. At an emergency meeting of the faculty hierarchy held on 26 August the fall from grace of Leguía was celebrated by the acting dean, as was the replacement of Manuel Vicente Villarán, who advocated co-governing of the university with students, with José Manzanilla, who advocated the traditional running of the university by the faculty (C. Valcárcel 1967:58).

of eight children born to a notary in Piura, on the north coast. Educated at public, primary and secondary schools . . . at the age of sixteen . . . [he] was accepted for admission to the Chorillos military school. Arriving in Lima three months before the next class began, the penniless youth enlisted as an army private and spent this period as a common soldier. Sánchez Cerro graduated as a second lieutenant in 1910. . . . His speech employed the coarse language of the barracks. . . . [he] loved gambling, drinking, and female companionship. . . . He first gained notoriety in the 1914 overthrow of [President] Guillermo Billinghurst. Awakened by the sound of troop movements, he rushed to the presidential palace, where machine-gun fire had halted the revolutionary forces. Unarmed, Lieutenant Sánchez Cerro rushed one of the entrances of the building, forced open the door so that his friends could follow, and lunged at the startled defenders. This action cost him three fingers and the partial paralysis of his left arm, but it earned him a promotion to captain and a brief assignment as a military attaché in Peru's Washington embassy. Participation in an unsuccessful revolt against Leguía in 1922 brought no rewards for Sánchez Cerro. After a short imprisonment on desolate Taquila Island in Lake Titicaca, he was removed from the army. Through the intercession of a friend in the war ministry, however, the president was persuaded to reinstate his young adversary, whom he promptly dispatched to far-off Italy for training with Mussolini's army. Permitted to return home after two years, Sánchez Cerro received a promotion to lieutenant colonel in early 1930 and was in command of one of four army units based at Arequipa. He immediately began to conspire with his fellow officers and prominent civilians to overthrow the tottering Leguía dictatorship" (Werlich 1978:187-189).

¹ "Lt. Col. Luis Sánchez Cerro . . . was short, slender and very dark; he jokingly called himself 'El Negro'. . . . Barely forty-one years old at the time . . . Sánchez was the fourth

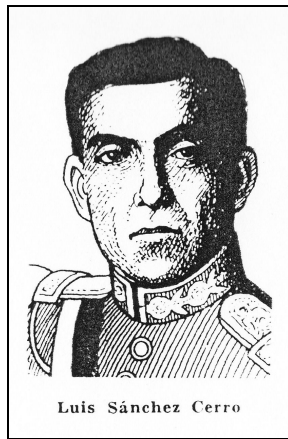


Figure 4. From *Tauro* (1966-1967) Volume 3:130.

Tello was a member of the school's hierarchy but it is unknown whether he attended this session. In any case, on 10 September the publication of a number of signed documents announced various changes in leadership at the university (Miró Quesada *et al.* 1930).

With the fall of the government, a number of new revolutionary dailies almost immediately came into being, and one in particular, *Libertad*, published two signed articles on 2 September aimed at Tello. In the first he was accused of systematically sacking the nation's archaeological sites and, in so doing, had helped President Leguía amass a huge fortune of eleven million pounds sterling held in London banks. In addition, Tello was charged with selling and exporting artifacts for personal gain. He was said to have built a million-sole mansion in Lima and to have two million soles in London banks (Degorce 1930). In the second, he was said to actually own two mansions in Lima as well as three homes in England that had been placed in his wife's name. Tello was also accused of selling artifacts to collectors both in the United States and in Germany, and hosting large parties at his home where guests dined using utensils and dishes made of gold and silver (Hurtado 1930). No supporting documentation was provided in either article.

On 10 September a third signed article continued the assault against Tello. In general Tello was accused of being unable to account for artifacts in the National Museum worth many thousands of soles. Specifically, he was charged with misappropriating a collection of gold idols valued at 70,000 soles that had been sent to him for safekeeping after an attempt had been made to export it to Germany, and he was specifically accused of overcharging the Seville Commission for work done on the South Coast in 1927 (Rodríguez 1930). Once again, no supporting documentation was provided.

Tello (1930a) responded to these and other charges both general and specific with supporting documentation in a letter to the editor of *El Comercio* that was published on 16 September. Among other things, he reported that he, Mejía, and a named notary public had been unable to verify the names and addresses of the reported authors of the three articles, and that, in fact, all the names were fictitious and the actual author of all three was the chief editor who had a history of "slinging mud". Tello also provided the details of his economic worth. He stated that he owned a used car of modest value, his German bank account was nearly empty, and his primary asset was his collection of books. Tello also addressed the accusation that he had overcharged the Seville Commission. That accusation, he pointed out, came from an ex-employee of his that he had fired for the theft and attempted sale of an artifact recovered in 1927. This thief, he said, was currently on trial and, hence, had motivation to work with the aforementioned editor.

Perhaps his friends at the university helped Tello in this matter, because at another meeting of the faculty hierarchy, date unspecified, he had solicited the faculty to create a commission to investigate the veracity of the claims published in this newspaper. Tello received unanimous support from the faculty (C. Valcárcel 1967:56).

Tello felt that his position was insecure, as was shown by his apparently hasty creation of a new exposition at the National Museum that featured "Inca portraits" (Anonymous 1930f). It was announced in the press that Sánchez and other members of the junta had been sent special invitations to the opening of the exhibit (Anonymous 1930c) and that the exhibit consisted of seven oil paintings including one entitled *Paracas* (Anonymous 1930d). In fact there was even an interview with Tello published in the press in which he extolled these paintings (Anonymous 1930e). Subsequently, a photograph was published of Sánchez and other members of the junta, all dressed in their uniforms, in the company of Tello (Anonymous 1930g). Tello obviously felt that the junta, and Sánchez in particular, favored (art) history over prehistory, and he had tried to satisfy this preference. However, his efforts proved futile.

Unaware of the fate that awaited him, Tello attended the first post-revolution meeting of the National Board that was held on 25 September (Anonymous 1930h) and that was chaired by the new minister of education, Lieutenant Colonel Armando Sologuren (Anonymous 1930i).² Among the items on the agenda was a request by non-scientists to excavate at the ruins of Pachacamac but this request was denied when a member of the board other than Tello argued that it was the responsibility of the board to safeguard the national patrimony. Without a doubt, Tello would have been pleased at this outcome. However, in Supreme Resolution Number 287, dated 30 September, that Tello

² It is of interest to note that a few days later it was reported in the press that the director general of education had been replaced (L.C.I. 1930). It is assumed that, acting on behalf of each of the cabinet ministers, there existed an administrative bureaucracy that normally continued to function regardless of administrative changes in the executive branch of government. It seems clear, however, that change at the highest level of the bureaucracy supporting the minister of education was affected by the drastic changes in the executive branch that occurred following the revolution.

received on 9 October, he was relieved of his position as director of the National Museum of Archaeology. That same day senior staff, including Rebeca Carrión, Toribio Mejía, and Eugenio Yácovleff tendered their resignations as a way of expressing their solidarity with Tello (Tello and Mejía 1967:179). A very inconspicuous announcement that the museum staff had so reacted was published in the press (Anonymous 1930j).

On 13 October 1930 the public was informed that the new director of the National Museum of Archaeology was Luis E. Valcárcel (J.R.P. 1930).³ There was no mention of Tello.



Figure 5. From *Tauro* (1966-1967) Volume 3:317.

³ In his memoir, Valcárcel highlights his previous experience as director of the archaeological museum at the University of Cusco (Matos *et al.* 1981:283) in connection with his being named to replace Tello at the head of the National Museum of Archaeology. What he does not say here in his memoir is that he shared an anti-Leguía history with Sánchez. Elsewhere he recalled that he had hosted a meeting at his home in Cusco in March 1922 to plot a coup against the Leguía government. The coup took place in August that year, but at the last minute he had chosen not to take part in it for personal reasons. Sánchez Cerro was the leader of what proved to be a failed coup attempt and for this he was imprisoned. Valcárcel stated that his continued social activism led to his being incarcerated a few years later (*ibid.*: 226-227). It should be noted that Valcárcel is not remembered as an archaeologist, but as an historian. Valcárcel is also remembered as an indigenist, a social activist who made use of his pen in general, and the press in particular, to advocate the rights of the native population of Peru (*e.g.* Anonymous 1987).

At this point in time he had apparently become *persona non grata*. In his memoirs, Valcárcel wrote that he had initially been asked to assume the directorship of the Bolívar Museum [of History]⁴ and that he had come to Lima from Cusco to assume this position. He had already begun discussions with Minister Sologuren when, because of the accusations that had been made against Tello in *Libertad*, he was asked by Sánchez to replace Tello at the Museum of Peruvian Archaeology. Valcárcel wrote that he was reluctant to assume this office, because no one knew the science of archaeology like Tello, but finally agreed to do so and met with Tello to explain the situation. Tello had exploded and had refused to leave the museum, but finally recognized the inevitability of the situation (Matos *et al.* 1981: 262).⁵

Valcárcel had come to Lima with the idea that he wanted the Bolívar Museum to be more proactive in the development of a national identity (*ibid.*: 263). He had long fought on behalf of the native population in Peru and had been imprisoned near Lima in 1927 after the publication of his work entitled *Tempestad en los Andes* (L. Valcárcel 1927). Months later, President Leguía read the work and declared that there was nothing in it to merit imprisonment

⁴ The Bolívar Museum was founded in 1921 as part of the nation's centennial celebration of its independence. It was established in the home where the liberator Simón Bolívar had resided while in Lima (Matos *et al.* 1981:263).

⁵ Valcárcel and Tello had interacted sporadically over the years. In his memoir, Valcárcel noted that he had first met Tello in 1913 after the latter had just returned to Lima from his studies abroad (Matos *et al.* 1981:282). Tello began editing the journal *Inca* in 1923, at the University of San Marcos. One of the contributors was Valcárcel (L. Valcárcel 1923). Valcárcel makes mention of attending the Third Pan American Scientific Congress that began in Lima very late in December 1924 (Matos *et al.* 1981: 216). He does not mention Tello in this regard, but it should be noted that Tello presided over the archaeological sessions at this meeting, and Valcárcel gave a paper at one of these (Anonymous 1925).

and ordered his release (Matos *et al.* 1981:229-231). Valcárcel, who had lived in Cusco his entire adult life, had become enamored of the Inca sites that abounded in and around this city, and he had developed a romantic view of the Inca that blended with his desire to improve the lot of the native population in his country. When he came to Lima, he wanted to inspire them with the idea of an idealized Inca past, one of which they could be proud.⁶

In the first few days of October Valcárcel found himself the head of not one but *two* national museums (Matos *et al.* 1981:259-263). On 9 October Carrión, Mejía, and Yácovleff were among those appointed to represent the outgoing museum administration in the task of conducting the required inventory (Tello and Mejía 1967:179). Tello's attention may then have been diverted by what was happening at the university.

In mid-October the press reported that students had declared a hunger strike. There had been a dispute in the School of Medicine over the students' demand to remove certain members of the faculty. This had caused professors to resign, and the university administration intervened on behalf of the faculty (Anonymous 1930k). Students from the Schools of Engineering and Agriculture joined those in the School of Medicine in striking. The rector explained his position in a statement issued on 12 October and published the following day (Manzanilla 1930). During the days to follow this story

⁶ "An influential indigenista of this period was Luis E. Valcárcel, author of the widely read *Tempestad en los Andes* (1927). In ecstatic prose, Valcárcel hailed the Indian revolts of the sierras as portents of the coming purifying revolution. 'Culture will again come down from the Andes. . . . The Race . . . will appear splendidly crowned with the eternal values, with firm step toward a future of certain glories. . . . It is the avatar which marks the re-appearance of the Andean peoples on the scene of civilization.' For Valcárcel, the Indians only awaited their Lenin" (Keen and Wasserman 1988:413).

played out in the press (e.g. Anonymous 1930l; Editor 1930; Manzanilla and Alzamora 1930) until it was finally announced that the keys to the University of San Marcos had been turned over to the Ministry of Education in exchange for the government's promise to enter into discussions regarding university reform (Sologuren 1930). A university reform commission headed by deposed Rector Villarán was then formed (Anonymous 1930m).

On 20 October, Tello unwrapped Paracas mummy bundle number 28 in the presence of eight individuals who had been specially invited. Carrión, Mejía, Yácovleff, and two other members of the museum staff assisted Tello in this process. Subsequently eight other individuals arrived, including the private secretary of Sánchez (Sotelo 2012:275).

Expedited Supreme Resolution Number 640 dated 15 November and signed by Sologuren for Sánchez declared all buried treasures and archaeological objects to be the exclusive property of the State. Specifically, it was resolved to authorize excavations by army engineers on "Cerro Agustino" (Map 3) and within a radius of twenty-five kilometers from Lima for the purpose of finding presumed buried treasure. Finally, the resolution stipulated that the minister of education would name a member of the National Museum of Archaeology to oversee these excavations (Sologuren 1930). Nothing was ever published subsequently by the museum on this matter nor, apparently, in the Lima press. Who benefitted from these excavations is unknown, but clearly there existed a different policy of protecting the national patrimony than had been in place prior to the revolution.

On 23 November 1930, the names and photographs of a restructured junta were published in the press. Notably, Sánchez remained the nation's leader. Major Gustavo A. Jiménez, who had been head of the cabinet, was no longer

part of the junta, and Dr. Luis Bustamante y Rivero was now minister of education (Anonymous 1930n)⁷. Bustamante had previously served Sánchez in an advisory role (Basadre 1961-64, Volume 9:4237-38).

The change of minister of education likely had to do with the increasing complexity caused by student demands. In any case, shortly thereafter it was announced in the press that the work of the university reform commission had been postponed for a period of twenty days (Sánchez and Bustamante 1930). An emergency meeting of the reform commission for the School of History, Philosophy, and Letters was held because of "internal problems" (Anonymous 1930o). Following this, Rector Villarán sent a letter to the minister of education (dated 21 December 1930) and another letter to the editor of the Lima daily *El Comercio* (dated 23 December 1930). In the latter letter, the deposed rector made the point that funding for the university was insufficient to undertake proposed university reform (Villarán 1930a, 1930b).

In addition to the personal dispute between the existing and preexisting rectors, there was conflict between the government and the university administration regarding the implementation of changes being demanded by the students. It appears to have been the decision of the junta to replace military officer Sologuren with civilian Bustamante to ameliorate this delicate situation.

The effect of this decision-making process on the Junta's attitude toward protecting the national precolumbian patrimony, as well as the ongoing change in administration of the National Museum of Archaeology, is unknown.

⁷ Valcárcel and Bustamante had explored Inca ruins together in the vicinity of Cusco (Matos *et al.* 1981:42), the latter having been a student at Arequipa University (*ibid.*: 212) and then at the University of Cusco (*ibid.*: 337). Valcárcel began teaching history at the university in 1917 and it is possible that Bustamante had been one of his students (Tauro 1966-67, Volume 3:317).

What the government paid for work by personnel representing the outgoing and incoming administrations of the Museum of Archaeology during the month of November is known, however. A decree law dated 20 November provided that Valcárcel was paid at a rate of 800 soles a month, while the rest of those engaged at the museum, consisting of a qualified conservator, another conservator, four preparers, a porter-administrator, an artist, a guard, and a servant, were paid at rates of 180, 150, 400, 130, 120, 70, and 40 soles a month, respectively. In addition, conservation costs were reimbursed at a rate of 500 soles a month. For work done during twenty days in November, a total of 2,390 soles was expended.⁸ Work on the inventory was concluded in January and a report signed by two public notaries indicated that the museum contained 35,497 artifacts, according to a Ministry of Education report dated 14 January 1931 (Tello and Mejía 1967:180).

During January it became clear that the junta's preference for history, particularly that which concerned the Inca, had taken hold. Accordingly, Valcárcel (1931a) and other like-minded individuals (e.g. Suárez 1931; Urteaga 1931) published articles in the press that would have been approved by the junta. During the following month, it was announced that Edward, Prince of Wales had inaugurated an exhibition of textiles at the National Museum of Archaeology and that this exhibit would be on public view for fifteen days (Anonymous 1931c). It was also reported that Prince George had accompanied his brother in the visit to the museum (Anonymous 1931d). Clearly the junta would have relished the visit of these two distinguished representatives of the English monarchy (Anonymous 1931f). However, despite this good news, things were already beginning to spin out of control for the Sánchez government.

⁸ On 30 November 1930, Paracas mummy bundles numbered 28 and 38 were studied (Sotelo 2012:58, 63), but by whom is unknown.

Students at the University of San Marcos were once again on strike and were evicted by the police, resulting in the death of one student. The University Council met in session and, while officially deploring the actions of the police, stated that university authorities had declared "that present university authorities will not direct the re-organization of the University but will deliver this task over to those charged with this duty under the law; [and we] request the Government to free the students being held as prisoners" (Anonymous 1931b).



Figure 6. Luis E. Valcárcel (left foreground) welcomes Edward, Prince of Wales (later King Edward VIII and subsequently the Duke of Windsor) and his brother, George, Duke of Kent. Photo courtesy of the Centro Luis E. Valcárcel, Lima, Peru.

This crisis was followed on the morning of 20 February by an eight-hour insurrection, reportedly led by a general who had organized the police force under Leguía, and put down by soldiers loyal to Sánchez (Anonymous 1931e:1). However, it was later asserted that this insurrection was not on behalf of Leguía but was instead in support of fulfillment of the ideals of the revolution (Anonymous 1931g).⁹ At the same time as the Callao (Map 1) insurrection, a garrison in Arequipa revolted against the Sánchez

⁹ Leguía and his two sons were then in the process of being tried for "undue enrichment" (Anonymous 1931a).

government for not having fulfilled revolutionary goals, while a couple of days later two companies of infantry revolted in Piura (Map 1).¹⁰ In addition to Callao, Arequipa, and Piura, Sánchez “encountered opposition from ambitious army officers . . . in Cuzco and Lambayeque” (Davies 1974:99) (Map 1). This “series of army revolts and a naval mutiny brought Sánchez Cerro’s resignation on 1 March 1931” (Werlich 1978:190) after which he went to Europe (Davies 1974:99).

The turmoil at the highest level of national politics was reflected in actions taken at the University of San Marcos. The demand of the students to see to the removal of unpopular professors was finally met. The School of Letters received a communiqué from the Office of the Rector dated 25 February announcing the election of five named individuals who had been selected as representatives of the students before the faculty ruling body. A new (pro-student) rector, José Antonio Encinas, had been selected to replace (the pro-faculty) Manzanilla (C. Valcárcel 1967:62).¹¹ As deputies in the lower chamber of congress, Tello and Encinas had worked together in 1922 on a project related to the reorganization of the University of San Marcos (Basadre 1961-64 Volume 9:4334; Carrión 1948:25).

¹⁰ “At the end of the week, an expedition organized by Provisional President Sánchez Cerro for action against the rebel troops in the south, was embarked. . . . Some 2,000 men of all arms, with several light tanks, was under the direction of Commander Gustavo A. Jiménez, one of the officers who supported the August revolt at Arequipa, and who, for a time, served as minister of the Government in the first provisional Ministry” (Anonymous 1931h).

¹¹ The election of Encinas to the position of rector would have been acceptable to the government in part because of his history of arguing in the Chamber of Deputies in 1923 against Leguía’s attempt to circumvent the law to succeed himself as president (Basadre 1961-64, Volume 9:4038-4039).



Figure 7. From *Tauro* (1966-1967) Volume 1:508.

The period of political turmoil proved to be the perfect time for an enterprising group of thieves to illegally excavate at Paracas. The guard overseeing the ruins, Emilio Valenzuela, sent a telegram to Valcárcel (as director of the National Museum of Archaeology) dated 8 February, in which he reported that a group of looters from Nazca and Ica (Maps 1, 4) that was well equipped and with means of transport were excavating at the vast cemeteries of Cabeza Larga (Arena Blanca) and Cerro Colorado in search of prized funerary textiles. Valcárcel officially notified the Ministry of Education of this illegal act on 11 February. Three days later, on 14 February, the sub-prefect reported that the guardian, with assistance from the public, had been able to contain the problem. It was subsequently determined that the lead *huaquero* was a known antiquarian from Ica and that he had been assisted by twelve others from Nazca. They had driven in two cars to the archaeological zone and, with the aid of local authorities, they had excavated over a four-day period, resulting in the extraction of more than thirty mummies. They then drove to their base camp at a place called Tangal on the Pampa del Sapo (Map 2), and unwrapped the bundles (Tello and Mejía 1967:180-181, 194).

In the wake of the uprising against the Sánchez government, a new provisional government, essentially civilian in composition, was formed,

headed by Dávid Samanez Ocampo.¹² An April decree relating to the nation's museums was signed by all of the members of the new government, including Minister of Foreign Relations Rafael Larco Herrera,¹³ Minister of War Colonel

Gustavo Jiménez,¹⁴ and Minister of Education José Gálvez¹⁵ (*ibid.*: 187).



Figure 8. From *Tauro* (1966-1967) Volume 3:107.

¹² Dávid Samanez Ocampo “started warring against governments in 1895. . . . In 1910 he headed an abortive rising against the government of President Leguía. . . in the Department of Apurímac. In 1922, in partnership with his personal friend Colonel Sánchez Cerro, he again set Cuzco in a blaze and nearly brought off a great coup d’etat. Sent into exile in 1925, he spent four years traveling in Argentina, Brazil, Bolivia, and the United States. Returning to Peru in 1929, he set to work again to work once more to overthrow the government of Leguía. This time he was successful. . . . His last revolutionary activity was to overthrow the dictatorship of his not-less revolutionary friend and comrade, Sánchez Cerro. Much against his will, he was compelled to step into the latter’s shoes” (Anonymous 1931t).

¹³ During the 1924 presidential campaign Larco had run unsuccessfully against incumbent Leguía (Basadre 1961-64, Volume 9:4039). In 1926 Larco and Tello were members of a planning commission for a Paris precolumbian exposition that opened in December 1928. Sometime before the opening, Tello refused to allow any of the artifacts belonging to Peru to be exhibited in Paris (Larco 1947:92-94). In 1931 Valcárcel became involved in the management of *El Heraldito* then owned by Larco (Matos *et al.* 1981:223), a newspaper located in Cusco (*ibid.*: 124).

¹⁴ “Measured in inches, Colonel Jiménez is a little man. He is even shorter than his former colleague, Sánchez Cerro. Dynamically he is super-charged with man-power. In that he differs fundamentally from the Sánchez Cerro of the Palace. Emasculated by luxury and intoxicated by flattery Jiménez is all energy; he is the real driving force of the present Government. But as such he is not popular, never was popular, never wished to be popular. He is too relentless, too downright . . . so terribly direct, so mercilessly outspoken. . . Jiménez might be regarded . . . a most unpleasant character . . . a false impression, but one which Jiménez himself is too indifferent to rectify, because he has complete contempt for public opinion. In reality he is a shy, retiring man, who shrinks from any form of publicity. . . . Jiménez has nothing of the demagogue in his make-up. . . . If ever again he seeks to assume Supreme Power, he will enter the Palace at the head of his soldiers as he did last March. . . . Jiménez is not a vengeful man in the same way that Sánchez Cerro is vengeful. . . . His role at the moment is to be the Power behind the Throne” (Farrar 1931).

¹⁵ José Gálvez was one of a number of temporary members of the faculty that began teaching in the School of Letters at the University of San Marcos in December 1919 (C. Valcárcel 1967:38). In 1923, when Tello began teaching his class in the archaeology of the Americas and Peru, Gálvez was teaching Peruvian literature (*ibid.*: 43). In 1928 Gálvez was elected dean of the school, Tello being one of those who voted for him (*ibid.*: 50).



Figure 9. From *Varietades* (issue 1056, 26 May 1928).

THE NEW NATIONAL MUSEUM

Decree Number 7084 dated 9 April served to establish a new national museum. In addition to the Bolívar Museum and the Museum of Peruvian Archaeology, this new museum also incorporated under its umbrella the National Museum of History. Two departments were created, anthropology and history. In addition, three institutes were created. The Institute of Anthropological Investigations and the Institute of Peruvian Art were established within the Department of Anthropology and the Institute of Historical Investigations was established within the Department of History. It was indicated that the director of the National Museum would collaborate with the rector of the University of Lima (San Marcos) regarding the functioning of the institutes for the purpose of expanding the reach of both the university and the museum. In part, this meant that the university would assist the museum with its publications.

The locales of the departments and institutes were noted in this decree. It was specified that the Exposition Palace (the old National Museum of History) would house the Department of Anthropology, and the exhibitions of the Institute of Peruvian Art, as well as the museum's printing facility. It was also specified that the old Bolívar Museum would house the Department of History and the Institute of Historical Investiga-

tions. It was then specified that the Department of Archaeology, inclusive of laboratory and storage sections, as well as the Institute of Anthropological Investigations, would be housed in the old Museum of Peruvian Archaeology, but with the stipulation that the director general of the National Museum (Valcárcel) would be the chief of the Department of Anthropology and that this director would proceed to select from the material on exhibition in all the sections of the museum those that fell into the historical-archaeological category and, at the same time, this director would designate their use (Gálvez 1931a; see also Tello and Mejía 1967:181-187).

Finally, this decree stated that the Institute of Anthropological Investigations would be established as an annex of the National Museum and that the museum director would provisionally provide for the work of one administrator, one preparer, and one servant. The institute would receive funding from a designated account in the museum's annual budget. The costs of exposition and conservation of the archaeological collections would be funded monthly in the amounts of 700 and 400 soles, respectively. Finally, the institute was required to submit monthly tallies of its expenses to the parent museum (Gálvez 1931a).

Valcárcel later lamented that there had been an inherent problem with the space needed for the functioning of the new unified museum—that is, this museum was forced to make use of the three existing museum buildings because (in Lima) there was no one building (available) that was sufficient in size to accommodate the new combined institution (Matos *et al.* 1981:264).

Supreme Resolution Number 419, dated 16 April, officially named Valcárcel as director of the National Museum (Tello and Mejía 1967:188) while Supreme Resolution Number 474, dated 23 April, named the chiefs of the Department of History and the Institute of Peruvian

Art. Furthermore, it was stated that (unnamed) technical and administrative personnel had been approved (*ibid.*: 188-189). Supreme Resolution Number 474, dated 23 April, provided the names of the personnel (*ibid.*: 188-189). A second resolution issued this same day stated that in recognition of the fact that at the university there already existed an Institute of Anthropology with the same goals as the new museum institute, the former could serve in the place of the latter (Gálvez 1931b). Clarification followed with the publication of a more detailed document.

Supreme Resolution Number 436 dated 23 April served to celebrate the special agreement that had been reached between the government and the rector of the university. This resolution detailed the agreement in which the university would allow use of its educational facilities for the instruction provided by all the institutes of the National Museum. Regarding the Institute of Anthropological Investigations, it was stipulated that the university's National Institute of Anthropology would serve in this capacity and that, as such, the head of this university institute (Tello)¹⁶ would be the head of the museum's institute.¹⁷ Furthermore, given that the archaeological collections of the National Museum demanded urgent attention, the director of this museum would provisionally provide the university's institute an administrator, a preparer, and a servant. In return for its agreement to assist the National Museum in educational matters, funds designated for the National Museum's Anthropological Institute would be used to pay for itemized monthly expenses incurred by the

¹⁶ In 1931 Tello created the Anthropological Institute at the University of San Marcos (Tello 1959:194).

¹⁷ As director of the Institute of Anthropological Investigations, "Dr. Tello is therefore in charge of what the decree-law calls 'the laboratory of the museum which prepares the specimens for exhibit, after a detailed study of these objects'" (Giesecke 1933c:20).

Anthropological Institute of the university (Gálvez 1931d; Tello and Mejía 1967:189).

Included among these expenses would have been those related to the publication of a new anthropological journal entitled, *Wira Kocha*, in which Tello, Carrión, Mejía, and Yácovleff published articles.¹⁸ In addition to Tello, who served as editor,¹⁹ Carrión served as redacting secretary, Mejía served as administrator, and Yácovleff served as treasurer (Espejo 1948b:23). Whether any or all of these were paid positions

¹⁸ It is unknown exactly when the first issue of *Wira Kocha* was published and distributed. The following note was published in the fourth and last issue of the *American Anthropologist* for 1931. "WIRA KOCHA, Revista Peruana de Estudios Antropológicos, is the title of a new anthropological journal, edited by Julio C. Tello. The annual subscription is five dollars. Volume 1, no. 1, for January-March, 1931, contains the following original articles: (1) Kausay-Alimentación de los Indios, by M.T.M. Xesspe; (2) El Vencejo (*Cypselus*) en el arte decorativo de Nasca, by E. Yacowleff [sic]; (3) La Indumentaria en la Antigua Cultura de Paracas, by R.C. Cachot; (4) Un Modelo de escenografía plástica en el Arte Antiguo Peruano, by J.C. Tello; (5) Leyenda Chinchay Suyo-Ichik Ol'qo, by N.S.V. Cadillo" (Editor 1931:663). Of significance, perhaps, is another note on the same page that refers to the dates 31 August and 3 September 1931, suggesting that *Wira Kocha* actually came out some time after March.

¹⁹ "The first number of *Wira Kocha* . . . edited by Dr. J.C. Tello begins with an editorial which lambasts Peruvian Indianists (students interested in the Indian problem) as 'chiefly lawyers, authors, businessmen, newspaper men, public speakers and professionals, accustomed to propound and resolve as easily and as erroneously any problem, be it educational, religious, economic or what not, which on account of its sensational character may gratify their personality or raise their intellectual fame. . . . Anthropology, "the queen of the sciences" as it is known to-day, is still an unknown or hidden science to the national Indians. . . . The majority of works by Peruvians entitled as archaeological are only arm-chair speculations, emotive or sensational in character, full of errors and of hyperbolic phrases, profusely disseminated as proven truths by means of manuals on history and articles in Sunday newspapers'" (Giesecke 1933b:24). Of interest, Valcárcel was a lawyer, an author, a newspaperman, a speaker, and a professional and he published articles focused on Indians in Sunday newspapers.

is unknown. Be that as it may, the major significance of the 23 April resolution was that Tello and his loyal staff were able to retain control of the collections that they had made on the South Coast in the Nazca Valley, and on the Paracas Peninsula during the years 1925-1930 (Tello and Mejía 1967:189). It should be pointed out, that Tello seemingly had editorial control of the National Museum's publications that were archaeological in nature.

Supreme Resolution Number 689, dated 28 May, and signed by Gálvez, was made public the next day (Gálvez 1931c). It dealt with a resolution that had been adopted ten days before at a meeting of the National Board that concerned the implementation of the registration of archaeological artifacts. Specifically there were fourteen provisions:

- (1) Registration of artifacts would be established in the National Museum in accordance with existing law.
- (2) This registration would be conducted during a period of one year from the date of the resolution. Subsequent to this time period all artifacts that had not been registered would become the property of the State.
- (3) Registration by the National Museum could take place at Lima or Callao, or be made by departmental boards of archaeology, at the discretion of owners. Owners were responsible for registering their names and places of residence or business, the number of artifacts in their possession, a description of each, the value of each, and where each artifact had been found.
- (4) Upon receipt of this information the National Museum would compile a catalog of different categories of artifacts (types and those belonging to distinct archaeological cultures). The departmental boards (outside Lima) would assign experts or otherwise capable individuals able to understand the requisites of the National Museum to undertake this registration in order to meet necessary technical standards.
- (5) The essential goal of the registration would be to acquire a detailed description of each artifact. Accordingly, owners of unique artifacts, or those not found within the collection of National Museum, would be required to provide photographs. The registration document had to be signed by both the functionary representing the National Museum and the owner.
- (6) Each artifact would have affixed to it an easily identifiable mark of registration.
- (7) Departmental boards would be required to send copies of all departmental registration information (forms and/or cards and photos) to the National Museum.
- (8) The transference of ownership of artifacts without change of registration information would be subject to a fine equal to the sale price.
- (9) The State reserved the right to exercise a fifteen-day suspension of the rights of ownership in cases of sales of precolumbian archaeological artifacts upon notification from the board holding jurisdiction that it had been unable to ascertain the value of the artifacts being sold.
- (10) The movement of all collections and single objects within the country and any other transference required National Board notification for the purpose of registration update.
- (11) National Board authorization of the export of objects would only be given for those objects that were registered and that also were not unique.
- (12) Requests for export were to be presented to the National Board and would be decided on a

case-by-case basis after receipt of a report from the National Museum.

(13) Those who informed the government of unregistered artifacts would receive a quarter of the imposed fine.

(14) Non-conformance would be penalized by a penalty of not less than ten soles and not more than one thousand soles and the loss of the artifact(s).

In May there were reports that Sánchez wanted to return to Peru (Anonymous 1931i) but that the government had refused his request out of fear of a new military uprising (Anonymous 1931j) and this suggested that the new government still had much to do to quell the nation's political tensions.²⁰ In addition there was a report that university student unrest had not abated (Anonymous 1931l).²¹ On 6 June there was a tumultuous assembly at the university (Anonymous 1931m).

Martial law was declared throughout the country when a plot to overthrow the govern-

²⁰ The following was published in the 19 May 1931 edition of Lima's *The West Coast Leader*. "The terrible events which occurred in Arequipa on May 13th, when the prefecture was stormed by a mob of working men, and lives were lost in the rioting, had their sequel in the lynching of Comandante Abel Salazar in Mollendo on Sunday morning. Comandante Salazar had filled the office of sub-Prefect of Arequipa since the military uprising at the end of February. Salazar . . . was dragged through the streets to the wharf and finally thrown into the sea with a piece of rail attached to his feet" (Anonymous 1931k).

²¹ In part, this report on student unrest at San Marcos stated: "An attempt to demonstrate before the palace was prevented by the police, and in the course of the collision, bricks and shots were exchanged, several persons being more or less severely injured. The mob was finally dispersed, and the students returned to their homes and studies" (Anonymous 1931l).

ment was uncovered (Anonymous 1931n).²² By this time Sánchez had returned from Europe and had sent a telegram from Panama in which he demanded to be allowed to return to Peru and offer himself as a candidate for the upcoming presidential election (Anonymous 1931o). The Government relented and Sánchez's arrival at the Port of Callao was anticipated by a great number of supporters who turned into a mob when his appearance before them was delayed (Anonymous 1931p). In July there was a military rebellion in Cusco (Anonymous 1931q) and the APRA leader Víctor Raúl de la Torre returned to run against Sánchez and "to abolish for all time the rule of 'Yankee imperialism' in this country" (Anonymous 1931r).²³ Soon Sánchez

²² It was reported in *The West Coast Leader* that "one of the prime movers was Colonel Aurelio García Godos, formerly in command of the Military School of Chorrillos and now an exile in Chile. . . . García was relieved of his command and sent 'on a military mission' to Paris after the overthrow of the Leguía regime. His name again came to the fore in the military movement of last March which led to the downfall of the Sánchez Cerro government; and in a Manifesto issued at that time . . . in Arequipa it was stated that Colonel García Godes was actually President of the Junta Militar! Since that time he has been waiting on events in Chile. It seems probable, therefore, that the purpose of the plot was to install a new military government of possibly Leguist affiliations. Confirmation . . . seems to be suggested by the fact that among the many [who participated in the revolt] . . . were several members of the force . . . once known as the ex-President's 'personal bodyguard'" (Anonymous 1931n).

²³ "The American Popular Revolutionary Alliance, usually referred to as APRA, sprang from the fertile brain of a young man from Trujillo. Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre emerged as a leader in the university reform movement while student body president at San Marcos. He helped to organize textile and sugar workers' unions. . . . Haya consistently maintained that APRA is a native American party, radical but not Communist. . . . APRA does possess similarities to Old World radical parties. . . . The cell structure resembles the Communist mold" (Dobyns and Doughty 1976:227). "The Apristas had supported Sánchez Cerro's takeover, but soon joined with his opposition. . . . The issues . . . emanated from the fifty-year conflict between the large sugar plantations . . . and their workers. . . . The party secured important financial aid from key northern

and Haya de la Torre were among the candidates vying for the presidency,²⁴ as was Rafael Larco Herrera in the current government (Anonymous 1931s). The latter, however, soon decided to withdraw his candidacy (Anonymous 1931v).

Despite all these distractions the government remained focused on matters archaeological issuing proclamations in support of the National Board in Lima and of regional boards elsewhere in the country (Samánez and Galvez 1931a). In July there was issued a second notice, without details of its provisions, of Supreme Resolution Number 689, dated 28 May, that established the registration of most private archaeological collections by the National Museum and the tariff to be applied to individual artifacts differentiated by precolumbian culture, Paracas for example. In addition it was reiterated in this resolution that the National Board would oversee the movement of collections throughout the country (Samánez and Galvez 1931b; Tello and Mejía 1967:191-193).

FOCUS ON PARACAS 1931–1933

businessmen . . . whose medium-sized sugar plantations [were] . . . in danger of being engulfed by the huge Gilde-meister holdings at Casa Grande” (Davies 1970:103-107). “In the early weeks of the new [Sánchez] administration, political prisoners were released and many exiles returned to the country. . . . Convinced the APRA was a Communist front, Sánchez Cerro curbed the party’s activities and denied Haya de la Torre permission to enter Peru” (Werlich 1978:190).

²⁴ “Sánchez Cerro ran for president on a populist platform that proclaimed the primacy of the Indian problem, the need for agrarian reform through expropriation of uncultivated lands, and the aim of regulating foreign investments in the national interest. In effect, Sánchez Cerro had stolen much of APRA’s thunder, to the annoyance of Haya de la Torre [whose] . . . campaign featured demagogic attacks on capitalism, the church, and the aristocracy but was vague with regard to specifics” (Keen and Wasserman 1988:414).

In June notice was given in New York City of the public sale of 80 textiles that had been stolen from the Paracas sites in February. News accounts of this public sale of textiles were discussed at the 24 July meeting of the National Board (Tello and Mejía 1967:167). No account of this meeting appears to have been published in the Lima press. During July, on an unknown date, there was another act of theft involving the cemeteries at the sites of Cerro Colorado and Arena Blanca on the Paracas Peninsula. Once again the leader of this illegal activity was a known collector and this theft is reported to have equaled or even exceeded the theft that had occurred in February (*ibid.*: 195).

At the very end of July Tello headed a University of San Marcos expedition to the highlands (Mejía 1969:118).²⁵ It is unclear if the money for the expedition was drawn from the university’s budget or from the account of the National Museum designated for use by its Anthropological Institute; probably it was the former. Following work in the vicinity of Huanacayo in the central highlands (Anonymous 1931w), the team conducted excavations at Huari near the city of Ayacucho in the south central highlands (Anonymous 1931x).

Valcárcel, like Tello, would have attended the meeting of the National Board of Archaeology. At the end of July, he published an article on the philosophy of Inca geopolitics in the Lima press (1931b) and, like Tello, he chose this particular time to conduct fieldwork. Valcárcel recalled, in his memoir, with apparent delight that he and a “modest” team, including Eugenio

²⁵ Encinas later wrote that he had then been of the opinion that museums needed to go beyond the simple exhibition of curious objects and instead convert to a much broader organizational purpose including fieldwork. In particular, he wrote that it was necessary to greatly expand at the Museum of Archaeology the teaching of the value of the nation’s pre-Hispanic past (1973:151).

Yácvoleff²⁶ and Jorge C. Muelle,²⁷ had driven

²⁶ Not much has been reported about the Russian born natural historian Yácvoleff. However, Jorge C. Muelle included the following information in the comments made at the cemetery ceremony for Yácvoleff that were subsequently published in *La Crónica* and then republished in the *Revista del Museo Nacional* edited by Valcárcel. He stated that Yácvoleff was born on 28 July 1895 at Toryhok in the Upper Volga principality of Twer and that over time he especially developed interests in the sciences of botany, entomology, and geology (L. Valcárcel 1934f: 324). He arrived at Callao in 1923 and not long after became affiliated with the University of San Marcos. In 1929 he had a spine operation from which he never recovered (Finn 1934). Exactly when he began working for Tello at the Museum of Peruvian Archaeology is unknown. What is known is that, in the November 1928 issue of *The Pan American Union* (Anonymous 1928b), an article, originally published in *The West Coast Leader* on 10 July 1928, has Yácvoleff listed as one of the museum's assistants. This is the earliest known reference linking Yácvoleff to the museum. Yácvoleff's first known publication was the one included in the initial issue of *Wira Kocha*, edited by Tello and published in the first half of 1931. Whether Yácvoleff ever undertook archaeological fieldwork on behalf of Tello is unknown. It is possible, therefore, that his first such experience was later in 1931 with Valcárcel and Jorge C. Muelle.

²⁷ Jorge Muelle was born in Lima on 23 November 1903 (Ravines *et al.* 1998:19). In 1925 it was his intention to go into law and he studied the humanities in both Lima and Trujillo. He received his bachelor's degree at Trujillo and then continued his studies at the University of San Marcos. He knew (of?) Tello in 1928 when Tello was teaching Peruvian archaeology there, but he did not study under Tello. Instead he specialized in the ancient art of Peru (Buse 1974a). In 1930 he graduated from San Marcos with a second bachelor's degree and began teaching at the National School of Arts in Lima (Ravines *et al.* 1998:19). His participation in the work at Paracas in the latter half of 1930 was his first archaeological field experience (Buse 1974a). Of possible significance is the fact that one of the first things that Valcárcel did after he replaced Tello at the National Museum was to advertise a position for an artist (Anonymous 1930m). Whether or not this signified a general change in orientation from an emphasis on science to the humanities is unknown. If so, however, it would have been within this altered intellectual climate more suitable to the inclinations of Muelle that would have helped Yácvoleff to convince him join the museum staff. In any case, it is unknown exactly when Muelle joined the staff at the museum.

down to the Paracas Peninsula in an old truck and that once there he and his "companions" had conducted investigations. This included working on the north side of Cerro Colorado where they saw a vast precolumbian graveyard with great tombs. They worked in one of these tombs and discovered human remains, food remains, and some cotton and wool textiles (Matos *et al.* 1981:284-285).

As he remembered it, Valcárcel said that Yácvoleff had not resigned from Tello's old museum, but instead had decided to work at the new National Museum because he understood that there he was going to be able to do work that "meant something" (*ibid.*: 284).²⁸ As has already been shown, Yácvoleff was still working with Tello when the first issue of *Wira Kocha* was put together, that is some time after the issuance of decrees concerning the new National Museum and its collaboration with the university. So, Valcárcel appears to have glossed over this period of transition for Yácvoleff and shed little light on the reason why Yácvoleff shifted his allegiance from Tello to Valcárcel. Had Tello's dominating personality been a factor?



Figure 10. Eugenio Yácvoleff, 1929.

In this regard, it should be pointed out that the Valcárcel-led expedition to Paracas was the

²⁸ In an obituary later published in *El Comercio* it was reported that Yácvoleff had been the first and only chief of the Technical Section of the Department of Anthropology at the National Museum (Finn 1934).

first such that had been undertaken by someone other than Tello and his staff since the discovery of the sites in 1925. The significance of this fact cannot be overstated. Whether Valcárcel was oblivious to Tello's attachment to the Paracas sites and culture, or was deliberately trying to make the point that *he*, rather than Tello, was director of the National Museum is unknown. Of course, it is also possible that at the recently concluded meeting of the National Board Valcárcel had been asked, or had volunteered, to investigate the consequences of the recent illegal activities at the site. If this were the case, however, one would expect to find at least some mention of this in the published history of the National Museums of Archaeology, but there is none.

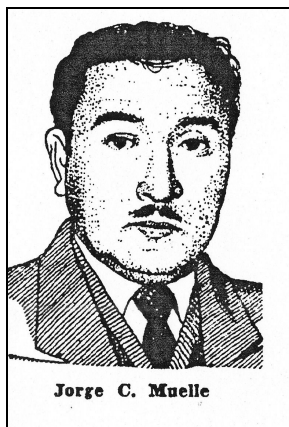


Figure 11. From *Tauro* (1966-1967) Volume 2:390.

In any event, there is also the question of Muelle's participation in the expedition. In a later interview he stated that he had not studied archaeology under Tello at the university and that it had been Yácovleff, and not Tello, who had convinced him to work for the National Museum (Buse 1974a). As for Valcárcel, he states in his memoir that this Paracas trip began an important collaboration between Yácovleff and Muelle, who had been affiliated with the School of Fine Arts in Lima.²⁹ Though he greatly

²⁹ The following was written regarding Valcárcel and how he envisioned the science of archaeology and its importance as a tool in understanding Peru. In "Nuevas interpreta-

loved art in general, Muelle had decided to work with Yácovleff at the National Museum (Matos *et al.* 1981:284), to focus particularly on the art of archaeological cultures. It would certainly be of interest to know what it was that persuaded him to do so. Was it simply the fact that Valcárcel's new National Museum was so well funded and that opportunities abounded for specialists? Or, less cynically, was it the promise of increased opportunities for intellectual development that were available in this new institution?

Resolution Number 793 dated 12 June established or formalized the agreement between the National Museum and the university to have the National Institute of Anthropology (headed by Tello) assume the role given by law to the museum's Institute of Anthropological Investigations. Archaeological collections considered indispensable for this purpose were transferred to a provisional locale at what had been the Bolivar Museum. In September more than 4,000 artifacts from the Paracas Peninsula and the Nazca Valley were housed here. At this time unopened Paracas mummy bundles were not included in

ciones de la cultura inka", *Revista Universitaria del Cuzco* (1932) he elaborates on this theme. "Let us direct archaeology to better purpose. The specimens which bring us the message of remote periods are merely letters of the great alphabet which we try to complete. We shall not complete this alphabet, nor shall we be enabled to understand it, if we reduce our task to what is only part of the science, and not the whole science. . . . In archaeology the emphasis is changing gradually from the objects to the significance of these objects, and fortunately the finds of archaeology are being considered more and more as official documents. . . . The true archaeologist must search for the soul, hunt for it through material remains, because the soul impregnates all matter and gives it its form. Nature is itself the acknowledgment of the presence of the spirit, and its influence is so powerful that Mother Earth rid itself of this influence though the material elements disappear. . . . The Inca people is not an imaginary entity, the culture which we study is not a fiction; the utility of our investigations must be admitted by the most skeptical. We are scientific archaeologists and ethnologists as a consequence of prime reasons of necessity. Science will aid us to understand Peru" (Giesecke 1933b: 23).

this transfer (Tello and Mejía 1967:212).³⁰ It should be noted that these artifacts would have been shipped from the old Museum of Peruvian Archaeology that continued to house the archaeological department of the museum. The Bolívar Museum also continued to house the National Museum's Department of History (Niles 1937:78)³¹ as directed by a decree dated 12 June 1931.

In August it was made clear that the presidential election scheduled for September was

³⁰ Paracas mummy bundle number 114 was transferred to Tello's care in September 1931 (Tello and Mejía 1979: 488). This was one of the unopened bundles, so it would appear that at least one such bundle had arrived at its new destination at this time.

³¹ "The Magdalena stands on the square of a little suburb of Lima, not far from the sea. In the days of its splendor the Magdalena was a famous country house. San Martín stayed there when, a hundred years ago, he came with the expedition from Chile to aid Peru in the fight for independence. And later it was for many months the home of the great Simón Bolívar and his lovely mistress Manuelita. Part of the building is now the Museo Bolivariano, but what is not used for this purpose has been given over to Doctor Tello for the housing of those of his collections which are not on exhibition. You enter the Magdalena from a quietly dreaming little square set about with pink and yellow one-story houses with gratings of Colonial Spain at their windows. And inside the doors of the Magdalena, you find yourself in a high arched corridor surrounding a garden. The corridor is paved in alternate squares of black and ivory tiles, and horseshoe arches are repeated around a long-neglected garden where, smothered almost out of sight, a fountain trickles gently. The geraniums of the garden grow twelve feet tall and bloom as red as Bolívar's military coat in the museum's portrait. Bushes of vermilion hibiscus fight for space with the white musk-cluster roses. There are red and pink roses, too, and enormous daisies and heliotrope and elephant-ears and grape-vines, fig bushes and glossy orange-trees and an ancient olive; all in wild luxuriance, with little overgrown flagged paths converging on the fountain. There are of course hummingbirds lured by the flowers, and butterflies in the sun, unseen, endlessly cooing doves" (Niles 1937:78-79).

likely to be postponed³² and it was announced that the trial of ex-president Leguía had hit a judicial snag.³³ Official memo number 2918 dated 18 August and signed by the minister of education (Gálvez) notified the rector (Encinas) of a recently expedited law dated 14 August. In

³² "The opinion is gaining ground in Lima political circles that the General Elections, at present fixed for September 13th, may have to be postponed until a later date (Anonymous 1931u).

³³ "The Supreme Court Justice, in a judgment dated August 10th, has declared that the Criminal Court has no jurisdiction to try Señor Augusto B. Leguía for alleged crimes committed during his term of office as President of Peru. This judgment does no more than confirm . . . that, in conformance with the terms of the Constitution and of the Civil Code, an ex-President of the Republic . . . can only be tried for acts of treason or dishonesty on the express authorization of Congress. As Congress was dissolved after the revolution of August 1930, the question now arises whether Señor Leguía must now await trial until a new congress be convened and whether, in the meantime, he should be released unconditionally since there is no authority competent to order his imprisonment" (Anonymous 1931y). "In a faded blue dressing gown, covering a night shirt, upon a white enameled cot in a cell in Lima's Penitentiary lies listlessly, day after day . . . Leguía. . . It is a prison cell; not the cell of a convict but of a political prisoner; some twelve feet square. The dingy walls were once white-washed. They are pasted over here and there with old newspapers, perhaps to conceal inconvenient inscriptions penciled by former occupants. Two narrow heavily barred windows look out onto one of the prison courtyards. Through panes begrimed with the dirt of years, the burning rays of the mid-summer sun filter dimly. Some of the panes have a backing of wooden gasoline cases as if to render more gloomy the prevailing gloom. The air of the room is heavy with the stench of chlorine. . . . Ex-President Leguía's cell is situated in the heart of the prison . . . on the north side is the Penitentiary's suite-deluxe, reserved for important political prisoners. . . . Other Presidents of Peru have had their careers brought to an abrupt conclusion in the Penitentiary. . . . But their stay there was of short duration until a convenient opportunity offered to ship them off into exile. Leguía had to suffer a more cruel fate. . . . The prisoner is practically incommunicado, with none but his son to care for him. Obstacles have been set even to the visits of his lawyer. . . . Leguía is allowed no exercise. . . . The twenty-four age-long hours must be spent in the stuffy atmosphere of that airless room" (Anonymous 1931z).

part, this law stated that the university would comprise the schools of theology, law, medicine (including physical and biological sciences), letters (arts and behavioral sciences), and economic sciences (business). Among the institutes of the School of Letters was that pertaining to anthropology (Gálvez 1931e).

A prominent professor of history, José de la Riva Agüero³⁴ subsequently resigned³⁵ in protest of what he characterized as disorder and lack of discipline within the School of Letters. This complaint was contained in a letter dated 19 September that he had sent to the school's dean, Alberto Ureta, and that was made public the following day (Riva Agüero 1931).³⁶ In response,

³⁴ Valcárcel had begun correspondence with Riva Agüero in 1909 and met him in 1912 when he came to Cusco to explore Inca ruins (Matos *et al.* 1981:158).

³⁵ After his resignation, Riva Agüero began teaching at Lima's private Catholic University (Matos *et al.* 1981:266). Riva Agüero was paid only nine *libras* a month for teaching the classes "General Anthropology" and "American and Peruvian Archaeology" (Santisteban 1956:20).

³⁶ "Dr. José de la Riva Agüero y Osama, actually mayor of Lima and one of the most distinguished men of letters in Peru, has declined the professorship of Peruvian History which had been offered to him in the University of San Marcos. His decision, which was published last Sunday, is based upon the part which the students are allowed to play in the management of the affairs of the University. This, in the opinion of Dr. José de la Riva Agüero, has led to a situation of hopeless indiscipline which renders almost impossible the efficient accomplishment of the duties of the professional staff. 'The insubordination and lack of reflection, which are the scourges of our national life' he declared, 'are generated and inspired in the very classrooms, thus contaminating easily-impressionable youth. Just as an army which had the right to elect its own officers, so a body of professors dependent upon the caprice of the pupils will bring about the abortion of generations who, never having learned to obey, will certainly be unable to command with discretion, tact and wisdom'" (Anonymous 1931aa). Not only was Riva Agüero then serving as the mayor of the capital, he was also, apparently, the president of the reconstituted National Board of Archaeology that was equally focused on concerns of an historical nature. It should be noted in this regard that Tello's name had been

Ureta wrote a letter to Riva Agüero that was also published in the Lima press. In this letter the dean noted that he was sorry that Riva Agüero was unhappy about what was happening in the school. He noted that, in contrast, there was excitement among the students and specifically gave as an example of this the 150 students that daily showed up for Tello's anthropology class at seven in the morning (Ureta 1931). We learn from this rare glimpse that Tello was teaching anthropology at the time and that this was a popular class. We can also sense from this that, whether he wanted to be, or not, Tello had been placed at the forefront of a dispute between those who supported student participation in university management and those who did not.

Encinas later wrote about university reform generally, and particularly about the agreement he had signed to create a link of confederation between the university and the new National Museum headed by Valcárcel. He wrote of the need of that time for cooperation between the university's archaeological museum (headed by Tello) and the National Museum. This agreement served to acknowledge the importance of both while it provided that the university's Anthropological Institute would oversee the educational functions of both museums. In this way, though both museums would maintain their

linked with that of Riva Agüero as early as January 1909 when, at a dinner in Lima (Anonymous 1909), they were identified as being two of the three best of their generation (Tealdo 1942:9). That the young archaeologist and the young historian shared more than just intellectual interests was demonstrated by Tello's becoming a member of a new political party that had been established by Riva Agüero in 1915 (Capuñay 1951:120-121). Riva Agüero later chose exile in Europe rather than life under Leguía. It should be noted that after the fall of Leguía, Riva Agüero returned from Europe in August 1930 (Tauro 1966-7, Volume 3:60, Milla 1986, Volume 8:21-24). Not long after, in a letter dated 29 September 1930, Tello invited Riva Agüero to view his opening of a Paracas mummy bundle at the Museum of Peruvian Archaeology that he planned for the following morning (Tello 1975-76:II). There is no evidence that this opening ever took place.

separate administrative and technical independence, both would operate under the university's academic structure. The agreement called for the university's Anthropological Institute to establish permanent courses for the faculty representing each of the museums. Under university reform the formality of professorships was discarded and, among other things, matriculation was no longer required; there were no longer academic requirements and exams were eliminated. In addition, the university would pay expenses incurred when classes were offered in public locales off campus (Encinas 1973:151-152).

Encinas also wrote that because the archaeologist Tello had an exceptional sense of the "nobility of the national patrimony", it was felt that it was necessary to give students who wanted to work in the field the benefit of his knowledge (*ibid*: 154). Not only do we get the sense that it was Tello who oversaw who would be teaching what and where, we also get the sense that Tello was given the opportunity to recruit students with an interest in working in the field. This must have been a pleasant change from the rude way he had been treated by the Sánchez government. Despite this, however, there were still hints that anti-Tello sentiment in official circles continued.

In its 6 September edition, the daily *El Comercio* published an official communiqué dated 26 August that was signed by the minister of education. It dealt with an invitation, dated 11 April 1931, that the ministry had received from the Mexican foreign minister to take part in the VII Pan American Scientific Congress to be held in Mexico City 5-9 February 1932. The communiqué made mention of a 6 June 1931 ministry memo which served to establish the organizing committee for Peru's participation. This memo named those who had been selected to serve on the committee and each individual's official title. For example, Valcárcel was listed as

director of the National Museum. On the lengthy list were two who stood out: Riva Agüero as *president* of the National Board of Archaeology and History and Carlos Rospigliosi Vigil,³⁷ the long-time director of the university's Museum of Natural History, as the director of its *Museum of Archaeology* (Gálvez 1931f).

History was for the first time shown in public as specifically included within the purview of the board on a par with archaeology. It is perhaps significant that the historian Riva Agüero was shown as the president of the board in place of the minister of education. As for the listing of Rospigliosi as director of the university's Museum of Archaeology, unless the name or museum designation was published in error,³⁸ it

³⁷ Carlos Julio Rospigliosi Vigil was born in Chorillos (in Lima) in 1879. In 1895 he began studies in the School of Natural Sciences at the University of San Marcos and graduated with a bachelor's degree in medicine in 1902. Two years later he was awarded his doctorate in natural sciences. That same year, 1904, he began service as a physician for the military. By 1913 he was an adjunct professor in chemistry in the San Marcos School of Science. In 1918 he was named director of the university's new Museum of Natural History. In 1925 he was made director of the San Bartolomé Military Hospital in Lima, while in 1930 he became dean of the university's School of Medicine (Milla 1986 Volume 8:105-106). In 1906 he became an associate member of the Geographical Society of Lima and in 1920 a sitting or voting member of this society. He took pride in his noble Italian heritage on his father's side and his mother's Spanish heritage (Paz Soldán 1921:345). In 1919, when Tello was seeking to purchase collections for a new private museum of archaeology, Rospigliosi was one of those who offered his collection for sale, but in the end the collection was not purchased (Tello and Mejía 1967: 119). The previous year Rospigliosi had been named to the board of directors of the Geographical Society of Lima (Paz Soldán 1921:348). During a debate in the lower house of congress late in 1921, Tello argued against the incorporation of this society into the University of San Marcos on the grounds that it was an official institution founded by the government (Editor 1922:119).

³⁸ It should be noted that *El Comercio* subsequently published a report on the first meeting of the organizing committee for Peru's participation in the VII Pan American Scientific Congress. Among the long list of attendees was

would seem that the new government continued the policy of the original junta in barring Tello from participation in national matters. If Valcárcel had had anything to do with such an action, it would certainly demonstrate concern on his part that Tello would somehow reclaim directorship of the National Museum of Archaeology.

A report signed on behalf of President Samanez dealing with the 29 September session of the National Board was published on 7 October. The following seven resolutions had been adopted at this meeting:

- (1) All of the employees of the Department of History and the Institutes of Anthropology and History of the National Museum would act as inspectors of antiquities throughout the country.
- (2) The inspectors of antiquities would be charged with overseeing the nation's monuments and with the control of archaeological and historical relics in accordance with existing law and related decrees and resolutions.
- (3) The Director of the National Museum was authorized to commission or designate the inspectors of antiquities to be sent anywhere in the country whenever considered necessary in compliance with this responsibility.
- (4) The number of commissioned employees sent out from the National Museum to undertake inspections would be limited to three at any one time so as not to unduly tax the museum staff.

the director of the University of San Marcos Museum of Natural History (Anonymous 1931bb). Hence, it is very possible that it was indeed the director of this museum, and not the director of the school's Museum of Archaeology, that had been appointed. In any case, the impression would still have been made by the first publication that Tello remained politically *persona non grata*.

(5) The Minister of Education would be responsible for facilitating travel for designated commissions.

(6) The curators of regional museums could also act as designated members of inspection teams in their respective provinces.

(7) Political authorities and police throughout the country would provide necessary help and facilities required by the inspectors sent out by the National Museum in order to complete their missions (Garrido 1931).

Presumably Tello and Valcárcel played the most important roles in the drafting of these resolutions. Regarding Tello, it should be pointed out that he and his team had experienced reluctance on the part of the local authorities while conducting work in the Huari region only weeks before, as evidenced by details provided in articles published in the Lima press (e.g. Anonymous 1931x). This had been a university-sponsored expedition undertaken by the director and key assistants of the school's Anthropological Institute that was authorized by law to assume the role of the National Museum's Anthropological Investigative Institute. An understanding of the responsibilities of the National Museum and the employees of its constituent parts in protecting the national patrimony had apparently not yet filtered into the provinces, and perhaps because of this, Tello, in particular, had advocated for public clarification on the part of the government.

It should be noted that the first provision specifically highlighted the fact that the National Museum would now be as concerned about sites and artifacts that were *historical* in nature as about those that were archeological in nature. This provision and the next also specified that only employees of the museum's *Anthropological Institute* were authorized to act as inspectors of antiquities, including both archaeological monuments and artifacts. However, there was a third

provision that empowered the director of the National Museum to *designate* the inspectors of monuments and artifacts.

The fact that Valcárcel took with him Yácovleff and Muelle suggests that these two had been assigned to work in the old Museum of Peruvian Archaeology that housed the Archaeological Department of the new National Museum, or that part of the Anthropological Department that housed the archaeological collections that had not been sent to the Bolívar Museum. Clearly this suggests the existence of inherent conflict. Tello and his staff at the university institute, who also worked on behalf of the Anthropological Institute of the National Museum, had undertaken fieldwork authorized by the *rector*. At the same time a team from the archaeological section was also undertaking fieldwork authorized by the *director* of the National Museum. Finally, was the inclusion of the proviso that no more than three *commissioned employees of the National Museum* could be in the field at any one time an attempt on the part of Valcárcel to rein in the ambitions of Tello?

At the beginning of October, Muelle published in the Lima press an account of the tomb excavation that had been undertaken at Paracas in August. This was his first excavation, but even so, this did not prevent this trained artist from taking the opportunity to offer thinly veiled criticism of the trained physician and archaeologist Tello for his interpretations of the work that had been undertaken by him and his staff at this place. Muelle stated that the August tomb excavation “refuted” Tello’s claim of the “supposed” extraction or special cleaning of viscera for mummification, given that the team had not found evidence of human fecal matter. In addition he stated that textiles found suggested a known highland culture that would have been later than Tello’s claimed coastal culture. He then went on to say that methods “truly scientific” in nature had not been employed (by

Tello) and that as a result (his) interpretations were “dangerously premature” (Muelle 1931).

Just how much Yácovleff and/or Valcárcel had contributed to this report by Muelle is unknown, but it seems reasonable to suppose that both would at least have been aware of it, given that it was based on work done in conjunction with them under the auspices of the National Museum. In any case, Tello remained publicly silent on the matter, but surely he and his staff must have been privately outraged. The handwriting appeared to be on the wall for all to see that all was not well between the Tello and Valcárcel camps.

Not long after the publication of Muelle’s report, Valcárcel sent a detailed memo to the minister of education that dealt with Peru’s exhibit of archaeological material at the Seville Exposition. The Seville Consulate of Peru had received a bill in the amount of 7,450 pesetas from a master carpenter for the packing of thirty-eight diverse display cases or crates and the archaeological objects that had been contained within them for their transport to as far as Madrid. A total of twenty crates had been built for the artifacts and another four for the glass panes in the display cases. In addition to the six rolls of packing paper and incidentals, nine covers had to be made for the large display cases and seven others for the smaller square ones. The receipt of this bill had precipitated an inquiry for clarification on the part of the Ministry of Education in the form of an official memo dated 28 September that was sent to the director of the National Museum (Tello and Mejía 1967:164-165).

Valcárcel responded with a very detailed memo addressed to the minister of education/president of the National Board dated 16 October. This may be summarized as follows: since November 1930, he had insisted on the return to the National Museum of Archaeology of the

thirty-eight display cases that had been purchased in 1929 from the firm of Eggers House in Germany. These were cases that should have been returned to Lima in July—something that Eggers House had originally promised to do in a letter dated 31 May 1929. The sum of 70,000 soles had already been paid to this company for its services regarding these cases, the net balance of the account after expenses to date incurred by the company slightly in excess of 14,272 soles. It was Valcárcel's recommendation that the bill be forwarded to this company. Specifically he asked the National Board to order the company to complete what it had been paid in advance to do. The board should contact the agent for the company in Lima and have the company deposit the remaining unspent amount into a special account that could then be used to pay for the cost of the returning the cases to Peru (*ibid.*: 165-166).

Tello also sent a detailed memo, dated 20 October, to the minister of education/president of the National Board. This was in reference to the request from the Belgian government that Peru cede to it the Seville Collection. Presumably Tello had received a request from the ministry to do so. In his memo, Tello testified that, as director of the National Museum of Peruvian Archaeology, he had complied with a 7 August 1929 executive order to give to the local representative of the Seville Commission, Dr. Carlos Rospigliosi Vigil, an archaeological collection consisting of 1,380 objects. Tello described this collection in detail. Among the artifacts were six large Paracas mummy bundles. Tello then went on to complain that, unlike the past Leguía government, the post-revolutionary government had permitted the looting of the Paracas sites, specifically mentioning the incident in February 1931. Continuing, Tello went on to state that the Seville collection as a whole was unique and that it should be returned intact and set up at the Pedagogical Institute in Lima, Cusco or Arequipa. He concluded that it was his

recommendation that the entire archaeological collection that had been on display at Seville be returned to Peru along with the display cases that had been purchased by the Museum of Peruvian Archaeology now known as the *Department of Anthropology* (National Institute of Anthropology) of the University of San Marcos (*ibid.*: 166-168).³⁹

Tello had made use of the unique opportunity presented to him by the minister of education to advocate for the return of the entire collection of archaeological objects that he had been required as a director of the National Museum of Archaeology to turn over to the Seville Commission. In this regard he specifically identified Rospigliosi as the agent who had assumed responsibility for this collection on behalf of the commission. Was this in response to the “mistake” recently published in the press that Rospigliosi, and not Tello, held the position of director of the university's Museum of Archaeology?

In any event, Tello had also taken the opportunity presented to him by the minister as head of the National Board to indirectly advocate for greater protection of the Paracas sites. Finally, he had used this opportunity to claim the entire collection and the display cases for the university. That is, he had specified that the university's department of anthropology and not its Institute of Anthropology was the reincarnation of the National Museum of Archaeology. This was a key distinction because it was the university's *institute* that had been officially designated to assume the function of the National Museum's Institute of Anthropological Investigations.

³⁹ It has been reported that in October 1931 a number of Paracas textiles, later determined to have been part of the material given over to the Ministry of Foreign Relations to be sent to Seville, were recovered from Franco de los Reyes y Cabrera (Tello and Mejía 1967:193). Unfortunately nothing is known about this individual.

The national election was held on 11 October 1931 and sufficient results had been tabulated by 3 November to declare Sánchez the winner, his closest rival being Haya de la Torre. Despite the fact that the latter's predicted strong support in the north was not yet tabulated, Sánchez's lead was reported to be insurmountable, 150,570 to 96,887. When asked for a statement he responded:

Since I am now seriously occupied with the solution of all the problems connected with the economic crisis of the country, I have no time to make statements to the press. I will do so thirty days or so after the inauguration of the new Government (Anonymous 1931cc).⁴⁰

Vague reports had been circulating in Lima during the past few days of looming labor strife on the North Coast and confirmation was received with news of riots in Chiclayo and Trujillo (Map 1). These riots occurred in part because the government had ordered a ban on further political demonstrations. This ban, it was reported, was being backed up by a detachment of the Fifth Regiment that had recently been sent via the Port of Callao to strengthen the garrison at Trujillo (*ibid.*). Two weeks later it was reported that in Lima there had been a premature session of the Constituent Assembly,⁴¹ and

⁴⁰ "Tension filled Peru during the ten-day interval between the announcement of the election results and the installation of the new regime. Street fights, protest strikes, noisy demonstrations, and assassinations continued. Rumors of coups abounded" (Werlich 1978:196).

⁴¹ "The Comedy of Errors arose from a misinterpretation of . . . the Election Law. . . [In error] an advertisement . . . summoning all Deputies whose credentials had been vided [sic] by the National Jury to a preliminary session . . . in the Chamber of Deputies. . . Some thirty obeyed the summons. The session was about to commence before a full gallery when an officer of the police entered the Chamber and announced that the meeting must be dissolved. . . Ultimately a force of police had to clear the floor and galleries" (Anonymous 1931dd).

that there had occurred an anti-government riot. It was stated that this riot had been in support of ex-President Leguía⁴² who had been transferred after 445 days from the penitentiary on the Island of San Lorenzo (Map 3) to the Naval Clinic,⁴³ and that an official letter of warning had been sent to the Editor of *El Comercio* to tone down comments it made about the government (Anonymous 1931dd). This was followed not long after by an announcement that the junta had issued a limited political amnesty (Anonymous 1931ee).⁴⁴

⁴² "The demonstrators expressed their dissatisfaction by means of cries hostile to the Provisional Junta and the discharge of revolver shots into the air. After some gentle persuasion on the part of the police the crowd dispersed only to assemble again. . . . Matters began to take a more serious aspect. . . . The police had to resort to their firearms. . . . Seven persons were wounded including two little children, one of them a baby in the arms of its mother. The injured were taken to the hospitals where one is since reported to have died. Several arrests were made" (Anonymous 1931dd).

⁴³ "After . . . fourteen months in a somber cell . . . ex-President Leguía was transferred on Monday. . . . For some time past the state of the ex-President's health has been causing anxiety. . . . An attack of the grippe developed into congestion of the lungs which was rendered more serious by a heart attack on Sunday. The Cabinet was hastily summoned on Sunday night. . . . The seriousness of the news on . . . Monday compelled instant action. . . . As the news spread, a wave of compassion for the sick man swept over the city. Crowds began to gather at the gates of the prison and large forces of police and military were required to keep an open space; but there was no disorder. Among those noted in the crowd were many relations and friends of the ex-President to whose cell they have persistently been denied all access. . . . In the cell itself Señor Leguía bade goodbye to his son Juan, who through all these long months has been the only companion of his solitude" (Anonymous 1931dd).

⁴⁴ "The Amnesty announced by the Provisional Government at the end of last week applies only to political and military risings which have taken place since August 22, 1930. It does not apply to those persons accused of State offenses prior to that date. . . . Within the terms of the Amnesty presumably are included those who were concerned in the Callao revolt of February 20th, the rising of

In spite of the claim by Haya de la Torre that he had been the victim of electoral fraud (Davies 1974:112), the swearing-in ceremony of Sánchez took place on 8 December. Subsequently there was rising tension in the Constituent Assembly between supporters of Sánchez and the Aprista leader.⁴⁵ During the final week of 1931 there were reports of disorder in Trujillo⁴⁶ and in the congress.⁴⁷ It was announced that the decision

the Arequipa garrison of the same date, the Mutiny of the Fifth Regiment on March 23rd, the strikes of May 5-14, the rioting in Arequipa on May 13th, the military rebellion in Cuzco and Puno at the beginning of June and the rioting in the Northern oilfields at about the same date" (Anonymous 1931ee).

⁴⁵ "In Trujillo, Víctor Raúl refused to accept the mandate of Sánchez Cerro and claimed the 'moral presidency' of Peru for himself. . . . The Constituent Assembly . . . had 64 supporters of Sánchez Cerro and 23 Apristas . . . in the unicameral legislature. Through their intemperate behavior, the Aprista congressmen quickly alienated enough of their independent colleagues to give the regime a working majority" (Werlich 1978:196).

⁴⁶ "Strict censorship controlling all news issuing from the Department of La Libertad maintains a veil of mystery over the disorders which occurred in Trujillo on Christmas eve [sic]. According to the version of the events published in 'El Comercio' on December 26th, groups of Aprista adherents attacked the police who were compelled to fire in self defence. Later on, the troops were called out by the Prefect and shooting became general throughout the city. Shortly after midnight the headquarters of the Apra party were forcibly closed and the occupants either arrested or thrown into the street. . . . The number of killed and wounded is not known. . . . Several leading Apristas have been arrested, . . . but so far as known no proceedings have been taken up to date against Haya de la Torre who still remains in Trujillo" (Anonymous 1931gg).

⁴⁷ "Disorderly scenes interrupted both the morning and afternoon sessions of the Constitutional Assembly on Tuesday. A personal reference in which one Deputy gravely insulted another Deputy led to the lively intervention of representatives and gallery alike. After the President had exhausted his stock of patience . . . the session was suspended. In the afternoon . . . a representative made references to the medical profession which were resented by the secretary of Congress. Violent words were exchanged between the different Deputies; and again the gallery took a noisy part in the proceedings. . . . The galleries were . . .

was made to try Leguía before the congress.⁴⁸ By early January 1932 Sánchez was given congressional approval to deal with the growing discontent in the north of the country.⁴⁹ Civil war had begun.⁵⁰

In January 1932, Tello's Institute of Anthropological Investigations' monthly operating budget was slashed by a third from 1000 to 666.67 soles (Mejía 1948:24).⁵¹ The budget for employees of the National Museum was also reduced. Valcárcel recalls that his own monthly director's salary was cut from 800 to 700 soles (Matos *et al.* 1981:347).⁵² It was the resultant

cleared by the military" (Anonymous 1931gg).

⁴⁸ It was resolved that "Leguía be tried before the Constituent Congress on the charges of treason against the Nation, de-nationalization of the railways, contracting of injurious loans and other damaging acts of his administration, and that a commission be named to draw up an act of accusation" (Anonymous 1931ff).

⁴⁹ "In early January, after ten days of sharp debate . . . the assembly approved the Emergency Law requested by the executive. Giving the government broad powers to end internal disorder, the measure was used to suppress APRA. The regime silenced the party's newspapers, closed its meeting hall, and arrested hundreds of Apristas" (Werlich 1978:196).

⁵⁰ "Haya de la Torre refused to accept the results, and, in December . . . began a continuous civil war between Apra and the army" (Davies 1974:112).

⁵¹ "While struggling to restore order and political stability, Sánchez Cerro could do little to stem the economic decline of the depression. His response was simply to undertake more deficit spending. . . . Thus the administration drew down the Central Reserve Bank's gold reserves by 48 percent, thereby forcing the country to abandon the gold standard in May 1932, which caused another sharp fall in the value of the *sol*, this time from 28 to 16 cents" (Klarén 2000:276).

⁵² Unfortunately comparable data sets for *both* the National Museum and the National Anthropological Institute that focus just on the monthly operating budget *or* just on employee salaries is unavailable. All that is known is that the Sánchez government instituted budget cuts at both. One does get the sense, however, that Tello, his staff, and

belt-tightening that prevented the institute from conducting field work (Tello and Mejía 1967: 200) and it seems likely to have also led to Tello's decision as editor not to publish the institute's second issue of *Wira Kocha* that had only gotten as far as 164 notebook pages (Espejo 1948b:23). It is presumed that the second issue was to follow the example of the first issue with a series of short articles authored by Tello and key members of his staff. Unfortunately the contents of the articles and their authors has as yet not been disclosed.

It was at the beginning of 1932 that the transfer of the unopened Paracas mummy bundles from the old National Museum of Archaeology to the university's Anthropological Institute in the Bolivar Museum was completed. This transfer did not include the exhibited opened bundles (still at the old National Museum of Archaeology). Because of the lack of display cases and shelves, the unopened bundles were stored on the floors of the various rooms and corridors of the museum (Tello and Mejía 1967: 107). Hence it would appear that it had taken months from start to finish to complete the transfer of the archaeological collections deemed necessary for the functioning of the "archaeological annex" of the National Museum. Or, put another way, the selected archaeological material that Valcárcel had permitted to be transferred to Tello was finally in place by the start of 1932.

In addition to being preoccupied with the transfer process, and necessary cataloging and the like, Tello and senior staff of the university's Anthropological Institute, as well as Valcárcel and senior staff at the National Museum, were anticipating, at the start of 1932, their participation in advertised classes to be given during the upcoming academic year. During the first semester Tello, on the one hand, was scheduled to

his institute suffered more damaging cuts than did Valcárcel, his staff, and his museum.

teach a course in pre-Incaic archaeology as well as seminars in archaeology and in ethnology while during the second semester he was scheduled to teach courses in American archaeology and in ethnology. Valcárcel, on the other hand, was scheduled to teach a course in Inca archaeology and a seminar on social anthropology during the first semester and during the second semester he was scheduled to teach a class on social anthropology. Tello and Valcárcel were also both scheduled to teach (together?) a course on general anthropology during both semesters.

During the first semester, Carrión was scheduled to teach a course in mythology and religion; Mejía was scheduled to teach a course on native languages and folklore, and Yácovleff was scheduled to teach a course on the ethnology of the tropical forest region (Tello and Mejía 1967: 212). With a total of seven classes to Valcárcel's five, it seems that Tello had placed the heaviest teaching load on his own shoulders.

It was probably around this time that Tello received a visit from Marie Beale, grandniece of Salmon P. Chase, late Chief Justice of the Supreme Court (Anonymous 1956).⁵³ She later wrote:

When our ambassador, Fred Dearing, asked me on arrival what I wanted to do in Lima, I at once told him that I was interested in seeing the ancient Indian textiles

⁵³ "Mrs. Beale was . . . born in California and was married to Mr. Beale in 1903 . . . who was . . . a rancher and philanthropist. He had served as Ambassador to Persia and several Balkan countries" (Anonymous 1956). "Mr. Beale . . . attended the Harvard Law School. . . . He managed his father's ranch and was appointed Minister to Persia in 1891 by President Harrison. In 1892 he was appointed Minister to Greece. . . . He married Miss Harriet Blaine. . . . He later married Miss Marie Oge. . . . Mr. Beale's marriage . . . ended in divorce in 1896. On April 23, 1903 he married Miss Oge of San Rafael, Calif., a grandniece of the late Salmon P. Chase, Chief Justice of the United States" (Anonymous 1936i).

that Dr. Julio Tello, now head of the Peruvian Archeological Department, had unearthed . . . at Paracas. . . . To my delight Dr. Tello at once appeared and for days untiringly showed me the treasures he had installed in the splendid museum built by the government suggesting, in its architecture, the constructions of the Incas (Beale 1932:109-110).

By this she meant the building that housed the Department of Archaeology of the new National Museum directed by Valcárcel. The Paracas material that had been placed on exhibit by Tello in 1929 remained on exhibit at the time of this visit. Hence, she did not go to the Bolivar Museum where the unopened Paracas mummy bundles were stored, as well as the rest of the material that had been collected on the South Coast prior to the change in museum directorship. It is certainly interesting that it was Tello who provided a tour of the archaeological department of the National Museum and that Mrs. Beale assumed that Tello was the head of this department. This would not have gone over well with Valcárcel, Yácovleff, or Muelle, none of whom were mentioned by Mrs. Beale in her book.

In any case, it is of interest to note that she wrote:

I suggested to Dr. Tello a show of Peruvian antiquities . . . to tour the United States. . . . Unhappily, unless aided by a generous art patron . . . there is no prospect at present. . . . Anyone who meets Dr. Tello receives some spark of the tireless energy and enthusiasm he feels for his work, and wishes that the world knew more of the treasures his intelligence and skill have brought to light. . . . In the University of San Marcos . . . there is a small museum of Peruvian antiquities. Here is the stone obelisk, discov-

ered by Dr. Tello at Chavín de Huántar, decorated in bas-relief (*ibid.*: 111-112).

In addition to learning that she visited with Tello at his museum at the University of San Marcos, we have an example of an American of wealth who was so charmed by Tello and his passion for Peruvian archaeology that she became interested in helping him.

We have the following description of a field trip in which Mrs. Beale participated, something that Tello was wont to provide those who took a keen interest in his work:

On the Sunday we spent in Lima, Dr. Tello proposed an inspection of a *huaca*, knowledge of which had just been brought to him by a little Indian boy. The lad's father had discovered mummies deep down in a hill which had not yet been excavated, and knowing that it meant employment for him, he had sent the information. . . . We drove out of Lima to the northwest for about an hour. . . . Turning into a hacienda, the boy went off for his father who came with another *peon*. They led us on to the foot of a big bare hill up which we plodded, and the digging began. While the two went deeper and deeper into the earth, we wandered about picking up here, a bit of textile, there, a terra-cotta vase. . . . It was hard for me to detect these bits . . . but a young German archaeologist with us . . . amassed a sack full of treasures for his Munich museum in less than half an hour. As none of them had any other than documentary value, he was allowed to keep them.

When our *peones* had completely disappeared into the hole we heard a shout and going back looked on while a basket-like bag containing a mummy was dragged to the surface. It was wound in some interest-

ing brown and white cloths, one of which was the conventional Indian poncho, or shirt, and had around the slit through which the head passes, a remarkably fine geometric design woven into the stuff. This as well as two little terra-cotta animals . . . and some tiny silver pincers pierced to wear on a string around the neck, and used to pull out hair and thorns, were given to me (*ibid.*: 113).

The German in question was Heinrich Ubbelohde-Doering who, during the years 1931-1932, had conducted archaeological explorations in Peru on behalf of the German Society of Sciences, the Munich Ethnographic Museum, and Munich University. The bulk of his work consisted of excavations in the Nazca region of the southern coast (Ubbelohde-Doering 1933: 129) and the above passage in Beale's book not only links him with exploration of an unnamed site on the Central Coast, it also links him with Tello.

The passing of Leguía occurred early the morning of Saturday 6 February, following a late night operation on Friday, three hours prior (Anonymous 1932b).⁵⁴ A little more than a week later the government took action in Lima against Aprista supporters, including Colonel Jiménez,⁵⁵ and shut down *La Tribuna*, the organ

⁵⁴ "Death followed a prostate gland operation. . . . The operation appeared to be entirely successful. . . . The weakness of the patient allowed only the use of a local anaesthetic [sic]. . . . A collapse, however, occurred some two hours after . . . and this was followed by a second collapse shortly after midnight. Later the ex-President recovered consciousness and received the Last Rites" (Anonymous 1932c).

⁵⁵ "There had been rumors circulated on streets that the Government was concerned about a revolutionary plot. This was confirmed . . . by the publication of an Official Comunicué in which the Minister of Government declared that elements of the Aprista Party, 'allied to remnants of Leguism and other well known malcontents' had been detected in secret conspiracy against the Government and

of the Aprista party (Anonymous 1932d).⁵⁶ The offices of the Lima newspaper *La Crónica* were reopened following a government-imposed fifteen-day suspension under the authorization of emergency (martial) law (Anonymous 1932e).⁵⁷ During the first week of March, there was an assassination attempt against Sánchez (Anonymous 1932f).⁵⁸ It was subsequently reported that five men were being held for trial in this failed attempt to kill the president (Anonymous 1932g).

It was at this time that it was reported in Lima's *The West Coast Leader* that plans were being made for a special "summer school" for American students to be held at the University

had further attempted to seduce the armed forces of the nation from their allegiance. The Comunicué statement stated that this movement was bound up with communist movements in other South American countries and was timed to break out at daybreak on Monday. The Government, it was stated, took the necessary steps to defeat the movement and during the course of the day made several arrests. These included Colonel Gustavo A. Jiménez, Minister of War in the late Provisional Government" (Anonymous 1932d).

⁵⁶ "Since last December there has been a heavy mortality in the ranks of the Lima press. . . . Among those which have disappeared in the last fortnight are 'La Crónica', 'La Tribuna' . . . and 'Libertad' which had an ephemeral existence after the Revolution of August 1930 has this week made a re-appearance. There is no 'opposition' paper in the strict sense of the word, existent in Lima to-day" (Anonymous 1932d).

⁵⁷ The newspaper *La Crónica* had been purchased by Rafael Larco Herrera in June 1931 (Larco 1947:146).

⁵⁸ "Colonel Luis M. Sánchez Cerro, President of Peru, narrowly escaped assassination at mid-day on Sunday, March 6th in . . . Miraflores when a twenty year old member of the Aprista party fired a revolver at him at almost point blank range, the bullet piercing the President's shoulder blade and passing out bellow the collar bone. A second bullet fired by the would-be assassin is stated to have been deflected from its course by a metal spectacle case in the President's left vest pocket over the heart" (Anonymous 1932f).

of San Marcos. This story was based on an article that had been published in the February issue of the *Bulletin of the Pan American Union* and among the classes to be offered was one on Peruvian archaeology (Anonymous 1932h).⁵⁹ Unstated was whether this class was going to be focused on pre-Incaic or Incaic archaeology. Subsequently it was reported in this Lima weekly that a bill had been sent to the congress by the minister of education designed to discontinue the perceived abuse of privileges given to students by university reform (Anonymous 1932i).⁶⁰

Opening ceremonies for the University of San Marcos took place on 3 May. Significantly, President Sánchez was not in attendance and this was publicly viewed as an indication of the strained relationship between the government and the university (Anonymous 1932n).⁶¹ Stu-

⁵⁹ "Plans are being made to inaugurate in July, 1932, a summer school at San Marcos University in Lima, Peru. . . The summer school will be conducted in the same way as those held in the United States, i.e., there will be a six weeks' session with daily periods of each course during five days of the week. The courses offered will include elementary and advanced Spanish, Latin American literature, Peruvian archeology and one on current Latin American affairs (politics, sociology, and economics)" (Anonymous 1932h).

⁶⁰ "The Minister . . . maintains that these privileges have been abused by a section of the students who, under the influence of professional agitators, have converted themselves into 'an aggressive and noisy sect of political propagandists acting for subversive ends.' The Bill which has been submitted to the Assembly would do away with the privileges granted by the Samanez Ocampo government in 1931 and introduce an entirely new system of 'reforms'" (Anonymous 1932i).

⁶¹ "The somewhat strained relations which exist at the present time between the Government and the University of San Marcos were evidenced in the absence of the President of the Republic from the opening ceremonies of the new year. In accordance with precedent, the Rector . . . [Dr. José A. Encinas] went to the Palace to invite the President, . . . but was only permitted to extend the invitation through the intermediary of an aide-de-camp. On the following day he received a letter from the President's private secretary stating that he had taken upon himself not

dents subsequently demonstrated their displeasure with the government (Pacheco 1997:105). During the first week of May an unsuccessful naval revolt was reported to have included some Aprista "malcontents" (Anonymous 1932l).⁶² On 6 May the government arrested Haya de la Torre in the Lima suburb of Miraflores where he had been hiding for weeks (*ibid.*).⁶³ Then, an

to make the invitation known to the President on the ground that it had not been extended with the necessary twenty-four hours' notice. The Secretary General of the University in reply explained why the invitation could not have been extended with more anticipation and stated his opinion that the President . . . would surely have disapproved of his secretary's letter if he had known of it" (Anonymous 1932m).

⁶² "A sailor's mutiny on Saturday night aboard Peru's two 3,000 ton light cruisers . . . provided a Sunday morning sensation for Lima and the Port . . . turned into grim tragedy on Wednesday afternoon when, as a result of the findings of the Court Martial convened to deal with the situation, eight sailors found guilty as ringleaders of the movement, fell before a firing squad in the old cemetery on San Lorenzo Island, where the submarine naval base is located. The revolt itself was all over by the early hour Sunday morning. . . . The sentence of death was passed against eight of the accused; fourteen others were awarded terms of fourteen years penal servitude while a sentence of ten years was passed in the case of twelve others. . . . They faced a firing squad in groups of four . . . within an hour of the reading of the sentence" (Anonymous 1932l).

⁶³ Haya "was arrested at daybreak on May 6th . . . in Miraflores [Lima] where he had been hiding for the past six weeks. . . . Some twenty Deputies belonging to this party were arrested and sent into exile but all efforts to trace the whereabouts of Haya de la Torre completely failed until a few days ago when information was received by the police that he was hiding in a mansion . . . adjoining the Mexican Legation. . . . There is stated to have been a connection, by means of a trapdoor, between the two buildings. Taking all precautions to prevent the escape of their quarry, the police surrounded the house in the early hours of the morning and captured the Aprist [sic] leader—who made no attempt at resistance—in the bedroom which he occupied. Haya de la Torre was immediately conveyed to the Prefecture in Lima where he remains incommunicado. Attempts are being made by the police to prove that he was at least cognizant of the attempt made against the President's life on March 6th" (Anonymous 1932m).

expedited 8 May decree signed by Sánchez ordered his minister of education, Carlos Sayan Álvarez, to close the university (Pacheco 1997: 105) and this order was carried out the following day (*ibid.*: 67).⁶⁴

Before having his attention focused on the university, Sayán had issued an edict dated 16 April that served to demonstrate the government's concern about the continuing problems of illegal excavations at archaeological sites and illicit sale and export of recovered artifacts. This edict made it clear that it was the policy of the present government to support the existing laws and resolutions that had been adopted in years past to prohibit such activities.

Specifically it was stated that toward this end the National Board had undertaken the following aggressive plan of action:

(1) Political authorities and police were obligated to capture those who illegally excavated at archaeological sites and to bring them before the judicial system. These authorities were also obligated to confiscate artifacts that resulted from these excavations and to see to their delivery to the local departmental board of archaeology for ultimate delivery to the National Museum.

(2) Port authorities were directed to compile detailed records on artifacts shipped (openly) within or outside the country. Such reports were to be sent as quickly as possible to the authorities of the National Museum of Archaeology.

⁶⁴ It is unknown whether this had any affect on funding provided by the National Museum in support of the university's Anthropological Institute, given that the agreement was for the university to provide use of its educational facilities in exchange for this support. Of course, it was not the museum that provided this support but the government that did so in by way of a special account in the museum's budget designated for this purpose.

Port authorities were also responsible for preventing the clandestine shipment of artifacts.

(3) Those who informed on the illegal excavation or export of archaeological artifacts would be eligible to receive fifty percent of the amount of the fines levied against offenders.

(4) Collectors of artifacts or those merchants who sold artifacts were required to make an inventory of what they had for the purpose of registration. In cases of noncompliance help could be sought from the police.

(5) Collectors and merchants of antiquities were also obligated to provide detailed information on any additional objects acquired. Only objects that had a certificate issued by the Registry of Archaeological Artifacts could be acquired. Otherwise acquisition would be considered illegal and subject to fine (Sayán 1932).

Such was the official position of the government and it is reasonable to assume that Tello, who had fought for years to see the creation of the National Board, had played a significant role in the drafting of this official document. Put another way, the document had Tello's imprint all over it and he must have felt a degree of satisfaction when it received the ultimate approval of Sánchez.

In the weeks to follow there were published in the Lima press articles that suggested that authorities were taking to heart the government's new emphasis on protecting the nation's precolumbian heritage. There was a report that authorities in Cusco had stopped an illegal act of "treasure" hunting (Anonymous 1932j) and there were reports from the North Coast that a prefect was investigating the theft of archaeological artifacts that had been stolen from a local museum (Anonymous 1932k). In Lima these thefts of the national patrimony resulted in

public outcry (Bustamante 1932; Canevares 1932; Editor 1932a).

On 23 May an editorial appeared in *El Comercio* that dealt with yet another incidence of looting on the South Coast. "Unscrupulous individuals" had excavated in a cemetery there for the purpose of extracting artifacts that they planned to ship outside the country by using the name of a foreign diplomatic representative. Fortunately, it was stated, naval defense forces that took note of what was happening were able to take possession of four mummy bundles that had been illegally excavated. The editorial went on to state that what made the present act so offensive was that the nation's laws fell so hard on perpetrators that committed such acts.

It appeared, the editorial continued, that such illegal acts occurred quite frequently given the many notices that foreign museums had acquired Paracas artifacts, not to mention the fact that the National Board was investigating an exhibition of precolumbian Peruvian textiles in Buenos Aires. In order to put a stop to this, continued the editorial, international collaboration was going to be required. The editorial concluded with the statement that the looting of the Paracas sites had reached a critical juncture and that the nation needed to do whatever was necessary to put an end to the clandestine industry that so threatened this national resource (Editor 1932b).⁶⁵

⁶⁵ Tello himself could not have made a more impassioned plea for the safeguard of the Paracas sites as provided in the editorial, and it is not outside the realm of possibility to suppose that he had been the source for at least some of the information provided in the editorial. Certainly the editor's source must have been someone familiar with what the National Board was then investigating regarding Paracas artifacts that had been taken from the country, and no source was more reliable than Tello. There was no one as passionately invested in the Paracas sites as he. If Tello had leaked this information, this would have been a major breach of board protocol. It would have been an act of desperation in the face of official indifference. The reader should bear in mind that these comments are entirely

On 24 May Valcárcel wrote a letter as secretary of the National Board to the editor of *El Comercio* and this letter was published the following day. As a prelude the editor wrote that, according to informed sources at the southern port of Lomas, a number of mummy bundles containing valuable objects such as pottery, textiles, and works in gold, that had been stolen from Paracas, and that had been seized by authorities, were now at the Port of Callao. According to the superintendent of the port authorities at Callao, these authorities at Lomas (Map 1) had been telegraphed with the request that detailed information about the confiscated objects, including their exact origin, be sent by air.

As for Valcárcel, he wrote that as soon as he had seen the editorial printed by the newspaper he had immediately sought verification from authorities in the Province of Pisco. He then said he had been told that they knew nothing about any decommissioned Paracas artifacts in their jurisdiction nor had there been any illegal excavations at the Paracas sites. He went on to say that the National Museum maintained vigilance of the Paracas sites in the form of a guard although, unfortunately, he could not make this claim for other parts of the South Coast. He concluded by agreeing with what had been published in the editorial, that the nation's archaeological patrimony should be protected, and mentioned the decree that had been issued on 16 April (L. Valcárcel 1932a).

Valcárcel was suggesting, then, that the National Board had concluded that the illegal excavations referred to in the editorial had not come from the Paracas sites *per se* that were under the protection of the National Museum. It is assumed that, in his role as secretary, Valcárcel had been chosen to write for and/or to act on behalf of the board. It is also assumed that the

speculative.

published editorial had precipitated a meeting of the board, a report on which was never published.

Tello also wrote a letter to the editor of *El Comercio* on 23 May, the same day the editorial had appeared. Although written the day before, Tello's letter was published the day after the publication of the Valcárcel letter. In retrospect, it is clear from his letter that Tello had used the new Paracas crisis to his advantage, that is, to inform the public about his history with the Paracas sites and artifacts, to unburden himself of feelings of despair, and to offer his thoughts on what needed to be done to protect things Paracas.

Tello began with a detailed history of his first visit to the Paracas Peninsula in July 1925, and said that at that time he had realized that he had found the source of the textiles that he had seen in private collections and that had been sold in the shops of Lima. He then went on in some detail about the discoveries during the period 1925-1926 that had been found by him and his staff at the National Museum. In particular he pointed out that they had worked at two spatially distinct sites and that this work had resulted in a paper presented at the 1926 Rome meeting of the International Congress of Americanists and published in 1928.

He then went on to state that, late in 1927, a number of important new discoveries had been made at these Paracas sites by him and his staff at the National Museum and that this work had been funded by the commission to oversee the nation's exhibit at the Seville Exposition. In particular this work had led to the discovery of 429 mummy bundles that were transported to the National Museum. Informed of this important discovery, the commission had issued a series of resolutions. As head of the archaeological section of the nation's exhibit, he had argued that only duplicate specimens be sent to Seville

and not those he felt were truly exceptional for research purposes. This had led him to oppose the shipment of exceptional artifacts and a big fight had ensued in which he had nearly lost all hope of prevailing until the government finally agreed to send only six mummy bundles. These were stated to have been turned over to the proper minister on 10 January 1919 [actually 1929] to be deposited in a secure locale.

Tello then went on to make four points that will be presented here more or less in his own words. His first point was that the taking of these mummy bundles, that had not cost the state a single centavo, and that, to the contrary, port authorities had valued them at 3,000 soles, were, in his view, actually worth no less than three million soles. He backed up this claim by arguing that each of these bundles was a small museum of fine arts; each was a true authentic history of Peru, an archive of ancient native art and technology, the greatest example of textile development on the continent. He had still, however, not had the opportunity to give the world scientific community and cultivated individuals an accounting of the marvelous contents of these bundles and others that still existed *in situ* at Paracas. When this did become known, if it were not the destiny of these bundles to be destroyed, the Paracas culture in Peru would be elevated, by fascination and marvel of its history and art, to the same category as the most celebrated civilizations of the Old World.

Tello's second point was that science unquestionably supported the idea that the oldest civilizations of Peru had not recognized topographic or (current) provisional boundaries in their development, but that instead were derived from the same Andean trunk incubated and integrally developed from within *sans* outside influences. Hence, Peru's distinct archaeology and precolumbian development was national, indigenous, completely original, and autochthonous.

In his third point, he indicated the specialness of the native Paracas culture. He stated that it was evident to him that there had existed in this culture a calendar that measured time by way of the representations of agricultural deities,⁶⁶ as in the case of the Maya calendars. He stated that the verified practice of cranial surgical operations in Paracas culture had no parallel in the history of the art of curing among ancient peoples. He pointed out the artificial mummification of the bodies and the extraordinary development of decorative and symbolic art in Paracas culture.

Tello's fourth and final point was that his had been an extraordinarily bitter experience of national indifference during more than a quarter century of unceasing archaeological labor regarding this scientific research in general. He was bitter about the even stranger fact that the discovery of Paracas, a "transcendental" discovery of national import, had served to awaken "mediocre" envy and the smear of claims of "charlatan" foolishness on his part. Finally, he stated that he was bitter at seeing Paracas turned into the center of the nation's clandestine exploitation of antiquities.

Having highlighted these four points, Tello addressed the history of what had been done to prevent the destruction of the Paracas sites. He began by stating that he had been replaced as director of the National Museum of Archaeology in September 1930 and subsequently, given the importance of the Paracas sites, he had implored that the National Board take every action necessary to protect and preserve them. This the board had recommended to Pisco authorities and this had resulted in the hiring of a guard who lived more than three kilometers away. He then went on to say that in February 1931 it had come to his knowledge that some mummies had

been taken from Paracas and a little later news was received from the United States that thirty mantles from these mummies had been put up for sale in New York City. He had then spoken out against what had happened at a meeting of the National Board after having seen for himself the damage done at Paracas.

In spite of measures taken, Tello continued, new objects appeared daily for sale in the antiquities shops of Lima and some American museums had announced the acquisition of Paracas textiles. In addition, objects of inestimable value were purchased by Peruvian art enthusiasts, including the precious textiles belonging to Rafael Larco Herrera⁶⁷ that had been exhibited recently by the *Entre Nous* society in Lima. In addition, Tello wrote, as a result of the closing of the University of San Marcos, some Paracas artifacts from the Museum of Archaeology had disappeared. Among these artifacts was one of the most notable of objects of art—a bordered textile that had been torn out of its broken frame.

Tello then mentioned that he had denounced the new attack on Paracas as only one of the manifestations of the alarming destruction of antiquities that, like a voracious fire, had been destroying Peru's archaeological relics with ever-greater intensity over the past two years. He pointed out that a single guard, or even a number of policemen, would be insufficient to protect the sites of the Paracas culture that were to

⁶⁶ This was likely in reference to a unique Paracas textile that Tello had studied in 1924 and that had subsequently been purchased by Rafael Larco Herrera (Levillier 1928:3).

⁶⁷ Valcárcel, after speaking of the contemptible and capricious use by the Leguía administration of the nation's archaeological heritage that had been held in the National Museum of Archaeology, went on to name Larco as one of those collectors of fine textiles whose ownership was tolerated by the National Museum because he was such a good steward of this heritage (Matos *et al.*:266).

be found, north to south, from the Paracas Peninsula to the mouth of the Ica River.⁶⁸

Regarding this, Tello stated that the conservation of these sites could not be resolved by the use of police because, above all, the problem was a technical one. The police would only be able to conserve and appreciate those artifacts of known value. A policeman, a servant, even authorities and cultivated individuals, would be repulsed by the “rags” [textile fragments], pottery fragments, human skulls, and other remains of the biological and industrial activities of the natives. These individuals would only have an interest in curiosities, beautiful objects that would make a good present for one’s superior or foreign friend. Hence, such individuals could not be entrusted with the custody of archaeological relics. Rather, only those with previous preparation could be entrusted.

Tello went on to discuss the knowledge needed to protect these sites. He began by stating that it was indispensable to first know the different archaeological areas of the country and to know the principal agents of the destruction of antiquities; all those traffickers connected to the permanent places of commerce, as well as agents in Ica, Pisco (Map 1), Santiago de Chile, and Buenos Aires. This research needed to be done before taking the special actions required in each case could be undertaken.

This work, however, he could not recommend at the present time, given the economic climate in Peru which served to limit the training of students at the university or in the museums. It was only in these places that there were

⁶⁸ In this regard, it should be noted that at some point in 1932 Muelle and unnamed others made a trip to the Paracas region. On the Bay of Independence, at the desert location of Carhua they obtained splendid Paracas funerary textiles (Buse 1974b). It is unstated whether these textiles were found as a result of excavation or were obtained by purchase. In any case, there is no evidence of any publications that resulted from this work.

trained archaeologists who specialized in the preparation necessary for the fieldwork that needed to be done. Neither was it possible, Tello added, to do work in the museums on original artifacts [such as those wrapped within the mummy bundles] of great historic and artistic value that were presently in grave danger of being destroyed.

Finally Tello addressed the idea that was brought up in the editorial regarding the need to establish international cooperation in order to stop the destruction of artifacts. He stated that he had proposed just such an initiative to the executive board at the 1920 [actually 1915-16] meeting of the International Congress of Americanists that met in New York City and in so doing he then had to consider just how difficult this would be to actually put into action (Tello 1932).

The publication in *El Comercio* of Tello’s letter to the editor was followed by the publication of a second such letter written by Valcárcel. This letter was dated 27 May and, like his first, it was brief relative to the lengthy Tello missive. Many of Tello’s comments could have been construed as an indictment of, a challenge even, to Valcárcel’s leadership at the National Museum. He could not, and did not, allow this to go unanswered.

Valcárcel began by stating that since he had had the honor of being named the director of the nation’s Museum of Archaeology, in response to a spontaneous situation [Tello’s removal] that had called upon his sense of patriotism, he had not limited himself to the internal needs of the museum, but he had also concerned himself with the matter of safeguarding the national patrimony. Toward this end he had focused on perfecting the legal organization of a new National Museum and the reform of the National Board [created by Tello], the establishment of a national registry of artifacts, etc. that had resulted

in the issuance of a series of decrees and supreme resolutions. As such, he did not feel that as a member of the board, that Tello had the right to publish what he had.

Valcárcel then went on to state that since the February 1931 incident employees of the National Museum had been rotated every four months to guard Paracas and that this practice had proven much more efficient, proof of which was the fact since it had been put into effect there had been no illegal excavations in that zone. He added that actions by the local authorities and police, as provided by the 16 April 1932 Supreme Decree, served to continue to stop the “fire” that Tello had mentioned. He concluded with a swipe at Tello’s leadership abilities by stressing the point that the theft of artifacts since the closing of the university that was mentioned by Tello had occurred at the University of San Marcos Museum of Archaeology, and not the National Museum (L. Valcárcel 1932b).

On 28 May an edict signed by a new minister of education, R. Rivadeneira,⁶⁹ dated 25 May was published in *El Comercio*. It declared that, in consultation with the director of the National Museum, and in consideration of the respective decree of July 1931, it was resolved that the registration of archaeological specimens would be definitive until 10 July of the next year (Rivadeneira 1932a). A second somewhat altered version of this edict was subsequently published on 8 June. It was backdated 24 May, added the word “closed” after the word “definitively”, and substituted “current year” for “next year” (Rivadeneira 1932b). Needless to say, the first change suggested that Valcárcel had taken action the same day he had read the damning editorial suggesting that the Paracas sites had

been looted. As for the latter two changes, they served to correct the mistake that the registration of artifacts was to end in 1933, as opposed to the originally stated intention to have the registration period last only one year.⁷⁰

Two other letters to the editor were published in *El Comercio* concerning Paracas. The first letter, dated 25 May, was written by Manuel Montiel Ruiz of the Hotel Pensilvania [sic] and was published on 30 May. He stated that the purpose of his letter was to make corrections to what had been published. He then declared that the mummy bundles reportedly said to have been seized at Lomas by port authorities belonged exclusively to him and that they had been acquired by him during the many years he had spent in the District of Nazca since coming from his native Argentina.

Montiel Ruiz then went on to say that these bundles had not been seized, in fact, could not have been seized, because he had had in his possession authorization from the Ministry of Education to ship these bundles inside the country. What had happened, he explained, was that the captain of the port authorities, who was ignorant of the laws and customs concerning the movement of such materials, had created a furor. Then, after repeating that the bundles belonged to him and that he had a license to ship them, he stated that absolutely none of the bundles were from Paracas.⁷¹ He concluded by stating that he had been the first law-abiding native of Argentina to have his collection inventoried by

⁶⁹ This was very likely Dr. Ricardo Rivadeneira, professor of the History of Law, presumably at the University of Trujillo, where he showed an interest in the nearby ruins of Chan Chan (Rivadeneira 1923).

⁷⁰ In its 15 August 1932 edition *El Comercio* reported that the (far northern) provincial archaeological board of Piura had registered a total of 6,278 artifacts (Anonymous 1932p).

⁷¹ It has been reported that Manuel Montiel Ruiz tried to illegally ship a collection of textiles and pottery belonging to the Nasca Culture in November 1932 (Tello and Mejia 1967:197). The date was wrong, but this information supports the collector’s claim that the artifacts did not come from a Paracas site.

the National Museum of Archaeology (Montiel 1932).

There was to be yet more one more letter published in *El Comercio* that dealt with the matter at hand. This was written by Professor Alberto Casavilca in Lima and was dated 27 May 1932. Casavilca wrote that he had been a student at the Teacher's School in Lima when the German archaeologist Max Uhle, then director of the National Museum of History, had lectured on the science of archaeology. This had inspired him, for at that time there too had been a serious problem with the illegal looting of archaeological sites throughout the country, and he had since dedicated himself to the tenants of this science in the Ica region.

Casavilca then stated that he agreed with Tello that each of the mummy bundles was a small museum unto itself. He also attached to his letter a copy of part of a paper that, as president of the Ica Cultural Center, he had presented at the 1930 Seville Congress of Spanish-American History and Geography. This paper he had presented at the session dealing with precolumbian history and it addressed the need to conduct the scientific study of precolumbian civilizations. Casavilca had sent the part of his paper that provided the conclusions that he had reached, in which he mentioned both Uhle and Tello by name. These conclusions, he went on, were presented to the congress as a whole and it was voted to recommend to the Peruvian government that it declare inviolable the archaeological sites of the Department of Ica unless in the pursuit of science, that it allow only those with scientific backgrounds be given permits to conduct research in this department, and that in the city of Ica a regional museum of archaeology be founded (Casavilca 1932).

A summary of the "facts" of the incident shows that they are muddled at best. Initially the editor of *El Comercio* reported that four mummy

bundles had been excavated illegally for the purpose of removing artifacts from the bundles and then shipping them outside the country with the aid of a foreign diplomatic representative. Furthermore, he reported that naval defense forces had foiled this act by seizing the objects in question. Then, the next day, the editor, in an introduction to the first of two letters sent by Valcárcel, stated that Lomas sources had reported that a number of mummy bundles containing valuable artifacts stolen from Paracas had been seized by port authorities and were now at the Port of Callao. The editor also noted that authorities at Callao had telegraphed the authorities at Lomas and were awaiting the receipt of further details including the origin of the bundles.

We then have contributions by others. In his first letter Valcárcel, speaking as the secretary of the National Board of Archaeology, stated that upon reading the editorial he had immediately contacted authorities of the Province of Pisco and had been told that they knew nothing about any illegal excavations at the two Paracas sites nor did they know anything about the recent confiscation of any Paracas artifacts. Then we have the letter by Montiel Ruiz in which he claimed ownership of the bundles in question. He also stated that he had registered them with the National Museum of Archaeology, and that he had a license issued by the Ministry of Education that permitted him to transport these bundles anywhere in the country. Finally, while admitting to be being both a collector and a native of Argentina, he denied that any of the bundles had come from Paracas.

Outside of Casavilca, who wrote in support of him, Tello was the only one who did not provide any new information regarding the theft in question. Instead he offered the fact that since the closing of the university a valuable Paracas artifact at the university's Museum of Archaeology had gone missing. He also stated, in a not-

so-subtle criticism of the Sánchez regime's decision to close San Marcos, that in the present economic climate the teaching of the science of archaeology was much more difficult and, as a result, this had had a deleterious effect on his ability to protect archaeological sites in Peru for the nation.

What Tello mostly did in his long letter was to identify with the two celebrated sites belonging to the Paracas culture and with the hundreds of mummy bundles found at these sites by him and his staff at the National Museum of Archaeology. He identified himself as being passionate about safeguarding *all* Paracas sites and the *scientific* recovery and study of *all* artifacts of this culture. In so doing he essentially argued for a national program of rescue archaeology aimed at beating looters to as yet undiscovered Paracas tombs. He also summarized what he felt were the remarkable accomplishments of this *indigenous* culture, in-so-doing providing reasons to preserve its remains. Finally he pointed out that he had had to *fight* to retain control of most of the Paracas material discovered in 1927 and that an unnamed minister had taken possession of artifacts, inclusive of six mummy bundles, to be exhibited in Spain, each of these bundles representing a small museum of inestimable value.

This may well have been the first time that Tello had complained in public about his disagreement with the Seville Commission, though he decided *not* to actually name the individual involved whom we know to be Rospigliosi from an official report sent by Tello in 1931. It is interesting in this regard that Tello *did* choose to name Larco Herrera as the collector who was exhibiting Paracas textiles in Lima. That Larco had been a minister of the previous administration suggests that Tello may have felt that he could safely do so in the changed political climate. In any case one wonders if Tello had "outed" Larco out of simple frustration.

Tello had made it clear that he was bitter about how he had been treated over a quarter century of struggle to introduce the science of archaeology to Peru. He admitted that he was bitter that discoveries made at the two Paracas sites had not been celebrated but had instead earned him mere envy and rude remarks. He also admitted that he was bitter that the nation had proven indifferent to the protection of the nation's archaeological patrimony as a whole and that related to the Paracas culture in particular which had led to Paracas (peninsula and coastal regions) becoming the nation's looting center. Regarding the two Paracas sites, Tello specifically made three other thinly veiled points aimed at the new director of the National Museum. First, that since his removal as director of the National Museum of Archaeology he had strongly urged the National Board to protect these sites and that this had led to the hiring of a neighbor untrained in the science of archaeology three kilometers distant to act as a guard. Second, that in February 1931 the sites were looted. Third, that he had not yet been able to report in full on the sites' Paracas mummy bundles both in Lima and still *in situ*.

Valcárcel took offense and responded in a second letter to the editor. In this letter he took credit for the new edicts and supreme resolutions that had been issued relative to the nation's archaeological patrimony since, in an act inspired by his patriotism, he had agreed to replace Tello as the director of the National Museum of Archaeology. These official documents, he declared, had put out the racing fire of looting that Tello had spoken about. Valcárcel also pointed out that since the February incidence of looting at the two Paracas sites, he had instituted a policy of the quarterly rotation of employees of the National Museum, presumably trained in the science of archaeology, to guard them. He did admit, however, that other Paracas sites on the South Coast did not enjoy this protection, suggesting that this was something

that had come up in meetings of the National Board.

Valcárcel specifically made mention of the instituting of a national registry of artifacts when he claimed credit for archaeological initiatives and this is a noteworthy remark in light of the antiquities collector Montiel Ruiz's claim that his mummy bundles had been certified by the National Museum of Archaeology. There is no evidence that Tello oversaw the process of the certification of archaeological collections. Hence, it is very likely that this process was overseen by staff that worked directly for Valcárcel who may have been untrained in the science of archaeology. Also, given Tello's complaint of indifference, it is interesting to note this collector's claim that he had a license issued by the Ministry of Education that allowed him to move his collection across the country.

Finally, the point that Tello made regarding his not being in a position to fully report to the world scientific community on the scientific study of things Paracas may be viewed, in part, as a not-so-subtle reference to the criticism expressed by Muelle in his publication. In part, as well, this may be viewed as criticism of the Sánchez government's decision to reduce funding for the National Museum by a third and that had not been replaced by Valcárcel with other funds from within the overall budget of the museum.

The Sánchez government declared that a national day of mourning would be held on 16 July (Anonymous 1932n). An APRA revolt headed by Colonel Jiménez that had been planned for months had been set into motion. The plan was to have armed Aprista civilians and supporters within the army to simultaneously attack military posts and urban centers throughout the country. However, without orders, early on the morning of 7 July there was

an attack on the army barracks at Trujillo that doomed the revolt (Werlich 1978:196-197).⁷²

An edict dated 18 July and signed by R. Rivadeneira was published in the Lima press on 20 July regarding the installation of a Department of Anthropology within the Photographic Service of the Technical Section of the National Museum. This was done to advance the museum's ability to fulfill its educational function. Specifically, it was directed that this be done under six enumerated conditions:

- (1) This service would be charged with the reproduction of archaeological specimens in the museum corresponding to collections of a scientific interest.
- (2) The negatives obtained by the service would be used to make copies to be sold or sent to national and foreign institutions as determined by the director of the museum.
- 3) The museum would pay for the artist contracted by the service two and a half gold soles for each accepted negative measuring nine by twelve centimeters.
- (4) The museum would pay fifteen soles for each postcard.
- (5) The above prices would serve as the basis for work to be done.

⁷² "Soldiers soon ringed Trujillo. Military aircraft indiscriminately bombed and strafed the city. . . . The rebel leaders fled. . . . On July 10, shortly before the government assault, 60 prisoners—army officers, policemen and civilians—were murdered at the city jail. The bodies of some were mutilated. Enraged by these atrocities, the troops that stormed Trujillo a few hours later immediately shot most captured rebels. During the next several days, the army arrested hundreds of suspects. Those whose trigger fingers and shoulders showed evidence that they had fired weapons were executed at the ruins of Chan Chan. . . . Estimates of the number killed range from 1,000 to 5,000 persons" (Werlich 1978:197-198).

(6) The museum would exercise complete control over the activities of this service, others being prohibited from using it except that in special cases the museum director could authorize reproductions considered essential under the condition that the developed negatives would be incorporated into the museum's archives.

Furthermore, this edict provided that when the service made photographic copies of specimens in private collections declared unique, costs fell to the owner. The museum would receive from the government an additional 120 gold soles monthly to be applied toward its journals, (other) publications, and pictures. Finally, this edict specified that reproductions would be temporarily sold at the entrance of the museum and that the museum would keep a separate account of its costs and would submit this monthly to the appropriate office in the Ministry of Education (Rivadeneira 1932c). A significant result was the publication by the museum of a new journal dedicated to matters both anthropological and archaeological in nature.

In its issue dated 16 August, the following brief statement was published in *The West Coast Leader*:

The American Scholar, published by the United Chapters of 'PHI BETA KAPPA' informs us that the Institute of International Education had completed plans for an American summer school at the University of San Marcos. Plans for conducting this summer school were later cancelled owing to political troubles involving the University of San Marcos, which resulted in the closing of that institution (Wheeler 1932).

Also in August the Piura archaeological board began the registration of artifacts (Anonymous 1932p).

Startling news reached Lima on September 1. . . . The previous evening 300 armed Peruvian citizens had seized the town of Leticia in the Amazonian territory recently ceded to Colombia. Sánchez Cerro at first announced this action as an Aprista-Communist plot to embarrass his regime. He soon learned, however, that the attacking force consisted of nationalistic citizens of the Department of Loreto who resented Leguía's surrender of Leticia to the Colombians. . . . Although Peru was not prepared for hostilities with Colombia, Sánchez Cerro adopted a belligerent attitude. . . . The president ordered troops from Iquitos to reinforce the citizens at Leticia. Unfortunately, Bogotá would not relinquish its new river port without a struggle (Werlich 1978:198-199).

News of the publication of the second issue of the *Revista del Museo Nacional* was announced in the Lima press early in October (Anonymous 1932t).⁷³ This issue included a contribution by Valcárcel and one co-authored by Yácovleff and Muelle, both of which dealt with Paracas. Valcárcel's contribution was as editor and it consisted of a brief report on an image of a feline

⁷³ "Valcárcel founded *Revista de Museo Nacional*. . . . We find, in the preface to the first number, his point of view of the need and value of archaeological studies, when he says that, 'archaeological investigations are being oriented by new directions. Archaeologists and artists march together; the former excavate and secure proofs, they are sappers and inductive investigators, while the latter take the material that has been accumulated and with the divine breath of intuition they bring the inert back to life. The archaeologist is no longer the simple excavator and collector, since one of his chief roles now consists of knowing and recognizing man and the region where he used to live. Anthropology, psychology, geography are necessary studies to this end. He must study the living, the race and the individual, in order to understand the data which is forthcoming at the archaeological excavation and autopsy. The task of reconstruction of a culture or people requires the combined efforts of science and art specialists; specialists of any studies have to cooperate in archaeological work'" (Giesecke 1933a: 23-24).

found on a textile from an opened bundle in the museum's collection that had been recovered years before (L. Valcárcel 1932f: 161), presumably during Tello's tenure as director of the National Museum of Archaeology.

The contribution by Yácovleff and Muelle was a report, seemingly scientific in nature, which dealt with the excavations that had been undertaken at Paracas during the National Museum's field expedition undertaken from July 29 to August 1931. Specifically this was a very detailed account of the excavation of three small tombs found on the third terrace of Cerro Colorado (Yácovleff and Muelle 1932). The information contained in the report was supported by numerous drawings, all done by Muelle, clearly demonstrating that the National Museum had ample resources to report on its work of an archaeological nature.⁷⁴

Among the authors' observations were some that had been included in Muelle's newspaper article. One observation was that archaeologists should not delay the publication of data recovered, that, in fact, they had the duty to share this information with everyone who could use it. Specifically, it was noted that there was an abundance of material in the nation's museums that had still not been reported on (*ibid.*: 46). A second observation noted that the bodies recovered by the excavations on Cerro Colorado had not served to clarify questions relative to artificial mummification. It was stated that the internal organs of only two of the bodies recovered were preserved and that in neither case did these remains support the notion of the special extraction and cleaning of the viscera. In both cases the viscera remained intact and remains of

excrement were found in one. Hence, it was unnecessary to rush to the hypothesis that fire or certain chemicals had been in use to effect artificial preservation (*ibid.*: 48).

Clearly Tello, who had focused on fieldwork and analysis (and not publication) and who had argued that the Paracas culture had practiced artificial mummification by the use of fire or chemicals, was the target of both of these observations. Given the fact that Valcárcel was the overall editor of the journal and the director of the National Museum, this strongly suggests that Valcárcel not only agreed with these observations but that he had approved their inclusion in the published report.

On September first *El Comercio* published a long report by Valcárcel on current and upcoming activities of the National Museum. He included in this report a plea to construct new exhibition rooms for the museum as a whole and urged that workshops and offices be built for the Archaeological Institute. Regarding the latter, he noted that the museum fortunately had land behind the present building [housing this institute] and that construction would cost no more than 120,000 soles (L. Valcárcel 1932c). It is unclear if he was advocating for construction of an expanded facility aimed at assisting or ousting Tello.

The day after it was written, a 24 October report by Manuel Arnillas Ortíz de Villate to the two members of the University of San Marcos Commission of Administration and Control, Rospigliosi and Oscar F. Arruz, was published in *El Comercio*. This was a report designed to support the positions of the Sánchez government and conservative university faculty. This report concluded that co-government with the students had proven disastrous. One highlight of the report dealt with finances. Specifically it was stated that during the fourteen months that Encinas had been rector expenses were 1,486,933

⁷⁴ "Una exploración en Cerro Colorado by Yácovleff, Muelle . . . is an admirable account of the unusual and important finds which have been made in recent years at Paracas. . . . The authors and editors are to be congratulated on the number and quality of the illustrations which amplify the text" (Olson 1933:396).

soles, while income received had been only 272,350 soles. In addition, since the university had been closed, it had been run at a deficit of 31,000 soles a month.

Another highlight of the report concerned criticism of the practice instituted by this rector that allowed students to act as teachers though they lacked their doctorates. It was also brought up that under Encinas the director of the university's library, who was paid 400 soles a month, was a student who had been allowed to travel overseas to continue his education (Arnillas 1932a).⁷⁵ This published report brought an expected detailed response from Encinas (and Jorge Leguía) in the form of a letter to the editor dated 26 October that was published the following afternoon (Encinas and Leguía 1932). This rebuttal by Encinas was answered, in turn, by a second Arnillas letter to the editor dated 28 October that was published the next day (Arnillas 1932b).

In his second letter, Tello's name came up. Arnillas was expanding on his complaint that the (still unnamed) student who held the position of director of the university's library had been paid separate amounts for this position, and for each of the two classes that he taught. In this context he wrote that Tello was paid a monthly stipend of 400 soles for his services as director of the university's Museum of Archaeology, another 250 soles for being a physician who taught one class, and another 250 soles for teaching another class, both in the School of Letters, for a total of 900 soles monthly (Arnillas 1932b).

⁷⁵ The director of the university's library at this time was someone whom Valcárcel claimed in his memoirs to have been a good friend, Jorge Basadre (Matos *et al.* 1981:261). It is interesting to note that as one of Peru's most celebrated historians, Basadre wrote a multi-volume post-Independence history of Peru, the coverage of which ends not long after the August Revolution of 1930 (Basadre 1961-64).

A number of questions arise from this. Why was Tello specifically being targeted? Was it felt that he had been one of those on the faculty who had both supported and benefitted from Encinas's policies? Was this public mention of his name a deliberate smear intended to send a message that he, in particular, was not going to profit from the new university administration? Did this have anything to do with Tello's report in which he named Rospigliosi as the representative of the Seville Commission who had taken charge of the Paracas mummies?

Finally, in the 8 November issue of *The West Coast Leader* an advertisement was published for "Peruvian Antiques and Curios" that featured a drawing of a "pre-Inca weaving from Paracas". Obviously things hadn't really changed and the nation's archaeological heritage, and that specifically from Paracas, was still openly for sale.

At the very beginning of 1933 the idea that Cusco had been declared the "Archaeological Capital of South America" was being trumpeted (Editor 1933a; Márquez 1933). This notion had its roots in a declaration made at the end of the 1924 Pan American Scientific Congress held in Lima. At archaeological sessions chaired by Tello the idea had been raised of creating an international school of archaeology in Cusco and holding a conference there in 1934 to set this into motion. This idea of a 1933 celebration in Cusco continued to be promoted by the government in 1929 (Frisancho *et al.* 1929). Tello and Valcárcel were among those who signed off on a resolution to this effect (Editor 1933b). The year 1934 was to mark four hundred years since the founding of the city and the Leguía government had proposed that an international exposition be held there inclusive of the holding of an archaeological congress and the creation of a Pan-American Institute of Archaeology (Frisancho *et al.* 1929). At the 1932 International Congress of Americanists held in Argentina, it was proposed by the Ecuadorian delegate that Cusco be de-

clared the “Archaeological Capital of South America” (Amaral 1934) and this idea was subsequently supported by the National Museum in Lima and by Peru’s congress (Matos *et al.* 1981).⁷⁶ Now the idea of a Cusco museum of archaeology had taken hold (Cosio 1933). This happened despite the fact “by early 1933, the economy had reached rock bottom” (Klarén 2000:276).

Valcárcel’s focus on this initiative must have been temporarily sidetracked when a detailed report was published on 20 January regarding a theft that had taken place very early the previous day at what had been the Museum of Peruvian Archaeology. It was stated that, as was customary, the employees began their day at nine and were very surprised to find three opened display cases on the lower floor that had contained artifacts belonging to the Nasca and Chimu cultures. Valcárcel had immediately summoned the police and had explained to them on arrival that on the lower floor *duplicate* artifacts made of gold, consisting of discs, vases, and bracelets, about three kilos in total weight, had

⁷⁶ “Cuzco is declared by the Constituent Congress of 1933 as the Archaeological Capital of the Americas: the twenty-fifth International Congress of Americanists which just recently held its conference at La Plata, adopted a resolution to have the Government of Peru declare Cuzco as the archaeological Capital of South America. The Constituent Assembly enacted a law promulgated January 23, 1933, to that effect. It provides that the resolution of the Conference of La Plata shall be given due force of law; Cuzco becomes the seat of the National Museum of Archaeology: a Faculty of American History and Archaeology and a School of Peruvian Arts are provided at the University of Cuzco; the University is to be given facilities to make better known the archaeological relics of this region and to establish an office to take care of tourists; the Government is authorized to issue decrees for the faithful compliance with this law. Furthermore the law provides that Peru shall request action from other States of South America to have the La Plata resolution approved by them. The law converts Cuzco officially into the archaeological centre of South America; the recent inauguration of the aviation field at Cuzco (May 14, 1933) makes Cuzco now easier to access” (Giesecke 1933c:20).

been stolen. He then went on to say that, fortunately, the *unique* artifacts of this kind held on the upper floor had not been touched. Early in this report it was stated that these artifacts were valued at about ten thousand soles, while later it was stated that the artifacts were valued between six and seven thousand soles. In any case, the police then ascertained that the thieves had gained entry through a window (Anonymous 1933a).

The following day it was reported that at 1:30 a.m. three known criminals had attempted to commit a second theft at the museum but had been prevented from doing so by an alert guard and responding police. It was also reported that the museum had adopted more stringent safeguards in 1930 [under Valcárcel presumably]. It was reiterated that Valcárcel had stated that the museum had not suffered the *irreparable* loss of unique artifacts but *only* the loss of duplicates in the original theft (Anonymous 1933b).

There was no mention of Tello or his thoughts about the value, monetary or otherwise, which he would attach to these stolen artifacts. We do know, however, that during January he and his staff at the institute had begun working with the unopened Paracas mummy bundles that had been discovered on Cerro Colorado in 1927 and that had been transferred from the old National Museum of Archaeology in 1931. On 9 January 1933, number 81 was opened,⁷⁷ on 11 January number 323 was opened,⁷⁸ on 13 January number 86 was

⁷⁷ Assisting Tello in the opening of the mummy bundle were Carrión and Catholic University students Pedro Benvenuto, Pablo Carraquiy, Guillermo Melgar, and Julio Noriega (Sotelo 2012:278).

⁷⁸ Assisting Tello in the opening of the bundle were Carrión and Mejía as well as Catholic University students Pedro Benvenuto, Pablo Carraquiy, Julio Noriega, and Julian Tello. Also aiding Tello was Garberding (Sotelo 2012:358), presumably another Catholic University student whose first name is unknown. Julian was the son of Julio C.

opened,⁷⁹ and on 18 January number 39 was opened (Archivo Histórico Riva Agüero, Pontífica Universidad Católica del Perú, Colección Toribio Mejía Xesspe, Informes 0727). Finally, on 20 January work on number 310 was continued.⁸⁰ Regarding this latter opening, it has been reported that Tello, Carrión, and Mejía took part and that it was done in the presence of students from the Catholic University⁸¹ (Tello and Mejía 1979:362). None of these openings was reported on in the press. Tello's official anonymity, however, was broken when he traveled to the North Central Coast a few weeks later.

Nepeña, From Surprise to Crisis

Years before, Tello had hypothesized the existence of an early Chavín culture centered in the North Central Highlands (e.g. 1921, 1930b) and, though this culture was closer to the tropics where he thought a mother culture had originated, he had concluded that Chavín and Paracas were relatively equal in age (1926). He had concluded that all of Peru's precolumbian cultures had shared a belief system centered on one deity manifested as a feline (1923). Since his

Tello.

⁷⁹ Aiding Tello in the opening of the mummy bundle were Carrión and Mejía as well as the Catholic University students Pedro Benvenuto, Pablo Carraquiy, G. Gerbordi, and Julian Noriega (Sotelo 2012:281).

⁸⁰ In this continuation of the work on the mummy bundle Tello was assisted by Carrión and Mejía, by a Mr. Watkin, and by the Catholic University students Benvenuto and Carraquiy. He was aided as well as by Gerberdi and Díaz Canseco, presumably also Catholic University students (Sotelo 2012:478), whose first names are unknown.

⁸¹ Tello is reported to have begun teaching at the Catholic University in 1932, but exactly when is unknown. It is also unknown whether or not the university provided some funding to enable the institute to conduct these openings. It is known that the institute's original level of funding had not been reinstated.

removal as director of the nation's Museum of Archaeology, Tello had shifted from his Chavín studies to a study of the later North Coast Moche and Chimú cultures (Anonymous 1933gg). This shift in interest seems to have been aided by the arrival of the mother of the British Ambassador's wife.⁸²

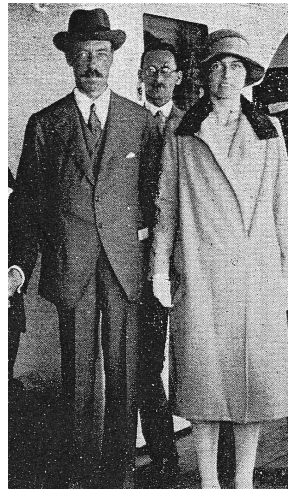


Figure 12. Ambassador Charles H. Bentinck and Mrs. Bentinck (Lucy). From *Varietades*. (issue 1095, 23 February 1929).

Ambassador Charles H. Bentinck and his wife Lucy (née Lucy Victoria Buxton) had arrived in Lima early in 1929 (Anonymous 1929a) and they very likely would have been among the embassy representatives who attended the opening of the Paracas exhibition later that year (Anonymous 1929e). Afterwards Tello wrote that he had received an invitation from Lucy and her mother to accompany them on a trip northward from Lima to explore sites dating to this later time period (Tello 1933f) but it seems more likely that Tello would have been the instigator, at least in the sense that he may have suggested that he act as their guide to explore sites on the coast north of Lima and in this way be able to conduct field research he otherwise could not afford.

⁸² "The Dowager Lady Buxton, mother of Mrs. C.H. Bentinck of H.B.M.'s Minister of Peru, arrived by the s.s. 'Reina del Pacífico' last week from Liverpool" (Anonymous 1932u).

In any case, Tello, his son Julian, as well as Lucy and her mother left Lima and traveled by car on 4 February toward Huacho (Map 5)⁸³

which they reached eleven hours later, a trip that would normally have taken only four hours (Vega-Centeno 2005:19).⁸⁴ After exploring some

⁸³ “There is more life and activity in Huacho than in most provincial towns. Many cars and buses traverse the main streets, and in the morning women on horseback or on donkeys amble hither and thither bringing to town the milk and the market produce of the valley. The cobbles, polished by rubber tyres, gleam in the morning sun, and as the town is flat, most of the buildings being of one storey, there is plenty of light and air in the narrow thoroughfares, but even the back streets boast of cement sidewalks. . . . There is nothing remarkable about the big and airy church. . . . There is the usual large, palm-shaded ‘plaza’ with pretty garden and a bandstand in the middle. There is also quite a decent hotel in Huacho. But the most attractive part is the port, to which buses run down a road along the side of a cliff, a miniature seaport that might have been taken out of an old picture” (Ward 1933).

⁸⁴ The following is an account of a car trip to Huacho taken in October 1933. “We left at 7 a.m. on October 3rd in a 1933 Hillman Wizzard. . . . We had been recommended to try the route as far as Huaral via Ancón and Chancay and accordingly we followed the Ancón road as far as Piedras Gordas where we branched off. At this point we were advised not to follow the recommended route as all cars which latterly had headed for Huaral that way had to turn back and make the trip via the orthodox Cuesta de Huacho. We stuck to our guns, however, and for the first twenty minutes the road was passably good. After that, the troubles began. As the road was completely buried in drifting sand and the gradient was steep, we had to avail ourselves of the services of two men to make a level crossing. After half an hour’s hard labour a passage-way was cleared; but only by emptying the car of passengers and baggage and putting the car in low gear could we make it in a rush. Ours, we were told, was the first car to get through in four days and only a dozen in all have been able to make it. Once on the top, the surface was good with the exception of a ten-foot slide down a sand-bank at about 60 (degrees) at one point. After crossing the pampa, the road to Chancay harbour is reached but it has the defect of being crossed by some of the most difficult ditches that ever motorist in Peru can hope to encounter. These could only be negotiated by building bridges or taking the car over by slow degrees. From Chancay harbour we continued to Huaral where we arrived after covering some 100 kilometres in four hours. From Huaral the first part of the

ancient cemeteries, like the vast Agua Dulce near Santa María⁸⁵, and after looking at some artifact collections, Tello and his companions continued northward, stopping along the way to see cemeteries and ruins and especially the Inca ruins of Paramonga (*ibid.*: 24). The travelers then headed northward passing from Huarmey to Culebras to Casma (Map 5).⁸⁶

road over the pampa is easy. The latter part over the pampa Doña Maria is, however, rather trying, but by speeding out of the deep ruts with our big tyres we managed to do the last part of the trip in two hours, making a total of 176 kilometres for the whole day’s run. The car never gave us a moment’s trouble” (Laidlaw 1933:21).

⁸⁵ Santa María and Agua Dulce have been eastern districts of Huacho since the early twentieth century.

⁸⁶ “As far as Paramonga the road is excellent. . . . Here the traveler bids good-bye to all sight of green foliage until Huarmey is reached. The road as far as the Rio Seco and Gramadal is good, but beyond this point many cars and most trucks stick. . . . From Gramadal a slow climb begins over some troublesome pampas until Caracoles is reached. This hill should be taken with great care as the road is both winding and very narrow. From the crest of the Caracoles a road has been built; but, as in most other cases, it has been allowed to fall into ruin. It leads to the Infernillo pampa where the correct rut must be selected with care as the sand is very heavy. . . . Shortly thereafter, the road leads to El Zorro, where the hacienda of that name is once more going to be developed. Here some of the most penetrating dust imaginable is met with and the ruts are extremely deep and broken. . . . A little way beyond comes a long climb through deep black sand. . . . Many winding ruts lead down to the top of Huarmey. . . . A hard road . . . leads to Culebras. . . . [Here] the ‘made’ track must be left on the right and some heavy sand crossed until the road is re-joined some ten kilometers farther on. This road continues on for the next 30 kilometres, but it has been allowed to degenerate into a sort of ‘calamina’ surface with the result that all trucks and the majority of cars follow a snake-like track which crosses and re-crosses the road at the smooth places. . . . After heading through a cutting, before Playa Grande is reached, the track (now buried under sand-hills) must be left and a wide sweep taken to the right. The road is then re-joined a kilometer or two farther on. A stony road leads from Playa Grande to Gritalobos, so-named from the bellowing of the sea lions which lie on the rocks below the road. After this point the road deteriorates, but by driving in sweeping circles over the pampa the best stretches can be found. Shortly thereafter the ruts lead up to Cara Negra, a

Just north of the Casma Valley is the Nepeña Valley (Maps 5, 6) and a few years earlier Tello had received an invitation to come to the valley to see a painted mural (Tello 1933f). In September 1928 hacienda workers had exposed this mural while opening up a new irrigation ditch (Vega-Centeno 2005:50) but Tello did not feel any urgency at the time of the invitation because he thought the mural had been created by the Moche (Tello 1933f). Now that his focus was Moche it was time to see the mural.

very heavy climb through black binding [sic] sand, and down on the further side to the slope which leads to the Casma valley. In the valley itself half an hour's going over extremely broken estate roads brings us to Casma. . . . The Hotel Estrasburgo in Casma has little to recommend it. . . . Nepeña . . . lies slightly off the Casma-Chimbote road from which you branch to Huambacho. From Casma itself very indifferent roads lead down to Puerto Casma, from which point a good road once existed. As usual it has been suffered to fall into hopeless neglect and is all but useless from the drifting sand-hills which have been allowed to bury its surface. By making a big sweep to the right the sand-hill can be avoided and the road re-joined farther on. This leads up to the 'Tortuga' and over the sea-cliffs, but the road is deeply rutted and littered with rocks. On leaving Tortuga we made a big sweep to the right over very soft sand and so reached the climb to the 'Condo de Diablo.' Here trucks are often delayed four hours. . . . From the top the track runs down to the valley where Nepeña exists but various appalling hacienda roads have to be tackled before the turning is taken from the main Casma-Chimbote roads towards the Nepeña valley. Here we were delayed by a bridge which collapsed and by several deep streams which had to be forded. The last stretch to the Hacienda itself is equally bad and we arrived . . . after covering 68 kilometres. A word of warning to the wise. The road is a disgrace and a journey such as this should never be attempted save as a last resource [sic]. The ruts on the pampa vary considerably, and only a guide can tell you which one to enter without running the risk of becoming hopelessly bogged in the sand. All the hacienda roads entering Chancay, Casma, Nepeña, etc. are scored with ruts from twelve to sixteen inches deep and are crossed by streams and irrigation ditches with almost vertical sides. Where bridges exist, they consist of loose sticks which as often as not collapse and allow the wheel to fall through. The stony sections have ruts up to twelve inches deep and are littered with stones of all sizes" (Laidlaw 1933:21).

The travelers reached the Nepeña Valley on 9 February. They crossed a bridge at La Capilla (Map 6) and then waited for a diesel engine to take them to the Hacienda San Jacinto (Map 6) administered by John B. Harrison, who showed them an album containing a couple of photographs that had been taken of the mural. Tello was very surprised to see that it was Chavín in date, not Moche, and he asked to be taken immediately to the site. At the site of Cerro Blanco (Map 6) he discovered that the part of the site that had been exposed had been destroyed during the construction of the irrigation ditch, but he was able to ascertain that conical adobes had been used in construction (*ibid.*). In addition to this site, Tello and his companions later explored a number of other ruins in the valley and at one, Caylán (Map 6), Tello's horse stumbled in a hole and he ended up falling onto his right leg, injuring his knee. This was on 10 February. On 12 February, the team traveled to the Santa Valley (Map 7)⁸⁷ where they visited a number of Moche and Chimú sites and saw collections of artifacts belonging to these cultures (Vega-Centeno 2005:25-35).

The return trip was covered in part by the Lima press. Readers were told that the wife of the British Ambassador, accompanied by her mother and Dr. Tello, had come to Casma from Hacienda San Jacinto (Anonymous 1933c), that they were traveling southward from Casma to Huacho (Anonymous 1933d) and that they had reached Huacho (Anonymous 1933e). Only in the latter article was Tello identified as an archaeologist and mention was made of visiting

⁸⁷ "Leaving the Hacienda San Jacinto . . . the pampa . . . leads down to the coast. The pampa is heavy in parts. . . . Be warned to choose the correct track as with so many to choose from it is easy to get lost. . . . Shortly after joining the Casma-Chimbote trail, the road forks, the upper branch winding into Chimbote over high ground while the lower one leads to the beach. This, however, can only be passed at low tide. . . . Once on the beach we reached Chimbote . . . after covering 55 kilometres" (Laidlaw 1933: 22).

ruins in Nepeña and a second visit to the ruins of Paramonga.⁸⁸ In fact, the emphasis of the articles was that the wife of the British Ambassador had traveled northward and had been assisted along the way by various provincial officials. In any event, coverage of Tello's activities was finally in the news. By having his name associated with the wife of the British ambassador, there was, by implication, the notion that the ambassador, his wife, and her mother all supported Tello's work. Valcárcel later com-

⁸⁸ "On the northern edge of the Pativilca Valley stands a large structure known as the Fortress of Paramonga . . . a tri-stepped pyramid built on a natural outcrop of rock which has been augmented and aligned with rectangular adobes. It follows the contour of the outcrop, but the straight lines of the terrace edges and facings give it an orderly, almost rectangular appearance. . . . The lowest terrace of the principal structure is roughly 100 meters long (east to west) and 50 meters wide. Its facing wall is from 3 to 5 meters high, depending on the base rock outcrop; it is supported along the base by a smaller buttressing terrace. The platform is about 7 meters wide. . . . The second . . . terrace, is irregular in size, measuring 90 meters on the north side, 75 meters on the south side, 35 meters at the west end, and 25 meters at the east end. Like that of the first terrace, the facing wall is buttressed by a small terrace at its base. The height varies from 3 to over 5 meters. . . . The platform is from 3.5 to 4.5 meters wide. The top terrace is roughly 65 meters long and 25 meters wide. . . . A . . . wall runs along the edge of the platform. The remains of rooms are found on the top terrace. . . . Houses have thick walls, narrow doorways, and small interiors. Some are separated by narrow corridors and narrow dead-end passages. The inside walls of the houses have niches with clay lintels. . . . At the level of the first terrace a rectangular platform projects from the southwest corner. This is flanked by two other platforms at lower levels. The northwest corner has a quadrilateral construction of two terraces, covering a space about 44 meters long by 22 meters wide. The lower terrace of this corner construction is entered from the first terrace of the fort. On top are house ruins with wall niches. Finally, from the northeast corner, two large terrace platforms project to the north. On the upper one . . . are some house remains. . . . The fortress is constructed of large rectangular adobes, 15 centimeters thick, 30 to 60 centimeters long, and about 20 centimeters wide, laid lengthwise. Deep cuts in the fortress wall indicate that the great bulk is built up of adobes and is not merely rubble fill behind facings" (Bennett 1939:13).

plained that Tello had a penchant for getting help from foreign dignitaries (Matos *et al.* 1981:294) and this must have been one of the instances to which he was referring.

At the end of February there was an appeal in Congress for the end of the Emergency Law and a general amnesty for political prisoners.⁸⁹ However, the government argued that the time was not right to do so. Subsequently the Congress passed a law making vacant the twenty-three seats held by representatives of the Aprista Party that were then in prison or were in exile (Anonymous 1933f).

In February . . . Peruvian and Colombian forces clashed on the Amazon and the two countries broke diplomatic relations. Sánchez Cerro rejected offers of mediation from the United States, Brazil and other third parties, and Colombia refused to re-negotiate the . . . Treaty as Peru demanded. A major war seemed imminent (Werlich 1978:199).⁹⁰

⁸⁹ "Once again a strong appeal was made in Congress last week for a general amnesty for all political prisoners and the abolition of the Emergency Law. It was supported by all the solid elements of the independent representatives, but it fell upon the deaf ears of the Government Party who made the usual claim that, since theirs was the responsibility for governing the country, they could not permit the release of 'subversive elements' at a time when the nation most needed peace and concord" (Anonymous 1933g).

⁹⁰ "Although Peru was not prepared for hostilities with Colombia, Sánchez Cerro adopted a belligerent attitude, perhaps hoping that he might gain concessions without bringing a full-scale war. The president ordered troops from Iquitos to reinforce the civilians at Leticia. Unfortunately, Bogotá would not relinquish its new river port without a struggle. In February 1933, Peruvian and Colombian forces clashed on the Amazon and the two countries broke diplomatic relations" (Werlich 1978:199).

Because Colombian forces had made an unsuccessful attempt at a military solution,⁹¹ General Oscar R. Benavides was given a leave of absence from his post as Peruvian minister in London.⁹² As if there wasn't already enough on the plate of the government, during mid-March there was an aborted uprising in the northern highlands at Cajamarca (Map 1) that led to the death of the military leader Gustavo A. Jiménez (Anonymous 1933i).⁹³

⁹¹ "The principal development of the week has been the virtual admission by the Colombian military leadership that their much heralded naval expedition to the Amazon for the purpose of re-taking Leticia has been a complete failure. . . . The virtual impossibility of a frontal attack on the strongly fortified strategic position of Leticia and ravages of tropical disease have written failure across one of the most bizarre pages in South American military history" (Anonymous 1933g).

⁹² "General Oscar R. Benavides, Provisional President of Peru in 1914 and 1915, and actually Peruvian Minister to the Court of St. James, arrived in Lima last Saturday. . . . He has returned to Peru on leave of absence granted by the government to offer his services in any manner that they may be useful to his country. In press interviews after his landing, General Benavides stated that Peru's point of view in the present dispute with Colombia was not generally understood in Europe and that as a consequence public opinion was inclined to side with the latter country. He considered that it was essential that the circumstances which gave rise to the occupation of Leticia by Peruvian civilians should be clearly set before the neutral nations in order to remove misapprehensions which exist concerning Peru's action in the matter" (Anonymous 1933j).

⁹³ "One of the most surprising and sensational military revolts of the revolutionary period in Peru was launched on March 11th, in the city of Cajamarca. . . . Into Cajamarca in disguise during one of the recent carnival days came Com. Gustavo A. Jiménez, a former associate of . . . Sánchez Cerro in the Arequipa revolt, but for several months past a political exile in Arica . . . [with] the troops of . . . [the 11th] Regiment and the police force, in all some 400 men stationed at Cajamarca. . . . Jiménez on the morning of Saturday, March 11th, raised the standard of revolt. . . . On Monday, March 13th, the rebel forces advanced in some twenty-five motor trucks southward along the seacoast to the Port of Chicama with the object . . . of capturing Trujillo before the arriving reinforcements from Lima. . . . on the evening of March 13th [responding forces] . . . made their first contact with the rebels. . . . Outnumbered . . . the



Figure 13. From *Tauro* (1966-1967) Volume 1:182.

Toward the end of April it was announced in Lima that a Board of Archaeology for the Department of Amazonas had been installed in the city of Chachapoyas (Map 1) and that a museum of archaeology had been created there. It was reported that these actions would serve to facilitate explorations to be undertaken by the French General Pierre Langlois (Anonymous 1933k). Throughout the following month a series of articles kept the public abreast of the general's activities (e.g. Anonymous 1933n, 1933o, 1933q).

rebels fell back . . . [and] after four hours of fighting were forced to surrender. . . . Jiménez is said to have raised his revolver to his breast and sent a bullet through his heart. . . . His suicide is scarcely surprising in view of the fact that it was the only alternative to a firing squad or at least long imprisonment. The body was taken to Trujillo for interment in the cemetery there. The prisoners included 14 officers and some 270 men. The number killed in the fighting on both sides . . . is estimated at fifteen to twenty" (Anonymous 1933g).

"Detailed accounts now to hand reveal that the Cajamarca rising was doomed to failure from the outset. The factor of surprise . . . was counteracted by the complete information which the Government had of every movement of the rebels from the moment they left Cajamarca. . . . Seeing that all was lost, Jiménez handed over the money he had requisitioned in Cajamarca and Pacasmayo to one of his officers and, taking a few steps to the rear, blew out his brains. . . . The Cajamarca rebellion has had no repercussions in other parts of the country. All the evidence goes to show that the plot was concocted by Colonel Jiménez with exiled Aprista elements in Arica" (Anonymous 1933h).

The “war” with Colombia continued during April.⁹⁴ On 3 May it was announced in Lima that President Sánchez Cerro had been assassinated in an open car on the morning of Sunday, 30 April after having just reviewed several thousand military recruits,⁹⁵ and that General Benavides had been elected his successor.⁹⁶ Benavides had been “nominated Commander-in-Chief of the National Defence [sic] by Supreme Decree a fortnight ago” (Anonymous 1933l).⁹⁷

⁹⁴ “A few minor skirmishes have been reported during the past week between Peruvian and Colombian forces on the Putumayo. An effective attack was carried out by Peruvian military planes against three Colombian gun-boats . . . seriously damaging them” (Anonymous 1933m). The Putumayo River forms part of the present border separating Ecuador and Peru from Colombia.

⁹⁵ “As the president’s car emerged from the race track . . . [the assassin] dashed through the line of the soldiers stationed at this point . . . grasped the hood of the car (which was folded back) and fired four bullets, two of which took effect in the President’s chest and abdomen. At the same time a fusillade of bullets came from other points in the small plaza. . . . No less than nine bullet holes were later found in the upholstery of the seat . . . with proof that they were fired from guns of three different calibers. . . . From the moment of the shooting until his death at the Italian Hospital, some twenty minutes later, the President spoke only a few words” (Anonymous 1933l). The assassin, “was massacred by ball and bayonet. . . . Medical evidence and that of experts in ballistics showed that the late President had been killed by three copper-nosed bullets fired at close range by the assassin Mendoza . . . an emotional youth of seventeen, formerly a waiter in a Miraflores eating-house and subsequently an itinerant vendor of chocolates [who] had some fancied personal grudge against General Sánchez Cerro whom he held responsible for the death of a brother in . . . September 1930” (Anonymous 1933r)

⁹⁶ “Within less than seven hours of President Sánchez Cerro’s death, General Oscar R. Benavides . . . was elected President of Peru by the Constituent Assembly to complete the unexpired term of the slain President. . . . The President of Peru is elected for a term of five years and completing the required term of office . . . Benavides will serve until December 8th, 1936” (Anonymous 1933l).

⁹⁷ “The Constitution of 1933, unfortunately, had not provided for a vice-president. In the event of a vacancy in the office of president, the charter required the congress to elect a successor within three days. A few hours after the

A third major robbery at Paracas took place in May and the artifacts were shipped aboard the steamship *Reina del Pacífico* that was bound for London (Tello and Mejía 1967:195). Lady Buxton was reported to have returned to England at this time traveling out of Ica and Buenos Aires (Anonymous 1933p). Whether or not she

assassination . . . a nearly unanimous vote of the national assembly gave . . . Benavides . . . a mandate to complete the term of the fallen chief of state. . . . Ironically, the general was legally ineligible to succeed Sánchez Cerro. The constitution barred active members of the armed forces from election to the presidency. The political realities of the moment, however, were far more compelling than dictates of the twelve-day old charter. As commander of the army, de facto power already rested with the officer. But more importantly, the general was a respected national figure with strong ties to prominent . . . families and he had governed the country creditably during a similar crisis in 1914. The strong hand of a soldier seemed desirable to prepare the country for war with Colombia, bring peace at home, and resolve the country’s economic problems. In a brief inaugural address, the new president asserted that a desire to serve his country rather than personal ambition prompted his acceptance of the executive burden. He pledged to establish a nonpartisan government of ‘peace and concord’ to heal the republic’s civic wounds. His first task, however, was to defuse the explosive conflict over Leticia. Shortly after his installation Benavides received a congratulatory message from his personal friend Alfonso López, who soon would be elected president of Colombia. Benavides invited López to visit Lima and by the end of May, the two leaders had reached an agreement for a cease-fire supervised by the League of Nations. Diplomats from both countries quickly began discussions of their conflict at Rio de Janeiro. Militarily and economically unprepared for war, Benavides was willing to return Leticia to Colombia if Bogotá would make a few face-saving concessions to Peru. Benavides’ moderate approach to his country’s internal and external conflicts quickly brought him the hostility of powerful right-wing and nationalist groups. A whispering campaign accused him of complicity in the assassination. . . . Although apparently unfounded, these rumors gained credence from the new president’s words and actions. At a press conference in Washington on his way home from the London embassy, the general had criticized the government’s harsh repression of APRA. Minutes after the death of Sánchez Cerro, Benavides dispatched troops to take control of the Lima penitentiary. This action thwarted the plans . . . to execute Haya de la Torre” (Werlich 1978:201-202).

was booked aboard the *Reina del Pacífico* is unknown, but it does seem likely.

Benavides retained the Sánchez Cerro cabinet until he had secured his position. Then, at the end of June 1933, he installed a new conciliatory panel of ministers . . . under the premiership of Jorge Prado y Ugarteche. A few days later Prado announced that elections would be scheduled to fill the vacant seats formerly held by APRA” (Werlich 1978:202).

The long expected resignation of the Cabinet nominated by President Benavides on assuming office on April 30th took place on Monday June 26th. . . . After two days of consultation with prominent leaders, the President on June 28th. . . [formed] a new government. . . . The new Ministry took the oath of office on the morning of June 29th” (Anonymous 1933u)⁹⁸.

The new minister of education was Dr. Daniel Olaechea with roots in the Ica Valley on the South Coast.⁹⁹

⁹⁸ “A few days later [it was] . . . announced that elections would be scheduled to fill the vacant congressional seats formerly held by APRA. Benavides proclaimed a partial political amnesty on August 10, and . . . released Haya de la Torre and many other Apristas from prison” (Werlich 1978: 202). “At the end of June a new Cabinet was sworn in. It was essentially a non-political Cabinet. . . . The press, which for sixteen months had been so severely muzzled that at one time only the Government-controlled organ had been allowed to appear on the streets, was declared to express its opinions within the limits of decency. The right of reunion was accorded to all alike. Even Congress, intransigent [sic] as it had been during the previous regime, fell in line and passed a law of amnesty. Exiles flocked back to Peru. Prison doors were flung open. Suppressed newspapers sprang into new life” (Anonymous 1934ii).

⁹⁹ “Dr. Olaechea who makes his first appearance on the political stage is a member of a family which for generations have held large estates in the Ica valley. . . . A lawyer by training, he has never practised his profession but devoted himself exclusively to agriculture, principally grape produc-

Around this time there was brief notice in Lima of a report from Pisco’s *La Reforma* concerning an attempt to move “Inca” artifacts out of the country aboard a steamship. Because such action was against the law, the notice continued, the local port authorities had seized the artifacts and the case was being referred to court authorities (Anonymous 1933s).

On 1 July a 30 June report signed by Valcárcel was published in *El Comercio* as a letter to the editor. This report dealt with the robbery at the National Museum that occurred in January. While the police had yet to solve the case, Valcárcel could report that a total of 961 archaeological artifacts, mostly small and less than a gram in weight, had been stolen. He went on to say that some of the artifacts had been “conscientiously restored” by his staff during which process secrets of ancient metallurgy had been learned. Finally, he noted that the only piece recovered on 19 June was still in the hands of the police (L. Valcárcel 1933a).

On 27 July Tello left Lima with a group that included Carrión, Mejía, and the engineer Enrique Rivero Tremoville. Also included were Laura Zagarra and Beatriz Cisneros (probably Carrión’s students)¹⁰⁰ as well as Tello’s Catholic University students Pedro Benvenuto and Guillermo Gerbeden. On this day the group visited ruins and cemeteries, like Doña [Santa] María that Tello had visited in February, from Huacho to Paramonga, inclusive of the latter ruins (Carrión 1933a). On 31 July the group visited the ruins of Chanquillo (Map 5) in the

tion, and the development of the wine industry of Peru. He is Director of the Banco Agrícola and one of the Vice-Presidents of the National Agrarian Society” (Anonymous 1933t). Olaechea had been appointed Minister of Finance in late 1930 (Anonymous 1930o).

¹⁰⁰ Beginning in 1930, Carrión taught archaeological courses at the Women’s National College, (a high school in Lima (González 1936).

Casma Valley but minus Tello and Mejía who, on 27 July, had already gone on to Trujillo (Vega-Centeno 2005:40).

In Trujillo, Tello and Mejía visited the ruins of Chan Chan on both the first and second of August, but during the afternoon of the latter day Tello took time away from this to send a wire, probably to Casma, telling Rivero and Benvenuto to join them in Trujillo. On 3 August only Mejía made explorations in the valley, while on 4 August Tello alone traveled to the Chicama Valley where he made explorations. On 5 August he visited the Chiclín Museum and on 6 August he visited two precolombian cemeteries.

A relative of Rafael Larco Herrera had created the Chiclín Museum, but Larco himself soon took over. Subsequently, he turned it over to his eldest son and namesake Rafael Larco Hoyle (hereafter Larco Hoyle).¹⁰¹ During Au-

¹⁰¹ "Around 1924, Larco's interest in the archaeology of his country began as a result of his father's influence. On the hacienda Chiclin, he had lived in a museum atmosphere since a few years after his birth because his famous father had begun in 1903 to assemble a collection of North Peruvian precolombian pottery. While later traveling in Europe, Rafael Larco Herrera visited the Museo del Prado in Madrid and noticed that their collection of Peruvian archaeological materials was poor. He consequently donated his entire archaeological collection to Spain. . . . From this first archaeological collection, one outstanding Mochica portrait vessel was kept, and this formed the nucleus of a new archaeological collection. In 1925, Larco's father acquired 600 pottery vessels and other archaeological objects from his brother-in-law, Alfredo Hoyle, and a smaller collection . . . and he gave his entire collection to his son, Don Rafael. . . . This collection inspired him to develop a museum and to study intensively Peru's archaeology. From this moment onward, Larco increased the collection, . . . but always specializing in North Peru. The collection grew so rapidly that it had to be installed in a separate building on the Hacienda Chiclin, which was inaugurated as the Museo Rafael Larco Herrera on July 28, 1926 . . . as a monument to his father. In 1933, two large private collections were acquired, one of over 3,000 pieces from Mr. Carranza in Trujillo, and the other with 8,000 pieces . . . from Carlos A. Roa of the Hacienda Clara in the

gust 1926 Tello had worked at sites in the Moche Valley, inclusive of the ruins of Chan Chan (Mejía 1948:46), of which a plan was an expected result (Kroeber 1930:64). It is possible that aerial photographs that Larco had had made for him at this time (Sivirichi 1930) may have been made available to Tello. In any case, in 1933 Tello and Larco Hoyle were collaborating on Moche research (Tello 1933f). On 8 August, his last day in Trujillo, Tello visited the El Cortijo cemetery at Chan Chan (Vega-Centeno 2005:43).

Benavides proclaimed a partial political amnesty on August 10, and Premier Prado personally released Haya de la Torre and many other Apristas from prison (Werlich 1978:202).

Soon after Benavides' amnesty proclamation APRA began to rebuild its organization. The party's newspapers reappeared, Aprista headquarters reopened throughout the country, and propaganda committees of skilled orators toured the nation addressing rallies in every important town (*ibid*: 204).

The administration's foreign and domestic policies were denounced by Sánchez Cerro's Revolutionary Union, which became increasingly fascist in its orientation. Now under the leadership of Luis A. Flores, whose admiration of Mussolini extended to wearing black-shirted uniforms, the party organized . . . anti-government demonstrations. . . . Benavides hoped for Aprista support in defending his regime from these attacks (*ibid*.: 202-203).

During August Lima newspapers continued to report on the upcoming activities centered on Cusco (e.g. Sivirichi 1933a; Velasco 1933). On 9 August Tello, Mejía, and Benvenuto traveled to the Nepeña Valley via the Viru Valley and Santa Valley" (Evans 1968:233-234).

Chimbote. They were looking for other sites constructed of conical adobes but were unsuccessful.

The cost of travel, food, and hotel accommodations for all the journeys north of Lima by Tello and others were partly paid for by the [San Marcos?] institute, partly by an advance from a press agency, and partly by loan (Vega-Centeno 2005:39-40). Who provided the loan is not stated, but it is reasonable to speculate that Lucy Bentinck, and perhaps even her mother, may have done so. As for the press advance, it should be noted that a detailed account of the trip by Carrión was published twice in *El Comercio*, first without illustrations (Carrión 1933a) and later illustrated by three photographs (Carrión 1933b).

Work at Cerro Blanco began on 10 August. On 12 August Tello and Benvenuto traveled by car to Huacho and from there they took the train to Lima. On 15 August a car arrived in the valley with two drivers and two other individuals who had been sent by Larco Hoyle to work for Tello. One of the individuals was the photographer Ochoran Polar who had come to Chiclín to take 600 photographs of pottery at the Chiclín Museum. This museum then contained 6,000 pieces of pottery, mostly belonging to the Moche, Chimú, and Chavín cultures (Carrión 1933a).

On 15 August *El Comercio* published a letter to the editor promoting the idea of the establishment of an archaeological museum of the Americas in Cusco (Sivirichi 1933a) and the following day it published a letter to the editor from the Secretary General of the Provisional Committee of Cusco's IV Centennial. This official letter served to advise the public of the various individuals who had been designated to fill roles in this celebration. Valcárcel had been selected to serve on the Popular Arts and Conferences Commission (Velasco 1933). On 30 August a

speech in support of the Cusco celebration that he had given over the radio was published by this newspaper (L. Valcárcel 1933b). The publication of the speech that Valcárcel had given on the radio was then followed by the publication of two other letters to the editor extolling the glory of this celebration (Dulanto P. 1933; Sivirichi 1933b).

On 28 August Oscar Santisteban arrived in Nepeña to take charge of the excavations from Mejía who then left for Lima on 30 August. As it turned out, he arrived back in Lima to bear witness to an historic event.

On 21 August Tello wrote a letter to Olaechea, the minister of education. *El Comercio* published the letter without an introduction on 10 September, with two photographs (Tello 1933a), while *La Crónica* published it with a lengthy introduction, a copy of Tello's 8 September letter to the newspaper, one photograph, and a reconstruction of the excavated ruins of Cerro Blanco. Tello had sent his letter to Olaechea as director of the University of San Marcos Museum of Archaeology (Tello 1933b).¹⁰² In addition, the Lima weekly *The West Coast Leader* published an English translation of Tello's letter to Olaechea. In part Tello wrote:

Recently in exploring the valley of Nepeña, I discovered an ancient ruin, which in my opinion is one of the most important of its kind yet found in Peru. In view of the transcendental scientific and historical value of this discovery I consider it my duty to bring it in [sic] the knowledge of the Supreme Government, and to apply for the necessary help and support for its proper study and preservation. . . . This find will constitute one of the most extraordinary discoveries of Peruvian archaeology and by it, it will be possible to determine . . . the west-

¹⁰² On September 1, 1933, Tello studied Paracas mummy bundle number 81 (Sotelo 2012:71).

ern limit of the Chavin culture, whose centre was in the Sierra and which appears to have extended from the basin of the Marañón to the Pacific coast. . . . It will prove definitely that in the lowest strata and therefore the most ancient on the Peruvian coast, the Chavin culture appears. . . . In the year 1919 I had the good fortune as Director of the University Expedition to the Department of Ancash to make known to the scientific world the most notable remains of the Chavin culture. . . . The objects found at that time . . . now repose in the Archaeological Museum of the University of San Marcos. . . . This is the only collection of objects of stone of Chavin, which exists in the world, and this new find will enrich these collections and increase the scientific prestige of this institution. In view of these considerations, and appealing to the well-known culture of the Minister, and because of the benefit national education will receive from this national monument, I beg to request of this Ministry, in my capacity as Director of the Archaeological Museum of the university, that I be allowed the facilities necessary for exploring, studying and making known this monument, and to adopt the measures necessary to preserve it. The objects will be inventoried immediately upon being found and then remitted to the university. I consider the modest sum of S/3.000 would be sufficient to cover the expenses of tools, labour, and travelling expenses (Tello 1933c).

In the letter that he sent to the editor of *La Crónica* Tello stated that Olaechea had authorized him to publish his letter to him, suggesting that the minister felt that public opinion was needed to accomplish the goal of funding the work in Nepeña. Tello made a point of naming Lady Buxton, Lucy V. Bentinck, as well as Locket and Harrison, the business manager and administrator, respectively, of the Hacienda San

Jacinto (Tello 1933b). Later Tello explained that it was Locket's father who had been the one to notify him years before of the painted walls that had been unearthed by accident in Nepeña (Tello 1933f). Finally, the long introduction to Tello's letters published in *La Crónica* is noteworthy not because it served to wholeheartedly support Tello's plea for government action, which was to be expected, but because Rafael Larco Herrera owned this newspaper (Larco 1947:145).

Tello's discovery was news of international import. *The New York Times* published an announcement that stated, in part,

Dr. Julio C. Tello, famous in Peru as an archaeologist, announced today the discovery of what he called a perfectly preserved portion of an Indian building belonging to the ancient Chavin culture. . . . The portion of the building remaining comprises several chambers with high walls painted red, white, blue and green. The floor is finished in imitation of marble (Anonymous 1933v).

At the request of Valcárcel, *El Comercio* published on 14 September an official message dated 13 September that he had sent to members of the congress representing the Department of Cusco. This was clearly intended to be yet another promotion of the upcoming centennial celebration but something unintended occurred. On 15 September the newspaper published an editorial focused on Valcárcel's message to these congressional members, particularly the part in which he asked them to support the proposed law regarding the cleaning, repair, and restoration of both ancient and historic monuments in anticipation of the upcoming centennial celebration. The editorial then went on to state that Peru had many places that needed to be explored, that the newspaper had just published Tello's letter to Minister

Olaechea regarding the discovery in Nepeña and, given the current fiscal state, wouldn't it be better to focus on scientifically oriented studies (Editor 1933b)? This editorial forced Valcárcel to respond and, in a letter to the editor, he made the point that the funding that the National Museum had received from the government was specifically designated for the pre-celebration Cusco work and, hence, could not be designated for any other purpose (L. Valcárcel 1933d).

In a document dated 12 September, the National Board issued internally the following statement originally published in Spanish and informally translated here into English:

Taking into consideration the need to urgently stop the destruction of antiquities that is occurring in an alarming way at the nation's principal archaeological centers, and given the importance of the monuments recently discovered in the Nepeña Valley, it is necessary to use the most effective methods for their preservation and study.

Given its mandate to accomplish these ends, the National Board has concluded that it is necessary to revise and coordinate the different laws, decrees, and resolutions related to the conservation of antiquities and to the functioning of the institutions assigned to the study and conservation of these antiquities. Hence, the following steps are recommended:

It is recommended that the Supreme Government create an Inspection of Antiquities made up of at least three inspectors: one for the region between the Tumbes and Chao Valleys, another for the region between the Santa and Huarmey Valleys, and another for the region between the Pisco and Quilca Valleys, while the General Director of the National Museum

[Valcárcel] would for now be responsible for the region between the Huaura and Cañete Valleys.

It is further recommended that, while the University of San Marcos remains in recess, the Government dedicate funds that would have been used to pay the teachers of classes in American Archaeology, Peruvian Archaeology, Inca History, and Peruvian History, as well a fund that would have been used for the *University Review*, be used to support the work being done in Nepeña.

Finally, it is recommended that the Minister of Education, in his role as President of the National Board, name a special commission charged with revising all legislation related to the institutions charged with the conservation and study of antiquities with the goal of proposing a law that would inspire a better understanding of the needs created in the country as a result of the lack of effective protective laws and resolutions regarding the study and conservation of Peru's antiquities (Vega-Centeno 2005:166).

It is unknown whether the recommendation regarding the creation of a board focused on the inspection of antiquities was ever accomplished and, if so, whether the recommendations regarding its make-up were followed. Neither is it known whether the recommendation that funding designated for the teaching of specific classes at the university be diverted to help pay for the work in Nepeña was put into effect.

On Sunday 10 September, a visit was made by Benvenuto to the ruins of Punkurí (Map 6). On 14 September Tello traveled by plane to Nepeña, landing a little over two hours later in that valley, at La Carbonera, just up-valley from the ruins of Caylán (Map 6). Waiting for Tello

was a car sent by Harrison, as well as an invitation to have lunch with him and his wife. At this lunch, Harrison indicated his desire to obtain Chavín pottery and stated that he had spent about one hundred soles in search of such artifacts.

Subsequently Tello visited the ruins of Punkurí and later dictated his thoughts. He stated that there were three men working on behalf of Harrison at Punkurí. He noted that conical adobes had been used in construction. He also observed that well-polished and painted walls had been exposed, one of which had engraved and painted designs that were Chavín in style. The workers had exposed a number of compartments, a staircase, and an animal figure in the round on a small platform. What bothered Tello was that the work was being done in a non-scientific way. Tello stated that Harrison was trying to succeed where the present administrator of another valley hacienda had failed years earlier in an attempt to find treasure at Punkurí. Specifically, Harrison proposed cutting in half the mound comprising the site to discover tombs with treasure.

On Monday 18 September work on behalf of Tello began at Punkurí (*ibid*: 75-82). As work progressed it came to Tello's attention that Harrison felt deceived, and that Tello was himself looking for treasure, despite claims of scientific purpose. Tello posted a nighttime guard. On 20 September a large stone mortar inscribed with Chavín designs and a stone pestle were unearthed. On 21 September a body was found, accompanied by various artifacts, including numerous pieces of turquoise. Harrison vehemently argued that the excavations be done quickly but Tello insisted that the work be conducted in a thorough and scientific manner. Work continued the next day elsewhere at the site and on 23 September Mejía arrived from Lima with his wife. On Sunday 24 September Larco Hoyle arrived with a group that included

his brother Javier, a topographer, and an artist. Many photographs and a movie were made of the burial (*ibid*. 89-94).

On 24 September *El Comercio* published results of an interview with Tello that had recently been conducted in Nepeña by a representative of a press service. Dated the day before, the report focused on Tello's responses to specific questions he was asked, such as how the Cerro Blanco find was made, what his thoughts were about Chavín culture, its origins, material characteristics, etc., what made Cerro Blanco in his mind Chavín, and what he hoped to find at this site (Anonymous 1933x). The weekly *The West Coast Leader* subsequently published two translated versions of this report, the first a partial excerpt, the second a complete translation.

The excerpt dealt with Tello's answer regarding what made Cerro Blanco Chavín in his eyes. "The mural paintings represent beautiful mythological figures, in relief, painted in red, blue, white and green, 'a novelty in Peruvian archaeological science.'"

As for the complete translation:

The Temple which is being brought to light has underground communication with a second Temple. 'There is reason to believe,' says Dr. Tello, 'that royal sarcophagi and fabulous wealth, consisting of gold ornaments and ceramics, are to be found here. I believe that this new discovery of Chavin material will be a world-wide event, and that Peru will secure in justice the inheritance of its earliest dwellers, whose artistic work will be the wonder of Peruvians and of foreigners' (Anonymous 1933z).

Taken out of context this answer gives the impression that Tello was also out to discover

treasure in the economic sense, as Harrison suspected. The original article in *El Comercio* sensationalized this particular answer by Tello as did, obviously, *The West Coast Leader*. However, Tello had in mind his knowledge about Chavín culture accumulated over years of study. In 1929 he had published an overview of both Paracas and Chavín cultures that included illustrations of coastal Chavín pottery and Chavín gold artifacts. The fact that no Chavín tomb had yet been discovered anywhere in Peru, along with the fact that these were the primary known portable objects of value of this culture, would have led him to speculate, from a scientific perspective, on the discovery of the first such tomb at Cerro Blanco. Hence, it was not the discovery of gold artifacts in the economic sense that excited him. Rather it was what such a discovery might mean for a better understanding of the technical and artistic achievements of Chavín craftsmen.

It should be noted that during the interview Tello shifted the discussion to the discovery of Paracas which he said “gave to the nation a treasure valued at more than four million soles in gold objects and another 50,000 pieces stored in the National Museum”, a not-so-subtle reference to the recent theft at this museum directed by Valcárcel. He also spoke to the fact that he had urgently requested a small sum of money from the government to help him with the work he had begun on the Paracas collection but as yet to no avail. Once again, Tello made a not-so-subtle criticism aimed at Valcárcel who had advocated and received from the government special funding for the upcoming celebration of Cusco’s fourth centennial.

Information regarding a meeting of the National Board of Archaeology held on 25 September has been published. The meeting was held in the absence of Tello who was in Nepeña. At this meeting, presumably presided over by Olaechea, Rospigliosi stated that the university,

in compliance with its cultural mandate, had welcomed the accord it had received; that it had ample authority to accommodate the requests of the government and the board; that toward this end it had formalized Tello’s request to undertake excavations and explorations in Nepeña that ought to be confined to that prescribed by law and regulation; that the director of the National Museum had been requested to accompany university personnel to ascertain the importance of the work being done in Nepeña and to ascertain its approximate cost; and that subsequently information had been requested from the university secretary regarding prevailing legal stipulations.

After one member of the board agreed that the Nepeña work should be confined to what was prescribed by law, three others, including Valcárcel and José [Jorge] Guillermo Leguía, stated that they hoped for success in the Nepeña venture. The board then issued internally the following accord: That the University of San Marcos be authorized to conduct excavations and explorations in the Nepeña zone of the Department of Ancash; that the university would undertake all costs involved in this work; that the university would be responsible for bringing all discovered artifacts to Lima to be deposited in the National Museum; that, after being studied and selected, these artifacts would be divided between the university and the government as prescribed by law; that the government would designate individuals to supervise the excavations; and, finally, that the Board reserved its right of trusteeship in accordance with law (Vega-Centeno 2005:166-167).

Also on 25 September *El Comercio* broke the news that a “great idol” had been discovered at Punkurí and that, because he had not yet received any funding from the government, Tello was himself paying for the work being done in Nepeña and that he warned if funding did not arrive soon the work would have to stop (Anon-

ymous 1933y). Further details were published the following day (Anonymous 1933z), while on 28 September this daily broke the news about the discovery of a burial at this site (Anonymous 1933aa).

On 27 September *La Crónica* published information received from a northern highland correspondent who had traveled to Chimbote and then to Nepeña. At the end of this detailed report it was noted that an authorized report by Tello was forthcoming. This daily then published in its 29 September edition a report signed by Tello, manifesting that this was the first authorized information “given personally” to this daily. The telegram sent by Tello highlighted the discovery at Punkurí of a “Great Chavín Demon” made of mud and stone painted with vivid colors, the discovery of the “magnificent remains” of some columns, the discovery of a body accompanied by a diorite mortar and a pestle decorated with Chavín designs, turquoise beads approximately a kilo in weight, a shell trumpet, and other carefully selected seashells.¹⁰³ Regarding the wall designs Tello noted that they were similar to those of Mayan origin suggesting that primitive Mexican culture had extended down to the north of Peru (Tello 1933d).

Tello was not stating that he believed that Peruvian civilization owed its origin to Mayans or central Mexicans. He firmly believed that Peruvian civilization, Chavín civilization, had developed independently. He was instead referring to the well-accepted scientific theory that the original settlement of the Americas had spread north to south.

The Nepeña story was clearly good for circulation and the newspapers in Lima were obviously battling one another to get the most interesting details, something that presumably trans-

lated into immediate income on Tello’s part, as well as support for the call for government intervention to prevent work stoppage. In this regard it is of particular interest that on 29 September a letter to Tello written the day before by the president of the Agricultural Society of Nepeña Limited informed him that, because of the “grave crisis”, one thousand soles was being donated (Bosombrio 1933).

The good press for Tello was bad press for authorities in Lima and finally evidence that some kind of response was in the offing came with the publication of two documents on 30 September (Olaechea and Rospigliosi 1933). The first document was dated 28 September and was signed by Olaechea. It stated that, in view of the expedited request sent by the University of San Marcos Administrative Council, the report from the National Board¹⁰⁴ and existing

¹⁰⁴ The following was published in the 3 October 1933 issue of *The West Coast Leader*: “Memorandum of the archaeological excavations carried out by Doctor Tello in the valley of Nepeña during the month of September, 1933. The preliminary work on the Temple of Punkuri, located by Mr. Harrison, the Manager of the San Jacinto sugar estate, following on the discovery of the Temple of Cerro Blanco, gave the following results: (1) The discovery of a stone and earth idol, 1.60 metres in height, painted in various colours. This idol, which is a work of art, appears seated on the lower steps of a stairway painted a slate-grey colour. (2) The discovery of two broken columns decorated in relief and colours, which stand at either hand of the entrance to what appears to be a sanctuary but which has not as yet been completely laid bare. Earlier work carried out with the assistance of twenty labourers, thanks to the facilities afforded by the Negociacion Agricola San Jacinto, have also given very satisfactory results. By means of the use of two Decauville drills and trucks, it has been possible to lay bare almost its entirety the northern façade of the temple; and a deep boring made at the foot of the idol has resulted in the discovery of a skeleton surrounded by objects characteristic of the Chavín period. This boring has also permitted an appreciation of the peculiar structure of the Temple which occupies the area of about two thousand square metres. The northern façade is more than forty metres in length and is eight metres in height, measured from the alluvial terrace on which it is built. The building on the North side consisted of a platform 19.80 metres in length, 5 metres in width and 2.40 metres in

¹⁰³ With the exception of the shell trumpet, all of these finds have been lost (Falcón 2009: note 2, p. 109).

height, which is reached by means of a staircase in the middle, 3.40 metres in width, consisting of four huge steps. Behind this platform rises almost vertically a wall decorated with large panels in relief, painted like the entire building in various colours which have been preserved in patches, principally in the crevices and corners, from the effects of erosion. The excavations carried out around this building give a very clear conception of its construction. It is a case of buildings superimposed one on another and also corresponding to three or four periods of the same Chavín civilization with the exception of the last which, after being in use for some time, were partly overthrown and the rooms and courtyards deliberately filled in with semi-hemispherical and conical bricks of adobe, hand-made out of mud hardened in a solid block which, under the action of a crowbar, splits up into large clods. The lowermost buildings are the most beautiful and the best preserved. The relief work and paintings are almost intact. This portion is constructed of conical bricks. The buildings which form the apex of the Temple are constructed of rectangular bricks in the Muchik style, and in the filling have been discovered many fragments of pottery belonging to the same civilization. The super-imposition of these two architectural styles is very marked. On carrying out the excavations in front of the small platform on which rest the claws of the idol, and at a depth of no more than two metres, we came across a skeleton which, to judge by the objects which accompany it, is the first evidence of the presence of people of the Chavín civilization found on this ground. The aspect of the bones, the racial characteristics and a combination of other indications reveal the great antiquity. The skeleton lies east and west: and at its side were discovered the priceless stone objects: a large vessel and a kind of mortar, both decorated with figures in relief carried out in the Chavín style. These objects are unique of their kind, both artistically and scientifically. Around the body and at the level of the pelvis about a kilo of turquoise beads of different shapes and sizes were found, ranging from large spherical or cylindrical beads weighing from eight to ten grammes to small disc-like beads scarcely more than flakes. We also found a snail-shell trumpet (*strombus-galeatus*) the surface of which is decorated with burnt figures after the Chavín style. Seventy specimens of land snails (*scutalus proteus*), a pair of molluscs (*spondylus pictorem*) and portions of the skeletons of cuyes (guinea-pigs) and birds, all in fragments and partly reduced to dust, were also found. Work on laying bare this Temple, in spite of intense labour and the facilities offered by the Estate, has scarcely begun. A complete investigation of the ruins demands financial assistance which up to date has not been received in spite of my urgent appeals and the need of preserving and examining these valuable monuments of the past. For the time being I have ceased work on this Temple, leaving it in charge of a caretaker. I am about to

law, it was resolved that the university be authorized to verify the explorations and excavations in Nepeña being conducted by technical and administrative personnel charged with such work under its economic control under the following conditions:

That the university would maintain an accounting of all expenses required for conservation and custody of the monuments discovered; that all artifacts taken from these monuments would be brought to Lima to be deposited with the General Direction of the National Museum where they would verify their study, selection, and distribution between the government and the university in accordance with established law; that a detailed inventory in triplicate of all objects discovered would be presented in periodic reports on the ongoing work; that it would be the minister of education who would designate the personnel to be charged with the control and oversight of the explorations and excavations. Finally, regarding this latter condition, the National Board of Archaeology could nominate a special technical commission.

The second document was Ministerial Resolution No. 2218, dated 28 September and signed by Olaechea. It stated that, in compliance with the provision that the minister of education was authorized to name an oversight representative for the Nepeña excavations, that Valcárcel, the director of the National Museum, be so designated, but that he could delegate another if his present duties precluded this. A written statement followed that the National Board had designated Tello as its representative. This simple statement was followed by a formal statement issued under the seal of the secretary of the University of San Marcos to the effect that the

recommence excavations during the next fortnight on another temple of Cerro Blanco. [Dr. Julio C. Tello] Punkuri, September 27, 1933" (Anonymous 1933ee). For the original version in Spanish see Vega-Centeno 2005:168-169.

university's oversight board, having been charged by the government to cover the costs of the archaeological exploration in Nepeña, had designated the engineer Santiago Antúnez de Mayolo as its representative. It was stated that Antúnez and Valcárcel were flying to Nepeña. Nowhere did it say if and when Tello had been provided notice of the actions that had been taken during his absence from Lima.



Figure 14. Source: Milla Batres 1986.

Why had Rospigliosi appointed an engineer to make an archaeological investigation regarding the discovery of Chavín temples in Nepeña? Very likely he had done so because Antúnez had a history of interest in preserving the ruins of Chavín de Huántar (e.g. Antúnez 1916, 1928) and of trying to make sense of Chavín iconography (e.g. Antúnez 1930). In fact, it is not out of the question to speculate that Antúnez had volunteered for the job.

On 1 October it was announced in the press that the president of the Geographical Society of Lima in his role as a member of the National Board had nominated Valcárcel to act as a special delegate of the board to review the work being done in Nepeña (Anonymous 1933aa). Hence, Valcárcel had been named to represent both the government and the Board of Archaeology in the inspection of the work being done in Nepeña.

The day before, 30 September, Tello had received a telegram that Valcárcel was on his way to Chimbote. At 4:00 p.m. that day, a correspondent from the news service Cadelp that was stationed in Chimbote had arrived, and not long after, Valcárcel and Antúnez arrived at Cerro Blanco and presented Tello with a copy of a Rector's Resolution naming the latter as the technical and administrative representative of the university regarding the work being done in Nepeña. Tello, Valcárcel, and Antúnez then went to Punkurí (Vega-Centeno 2005:105).

On 3 October *El Comercio* published a Cadelp¹⁰⁵ report from Chimbote dated 1 October. The writer stated that he had gone to the San Jacinto Hacienda the previous day along with two of Chimbote's leading citizens. From the hacienda this group, and two others from the hacienda, had gone to look at the ruins of Punkurí where they were met by two workers and a guard. They then went to Cerro Blanco where they had been told Tello was working. There Tello provided a copy of the 27 September report that he had sent to the National Board, and this report was published in its entirety by the newspaper (Anonymous 1933cc). Also included in the newspaper on 3 October was a Cadelp report sent from Chimbote dated 2 October in which it was stated that Tello was going to travel to Lima where he planned to learn the motives behind the naming of the investigative team composed of Valcárcel and Antúnez (Anonymous 1933bb).

Also on 3 October Tello traveled by car with Mejía to Chimbote and was told that the newspapers in Lima had published word that the work in Nepeña had ceased (*ibid.*). *La Crónica* pub-

¹⁰⁵ "Cadelp D.S.A. first saw the light of day with the appearance in 1930 of 'Suplemento Ilustrado Provincial', an illustrated supplement printed in colours and on fine paper which has a circulation of 20,000 copies in the editions of the leading representatives of the provincial press. . . . In 1931 Cadelp organized its provincial news service" (Anonymous 1935f).

lished in its edition on 3 October that Tello was coming to Lima because he was displeased and considered the control commission unnecessary. The relatively brief note ended with the statement that a resident of Chimbote, when asked his opinion about what was happening, responded in a very animated way in support of Tello (Anonymous 1933dd).

That same day, before flying to Lima, Tello examined, at the Hotel Central in Chimbote, a diorite mortar similar to what was found at Punkurí, that was also decorated with figures. Tello ended up buying the object for 10 libras. The next day, 4 October, he flew to Lima, Mejía, who had apparently accompanied Tello to Chimbote, returned by car to Cerro Blanco, and on that day Harrison made a film of the walls of this temple (Vega-Centeno 2005:107).

It was reported in *El Comercio* on 5 October that Valcárcel and Antúnez were flying back to Lima and that Tello, who was still in Chimbote, was receiving the congratulations of many for the success of his work. The report continued with information received by interview in Chimbote. For his part, Tello maintained that he did not agree with the resolution that had been adopted by the government to establish official control and vigilance over work that had been effective. He stated further that the work had been conducted in a scientific manner and that now his prestige as a scientist had been affected,

As for Valcárcel and Antúnez, they each stated that they were satisfied with their work in the valley and that their detailed report would insist on the necessity of investing “sufficient” funding with the goal of carrying out the best work in the field as well as provide for “adequate” conservation of discovered artifacts. They declared that at no time had they taken charge of Tello’s work, nor had they sought to substitute for his technical direction, because they recognized his competence and that at no time

had there been exhibited the least bit of personal conflict. The article ended with the statement that in all sectors of the province people strongly objected to the work stoppage in Nepeña (Anonymous 1933gg).

Valcárcel and Antúnez arrived back in Lima on 4 October. They subsequently gave separate interviews at their homes that were also published in the 5 October edition of *El Comercio*. The day before, the newspaper had published a letter to the editor in which it was stated that the sites uncovered in Nepeña supported the idea that ancient civilization in Peru had come from Mesoamerica (Sivirichi 1933c). Valcárcel was asked if he thought this was so and he answered definitively not, that the work in Nepeña supported [Tello’s] idea of an ancient Chavín civilization indigenous to Peru. He was then asked why he had gone to Nepeña and he responded by saying that the government needed to be informed about such an important discovery. Finally he was asked if he planned to return to Nepeña and he answered that he was unsure, that his mission had been to gather information, that it was up to the government to decide what to do next, but that archaeology was his specialty and he would very much like to continue with his work there.

As for Antúnez, he was also asked if the ruins in Nepeña belonged to the Maya civilization and he also answered no, saying they were Chavín in origin but adding that other sites as yet to be discovered might have been influenced by the Maya. After saying that other sites in the Department of Ancash needed to be studied to see if they could contribute to knowledge about Chavín civilization, he stated that he was going to “amply” inform the university of his personal opinion on the investigation just conducted in the valley of Nepeña as a “whole” because of the importance of this valley to the archaeology of Peru.

There were also comments made by Tello, who had arrived in Lima on a different flight. Interviewed at home, he was asked what had motivated his return to Lima and, though “reserved” in his response, he noted his astonishment at the naming of a control commission whose function he could not comprehend. He later went on to say that he was surprised by the arrival of two professionals serving in the role of public functionaries charged with controlling and overseeing his work, as well as the naming of another unidentified person as its director, and that he had felt something had occurred to lead them to reach a wrong conclusion about his work in Nepeña. He went on to say that he was sure that the matter would be clarified because there was no reason to justify his not being allowed to continue the work he was doing in collaboration with the San Jacinto Administration and with the help of Mrs. Bentinck.

He then pointed out that no such “vigilance” had been required for the French Commander Langlois and that he was no *huaquero* or looter of artifacts to be sold for economic profit. Instead he was a scientist. So why impede the exercise of his profession? Yes, he said, it had been decided that a control commission was needed to function in an advisory capacity, but instead he was told by university representatives to cease his excavations. He stated that he simply desired, for the benefit of the same university, to be allowed to continue his work. Tello concluded his interview by saying that he planned to offer a talk on his work, complete with cinematic film, for the purpose of letting the public know the true magnitude of the discoveries that had been made in Nepeña. He stated that he reserved for *El Comercio* a detailed exposition and scientific critique of these finds (Anonymous 1933ff). This last statement served to announce that the newspaper planned to publish a series of articles by Tello, something that one reader who had argued that Tello’s work in Nepeña had been

done outside the law (Loayza 1933a) objected to strenuously (Loayza 1933b).

On 5 October work stopped in Nepeña and two workers were left to guard Cerro Blanco (Vega-Centeno 2005:107). According to the press, Tello had been ordered to cease his work (Anonymous 1933ff).

The front page of the 6 October edition of *La Crónica* featured two banner headlines, one stating that the resignation of the cabinet had not been accepted and the other stating that Valcárcel had said it had not been the intent of the commission to interfere with Tello’s work and that the National Board had acted broadly. The paper reported it had interviewed Valcárcel, who had served as a delegate of the Ministry of Education. The remainder of the interview was clearly intended to highlight Valcárcel’s archaeological expertise (Anonymous 1933hh).

On the same day, 6 October, *El Comercio* published an article by Tello (1933e), dated the day before, which was illustrated by field drawings detailing the settings of the ruins of Cerro Blanco and Punkurí. Tello began by thanking the newspaper for the opportunity to present a detailed and scientific discussion of the work that had been done in Nepeña and by stating that this would be the first of two or three articles that would highlight the importance of Chavín in Nepeña, how widespread Chavín civilization was, how science was used to come to a better understanding of Chavín, and how important it was for the government to protect the national patrimony. The present article, he wrote, focused on the first of these four objectives.

Tello began by stating that his research on Chavín started before 1919, when he initiated a study of a stele with carved designs on exhibit in Lima that had been taken from the ruins of Chavín de Huántar. That year he had under-

taken an expedition to these ruins on behalf of the University of San Marcos. There he had discovered another stele carved with designs, that he brought to the university to study, a stele that was later named after him by a German scientist. In 1920 he first identified pottery with form and decoration of this style in North Coast collections and had postulated a northern Chavín culture. He added that Rafael Larco Hoyle had recently begun a study of such pottery in his collections, but unfortunately no Chavín tomb had yet been discovered. However, in 1929, he had been informed of the accidental discovery of gold artifacts on the North Coast, also decorated with Chavín designs. He then stated that in 1925 he had discovered extensive cemeteries at Paracas and that his study of the artifacts found there convinced him that the earliest culture there was connected to the Chavín culture.

After the revolution of 1930, when he was forced to constrain his fieldwork, he had focused on his Paracas studies as well as his Moche studies, and in this work he had been assisted by Carrión and Mejía, as well as by his new collaborator Larco Hoyle. In February 1933, because of the generous offer of Lady Buxton and Lucy Bentinck, he had been able to finally respond to an earlier invitation to visit the valley that had been made by Locket's father. Tello explained that he had been invited to see some frescos that had been found by accident in the valley, but that he had then thought these frescos must have been Moche in date.

At the San Jacinto Hacienda he had been shown photographs of what had been discovered by the administrator, Mr. Harrison. Tello noted that he had been very surprised to discover that what had been uncovered was Chavín in style but that, unfortunately, after he had gone to the site named Cerro Blanco, he had learned that what had been uncovered had been destroyed. He added, however, that he was able to determine a characteristic and unique building mate-

rial that had been used to construct the Chavín structure—conical adobe. He stated that he had subsequently made a trip to the North Coast and, accompanied by Mejía and Pedro Benvenuto, he had unsuccessfully searched for other Chavín sites with conical adobes on the way down to the Nepeña Valley. Once there they had begun work at Cerro Blanco.

At this point, Tello briefly shifted to a discussion of his practice of keeping from the public details of his discoveries over the years because he had not wanted non-scientists to benefit from what he had learned. He went on to state that over the past three years Paracas monuments and artifacts and the sites that he had discovered had been destroyed as a result of “eyes closed by ignorance of those charged with their custody.” Tello also took this time to make note of the fact that, months before returning to Nepeña, he had been working on the report on the theft of nearly all the gold artifacts at the National Museum, almost all of which had been acquired during his Nazca and Paracas excavations. These discoveries, he pointed out, had greatly expanded knowledge about ancient metallurgy and offerings in Peru and America in general. In this regard he added, he had been greatly surprised to discover that Chavín gold artifacts had been found in Ecuador and Colombia. He was also surprised to discover that Chavín pottery had been found in Ecuador.

In conclusion, Tello stated that there were now sufficient facts to back up a theory he had first considered during the years 1916-1919, that an archaeological horizon had occurred in South America, that it was represented in the deepest and earliest layers of occupation in Peru, and that this culture stretched from Ecuador to Bolivia. Finally, he stated that there had been three great and clearly defined cultural empires in ancient Peru, the earliest of which was Chavín.

Given that this article focused on Chavín, and that Tello expressed concern about Paracas artifacts and sites, it seems ironic that the next day, 7 October, *El Comercio* published a letter to the editor that provided notification of the sale on 5 October, in London, of 68 Paracas textiles and a total of 23 other objects consisting of pottery, gold pieces, etc. The letter was accompanied by two photographs, one each of three pieces of pottery and a textile, that were said to have been published in *The Illustrated London News*¹⁰⁶ and *The Connoisseur*¹⁰⁷. The author of

¹⁰⁶ The following was published in the 16 September 1933 issue of *The Illustrated London News*. "We are enabled to reproduce here and on the next page, in the original colours, four superb examples of ancient Peruvian embroidery from a collection of Peruvian antiquities about to be dispersed in London and described as the finest of its kind that has ever come into the market. The sale is to be held by Messrs. Puttick and Simpson, at their Reynolds Galleries in Leicester Square, on October 5. The collection comprises over eighty specimens of textiles from Paracas, including many large *mantos* (ceremonial robes), sets of garments, shawls, skirts, and turbans, in a fine state of preservation. There is also some interesting pottery, from both Paracas and Nazca, with various other decorative objects" (Anonymous 1933w).

¹⁰⁷ Subsequently the following was published in *The Connoisseur*, "The main interest in this sale, which took place at Puttick and Simpson's on October 5th, centered in the textiles from Paracas. There were sixty-eight lots, and fifteen of these contributed 2,730 [pounds] towards the day's total of 4,013 [pounds]. The top price, 420 [pounds] was offered for a very fine black *manto* (110 x 46 in.), with thirty-eight panels of crimson, embroidered with winged ritual figures wearing masks, their robes with serpent decoration and other masks, and holding weapons and animals. Another *manto* (99 x 58 in.), the centre embroidered with similar figures in sixty-nine panels of dark blue and the border with twenty-four larger figures, was knocked down at 336 [pounds]; and one (113 x 48 in.) with birds in blue, green, yellow and other colours, in thirty-nine panels of crimson, 252 [pounds]. A black shawl (77 x 15 in.) embroidered with ritual figures, in fifty panels, with eighteen larger figures in border, realized 115 [pounds] 10s [shillings]; a crimson poncho (74 x 30 in.), woven with three large figures, wearing masks and holding various instruments, and other figures and monsters, 136 [pounds] 10s [shillings]; and a black skirt (115 in. long), worked with over a hundred ritual figures, 115 [pounds] 10s [shillings]"

the letter stated that he considered it his civic duty to report this sale to Peruvian authorities, with the object of preventing the future loss of riches of inestimable value through illicit commerce and speculation caused by the deterioration of Peru's laws and its economic decline (Mueñe 1933).

A second article by Tello (1933f) dated 7 October was published in *El Comercio* on the ninth. This article was accompanied by three drawings of Chavín artifacts: a turquoise vase, a (Paracas) Cavernas bowl, and the "Great Custodial Demon"¹⁰⁸ of the Punkurí Temple. There were four photographs, one each of the sculpted and painted animal figure on the steps of Punkurí said to have been based on a Chavín style clay vessel, the Cerro Blanco Temple, the megalithic entrance to the Chavín "Palace" at Los Paredones,¹⁰⁹ and an ornament of gold decorated in the Chavín style from the Velez Lóopez collection.

Tello began with a celebration of Chavín civilization mixed with social commentary. He

(Grieg 1933).

¹⁰⁸ Figures 71 and 72 in Tello's 1929 book on Chavín and Paracas are drawings illustrative of the side and bottom ornamentations, respectively, of a black Chavín vessel in the Luis Carranza collection of Trujillo. It is the decorated figure on the bottom of this vessel that Tello has shown as the "Great Custodial Demon" of Punkurí. Unfortunately, he does not elaborate why he thought this to be the case. There are no obvious similarities.

¹⁰⁹ "El Palacio de Padrejon . . . consists of a series of enclosures, reached by a stone stairway . . . from the terrace below. Partly within . . . is another enclosure, surrounded by walls of cut stone, topped with adobes. The ground within is raised about twelve feet, reached by a winding stairway of stone through a gateway. . . . A parapet wall of adobe runs around this platform, which supports three rectangular, truncated pyramids or elevations of adobe . . . the first reached by a stairway to the east. . . . The gateway has been covered by a lintel of wrought stone, eleven feet long by two and a half wide, and two feet thick" (Squier 1973 [1877]:205-206).

stated that he was only going to deal with certain aspects that most directly related to the “loftiest manifestations of the genius of the authors of Chavín”: their architecture, painting, ceramics, and jewelry. He went on to say that the edifices now known as pertaining to this civilization had no equal. He stated that present day Indians, “sick and squalid, weighed down by their miserable social condition”, who cultivated corn and potatoes with such primitive methods that their harvests barely satisfied their hunger, and who permanently mitigated this by the use of sacred coca, could take pride because they were the legitimate descendants of that “race of megalithic titans” who had constructed the Temple of Chavín de Huántar. This, Tello continued, perhaps with Valcárcel in mind, was a giant work of art that had no parallel in ancient Peru, surpassing even the Inca Fortress of Sacsayhuaman at Cusco because of its historic and artistic importance.

Tello elaborated on the above, but without illustrations to guide the reader, apparently assuming that everyone would know what he was talking about. He stated that the labyrinth of galleries and sanctuaries of the Temple of Chavín de Huántar, that were now inhabited by bats and thieves, ran in different directions and formed an enormous network whose ends could not be reached. It was no exaggeration, he continued, that the belief of certain local Indians that this network passed under the river and connected with other structures, had merit. This temple, he continued, was constructed of enormous blocks of stone, as great as the celebrated Inca fortress of Sacsayhuaman in Cusco, made from rocks that certainly were taken from distant places. The galleries and sanctuaries, whose walls were possibly polished, had been decorated in certain places with memorial stones or sculpted steles, fragments of which he had found, and at the center of all stood the famous and unrivaled Lanzón Stone.

Tello then shifted to a discussion of coastal Chavín sites. He mentioned the megalithic stone fortresses of Quisque (Map 6)¹¹⁰ and Chanquillo in the Nepeña and Casma Valleys, respectively, as products of the Chavín civilization, and he pointed out that the latter was a little more than an hour by plane away and could easily be visited. After asserting that these structures had been built by an advanced race and not a barbaric one, he stated that the recently discovered temples of Cerro Blanco and Punkurí had eclipsed the development that he had proclaimed many times for the Moche, Chimú, and Inca civilizations.

At this point Tello shifted to discussion of Chavín art, a level of artistic achievement he said that had not been reached by any other precolumbian civilization, including ones celebrated in the highlands of southern Peru and northern Bolivia (specifically Tiahuanaco). Chavín art was the best, he stated, in terms of the artistic sense of proportion, in terms of expertise of drawing, and in terms of execution. In Chavín art complex figures, sometimes representative of mythical animals and at other times glyphs, were engraved, even to the extent of covering entire sanctuary walls. This art, he could state with assurance, was not derivative of Mesoamerica art. Although never specifically saying so, Tello was clearly referring to the artistry seen represented at the ruins of Chavín de Huántar where he had worked in 1919.

¹¹⁰ “Another fortification near the coast is situated in the valley of Nepeña . . . at an elevation of twelve hundred feet on the side of the mountains which encircle it. This, which is known as the Fortress of Quisque, . . . having the stones at the angles and the entrances finely cut. The walls may be called cyclopean. . . . The horizontal blocks of large stones are alternated with layers of thin stones adjusted to the irregular forms of the larger ones. The entrances are by interior walls and stairways. . . . There are also salients. Some of the stones are very large, measuring nine feet in length, six feet six inches in breadth, and three feet in thickness” (Squier 1973[1877]:213).

Tello then pointed out that Chavín had initiated the practice of temple entombment that had subsequently been used by the Moche. He marveled at oft-decorated Chavín pillars and columns that did not appear to be derived from Mesoamerica. He also expressed admiration for the masterpieces of Chavín civilization sculpted in stone and decorated with animal figures found throughout the north central highlands of the Department of Ancash. Tello then stated he could now identify two distinct varieties of the Chavín style at Punkurí and Cerro Blanco, the latter rendered closer to the style seen at Chavín de Huántar, the former more similar to that seen at certain Mesoamerican temples. Finally, he pointed out that the temples at Cerro Blanco and Punkurí had been painted with vivid colors that rivaled the decorations of the later Second Epoch Moche and Nasca civilizations.

Tello then briefly turned his attention first to Chavín pottery and then to Chavín jewelry, both of which he praised for the artistic sensibilities and the craftsmanship expressed through them. Chavín pottery, he stated, was clearly well developed and, in his opinion, no other pottery surpassed its elegant forms, its brilliant shine, and its decoration which was no less than a copy of what was used to decorate the walls of clay and of stone. While conceding that during the apogee of Chimú civilization and during the empire of the Inca pottery and metalwork had also reached an extraordinary level of development, Tello went on to say the gold jewelry of the Chavín and Paracas civilizations was followed by jewelry made of silver and bronze in later times, adding that the Chavín were also masters at working with more delicate and harder materials like turquoise and diorite. Finally, Tello made brief mention of the importance of finding a Chavín tomb at Punkurí.

This article was both very detailed and at the same time paradoxically lacking in detail. For example, the reader was obviously left to con-

clude from his illustrations that Tello felt that the Punkurí animal figure in the round had been based on the symbolic Chavín Caretaker Demon figure shown in one of his drawings but he never said so in his text. In this same vein Tello never wrote about the megalithic ruins of Paredones (Map 6) in the upper valley, that he had illustrated with a photograph, but instead wrote about the megalithic ruins of Quisque, lower in the valley and essentially across from the Hacienda San Jacinto, that he had not illustrated. Tello assumed a great deal of prior knowledge on the part of his readers. In addition to what he had recently found in the Nepeña Valley, readers apparently were expected to have knowledge of Tello's work elsewhere in the Department of Ancash and, especially, at the ruins of Chavín de Huántar (Map 7).

On 11 October it was briefly reported in *La Crónica* that, at a meeting of the National Board the day before, a satisfactory solution of the Nepeña crisis had been reached by Olaechea. Specifically, it was reported that Tello would direct the excavations in Nepeña, that the university would pay for this work, that the government would be represented, that the National Board would support this work, and that all objects discovered would be turned over to the National Museum (Anonymous 1933ii).

In contrast a report published in *El Comercio* offered greater detail, giving the names of those in attendance at the meeting, including Tello, Valcárcel, Rospigliosi, and Riva Agüero. It was reported that, after considering Tello's request, the board had agreed to provide 1,500 soles monthly (half of what Tello had requested) to support the work he was doing in Nepeña on behalf of the university and, to facilitate matters, this money would be sent by the university's Administrative Council to the Hacienda San Jacinto administration, subject to previous approval of requests for funding. An inventory in triplicate of all artifacts to be sent to the Na-

tional Museum would be given to a representative of the museum or would be sent directly to the museum. Finally, Valcárcel and Rospigliosi, board members representing the museum and the university, respectively, had stated their intention to cooperate in every way to facilitate the work in Nepeña (Anonymous 1933jj).

The official report on the meeting of the National Board that was held on 10 October, and Tello's unsigned petition to the president of the board, the minister of education, have been made public. These will be discussed in reverse order, given the likelihood that the Tello report was written earlier.

The unsigned petition by Tello to Olaechea in his capacity as the president of the National Board reads more or less as follows:

That, in accordance with Supreme Resolution 268 dated 28 September, Ministerial Resolution 2218, the University of San Marcos Council Resolution, and the National Board of Archaeology Resolution, the archaeological work in the Nepeña Valley will operate under a commission composed of three delegates: one from the Board in charge of the technical direction of the work; one from the University of San Marcos charged with the economic oversight and vigilance of the work; and one representing the government, to be in charge of the excavations. In addition, as determined by Supreme Resolution, all of the archaeological specimens acquired during excavation will be sent to the National Museum where they will be verified and then divided between the government and the university.

With regard to the dispositions referring to an intervention of the control and vigilance of the works assigned to me by the Board of Archaeology which required the

creation of a fiscal agent to oversee my scientific fieldwork, I respectfully ask that the Board clarify the nature of the functions and obligations inherent in the position that I am to undertake in accordance with such dispositions. So that the members of the Board remember the legal precedents of the legal dispositions that I have referenced, I will speak to the fundamentals of the present request.

That Law 6634, which is the only one that deals with the conservation and study of archaeological monuments, does not stipulate anything with reference to the oversight and vigilance of explorations and excavations conducted in Peru by duly accredited professionals to protect the government or national scientific institutions. All archaeological work is by definition scientific and that, as such, it requires independence and autonomy. It is a careful process of observation, classification, ordering, and interpretation of phenomena and facts that take place during the examination or dissection of a monument, a process that cannot be controlled or guarded without harming the autonomy or independence of the investigator and without decreasing or nullifying the responsibility with which he has been given. It is neither customary nor acceptable that one professional oversee another of the same profession, and it is offensive to establish oversight and vigilance by non-professionals over the work of professionals.

No special government or university law deals with the economic control of scientific works undertaken by professionals. Because of the importance of the work in Nepeña, it is being done patiently, very slowly, and on a small scale. This work is essentially personal in character. Each shovelful requires immediate attention.

This is not merely the mechanical work of removing the mound, discovering and measuring walls. The major part of the work requires the sense of obtaining as much information as possible through a patient and careful study of the terrain in the search for tiny objects, like pottery shards, pieces of painted or decorated stucco, and many other things that appear insignificant but allow one to appreciate over time all or part of the monument or that suggests its form, structure and character. This is not work for laborers, nor for those inexperienced in archaeology, who do not know about similar monuments elsewhere in the country.

For these considerations and the necessities imposed by the special nature of these works the modest sum of 1,500 soles monthly is requested to pay for costs involved in the Nepeña work for excavation, exploration, restoration, and conservation. This monthly amount is based on personal experience obtained through various expeditions undertaken on behalf of the government and the university. On two or three occasions the University Council has applauded this work. The investment of 1,500 soles monthly would amount to only a third of the amount today used by archaeologists who also graduated from the Harvard Department of Anthropology in 1910 [Tello actually graduated in 1911] and that now provide services in different parts of the world for the American government and universities as well as in countries in which it is not felt necessary to create special economic oversight and vigilance.

Neither is there a pertinent law or regulation that mandates that all specimens obtained during excavations conducted by national institutions be deposited with the

Director General of the National Museum, much less that the study, selection, and division between the government and the university be done there. Article three of the regulatory law that has been cited as the basis for this is not pertinent. This article refers to something else: to the registration of specimens.

Law 6634 says categorically in its article 7 that, as long as the request is for the undertaking of a serious study and that as long as discovered specimens are sent to public museums, the government will concede permission to national scientific institutions in the undertaking of explorations and excavations. The University of San Marcos Museum of Archaeology is a state museum, a public museum. If the university opts to conduct archaeological works in a designated region and wants to continue studies of the Chavín civilization begun in 1919, and if all the material from this culture is stored in its own museum, then it is logical and necessary that the objects and monuments representative of this civilization be placed under its custody to prevent its disintegration.

Now to speak to what justifies my [that is, Tello's] conduct in the field and my present attitude or emotional state, I have undertaken explorations in the Nepeña Valley in compliance with the obligation that I do so by law and the obligation imposed on me by university authorities. As the director of the Museum of Archaeology of the University of San Marcos, and by virtue of law, the Director of the Institute of Anthropology of the National Museum, it is my obligation, in conformance with Article 10 of the statute of the National Museum, to undertake periodic explorations in the country's distinct archaeological zones.

I have undertaken archaeological work in Nepeña under mandate of law and within the purview of my professional positions in which I am well qualified, having a professional degree, qualifications, and twenty-five years of experience. As a consequence, in my view government and university oversight and vigilance is unnecessary for work undertaken by a professional who merits the confidence shown in being named the director of a great institution.

In consideration of the above, I request the following from the board:

(1) That it clarify the nature of the functions and obligations inherent in my designation as director of the archaeological work in Nepeña.

(2) That, in order to facilitate this work, the board recommend that the university put at my disposal the monthly sum of 1,500 soles, under the condition that a monthly accounting of all costs be rendered (Vega-Centeno 2005:169-171).

The official notes for the meeting of the National Board¹¹¹ began by stating that Tello spoke about the resolutions and decrees that had been issued regarding the work in Nepeña, to which Olaechea had replied that if this petition signified reconsideration of the government's resolutions, then this he could not accept because the resolutions were indisputable. Tello then said that he was not asking that the resolutions be reconsidered, rather he wanted to talk about the nature of the functions that had been given to the unnamed technical director of the archaeological work in Nepeña. Tello continued

¹¹¹ This was apparently a shortened version of these notes, only concerned with the work being done in Nepeña, because a summary of the meeting later made public included mention of a number of other topics (Anonymous 1933II).

and used the term "paid agents" to describe those who had been sent to control and safeguard, something to which Valcárcel objected and he asked Olaechea that these words be considered offensive. Olaechea agreed and Tello stated that it had not been his intention to offend.

Rospigliosi then stated that Valcárcel and Antúnez had not received a single centavo for their services and that the university had only paid for expenses incurred on their trip. Valcárcel pointed out that the Board had not acted to impede the work in Nepeña, but, on the contrary, had acted in a spirit of cooperation, that the stipulation of vigilance and control was in accordance with law, and was aimed at the entitling entity and not at Tello. Hence, the resolutions had been aimed at the university's authorization to excavate.

Tello then stated that such oversight and safeguard was unnecessary when research was entirely scientific in nature, as it had been in Nepeña, adding that he was the only one in Peru with a degree in archaeology. Olaechea stated that in no way could the government be denied its right of oversight and vigilance in all excavations because, in conformance with law, the state owned all monuments; that the respective resolutions had established this right; and that also, through a constitutional resolution requested by Ancash representatives, the government had been solicited to take steps to oversee the work being done in Nepeña.

At this point Valcárcel insisted that the commission complete its work, work that was more cooperative than intermediary in nature; that the oversight and vigilance referred to in the supreme decree should be viewed only as a cautious act of interest on the part of the state as to the fruits of excavation, and should not be viewed as oversight and vigilance of investigations and work entirely scientific in nature.

Riva Agüero then praised Tello's competence. He stated that he did not agree with the statement that oversight of such scientific work was unnecessary, because this would set a very dangerous and disastrous precedent. He went on to say that it was perfectly clear that the technical direction of the work resided in Tello as a representative of the board and that, as a consequence of this recognition, Tello ought to present to the university an estimate of costs and personnel needed. He concluded by stating that all persons interested in archaeological studies should be allowed free access to the work areas in order to cooperate with and observe the investigations. Riva Agüero's recommendations were unanimously approved (*ibid.*:167-168).

Finally, in a relatively brief document without destination signed by Tello and dated 11 October, Tello briefly outlined what had been decided at the meeting of the National Board the day before. In particular Tello singled out the decision to have the university provide monthly support of 1,500 soles¹¹² with the proviso that monthly tabulations of expenditures be sent and approved. Tello also enumerated the last two of what were presumably four points that had not been included in the above. Tello noted it had been decided that before new work would begin in Nepeña a special invitation would be sent to "men of study" who wanted to collaborate in accordance with the previously established plan regarding the organization and distribution of the work that had been approved by the board. He also noted that the board had recommended to the University Council that he be recompensed for being director of the university's Museum of Archaeology (*ibid.*: 171).

Tello's unsigned petition to the president of the National Board of Archaeology, in attendance at its meeting held on 10 October is of

¹¹² In the October 15, 1933 issue of *Touring Club Peruano*, it was announced that this figure was 1,000 soles monthly (Anonymous 1933kk).

major importance. Only in this document is the reasoning behind the condition that all recovered artifacts be sent to the National Museum to be verified and studied prior to being distributed between the university and the government stated. Justification came from the law requiring the registration of artifacts, for which Valcárcel had taken credit for drafting. This condition would have given Valcárcel and his staff the authority to study all artifacts, something that could conceivably take years, and it would have given them authorization, as the government's institutional representatives, to select for themselves the choicest artifacts recovered in Nepeña by Tello and his staff. This condition was a blatant attempt on the part of Valcárcel to establish National Museum control over the fruits of labor undertaken by Tello and his staff at the university's Museum of Archaeology.

In a way, this petition serves to underscore the genius of Tello's decision to submit his original request for university funding directly to Olaechea and thereby bypass the more direct channel of the University Council. The fact that Olaechea allowed Tello to make his request public suggests that Olaechea initially met council resistance to the idea of its funding the Nepeña work. Not only had Tello chosen not to request funding in his role as agent for the National Museum, he had placed the university in the uncomfortable position of having to respond to a resultant demand to reopen the university's Museum of Archaeology and, by implication, the university itself.

Unfortunately, Tello's signed document is incomplete and it is unknown if in it he actually clarified the point about whether the National Museum had the right to study, select, and then divide recovered artifacts between the government, perhaps as represented by the National Museum, and the university. Clearly he had been very resistant to this idea, arguing that the University Museum was *the* most important

repository of Chavín artifacts in the country and that the artifacts obtained through fieldwork in Nepeña on behalf of the university should be deposited at the university's Museum of Archaeology to be studied by its staff.

On 14 October Tello published a third and final article in *El Comercio*. His focus was on protecting the nation's archaeological patrimony. He provided a number of specific examples of where the government had failed in this regard and that, as a result, helped to explain the purpose of his trips north of Lima in February and July. He first focused his attention on the North Coast. He stated that, while in the Moche region there had not existed a single important collection, there were now many such collections that tripled in total the collection exhibited in the Rafael Larco Herrera Museum that had been considered the most notable in the world. The great Chimú tombs at Chan Chan, including, one that had been sacked in 1920, continued to be emptied by looters. In addition, the cemetery of El Cortijo at Chan Chan, where gold and silver objects had been found in 1930 and which were sent to the National Museum in Lima, remained the daily target of looters. Finally, Tello pointed out that irrigation work threatened the ruins of Chan Chan.

Tello then turned his attention to the Central Coast. He wrote that in recent years ancient cemeteries in the Huarmey, Huaura, and Rimac Valleys had been looted (Maps 3, 5). Specifically, because he had heard about them, he had recently seen two grand mummies and numerous other valuable artifacts, many of them new to him, exhibited at an elementary school in the town of Santa María in the Huaura Valley. He had also seen a collection of valuable textiles that had been found near Huacho (Map 5) that, like the exhibited collection, had been the product of illegal excavations. To end this discussion of the Central Coast Tello stated that the ruins of Cajamarquilla (Map 3) in the Rimac

Valley, only a relatively short drive up valley from Lima, continued to attract looters.

Finally, Tello shifted to a discussion of the South Coast. He stated that not long ago about thirty Paracas textiles obtained by looting had been shipped to the United States where they had recently been offered for sale to museums, adding that perhaps these textiles had come from the same lot that had been on sale in London recently and reported in the Lima press. He next pointed out that in the area of the Bay of Paracas (Map 2), at Ocucaje (Map 4), and at Coyangos (Map 4) near the mouth of the Ica River, looters had discovered new sites belonging to the ancient Chavín-Paracas culture, proof of which was the periodic appearance of artifacts belonging to this culture on sale in Lima. Lastly, he made mention of the acquisition by seizure of a Nasca collection in 1932 by an alert port authority employee that demonstrated both the intensity and the ease of the ongoing exploitation and sale of the nation's archaeological heritage.

Tello then made the point that in spite of the fact that by law and regulation the practices of looting and sale of the nation's archaeological heritage were prohibited, disgracefully the government had barely funded enforcement. He stated that the discoveries made now and to be made in the future in Nepeña highlighted the need for the government to take action to ensure their conservation and that this demanded a new attitude on the part of the government that would permit the investigation, restoration, and reconstruction of these monuments whose importance was now understood.

This latter statement allowed Tello to shift toward a discussion in which he highlighted the widespread nature of Chavín-Paracas civilization, one that needed immediate attention to investigate its full range and origins. To do so, he said, required a scientific investigation inclusive

of exploration and excavation. Tello said it would be necessary to make use of aerial photography and to take pictures of all the varieties and duplicates of every monument and artifact to be studied and exhibited in the museum. He concluded by pointing out his long interest in the study of this culture and the immediate importance of continuing the work in Nepeña (Tello 1933h).

Council Secretary José R. Gálvez sent to the editor of *El Comercio*, with an attached note, a copy of the report dated 7 October that delegate Antúnez had submitted to the University of San Marcos Council. Both documents were published in the 15 October edition.

In his note, dated 11 October, Gálvez wrote that in consideration of the fact that the newspaper had just published on the accord reached by the National Board in its most recent meeting, he was submitting an official statement. He began by stating that, at the meeting of the University Council presided over by the minister of education [Olaechea], strong support was voiced for the 28 September decree that had charged the university with verifying the archaeological explorations in Nepeña and, as a consequence, had authorized Tello's exploratory work on behalf of the board. Gálvez added that the work of Valcárcel and Antúnez as representatives of the government and the university, respectively, would continue.

Gálvez then stated that the University of San Marcos would be responsible for the funding of the Nepeña work, pending approval of monthly expenditures. He added that all discovered artifacts would be sent to the National Museum of Archaeology, later to be divided between the government and the university. He noted that students and archaeologists would be permitted to visit sites in the valley that were under active investigation, to see what was being done, as long as this did not involve inconvenience on

the part of the workers. Finally, Gálvez stated that, in accordance with the above, the university had determined that the work would continue on the condition that there was previous approval of submitted monthly expenses.

The report by Antúnez was lengthy and well illustrated, and included a map of the valley showing the location of sites mentioned in the text, a drawn plan of the Punkurí temple, drawings of two wall reliefs uncovered at this site, and drawings of opposite sides of a modeled and decorated globular vessel from the Roa collection.

Antúnez began with discussions of the location of the valley, a history of archaeological research that had been conducted there, and evidence for the precolumbian use of canals and reservoirs of various sizes in the valley. He then stated that on the day following the onset of the visit by Valcárcel and himself, they had been taken by Harrison to a number of megalithic ruins higher up the valley. On 2 October he and Valcárcel had visited a large pyramidal Moche structure in the Pañamarca (Map 6) area down valley from Cerro Blanco, observing painted walls and rooms made of rectangular adobe bricks. Antúnez then shifted to a discussion of recent history, beginning with workers from the Hacienda San Jacinto accidentally exposing decorated walls at Cerro Blanco in 1928 and pointing out that a year later Punkurí was also discovered. Hence, both of these sites had been found by someone other than Tello, a fact that Tello had "distorted" when, in an article published on 6 October in *El Comercio*, he had claimed that he had been the discoverer of the Chavín sites in the Nepeña Valley.

Antúnez followed with a detailed discussion of the ruins of the smaller of the two mounds at Cerro Blanco, pointing out that wall construction used conical adobes in its lower layers and rectangular adobes in its upper layers. This was

followed by a very brief discussion of the larger nearby mound that, he pointed out, had been discovered during the laying of a rail line to be connected to the former mound by a rectangular passage beneath the surface, an architectural practice that appeared to have been in use by cultures that had succeeded Chavín.

At this point Antúnez began his discussion of Punkurí, which was his main focus. He provided many details about what had been exposed at the site, including new information, such as the fact that the female body that had been discovered had been decapitated. He also offered his own interpretations about the art work in evidence. For example, he stated that not only was the figure in the round on the lowest of eight steps of the north side of the mound a feline, but that the principal figure of the mural found on the south wall of a room on the level above was also a feline. He stated that one smaller figure on this mural represented a seal, while another represented a feline, adding that on the last of his three days on the North Coast he had seen a vessel in the Loa collection in the Santa Valley that reminded him of this latter ancillary feline.

In his concluding remarks he stated that the Cerro Blanco and Punkurí temples were Chavín in date. As such, these were very important sites that required further attention. Hence, he recommended that not only should the University of San Marcos support further investigations in the valley, but that funding should also be directed toward preservation. He ended with a discussion of late nineteenth and early twentieth century studies of the Chavín stele that had been brought to Lima from Chavín de Huántar saying that such studies represented pre-1920 Chavín studies (Rospigliosi and Antúnez 1933).

Antúnez's report was professional in almost every way, irrespective of whether or not it was proper for him to offer his own interpretations of

the Chavín art represented in Nepeña. Unfortunately, Antúnez had been unable to refrain from including in his report both direct and indirect references to Tello, references that suggested a degree of animosity on his part. In addition to the obvious statement debunking Tello's claim in *El Comercio* that he had discovered the Chavín temples of Cerro Blanco and Punkurí, there were at least two seemingly innocent statements that may be viewed as having been directed at Tello. The first is that a rectangular subsurface passage connecting the Cerro Blanco mounds had been accidentally discovered, implying that Tello had also not been the one to discover this passage. The second is that a number of individuals had studied the Chavín stele in Lima prior to 1920, implying that Tello had not been the only one to do so.

In the days to follow a reported coup made the news. Surprisingly APRA was not involved, but instead supporters of assassinated President Sánchez Cerro.¹¹³ There was also a report of a

¹¹³ "The daily press of Lima was largely concerned on Thursday and Friday (19-20 October) of this week with rumours of the discovery by the police of an alleged revolutionary plot against the Government of President Benavides. The several daily, political newspapers which are opposed to the party of which the late President Cerro Sánchez was the head, charge that the conspiracy was fomented by elements which have endeavoured in recent months to perpetuate in themselves the authority and influence of the Sanchezcerrista party, in opposition to the policy of compromise and national pacification insisted upon by President Benavides. Specifically, on the 18th . . . the police arrested some twenty individuals and seized a quantity of bombs and explosive materials reported to have been fabricated by a German named Enrique Wusch. Among those arrested . . . the ex-chauffeur of . . . Sánchez, who drove the Presidential car on the day of [his] . . . assassination. . . . The Minister of Government insists that the alleged conspiracy is a question which involves the police only, and that the Government is not inclined to accord it undue political importance. For some time the police have been following the movements of Wusch. . . . The name of . . . [a] one time Minister of Government under . . . Sánchez, who led the opposition to President Benavides in the Congress which adjourned two weeks ago, has been mentioned by various newspapers in connection

border conflict, not with Colombia but with Ecuador.¹¹⁴

On 24 October Tello sent a telegram to Mejía in Nepeña, instructing him to communicate with valley authorities and the administrator of San Jacinto. Mejía spoke with the governor that day and the next day he spoke with Harrison, advising him of a notice from Lima regarding clandestine excavations (Vega-Centeno 2005: 108). This may be interpreted to mean, at least in part, that Harrison had been told he had to stop *his* illegal excavations. Nothing was reported in the Lima press regarding the establishment of new regulations to prevent illegal excavations, the implication being that Tello had convinced authorities in Lima to specifically target such activities in *this* valley.

On 25 October, official communications between president of the University Council Rospigliosi and Antúnez were made public. Rospigliosi's communication was in the form of Official Memo Number 293 dated 23 October which served to formally notify Antúnez that in the session of the University Council held on 16 October it had been decided to thank him for the "brilliant" report that he had submitted regarding the work being done in Nepeña. Antúnez had responded the following day graciously thanking President Rospigliosi and stating that it had been his honor to serve as the

university's delegate. He then stated that the university merited the gratitude of the nation for providing economic support for work in the valley that served to clarify the mystery of Chavín, one of the most interesting of Peru's ancient cultures.

Antúnez stated that, in addition to the work in Nepeña, work should also be conducted at the megalithic ruins of Chavín de Huántar. Admitting that restorative work would be too costly for the university, he suggested that the National Board submit a request to the Carnegie Institute in Washington for help because this institute had assisted with the reconstruction of Mayan ruins. He continued by saying that the university had taken the initiative (in Chavín work) in 1918 when it had voted to finance an archaeological expedition to the Department of Ancash, that it had been the university that was financing the Chavín work being done in Nepeña, and that it would contribute to its prestige if *he* were permitted to act on its behalf to reconstruct Chavín de Huántar and make it a center to be visited by both tourists and men of science. He concluded by stating that soon a rail line connecting Chimbote to the highway in the Callejón de Huaylas (Map 7) would be complete and that this would facilitate communication between the city of Huaraz (Map 7) in this narrow mountain valley and Chavín de Huántar in the Marañon Valley.

The fact that Antúnez specifically named the Carnegie Institute is interesting. At that time the Chairman of the Archaeological Division of the institute was a friend and Harvard classmate of Tello's, Alfred V. Kidder, whom the American heiress Mrs. Beale visited in the field after visiting Tello in Lima (Beale 1932:219).¹¹⁵ Was

with the affair, but so far no statement has emanated from him nor from the Government connecting him with the reported movement" (Anonymous 1933mm).

¹¹⁴ "Dr. Solon Polo, Minister of Foreign Affairs, on behalf of the Government, has addressed a letter to the Ecuadorian Minister in Peru, inviting Ecuador to discuss in Lima the boundary questions pending between the two countries. The text, dated October 18 . . . [includes the following]: On the eve of the opening of the Conference in Rio de Janeiro, in conformity with the Protocol of Geneva of May 25 last, I have the pleasure to repeat that assurance and at the same time extend . . . through your intermediary, a formal invitation to commence without delay in this capital direct negotiations" (Solon 1933).

¹¹⁵ "Born in Marquette, Michigan, on October 29, 1885, Kidder was one of the first to be professionally trained in archaeology in the United States. . . . After receiving his A.B. degree, he continued at Harvard for his M.A. and Ph.D., both in anthropology. . . . Five years of graduate study

this meant as a slap in the face, Antúnez suggesting that *he* could get help from Tello's ex-classmate but that Tello could not, or was Antúnez implying that Kidder had made a greater success of his career in archaeology than had Tello?

CELEBRATORY DINNER

A notice dated 22 October advertising a dinner in honor of Tello to be held on 26 October at the Zoological Restaurant in Lima was published in the 24 October edition of *El Comercio*. As was customary, this invitation was signed by a long list of individuals including, especially, colleagues representing various schools at the University of San Marcos as well as other schools both inside and outside Lima. Not surprisingly, Carrión and Mejía were signatories. Other notable signatories included President Benavides' physician, Carlos Monje;¹¹⁶ the wife of the British Ambassador, Lucy Bentinck; a past rector of the University of San Marcos, José Encinas; a past minister of education and present secretary of the University of San Marcos, José Galvéz; the university's dean of the School of Arts and Sciences, Alberto Ureta; the director of the National Museum and member of the National Board of Archaeology, Luis Valcárcel; and two other members of the board, José de la Riva Agüero and Jorge Leguía. It should be noted that two employees at the National Museum, Yácoff and Muelle, were not listed and neither were Rospigliosi and Antúnez.

That Olaechea was not listed may be interpreted as a matter of political face-saving, given

(1909-1914) were interspersed with field trips to the Southwest under the sponsorship of the Peabody Museum. . . . From time to time in the early 1920s Kidder had been invited by the Carnegie Institution of Washington to serve as advisor on their archaeological program dealing with the Maya in Middle America . . . in 1929 he was named Chairman of the newly established Division of Historical Research" (Greengo 1968:320-322).

¹¹⁶ See Anonymous 1934ddd.

that he was the minister of education and his signature would have been awkward, in that it would have implied an official stamp of approval for all of Tello's actions within the purview of the ministry, past and present. For example, Tello had often complained about the closing of the university, in general, and the closing of its Museum of Archaeology, in particular. In this light, one might interpret the fact that so many of the signatories represented the university and other schools in Lima and elsewhere as a general feeling that the resolution of the Nepeña crisis in Tello's favor represented a great victory on behalf of shuttered educational institutions over the government-designated controllers of these institutions. In fact Law 7824 dated 9 October ordered the reopening of the Universities of San Marcos and Trujillo as well as the Pedagogical University of Lima, although this action was later delayed (Pacheco 1997:105) and it may be that Tello's victory had either precipitated this decision or had at least nudged the government in this direction.

The dinner was scheduled for 6:30 p.m. and at the table of honor were seated the minister of Great Britain, Charles Bentinck, and his wife Lucy. Carlos Monge presented an introductory speech. He began with a long statement regarding the struggle to introduce science in Peru that ended with his saying Tello epitomized Peruvian science. He then presented a review of Tello's early professional life as a recent graduate of the university's School of Medicine. He emphasized Tello's willingness to go against the established notion that trepanation as practiced in ancient Peru was primitive and an expression of miracle making. Instead Tello had argued that, based on his study of the skulls making up his unequalled collection, as well as smaller collections of others, that such trepanations represented the achievements of ancient Peruvian surgeons who had plied their considerable skills in preserving the lives of their patients. With this argument Tello had convinced many in the international

community of scholars.¹¹⁷ Monge then added that, on the basis of his Paracas excavations in 1925, Tello had advanced the knowledge of Peru's surgeons with the discovery of instruments of their trade.

This led him into a discussion of Tello's archaeological endeavors. He referred to Tello's patient and laborious work on Peru's native civilizations and his many discoveries made through the use of the scientific method. It was through this work that Tello had resurrected indestructible traces of a clearly distinctive native Andean culture. Then shifting, he stated that, as in the case of a biological organism, it was natural to expect that scientific activity would take the form of vital centers that would attract students, and that the investigator would become an educator and would form a school. In light of this the reluctance before the revolution to accept university reform and the reluctance to teach the scientific method at the university was unfathomable. It was such reluctance that explained Tello's unease with the scientific institutions then at the university and this had caused him to found the Peruvian Society for the Advancement of Science in 1920, to found the university's Museum of Archaeology in 1919, to found the National Museum of Archaeology in 1924, and to edit the journal *Wira Kocho* in 1923 in which he published his majestic work on the divine and humanized feline god that constituted one of the best expressions of the science of archaeology. In this regard, Monge made mention of Tello's studies at American and German universities, his lectures in the United States funded by the Carnegie Institute, and his activities in the national congress. All of this, he concluded, made Tello exceptional in his devotion to science.

Tello then took the floor and began with a long introduction in which he thanked Monge for his words and in which he identified individuals who early on had guided him toward his decision to dedicate his life to the study of the Peruvian race. He then launched into a talk that essentially centered on the "Indian problem" in Peru. His presentation was not strictly archaeological, rather it was a blend of social commentary supported by archaeological discoveries that he had made over the years. As such, it provided insight into the reasons that had motivated and continued to motivate his archaeological research. A translation of this talk in its entirety is provided below:

This 'Indian problem' was one that, from the Indian perspective, had created prejudices regarding the abuse of alcohol and coca; a problem in which science was used as a tool to determine who was White, who was Indian, and who was Mestizo or a person of mixed blood. Not only was this a problem for the individual, it was a problem as well for entire groups of individuals. In Peru there were cities in the interior that were generally Spanish by custom and spirit that were considered Indian; there were legitimate descendants of the Spanish who customarily dressed in the fashion of the Spanish of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries who were considered Indian; and there were Indians of means who were considered white.

As a result, populations were divided into hostile classes with no anthropological basis but simply prejudice, a remnant from the time of the first Spanish. However, in light of knowledge of present Peruvian society it can be affirmed that the Government or State during the time of the Inca exercised more than a superficial influence over the confederation of nations making up their empire. This was a great confeder-

¹¹⁷ It is possible that Monge was drawing from a paper presented by a medical professor at the University of San Marcos (Bello 1925) that was read at the Third Pan American Science Congress held in Lima at the end of 1924.

ation of free nations based on cooperative work and specialization, this was a coordination of, rather than a coercion of, peoples in which each individual was free and responsible for his own actions and that, thanks to economic well-being, could give expression to his artistic genius.

It is absurd to imagine that the great monuments and works of art left by the Indian race and admired by present generations of Peruvians were the works of slaves. The finest textiles of the Incas, the bordered Paracas fabrics, Chavín sculpture and painting, Chimú gold and silver work, and Moche pottery were magnificent works of art that reflect patient and tedious work, that reflect the artistic refinement of virtuosos who could only have produced them in a freely executed vocation.

The social unity of that great cooperative society was the *ayllu* whose origin goes back to the early days of Peruvian civilization when, through cultivation of the soil, man settled in one place. The *ayllu* was the true custodian of the national spirit, *ayllu* and nation being synonymous. The *ayllu* was a group of persons united by a common feeling of love for their nation, an intimate feeling like that between a mother and child. The *ayllu* was defined by a memory of the glorious echo of the same land, a land integrally dependent on life, a land that guarded the historical archive, where the spirits of ancestors resided as did the gods that controlled their activities and their destiny.

The coming together of these *ayllus* and nature organized harmonically within an agrarian society was what constituted the ancient Peruvian nation. The Indian was the owner of the earth. It was thanks to his own efforts that a nation was forged, a na-

tion that the conquest unfortunately destroyed. Besides the introduction of non-native tongues, this conquest substantially changed the native symmetry. In fact, there had not been an Indian problem or an ethnic problem, but instead a social one. Just as the peculiarities of race, both biological and social, are essentially antagonistic, one needs to study not only the native whose works and aptitudes are known best through the testimonies of his own activities and ethnic factors and whose biological and social conditions we ignore, so too [we need to study] the supposed native inferiority that is not ethnic but generally circumstantial. The Indians' activities are not known for ethnic reasons; we are ignorant of their biological and social conditions.

In addition, the supposed Indian inferiority is not ethnic but merely circumstantial. The Indian, orphan of all social help, at the margin of justice, held together by his own force, needs to put forth all his energies just to survive. His longings, aspirations, and everything else appropriate to a human being, whether savage or civilized, lives in his soul. These adverse conditions have contributed to the psyche of the Indian, his indifference to sadness, of deception, of pain, because he carries the weight of a mountain of prejudice. He is the victim of suicidal conviction and false inferiority, impotent before the superiority of those that have an appearance of possessing European civilization. These are not, as generally suggested, educational problems, rather, strictly anthropological ones. As such it is necessary to study the Peruvian population as a whole biologically, socially, and spiritually. We need to study with impartiality the history of both races, but all we have in books is the history of the conquerors.

In the three great epochs of Indian prehistory we encounter manifestations of the development of commerce. During the most remote Megalithic Empire of the Chavín-Paracas civilization there are already present objects from different places including those very distant, turquoise from New Mexico and certain shells that only existed in the American tropics. Chavín civilization competed with Mayan civilization and these two were Greek-like civilizations, while the Inca and Aztec civilizations were Roman-like civilizations. Native Peruvian history, and that of South America as well, was intimately related to the history of gold but in these places it was not valued in the same way as Europeans [valued it]. Instead gold was viewed as sacred, as a ceremonial object to be offered to the gods.

Also in ancient times a great road was constructed, apart from that constructed by the Inca that connected Peru's three great regions, tropical forest, highland, and coast. I have seen this road in my travels across the Department of Ancash and other places between Jequetepeque and Zaña. However, there is no more eloquent testimony than the organized life and property of the aboriginals as that related to the civilization to the south.

Since the remotest of times Peru has been the most important agricultural center of the Americas and perhaps of the world. [There are] valleys of cultivated land of enormous extension having diverse systems of irrigation evidencing the preparation and construction of terrace systems and artificial gardens throughout. On certain desert plains on the coast today, like in the Chimú [Moche] Valley, there exists clear evidence of cultivation by flooding as in Egypt. When cultivable land is hidden be-

neath deep sand, this overburden of millions of tons was removed. In the Province of Jaen and certain forested places in the Urubamba Valley that needed to be cultivated, a great work of deforestation was undertaken; a marvelous work that could have made use of fire but that was instead done by hand. When the lands were unable to be cultivated because of steep slopes, great artificial terrace systems were created, the soil being brought in from great distances. In Yayos¹¹⁸ and Pomabamba I have seen mountains that were totally covered [with such systems] from the bottom of the valley to the top with artificial cultivated terraces, even in the puna regions in places adjacent to glaciers like in Tuctu¹¹⁹ and Pariakaka¹²⁰ where cultivated fields remain. Dams and the remains of irrigation canals measuring kilometers in length are found everywhere. Many of these lands required maintenance and there was the need to build enormous embankments and rubble works due to flooding caused by titanic forces. When water could not be found on the surface, or there was insufficient water to irrigate all the land in the valley, they constructed subterranean aqueducts that divided and subdivided into a network sufficient to bring water to the surface. Such networks still in use are to be found in the Nazca Valley.

As a result of these marvelous works of art in the cultivation of the soil, according to the North American botanist [Orator F.] Cook, Peru was transformed into a great experimental agricultural laboratory. In

¹¹⁸ Yayos is a province in the Lima Region.

¹¹⁹ Tuctu is a mountain in the Cordillera Blanca of the Ancash Region.

¹²⁰ Parikaka is the highest mountain in the Parikaka range, on the border between the Lima and Ancash Regions.

this laboratory Peruvians domesticated around a hundred wild plants such as the potato, corn, the sweet potato, the peanut, the lima bean, quinoa, certain gourds, *tarwi*, *ullucu*, the pepper, oca, *yacon*, *achira*, etc.; different fruits like chirimoya, cucumber, lucama, etc.; medicinal plants of enormous value like quinine and coca, and industrial plants like agave and cotton. They also domesticated animals like the llama, the alpaca, the guinea pig, and the dog. Nothing better illustrates the formation of great societies supported by these domesticates and social organization than Chan Chan.

While there is very little evidence for hieroglyphic writing like that of the Maya, nevertheless the discovery of Chavín-Paracas civilization, and above all what was found recently in Nepeña, offers the first indications of the existence of a mature civilization similar to the Maya in architecture, sculpture, and painting, while being superior in the ceramic and textile arts. Chavín-Paracas civilization is at the head of all the primitive civilizations in Peru and it competes with the Maya in Central America. Hence we can say that just as the Maya of Central America were Greek-like and the Aztecs were Roman-like, in South America there was another Greek-like civilization represented by Chavín-Paracas and another Roman-like civilization represented by the Inca Empire. Peruvian civilization is cemented onto prosperous economic life with different flowerings of intellectual and artistic production.

Turning now to an investigation of what interrupted the change in the course and natural development of aboriginal civilization, I consider that the clash between European and Peruvian civilizations is, above all else, a clash of two philosophies of life.

That of the Peruvians, as I have already stated, had reached a stage of civilization that permitted a life of economic plenty; they had achieved a point of being able to provide all the benefit of opportunities offered by physical and biological means. All of their philosophy and all of their art was like a natural philosophy inspired by the war within nature and in the recognition of the harmonious laws that regulate the works of creation. The conquest was the result of the force of a single action, impulse, or passion that was motivated by the adventure of exploring and dominating a mysterious and legendary world. The Spanish were driven by a thirst for gold and this was what stimulated them and this was what drove their heroism.

The history of the Indian in Peru, and on the continent in general, was intimately connected to the history of gold. This, along with other precious metals like silver, copper, tin, and platinum, as well as pearls and precious stones like turquoise and emeralds gave brilliance and splendor to the Inca civilization and gave sumptuousness to its palaces and temples. Gold was most valued for its excellence as a work of art and through which was symbolized the religious sentiment of the Indians. Since the remotest of times, Indians had not thought of gold in the same way as the Europeans who thought of it as something of economic value to be accumulated for the future. Gold was neither minted nor used commercially by the Indians to acquire food and other commodities. Neither was gold inherited. Instead gold was transformed into a work of art by the Indians who valued its excellent quality or for the excellence of being worked, for it was before anything else a sacred or ceremonial object, an offering to the gods or to the ancestors; something to be accumulated in

the temples and all other sacred places, as well as in the tombs of their ancestors.

This was how they valued gold, so different than the Europeans who considered it a measure of material wealth with which they could obtain anything. The Indians, however, considered it as a precious mystery imbued with exceptional qualities and as an emanation of the mysterious forces of nature or of the powers of the gods, and this explains all of the horrors of the conquest and the tragic history of the Indian race since Spanish rule. In Peru, as in all of the Americas, the Spanish began their conquest with the looting of the temples and palaces, with the destruction of art works made of gold and silver that were then converted into ingots to be shipped to Spain. Once they had looted the temples and palaces of all their gold and silver, they began an avid search for these precious metals in tombs and in the huacas and when this was not sufficient to satisfy their thirst for gold they then began to dig for gold using the sweat and blood of the Indians.

The history of gold in Peru is intimately linked to the two phases of the history of race, the phase of well-being and prosperity in which man utilized natural resources giving expansion to the most noble spiritual impulse, and another tragic phase in which European man, driven by his thirst for gold, sacrificed the Indian in his search to obtain a fortune to ensure that he would have a secure life.

Three words synthesize the phenomena that make up the Indian race and its civilization: *ayllu*, land, and gold. The *ayllu* or group of individuals united by blood and love; *land* the inexhaustible source of life and well-being, the material and spiritual

home of the *ayllu* sanctified through the medium of work; *gold*, the symbol of the most delicate spiritual manifestations of the Indian, of his artistic genius but that which motivated the avarice of the conquerors and that was the cause of the extermination of the Indian race and civilization. *Ayllu*, land, and gold are the mysterious elements of the history of the race and they are the landmarks that help us to interpret Peru's historic phenomena. The *ayllu* signifies the union of men, races, or classes through the sympathetic links of love, shared knowledge, and of common aspirations both for individuals of the same provincial locality, or of a nation. The *ayllu* signified cooperation, specialization, and coordination of national energies in order to realize the great works of that race that were needed for the future. Land signified the inexhaustible source of well-being and prosperity of the country where man might display his energies, capacity, and intelligence without any more restrictions than that imposed by his own abilities. The sacred land of the gods and of the ancestors, that in the past was prodigious and blessed by the human race and worked for the benefit of all, is now worked by machines for the benefit of the few.

Gold signified the beauty of creation, the work of the gods admired through human ingenuity. The Spanish desire for gold caused social divisions and the disintegration of nationality. I do not pretend to have deduced all of the consequences of these historic phenomena, and for now I can only say that I am convinced that a profound study of them has strongly contributed to an explanation of the many virtuous peculiarities and defects of our national differences and that contributed to the evolution of our national problems.

Before closing, allow me to speak to public powers with regard to the past and present Peruvian race and to their protection in the name of the science of man. It is necessary that the country have an institution dedicated to the study of the country's population and its integration. An institution that would serve as an office of anthropological management that would function as a laboratory, like that which served to forge the Indian-Mexican nation. Only in this way is it possible to definitively resolve the problem of the amalgamation of the country's different ethnicities, heal the class warfare, strengthen the national being, and prepare the Peruvian race to achieve its aspirations and ideals (Monge and Tello 1933).

The report on the dinner honoring Tello, presented above, was published in *El Comercio* on 27 October. Yácovleff penned a letter that day to the editor of this daily and it was published on 28 October. Essentially, he focused on a statement by Monge that had celebrated Tello's discovery of surgical evidence at Paracas. Yácovleff said that this statement was based on Dr. Tello's 1929 publication in which he had made this claim, but that the article had not been well illustrated, and no scientific proof had actually been offered in the text. Not only did Yácovleff say that cultural artifacts claimed to be evidence for surgical operations at Paracas had not been proven, he also said that Tello had not proven his claim that skulls found by him at this place actually evidenced artificial trepanation.¹²¹

¹²¹ Yácovleff also stated that Tello had not proven his claim that he had recently discovered proof of the existence in Nepeña of *Pitecantros peruvianius*, this being evidenced by a cranium exhibiting "ancient racial characteristics" (Yácovleff 1933). No such claim was included in any of the reports published in *El Comercio* known to this author. It is possible that such a claim was printed in another source or that Tello had voiced such a claim to one or more specialists. In the latter case this may have been Tello's preliminary thought on the matter and publication of this idea

Yácovleff supported the above by stating that, despite not being an archaeologist, as a senior collaborator at the National Museum, he had taken it upon himself to affirm Tello's interpretations of specific artifacts that had been found by him at Paracas. He mentioned a flint point inserted into the end of a cane stick that could be interpreted as an arrow, presumed bandages that he felt were no more than cotton cushions used to deform the heads of children commonly found at Paracas, and a supposed curette made of the tooth of a sperm whale that was likely a weaving instrument commonly found in the tombs of ancient Peruvians. He added that the "blood" on the bandages had not been analyzed and could just as well be paint.

Yácovleff stated that the only exception to this lack of proof of trepanation at Paracas was one skull found in 1931 (by himself, Valcárcel, and Muelle), this being "truly lamentable" because valuable skulls actually evidencing trepanation in Peru had been studied by "specialists in pathology". He continued by stating that a detailed examination of this skull by a "recognized specialist" had concluded that trepanation was in evidence. Yácovleff pointed out that there was "splendid material" for the study of trepanation at the National Museum and that there was included among exhibited Paracas artifacts a series of skulls showing all the stages of the "enigmatic process" of trepanation. He concluded by stating that only when Tello had provided "documentary proof" of his discoveries as well as "positive proof" of his claims, would he admit that he was wrong.

Clearly there were unresolved issues between Yácovleff and Tello, the former having worked for the latter at the Museum of Peruvian Archaeology. Specifically, Yácovleff was claiming that Tello had publicized certain scientific discoveries at Paracas before he had the laboratory evidence to support such claims, the suggestion strongly suggests a betrayal of confidence.

tion being that he was privy to this fact of professional chicanery. Yácovleff specifically stated that Tello was not a specialist in trepanation and he strongly implied that, rather than being a scientist, Tello was a fraud. Having leveled this charge, Yácovleff then claimed that *he* was the scientist because *he* had presented information that was supported by laboratory confirmation inclusive of detailed expert analysis that *he* had published a well-illustrated article.

Of course, Yácovleff conveniently neglected to say that since 1931 *he*, and not Tello, worked directly under Valcárcel and, hence, *he*, and not Tello, had access to nearly unlimited resources both to conduct research and to publish. It seems that, at least in part, this was a dispute that was personal in nature. Perhaps the fact that Tello refused to acknowledge Yácovleff as his equal in the newly restructured museum galled him. Or perhaps Tello's refusal to share information he and his loyal staff had gleaned from the Paracas collection at the institute had upset him. For whatever reason, Yácovleff appears to have become unhinged when he read in the press that Tello had received acclaim for his specific contributions to scientific knowledge regarding the medical achievements of ancient Peruvians.

Valcárcel penned a letter to the editor that was published in *El Comercio* the following day. This was not surprising, especially given the fact that he had been in attendance at the dinner honoring Tello and, by implication, had applauded Tello's scientific contributions. Valcárcel made it clear in his letter that he was writing as director of the National Museum and that Yácovleff's opinions were his alone and did not reflect the official view of that institution. He went on to state that it was incumbent upon the museum to take "jealous care" in a scientific debate, to act in the spirit of respectful consideration and to make sure that its publications reflected "strict justice" and "correct knowl-

edge". Thus "beneficial professional etiquette" would be maintained and "precious time" would not be lost to controversy or spats that served to destroy the coordination of forces needed to preserve the possibility of a "fruitful study among serious men".

Valcárcel continued with the statement that the museum directorship had again and again proved "its lively interest in promoting verification through consortium work", by so doing avoiding "purely individual work" that was "inconceivable" in that day and age. This served to "eliminate obstacles in studies" inclusive of those important studies undertaken by "Peruvian men of science", obstacles that were "a grave danger to national studies".

Valcárcel then stated that a large part of the Paracas skeletal material, inclusive of a large number of trepanned skulls collected by Tello in 1925 and in 1927, was on exhibit in the National Museum's Museum of Archaeology, in the National Museum's Institute of Anthropological Investigations directed by Tello, and in the University of San Marcos Museum of Archaeology. All of these scientific materials, he added, were pertinent to the study of the work done by Tello "who had all of the documentation relating to this transcendental discovery".¹²² Furthermore, he added, it would be "proper" for him, under his "absolute responsibility", to "recommend" a complete study in accordance with museum dictates.

After suggesting in this way that Yácovleff had been right to criticize Tello for not yet having done definitive work on the materials he had collected at Paracas, Valcárcel stated that

¹²² 'Transcendental' was the word that Tello had used to describe his discovery of (the original two) Paracas (sites) in his August 21, 1933 letter to Olaechea that had been published by the Lima press (Tello 1933c). Valcárcel likely thus chose to use the same word out of political expediency in an attempt to ingratiate himself with Tello and his supporters.

Tello had presented the surgical dressings, etc. and the trepanned skulls to the members of the Latin American Medical Congress held in Lima in 1929 and that this evidence had been widely discussed and that many of his conclusions had become legendary in the anthropological section of the National Museum. He concluded by stating that he considered that his silence on the matter, could have contributed to unproductive fighting among studious men, between teachers [Tello] and students [Yácovleff], fighting that was against his express wish that those who worked within the same institution with identical high ideals coexist in harmony (L. Valcárcel 1933e).

Thus, the end of the Nepeña crisis brought no relief for Valcárcel. He was forced to respond to public charges of an acrimonious nature brought by Yácovleff, his chosen archaeologist, against Tello, who had been his former mentor, who had a medical degree from the University of San Marcos, who had a degree in anthropology from Harvard University, and hence was Peru's first university-trained archaeologist, and who was unquestionably Peru's most celebrated one. Valcárcel's letter, however, made it clear to the observant reader that by the use of the word official he himself had reservations about the way Tello conducted science, suggesting that he may have condoned the intra-museum rivalry that had led to the public airing of the Yácovleff-Tello dispute. Although he attempted to cover this up with high rhetoric, his recommendation, as director of the National Museum, that Tello complete his Paracas studies, could readily be interpreted as an order, one without, however, a pledge to provide the necessary funding to accomplish this task.

By the same token, although he tried to take the high road, Valcárcel could not prevent himself from essentially admitting that he had made an error when he had agreed to allow the university's Institute of Anthropological Investi-

gations to act on behalf of the National Museum and, in so doing, allow Tello to take control of a major part of the nation's Paracas collection. Yet, having said this, Valcárcel would have been justly concerned that Tello had downplayed his institute's connection to the National Museum, and had insisted that the university allow him to act on its behalf in his archaeological investigations in Nepeña in his capacity as director of its investigative institute. While it remains unclear how much control the archaeological department of the National Museum had over the incoming collections from Nepeña and, hence, how much control was ultimately ceded to the university's Museum of Archaeology, Valcárcel would have been justified if he was concerned by Tello's political acumen. Clearly, Tello was a threat to the post-revolution status quo.

BACK TO WORK

The following messages were published in consecutive issues of *The West Coast Leader* heralding the arrival of a noted American archaeologist. "Phillip [sic] Ainsworth Means, author of *Ancient Civilizations of the Andes* and well-known Peruvian archaeological research worker, is expected to arrive at Callao shortly" (Anonymous 1933nn). "Mr. Phillip A. Means . . . is arriving by the S.S. Santa Maria from New York" (Anonymous 1933oo). Means, like Tello, had studied anthropology at Harvard.¹²³ Means published a review in *The Hispanic American Historical Review* of the book that Mrs. Beale had published in 1932 on her trip to Lima the year before. Among other things he wrote, "In Lima,

¹²³ "Philip Ainsworth Means was born in Boston in 1892 graduated . . . from Harvard in 1915 and received a Master of Arts degree from that institution the following year. . . . During his 1917-18 trip he visited many sites from Bolivia in the south to Piura in the far north of Peru. In 1918-19 he again spent considerable time in Piura and supervised some excavations. After returning to the United States, Means was recalled to Peru in 1920-21 as Director of the National Museum" (Bennett 1946:234-235).

Mrs. Beale was fortunate to be guided about by Dr. Julio C. Tello" (Means 1933). In fact Means had long been a supporter of Tello (*e.g.*, Means 1923). On 25 November, Tello and his staff opened Paracas mummy bundle 12 (Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú (Lima), Archivo Histórico Riva Agüero, Colección Toribio Mejía Xesspe, Informes 2206, 6 April 1934, p. 4), an opening witnessed by Means. A couple of weeks later he sailed for New York.¹²⁴

Work continued at Punkurí in the Nepeña Valley and semi-hemispherical, rectangular, and conical adobes were encountered at increasingly deeper levels during excavations. At 10:30 on the morning of 22 November the Bentincks and Harrison visited the ruins of Cerro Blanco. They then went to Punkurí where they took some photographs. Tello sent another one hundred soles because the National Board had approved further work at both sites (Vega-Centeno 2005:08-116). Ambassador Bentinck had been transferred to Sofia, Bulgaria, and was to be replaced by Victor Courtenay Walter Forbes, who was expected to arrive during the later part of February 1934 (Anonymous 1933rr).¹²⁵

At the 8 November meeting of the National Board, Tello asked that his request presented at

¹²⁴ "For New York by the S.S. 'Santa Barbara', Nov. 30th: Mr. Philip Ainsworth Means, author and authority on Peruvian archaeology and history (Anonymous 1933ww: 23).

¹²⁵ "As previously reported in these columns, Mr. Bentinck has been transferred as British Minister from Lima to Sofia, Bulgaria, and will sail for England en route to this new post next week. During the past fortnight, the Minister and Mrs. Bentinck have been guests at numerous functions given in their honour by their wide circle of official and personal friends here. Mr. Bentinck's successor at Lima is Mr. Victor Courtenay Walter Forbes, formerly at Madrid, who is expected to arrive here the latter part of February, accompanied by Mrs. Forbes" (Anonymous 1933rr). "Mr. Charles H. Bentinck, until recently British Minister to Peru, who has been transferred to Sofia, and Mrs. Bentinck, sailed by the S.S. Ordoña this week for Liverpool" (Anonymous 1933w: 21).

the previous meeting [10 October?] be inserted into the acts of the board and this was agreed. There then followed a discussion about the work being done in Nepeña. The president of the board (the minister of education) stated that questions about the duration of the work, the money to be allotted, and the possibility of postponing the work until after summer should all be first discussed between Tello and university officials before a plan was presented to the board.

At the meeting of the National Board held on 20 November, Tello presented a motion that it act in various ways to prevent the destruction of antiquities that was occurring at an alarming rate. He asked that the board adopt more effective measures to ensure the study and preservation of the recently discovered sites in the Nepeña Valley and he also asked that the board urgently revise and coordinate the different laws, decrees, and resolutions that in general dealt with the conservation of antiquities and the functioning of the institutions charged with their study and conservation. Following discussion, it was decided to appoint Tello and Jorge Guillermo Leguía to an investigative commission. Another order of business dealt specifically with the funding of the work in Nepeña and the director general of the National Museum (Valcárcel) was authorized to speak with the president of the University of San Marcos Administrative Council (Rospigliosi) about the idea of applying toward this work funds that had been designated for the teaching of courses in American archaeology, Peruvian archaeology, Inca history, and Peruvian history, as well as money designated for the *Revista Universitaria*. Tello put on record the fact that the commission named by the university that had been headed by Antúnez had demanded a reimbursement in the amount of one hundred gold libras (Vega-Centeno 2005:168).

A talk that Antúnez had given on the radio was published in Lima's *El Comercio* with a couple of illustrations. Ostensibly supporting the upcoming Cusco commemorative celebration, he took the opportunity to indicate that he was a native of the Department of Ancash, to state that his interest in Chavín iconography dated back to 1915 when he first visited the ruins of Chavín de Huántar, and to reiterate his thoughts on the Punkurí iconography that he had detailed in his written report to the university regarding the work being done in Nepeña.

The period from late October to mid-November was a politically interesting time in Lima. In October measures were taken to restrict political parties each to a single center or headquarters in Lima, specifically targeting one center that continued to support the ideals of former President Sánchez Cerro.¹²⁶ In November a massive, yet peaceful, Aprista demonstration was staged. At this time party leader Haya de la Torre made a speech in which he strongly implied that actions taken by the Sánchez Cerro regime had been specifically designed to undercut the role of the Apristas. He stated that the succeeding Benavides regime had been more conciliatory and he laid forth his plan to insti-

¹²⁶ "In obedience to the Supreme Resolution of October 23rd, the Prefect of Lima has issued orders limiting to one apiece the number of centres belonging to the different political parties which have their headquarters in Lima. Authorized centres are those of the Union Revolucionaria, Aprista, Socialist, Social Democratic and Democratic Parties. The police have received instructions to close down additional quarters which these parties may have in the city. In accordance with the same Resolution, the Sanchezerist party in Callao has been ordered to remove its quarters from the Avenida Saenz Peña to some other locality remote [from] the centre. The Union Revolutionary Party which was responsible for closing down of all the opposition political clubs during the administration of President Sánchez Cerro has uttered a formal protest against the 'suppression of rights of citizens' and declares that it will only submit under the pressure of force" (Anonymous 1933pp).

tute peacefully political changes in the country.¹²⁷

At the end of November the Prado Cabinet resigned. A new Cabinet was formed headed by Sr. José de la Riva Agüero. . . . Like Prado he had never been a politician in the professional sense of the word: but the change of portfolios brought a change of methods. The velvet glove of Prado was

¹²⁷ "One of the most imposing political demonstrations ever staged in Lima was seen in the Plaza de Acho on Sunday afternoon. Every seat around the immense ring was occupied. The ring itself was a solid mass of citizens, young men for the most part, full of enthusiasm for the cause of their party. It is calculated that not less than 40,000 persons were present, and many could not get in. The discipline maintained by a body of Aprist stalwarts, was magnificent. Not a single act of disorder marred the afternoon. Although large forces of police were drawn up in the surrounding streets, their services were not called upon for a moment. The leading item in the programme was the Manifesto of Sr. Víctor Haya de la Torre, leader and founder of the Aprist party. His speech, clearly heard in the remotest corners of the ring by means of loud-speakers, commenced with a survey of the struggle between the Aprist and Civilist parties which began in the electoral Campaign of 1931 and continued throughout the Sánchez Cerro regime. . . . After dealing with the restrictive measures adopted by the late government, he then went on to throw light upon the inner history of the raid upon Leticia in September of last year. 'Since Leticia had voted for Apra by an overwhelming majority in the general elections, the Sánchez Cerro government hastened to condemn the act, denouncing it as the act of Aprist filibusters. But it soon discovered the possibilities for political profit and quickly availed itself of this means of strengthening a tyranny. . . . Haya de la Torre went on to draw a striking picture of the change which has taken place in the political conditions of the country since the advent of power of the Government of President Benavides, with the resultant freedom of thought and expression. Today Apra is awaiting the time when the present Government, after overcoming its early difficulties, will be able to carry out to the full its promise of bringing 'peace to the Peruvian family'. The immediate aim of Apra is: the dissolution of Congress and the summoning of general elections under guaranties of strict electoral honesty; municipal elections under the same conditions; repeal of the Emergency Law; abolition of the death penalty and of courts martial; and complete amnesty for all prisoners condemned by past courts martial" (Anonymous 1933qq).

stripped off from the iron hand. The activities of certain parties were severely repressed. Newspapers which had been free to express their opinions were closed down. Plots and imprisonments followed hard on the heels one of the other. There was repercussion of general unrest" (Anonymous 1934jj).¹²⁸

The following quotation dealing with the upcoming Cuzco celebration was published in *The West Coast Leader*.

Cuzco was captured by Pizarro in 1534. He established a Cabildo on March 23rd, 1534. It is this date which the Peruvian Congress has authorized the executive, by Law No. 7798, to celebrate. The law declares March 23rd, 1934, a national holiday. The Executive is granting six hundred thousand soles to provide Cuzco with public works; to found an Institute of Archaeology; to restore the ancient Inca monuments and to carry on scientific excavations in the Cuzco region.¹²⁹ The lengthy decree of October

¹²⁸ "The rejuvenated APRA made its public debut on November 12, 1933, three months after Benavides' amnesty proclamation. . . . By the end of the month, Benavides had replaced Jorge Prado's conciliatory cabinet with a ministry under José de la Riva Agüero. A descendant of Peru's first president and a leading intellectual, the new premier had been a liberal in his youth. By 1933, however, Riva Agüero had shifted to the far right. . . . APRA viewed the selection of the new cabinet as a declaration of war against the party. . . . Within hours after the installation of the new ministry, four democratic, centrist parties announced the formation of the National Alliance . . . pledged to work for the restoration of APRA's twenty-three congressmen to the national assembly" (Werlich 1978:206-207).

¹²⁹ Despite this massive capital investment it was anticipated that even more funding would likely be needed. "It is the first time in the history of Peru that more or less adequate funds have been allotted by the Government for archaeological research work. . . . Doubtless [there will be] the need for constant excavations. These subsequent efforts will have to depend upon scientific bodies from abroad and private endowments. The field holds promise for several years of . . . work" (Giesecke 1934:17).

25th, 1933, provides for an Executive Committee, sitting in Cuzco, to supervise all of the activities preparatory to the celebration of the Centennial. . . . One fourth of the six hundred thousand soles goes to the restoration of the ancient ruins and for excavations; eighty thousand soles are also set aside for the building and equipment of the Institute of Archaeology. . . . Dr. Luis E. Valcárcel, Director General of the Museo Nacional de Lima has been sent to Cuzco to take charge of the establishment of the Institute and also to supervise the restoration of the ancient monuments and to initiate excavations. . . . Excavations were begun in November on the site of the famous fortress of Sacsahuaman (Giesecke 1934).

In mid-November it was reported in *El Comercio* that Valcárcel had made a presentation on the Nepeña work, complete with illustrations, at the recent meeting of the Geographical Society of Lima, and that it had been resolved to publish this report in the society's bulletin (Anonymous 1933ss).¹³⁰ A few days later it was reported in this daily that he was in transit to Cuzco by way of Arequipa (Anonymous 1933uu). A couple of weeks later a series of five photographs of Inca walls uncovered at Sacsayhuaman sent by Valcárcel were published in Lima (Anonymous 1933xx). Not only was money being allotted for excavation in Cuzco, the government had agreed to make a substantial investment in order to promote tourism, so other funds were being allotted to improve the transportation infrastructure. Specifically the Centennial Committee had decided to designate eight thousand gold soles toward improving the road to the ruins of Sacsayhuaman (Anonymous 1933yy).

¹³⁰ It is not known if any such article was published.

Subsequently it was reported that Valcárcel had stated that some 8,000 square meters had been cleared, leading to the discovery of trenches, canals, streets, staircases, habitations, and a grand salon, adding that he hoped to find plazas, palaces, and tombs (Anonymous 1933zz). Not long after it was reported that Valcárcel had sent a letter to the Prefect of the Department of Cusco informing him of rumors circulating that treasures were being found and that he wanted him to make a statement to the effect that work being done in Cusco was going to be protected. Furthermore, it was reported, Valcárcel had received a response from the Prefect assuring him that protection would be provided (Anonymous 1933aaa).

GOLD: 1934

While Valcárcel was busy in Cusco, Tello took the opportunity to finally express his outrage in public over the January 1933 theft of artifacts from the National Museum of Archaeology. This he expressed in a long and detailed article that he wrote toward the end of December, and that was published in *El Comercio* on January 1, 1934.

Tello began by stating that the theft involved 971 gold artifacts that had made up more than half the museum's collection, and that among the stolen artifacts were a number of unique pieces including vases, cups, masks, idols, earrings, bracelets, pectorals, head-gear, tiaras, and various adornments. All of these artifacts, he pointed out, had been acquired by him during the period 1919-1930 from the most important of the nation's archaeological centers, and these artifacts had served to illustrate the different phases and chronological eras of aboriginal art. In order to understand the importance of these artifacts, he continued, it was necessary to consider them in light of archaeological knowledge, taking into account the two principal factors of valuation, technical and historical.

Technical valuation, he explained, was linked to everything known about the use of gold by the Indians as well as the procedures used by them in the making of utensils and works of art in general, while historical valuation took into consideration all that was known about the history of gold through the different pre-columbian cultures and periods.

Tello then went on to state that it was a given that Indians in Peru had reached an age in which the metallurgical and ceramic arts had flourished prior to the Spanish Conquest, and that it was sufficient to note that the principal motive for conquest was the acquisition of gold. That is, avarice and the overriding desire to possess this metal had led to the exploration for, and domination of, what had been the "mysterious and legendary Peru of the 16th century". Proof was provided by the memoirs, chronicles, and recollections of many conquerors and the "prescient testimonies" of the conquest. This was also demonstrated by the inventories in the Spanish archives, mostly published, which dealt with the treasures that had been found. Proof also came from the contents of the cargos of gold that were periodically sent to Spain and that were then, and had continued to be, taken from the ancient ruins, temples, and cemeteries.

All this clearly demonstrated, Tello continued, that before the conquest of Peru there had been an age of gold and so much was known that it would take a book simply to provide a general idea about the amount and types of treasures that had been found by the conquerors. He then added that, parallel with the development of the metallurgical arts, other arts like those involving sculpture, architecture, pottery, textiles, feathers, conch shells, and precious stones had also reached great heights in most of the civilized centers such as those of Mexico, Central America, and Colombia and that in Peru gold work had reached an equal or greater development.

By critically examining the chroniclers' testimonies in the archives as well as by making an analysis of the time, Tello continued, excluding all exaggerated or fantastic information and, when possible, making adjustments, one could appreciate the true value, or the amount, and historical value of the treasures of ancient Peru. It could be affirmed that in Mexico, Central America, and Peru the temples, palaces, and cemeteries of the elite were profusely adorned with objects of gold. Hence, one could not deny the existence in America before the conquest of gold art and industry of a high and developed nature nor the enormous quantity of gold objects encountered by the Spanish.

Tello explained that all these works of gold were the result of native ingenuity. Neither gold nor metallurgical arts and gold-work, he stated, were imported to America. Gold was extracted from the natural environment, and the Indians appreciated its artistic potential. Gold was to be found in its natural state on the American continent and it was to be found everywhere in mines and in washes. Deposits of gold were widely distributed in primary rocks formed during or near the epochs of volcanic activity, or such deposits were intrusive at secondary sites formed through disintegration of primary rock formations by the action of water. Hence, gold was concentrated in mines and in washes. According to the nineteenth century Italian explorer Antonio Raimondi, every region of Peru offered some gold-bearing deposits both in mines and in washes, in the mountains that formed the small chains, in the area of the plains on the coast, in the deep canyons of the mountains, in the elevated inhospitable mountains, and in the virgin forests of the jungle.

Furthermore, Tello stated, in Peru there were extremely faithful archaeological testimonies that not only was gold used in the making of real art objects, there was evidence that the gold artifacts had not been imported from, nor ex-

tracted from, another country. As was known, many gold mines and washes that had been exploited by the Indians were later utilized by the Spanish, and it was discovered that these had been in a state of abandonment since before the time of the Inca. Mortars to grind the material, furnace foundations, and scoria found at present in different places demonstrated that before the arrival of the Europeans the ancient Peruvians had exploited metals on a grand scale. One could rest assured, that since very remote times Indians had made use of gold extracted from washes and from mines.

Tello then went on to state that within, or in the vicinities of, the great metallurgical centers there were to be found deposits of gold that had been exploited by the Indians since time immemorial. Gold nuggets had been recovered in the washes of the Chuquicacara River (Map 7), one of the streams of the Santa River at the northern end of the Callejón de Huáylas. Gold flakes and small bits of gold had also been extracted and such were also extracted from the mountains of granite making up the western side of the Andean range. Gold was extracted from the mountains of the Lacramarca Valley, near the port of Chimbote on the North Coast, from Chancay near the Hacienda Palpa on the North Central Coast, from Ancón (Map 3) near Repartación on the Central Coast, from Cerro del Oro near Cerro Azul (Map 8) on the South Central Coast, and from Cerro Blanco near Nazca on the South Coast. In addition, he pointed out, even now Indians were recovering flakes of gold from the alluvial gold-bearing deposits from the high eastern range such as from the alluvial deposits of the Santa and Carabaya Rivers¹³¹ that appear to have been important centers of exploration during the Inca Empire.

Having made the point that deposits of gold were indigenous and were made use of during precolumbian times in Peru, Tello shifted the

¹³¹ The Carabaya River is in the Lake Titicaca region.

focus of his discussion. He stated that in order to appreciate the importance of the objects that had disappeared from the National Museum from a technological standpoint, one ought not take into account the vulgar criteria of an appreciation of their value but, instead, their intrinsic value, or the scientific appreciation of the amount of information offered by the study of each specimen in terms of historic reconstruction. Such information contributed much to an understanding of the nature of the metal, about the process and methods employed in the metallurgical industry, and about the processes and methods employed in artistic elaboration. Such information contributed toward a better understanding of the level of artistic development, as well as the particular archaeological culture represented.

Although it is certain, Tello explained, that a chemical analysis and metallurgical examination of artifacts could not offer an understanding as to their antiquity, one did gain no less valuable information regarding the condition of the metal, its purity, and its greater or lesser proportion in relation to other metals in its composition. One gained knowledge from the manner in which the metal had been improved; that is, through the study of a metal that had been separated from its native state in granite by simple mechanical action and then alloyed with other metals. It was through metallurgical examination that one could ascertain other types of interesting data regarding the procedures used by the artisan to the benefit of the metal. And it was through micrographic examination that one could determine alterations in the metal and reveal if it had been treated by simple mechanical action, by fire, by freezing, and the like. Thus, just as in the case of any object of gold exploited in modern times, by its own make-up a simple bit of gold found in a tomb has special importance or superior value as a testament to the art and industry (of the past).

In certain cases, Tello continued, superficial examination of a gold artifact allowed one to understand the process used in its elaboration. The metal revealed, for example, the process of hammering and lamination, lamination that, thanks to the malleability of the gold, produced very fine sheets, as in the case of the majority of the laminated gold pieces found at Paracas. In some cultures post-dating Paracas, and principally those of the Chimú and the Inca, this process achieved an extraordinary level of development and resulted in cups, vases, and even pitchers that at times appeared to have been made from a single piece without the slightest vestige of union or soldering. In addition to hammering, not only did the Chimú and Inca apply more or less pure gold, but they also alloyed gold with silver and with copper, something that increased the difficulty of the work. This fact had some importance, Tello stated, and he pointed out that his late mentor, the naturalist José Sebastian Barranca, had recognized this fact in his 1900 report on the chemical composition and manufacturing technique of a gold vase that had been found in a huaca on the Hacienda Montero Grande.¹³² This vase contained gold, silver, copper, and iron, a composition similar to electrum of classical antiquity that Herodotus called white gold. This vase had also revealed that the metal had undergone the lost wax process.

Of equal importance, Tello added, was the detection of impressions or the evidence of tools and the methods that had been employed by the goldsmith in creating an object and giving it shape; that is, work regarding the structural elaboration or "architecture" of the object offered major details about its decoration. The union of the pieces making up an artifact was composed, therefore, of parts of equal or of

¹³² The Hacienda Montero Grande (Monte Grande) is approximately eight kilometers east of Puerto Caballas and near the mouth of the río Grande de Nazca. A weather station has been established there.

different, chemical compositions, or of materials that were completely different. In some cases one could even approximate the borders of constituent parts that were affixed by hooks or keys, by solder, or by the use of fusible substances of lower grade metal. When a goldsmith was unable to do what he intended, or was unable to create something that conformed to social expectations and that resulted in an object lacking superficial details, one could detect the palpable marks of supplementary work like hammering, the use of an engraving tool, or punches that perfected a line and achieved the desired ornamental effect.

In addition, it was of great interest to consider how the auxiliary pieces of an artifact had been created. Nothing better illustrated this, Tello noted, than the large earrings found at El Cortijo. The metal had twice been heated and small pieces, wires, or very long strips, had been utilized to unite some parts with others and in order to connect elaborated pieces that were clustered or freely moving. Concluding his technical discussion, Tello stated that this analytical process clarified and explained all the various and complex details of gold-working that corresponded not only to generally defined precolumbian art but also to the different manifestations of art through the ages, or the distinguishing technical characteristics of each style or civilization.

To better illustrate the importance of the historical reconstruction of the data provided by the artifacts, and hence consider in detail the significance of the loss of the National Museum's gold, it was well to remember the great store of knowledge and teaching provided by a careful examination of the gold artifacts that had been acquired by the museum since its foundation. Each gold artifact, like each artifact in general, he explained, always offered something to learn for the person who desired to study it. Hence, after having previously but a single example in

the museum's collection, the examination of the gold artifacts in the North Coast Luis Carranza collection acquired by the government, proved to be a total revelation, because certain details regarding structural elaboration by goldsmiths that had been ignored or debated until then were eloquently manifested. For example, evidence was provided for the use of a very low grade of metal as solder and, in certain cases, the use of lead. Evidence was also provided for the "mysterious" procedure of the gilding of silver, of copper, and low grade gold, as well as plating and veneering.

Unfortunately, Tello continued, the gold artifacts that had been salvaged from the robbery could not be utilized as sources of technical and cultural information because many of them were incomplete, or fragments of objects made of gold. Hence, it was impossible to obtain a reconstruction or reintegration of the original artifacts. However, while it was true that among the salvaged pieces there were some artifacts that could be considered excellent works of Peruvian art, like the grand gold vases from the Huaca Misa [at Chan Chan] and the majority of the earrings of the Carranza collection from El Cortijo in the Chimú [Moche] Valley, the majority of these had lost their historical value because they had suffered as a result of recent restoration. Alterations had been made, he said, such as the addition of new pieces or different fractions of pieces, and the elimination of the original gilt and replacement with new gilt, and these alterations had served to compromise the integrity and the merit of the original artifacts.

Tello then turned to a new topic and stated that if they were now to "cast a mirror" over the objects of gold corresponding to the different cultures of Peru with the intent of creating a classification of them as to the technique or way the metal could be fashioned, they could see that ancient Peru had experienced three great stages

of metallurgical elaboration that corresponded to its three great eras.

During the first era, Tello explained, gold artifacts of the remotest periods of the coast and the highlands, like those found at Paracas and certain Chavín style artifacts, appear to have been made from nuggets recovered from washes, because such artifacts presented certain characteristics that proved this hypothesis. Nuggets had been hammered or laminated, creating incised sheets of diverse forms, similar to cutout paper figures or adornments with embossed figures, as in the case of Chavín and Nasca artifacts. At this time, no precious metal was alloyed with other metals, nor was there evidence of smelting. In addition, one could add to this the extraordinary fact that, in tombs of this period, copper and silver had been found only in rare instances, and even then in a pure state and in insignificant amounts. Hence, one must suppose that gold, like other precious metals, had been used first in its native state prior to the acquisition of knowledge about smelting and alloying. Gold, silver, and copper had been used in Peru in their native states during this remote time. Native gold, laminated, but not smelted gold, represented the metallurgical industry of the Paracas culture, while silver, on the other hand, was only worked in its native state by the post-Paracas culture inhabitants on the South Coast.

As was known, Tello continued, pure copper appeared in an elaborated state from the oldest period of Tiahuanaco culture that represented the second epoch. Given the scant material available, however, it had not yet been possible to determine the metallurgical characteristics of gold objects dating to this second epoch. The copper artifacts that had been found in the Nazca Valley evidenced long-standing similarity with those found at Paracas but the Andean [highland Tiahuanaco] and Moche artifacts were similar to Chimú artifacts and not Nazca

artifacts. These latter artifacts did not bear indications that would show that the metal had been smelted. On the other hand, the elaborated Moche gold artifacts appeared to have already been the product of an advanced industry based on smelting, alloying, and casting.

Having thus basically admitted that not much was known about metallurgical practices during the second epoch, Tello shifted to a discussion of the third epoch. It was only in this epoch, he said, that the gold industry and that of precious metal in general reached its maximum development. This was the time of the Inca nation and those subjected by them, like the Kingdom of the Grand Chimú, the rulers of the Koyos-manko and Choke-manko, and the Confederation of the Chinchas. The Inca metallurgical industry was well known from abundant historical testimonies given by the conquerors themselves, as well as by the artifacts found in the tombs and in the huacas. The metallurgical industry of the Chinchas (Map 8) and that of the rulers of the Peruvian Central Coast appeared to have been the same. Chimú art was apparently the most advanced and original. Although the art of the Chincha and the Inca was somewhat analogous to that of the Chimú, the former two were more intimately connected with one another. Having said this, he concluded, the characteristics that served to determine the different metallurgical industries of the third epoch still remained to be determined.

After having discussed what was known about these three technological or cultural epochs, Tello once again shifted focus. He stated that it would be very daring to point out the place in Peru or in America where the industry of gold had begun. Nevertheless, he could say that man had first made use of the metal in its natural pure state because of its color or brilliance, or because of its utilitarian qualities, as had been the case of precious stones, bone, clay, wool, and the like. It was only later, however,

that man discovered the art of smelting and alloying gold with other metals and these two stages in the use of gold, natural and manipulated, could be illustrated by Peruvian gold artifacts corresponding to different epochs. Besides, it had been recorded in America that at the arrival of the Spanish there had existed other metallurgical centers in which gold had occupied a preferential place, such as those centers of the Mexicans, Central Americans, Colombians, Ecuadorians, and Arawak-Caribs.

In these other centers, Tello explained, gold had nearly always been alloyed with other metals. Although it was certain that the Caribs and the Arawaks had alloyed copper with gold, though still not diluted sufficiently, whether intentionally or not, this called to attention the constant presence in these cultures of gold and its great proportion to copper. In fact, he pointed out, the Caribs called the alloying of copper and gold *guani*, while the Arawaks called it *karikoli*. This was the low grade gold that was found throughout the places in America to which the Caribs and the Arawaks had spread. The objects of gold in Colombia, he added, also contained copper and silver alloys, and the Indians called this tumbaga. Objects made of this gold-copper alloy were to be found in the Chiriqui region of Costa Rica and, apparently, nearly throughout Ecuador.

Tello then stated that the Central American metallurgical industry had been considered as derivative of that of South America. Some, like the French anthropologist Paul Rivet, had speculated that gold art and metallurgy had originated in the Guyanas when man had discovered the alloying of copper and gold. In Peru, however, it was only during post-Paracas times that precious minerals appeared as different alloys. In the south of Peru, this appearance was represented by bronze, an alloy of copper and tin, and by *champi*, an alloy of gold and silver. In central Peru, and principally in the north of

Peru, multiple alloys of copper, silver, and gold had been deliberately created.

Tello went on to say that everything led one to believe that in general there had existed two phases or periods in the development of American metallurgy. The first was represented by the use of native precious metal recovered from washes and alluvial gold-bearing sites, or extracted from mines, while the second was represented by the use of precious metals that had been smelted and alloyed. Peru, however, offered the most trustworthy evidence of the origin, the antiquity, and the historic development of these phases on the South American continent, principally that corresponding to the benefits of gold in its natural state and its use facilitated by very complex procedures, many of which had been mysterious or ignored until the present. As such, one obviously had to admit that gold objects had antiquity in Peru and had exceptional historical importance.

However, Tello continued, gold-working had developed in parallel with other aspects of metallurgy. In the most remote periods in Peru gold-work, to judge from existing pieces, was found in an incipient state. The metal had been laminated or hammered, was cut at times, and stamped by way of simple mechanical procedures in accordance with the natural physical properties that facilitated its treatment, such as its softness, its ductility, its malleability. Gold was a precious metal prized for its color and brilliance, for its unalterability free of oxidation. It had been sought and recovered from nature, as were many precious stones, and used for adornments all of which were referred to under the generic name of *piñi-piñi*, that meant that brilliant rare object whose extraordinary physical attributes were deemed products of the sun and hence huacas and sacred objects.

In later periods, Tello went on, the art of gold-working reached its maximum development

with the coming together of new and more complicated procedures, among which were those still not understood by modern jewelers. The goldsmiths of northern Peru, and of most of Ecuador, were familiar with the use of molds to make soldered pieces or to make hollow figures by using the lost-wax process. They also made use of hammers to straighten imperfect parts of the mold, in so doing employing engravers, burins, and solder, while using alloys or low grade metals. Plating and gilding were at times accomplished through veneering, or through a very similar process in which gilding was done through the use of mercury. The goldsmiths of northern Peru united different parts of an object by the use of thin ribbons, fine wires, or nails with or without solder, perforating metals to make true works of art that were so delicate that they approximated filigree. They also created great ceremonial vases like those in the National Museum's Neira Collection and the gold objects found at El Cortijo, that could be considered the most refined gold-work of all. In addition, they made utilitarian objects such as vases, cups, ollas, plates, pitchers, and the like. Hence, Tello declared, it was not unreasonable to think that the chroniclers were right when they wrote about the existence of a garden in the Inca temple of Korikancha at Cusco that consisted of gold imitations of plants and animals, especially given the fact that gold animals had been found at various times at Chan Chan as shown by the Enrique Brüning collections from Lambayeque. The study of the inventory of gold objects sent to the King of Spain, Charles V, as part of the ransom for Atahualpa, also supported this claim.

Now, Tello continued, the determination of the culture and the period of particular objects, or even the history of gold-working, faced difficulties caused by the paucity of information relative to the soil or archaeological context in which objects had been found during excavation, and the scarcity of information on the stratigraphy at these sites. However, limited

stratigraphic evidence had been made available during the past few years by him and his team. They had made information available through the methodical study of the different types and styles represented by the objects of gold and the techniques used in creating them. Together this information allowed one to provisionally establish a general chart of the developmental succession of different Peruvian cultures.

Tello then began expressing his concluding thoughts. He once again brought up the theft of the gold objects from the National Museum and the loss to the nation that this theft represented. He stated that the theft of the 971 gold artifacts signified the loss of one of the most important and colorful chapters in the history of Peru. Then, referring to centuries of such theft, he stated that Peru had been left with ever fewer truly rare "jewels" representative of this chapter, as a result of this long-standing persecution—jewels that demonstrated the technical and artistic abilities of the native Indians.

Finally, Tello pointed out that before the robbery at the National Museum in January 1933, this institution had possessed gold objects corresponding to nearly all the different cultures and eras of pre-Columbian Peru. With this collection, he stated, it had been possible to present at the museum a general framework of the history of gold in Peru, illustrated by numerous authentic artifacts with known proveniences, as well as by replicas or drawings of gold objects existing in other museums. The National Museum's collection of gold artifacts had been, without doubt, the largest and richest, as well as the most complete collection, of Peruvian gold-work in the world. Hence, the loss of the stolen artifacts that had been in the custody of the museum was irreparable. It constituted one of the most deplorable acts that the museum had ever experienced and left a great hole in the objective documentary value of the museum's collection

that was aimed at illustrating and reconstructing the past splendor of Peru (Tello 1934a).

It was thus that Tello delivered a public lecture to the nation in general, and to Valcárcel and his technical staff at the National Museum, in particular, on the subject of precolumbian gold in Peru. It was also in this way that Tello provided a synopsis of the clearly extensive study that he and his staff had made of the gold artifacts in both private collections and in the National Museum that surely was based on as yet unpublished internal reports.

APRA had . . . a feminist wing and its own labor unions. . . . Most controversial was APRA's youth arm. . . . Formally inaugurated in January 1934, it sought to develop boys aged twelve to twenty-one into party leaders. The "Fajitas", as they were called . . . followed a rigorous personal code. . . . Critics were alarmed by the sight of marching files of Fajitas, sometimes in uniform. . . . APRA's fears concerning Riva Agüero were well founded. . . . Police harassed Aprista leaders, and the party accused the government of an attempt to assassinate Haya de la Torre (Werlich 1978:205-207).

SABOTAGE

While Tello was busy upbraiding Valcárcel and his staff at the National Museum for the loss of an irreplaceable collection of precolumbian gold-work, Rospigliosi was setting into motion a plan to sabotage Tello's plans to continue his work in Nepeña. On or about the first of January, Rospigliosi delivered a long report to the president of the university's Administrative Council. This report dealt with a 30 October request sent by Tello as director of the university's Museum of Archaeology and in accordance with the National Board's decision at its 10 October meeting, for a monthly payment of

1,500 soles to support his archaeological excavations and explorations in Nepeña. The partially published contents of this Rospigliosi report are presented in the discussion below.

Rospigliosi provided the following history regarding the university's involvement with the finds made in Nepeña. Tello's August request had been passed on to a member of the Administrative Council who had been inclined to favor the request of the government, declaring that if, as Tello had stated, a *stone* monument had been found, its discovery was of great scientific importance, because, to date, only adobe monuments had been found on the coast. As a consequence, the council had approved this request by the government and it had voted to provide 3,000 soles and to send Antúnez to the valley to report on the extent and value of the monument. This council resolution was sent to the minister of education, Olaechea, who then reported it to the National Board.

The minister, Rospigliosi continued, had then named Valcárcel to represent the government on this fact-finding commission. This commission went to Nepeña and had given Tello the 3,000 soles that he had requested from the university. Unfortunately, he went on, Tello had reacted badly to the arrival of the commission and this had resulted in a work stoppage. During the next few days, however, it had been determined that the monument said to have been constructed of stone had, instead, been made of earth decorated in relief, and, though in the Chavín style, it had been stuccoed in the [Chimú] manner of Chan Chan. Subsequently, he added, the commission [Antúnez and Valcárcel] and Tello had returned to Lima and Tello had asked the National Board that he be allowed to continue to direct the work in the valley.

Rospigliosi then added that, as the university's representative, he had advocated at this

meeting of the National Board that the university send to the bank account of the San Jacinto Hacienda part of the funding that had been designated for excavation in Tello's request. Having so stated, he added, no fixed monthly amount was agreed upon at this meeting. He stated that, given Tello's 30 October request had not provided a fixed time for exploration, nor was the areal extent of the archeological excavations to be undertaken stipulated, and given that a large sum of money was being requested, the University Council believed that it was prudent to ask for a legal opinion.

Here Rospigliosi then appended the solicited report from Dr. Miguel Gallagher, the university's lawyer, dated 8 December, 1933. The report dealt with the 28 September, 1933 Supreme Resolution that had authorized the university to undertake explorations and excavations in the Nepeña Valley, to designate technical and administrative personnel, and to cover all costs. Gallagher stated that, given the text of the resolution, the university was *not obligated* to undertake the work in Nepeña. Instead it was only *authorized* to do so. As a consequence, the university could stop the work at any time and give notice to the government. Finally, in regard to Dr. Tello's 30 October 1933 proposal for work in the valley, Gallagher wrote that the university was *not legally obligated* to take it into consideration.

In view of the previous report by Tello, Rospigliosi continued, the University Council had resolved, because of the approach of the summer season when work would be more laborious and wages higher, to offer to the National Board in September the amount of 3,000 soles that had been first requested by Dr. Tello, to effect exploration of the archaeological monuments in Nepeña. It had named Antúnez as its delegate, to be charged with informing them about the monument and its value. He had been so named, because he did not work for the

director of the university's Museum of Archaeology [Tello] nor was he someone who served as part of its administrative personnel or as a docent.

Rospigliosi pointed out that the report by Antúnez published in *El Comercio* in October indicated that the archaeological area of the region in which the monument had been discovered was extensive and consisted of a series of monuments scattered from San Jacinto to Chavín. Future work that ought to be done to discover and study the archaeological monuments of Nepeña would require a huge sum for care or conservation, to enclose the walls, and to protect against costly winter rains. He explained that the university would not be in the position of being able to support expenditures of this magnitude. This was due to the costs of teaching, because in the current economy it would be better to maintain the university's credit and provide for future teaching in the workshops and museums. He added that the funding that the university had dedicated to the expansion and conservation of its archaeological museum had been small in proportion to the amount of its total budget and hence would need to be increased.

In view of all of this, he continued, the University Council had taken up delegate Antúnez's suggestion that the megalithic ruins of Chavín de Huántar should also be excavated and restored. However, given that the money needed would be out of the reach of the university, the Council had decided to ask the National Board to solicit funding from the Carnegie Institute of Washington to undertake work at Chavín similar to what it had undertaken for the reconstruction of Maya ruins in Mesoamerica. Only in this way, it had been decided by the council, could a serious, methodical, and efficacious study be undertaken to the benefit of the nation. He added that it would be easy to obtain this funding because the Carnegie Institute had manifested its interest in studies of American

prehistory, as proven by its explorations and study of ancient ruins in Guatemala. We can be assured, he then stated, that, given the history of Carnegie funding, an invitation made by the National Board to this institution to undertake the care, study, and reconstruction of these ruins would have a good result.

With this end in mind, Rospigliosi continued, Antúnez had been commissioned to undertake a new inspection of the Andean and trans-Andean region of Ancash. His exploration would begin on 20 January and he would present a report on the archaeological monuments that existed in this region. In this way, he declared, the president of the National Board, the minister of education, could in no way state that the Council had not undertaken its charge.

Rospigliosi then summarized the university's position that supported the argument that it had acted in good faith relative to the Nepeña explorations and excavations. He began by saying that since it was authorized in the Supreme Resolution dated 28 September to undertake exploration to support the work it had done so. This work had stopped, he explained, only because of Tello's absence that came about because of his negative reaction to the arrival of the delegates sent by the university and the government. The Council was not at fault because in accordance with the Supreme Resolution dated 28 September, it could not authorize someone under Tello as its competent representative to look into the work being done in Nepeña. Despite this obstacle that served to paralyze the work, in truth motivated as well by the seasonal stoppage, the Administrative Council had maintained an employee at the place of excavations from August until the end of October and had held in the account of the Hacienda San Jacinto part of the money that had been necessary to cover the costs in the proportion that Tello had noted in his first request.

Essentially ending his report, Rospigliosi reiterated points made previously. He noted that the Administrative Council had turned over to the National Board the original sum provided for in the preliminary detailing of costs. However, he emphasized, there was no *obligation* for the university to make an investment now of huge sums for an archaeological exploration because, as in such cases, this required previous studies of the areal extent of the proposed exploration, as well a calculation of the cost that would be invested in the discovery, security, and custody of the monuments (Vega-Centeno 2005:174-177).

An unsigned note dated 1 January 1934 stated that Antúnez had presented a request to the Administrative Council asking that he be allowed to collect information on the actual state of the ruins of Chavín and another ruin to serve as the basis for their reconstruction. The request had not provided an exact date for the work to begin, rather it simply provided a statement to the effect that the work would begin sometime during the summer vacation period. The council agreed to the request. Four hundred soles were designated for this purpose, 295 of which was to be held by the Anonymous Society Limited of San Jacinto for the costs of exploration in Nepeña, and the remainder to be deposited in the university's account. Furthermore, it was stated that an expedited resolution would be transcribed on January 12th (*ibid.*: 173).

In short, Rospigliosi and the Administrative Council had decided to back away from providing funding to support Tello's work in Nepeña. Instead they had decided to partially fund the proposed work by Antúnez in the Ancash region and specifically at Chavín de Huántar while advocating that the National Board seek further funding for this latter enterprise from the Carnegie Institute. It is not known whether or not the National Board ever sent a request to the Carnegie Institute nor, if it had, the nature of any

response received. Neither is it known whether or not Rospigliosi and Antúnez had previously communicated about the possibility of fulfilling the latter's ambition to return to work at Chavín. Such communication could have taken place immediately prior to the onset of the university's investigation of Tello's work in Nepeña, prior to issuance of Antúnez's report to the university, or even after the report was issued. While the discovery of any such written communication would be enlightening, and proof of a plot to disenfranchise Tello, it is clear that Antúnez was driven to work at Chavín and that he had a strong advocate in Rospigliosi.

Certainly this decision by the university hierarchy was one that greatly affected Tello and it is not surprising that he reacted to it strongly. On 3 January, Tello penned a memo loosely translated as follows:

It is unnecessary to make reference to the enormous importance of the archaeological monuments that have recently been discovered in the Nepeña Valley. For the first time on the coast of Peru there have been found the remains of an ancient civilization with considerable development in the arts of sculpture, architecture, and painting. Their study and conservation is of great importance and should be attended to preferentially by public powers or else these monuments will be exposed to acts of vandalism and to the seekers of treasure.

I do not believe that there is in Peru a region that offers a better perspective for the advancement of archaeological knowledge and, therefore, as an important center of tourism, as the vast region of the north where the megalithic Chavín civilization spread. This fact not only interests specialists and men of science, but all persons of culture, and all Peruvians with a love for the history of their country.

A great difference is observed between the warm reception given to the discovery of the Nepeña monuments outside the country and the almost indifferent reception given by the national institutions that are directly obligated for the conservation of these monuments and their study. At the request of the Administrative Council of the University of San Marcos, and while I worked without any more economic resources than small assistance given by Locket House, the government granted wide authority to said Council in the 28 September resolution to verify for itself the explorations and excavations in the Nepeña Valley with the pressing obligation to study, conserve, and guard the monuments discovered or to be discovered. Toward this end the Government conceded to the Council the right to designate the technical and administrative personnel to be in charge of the work, to meet the costs of conservation, the custody of the monuments, and the support of the personnel of vigilance and control. However, with the passage of time, from the date of the resolution the Administrative Council has failed to do so and it appears that its only response to the Government's authorization has been to impede the continuation of the work of the discoverer (*ibid.*: 172-173).

On the same day, 3 January, Tello wrote a letter to the minister of education in his role as president of the National Board. This is loosely translated as follows:

As a result of the archaeological discovery made in the Nepeña Valley during the month of August, a fact that was made known to the President of the Board, the University of San Marcos Administrative Council solicited and obtained from the Supreme Government broad authorization in the resolution of 28 September to verify

for itself explorations and excavations in the valley with the pressing obligation to study, conserve, and guard the monuments discovered or yet to be discovered.

Toward this end, the government conceded to the Council the authority to designate the technical and administrative personnel to be charged with the work, to undertake the costs of conservation, custody of the monuments, transport to Lima of discovered artifacts, and the costs of sustaining vigilance and control personnel. With the passage of time since the resolution was expedited, the Administrative Council of the University of San Marcos has not made use of the authority granted by the government, thereby gravely endangering not only the study of this important region, but even more gravely endangering the discovered monuments that are exposed to destruction and that are being looted by those avidly in search of treasures and curiosities for the purpose of [financial] profit.

I have repeatedly called the board's attention to the urgency of not abandoning the Nepeña monuments. Given the urgency that the case requires, I have felt obligated to solicit economic assistance from private individuals. This I have done in order to sustain, as in the past, two caretakers in the valley to preserve the archaeological monuments by way of erecting constructions made of *quincha* [wattle and daub] walls, repairing some of the split walls, and making molds and plaster replicas, and, finally, by transporting to Lima these molds as well as artifacts up to now recovered. Thanks to this work, artifacts that have been found have been successfully transported to Lima and within a few days the molds of the most artistic of the discovered

walls and the idol found at Punkurí should arrive.

As the begged-for money is being rapidly exhausted and, as a result, is making it impossible to sustain the guardians that I have placed in Nepeña, I once again advise the board of this critical situation in which are found the monuments that I have found, whose destruction will be imminent, and whose conservation is the responsibility of the board in conformance of the dispositions of Law 6634.

I would also like to make known that, for unknown reasons, I am not permitted access to my University of San Marcos Museum of Archaeology laboratory, the museum of which I am the founder, and director, and provider of nearly the totality of its collections by way of explorations and excavations, with the support of the university. In this museum I have reunited all the Chavín material that I found in 1919 and that is a unique collection and the most important collection of Peruvian stone art that exists in the world. This university museum collection has acquired major importance with the discovery in Nepeña, given that it deals with the same culture that spread to the coast.

It is for this reason that it is indispensable to study the Nepeña material in light of the Chavín materials already at the university. It is equally indispensable to profit from the archive of the 1919 university expedition found in this locale, as well as the archaeology books that have been acquired at my initiative for the library and that are not to be found in any other library in the country. Lastly, it is indispensable to complete the Chavín material for the university with the extracted objects and the replica of the monuments up to now found in Nepeña,

whose molds are in my possession, since I am not allowed access to this museum.

These considerations oblige me to solicit that the Board urgently recommend to the government that it issue dispositions seeing to the continuation of necessary work in Nepeña for the modest monthly sum of 1,500 soles. In the second place I urgently request that the Board recommend to the government to allow me free access to the University Museum of which I am the director (*ibid.*: 171-172).

Official Memorandum Number 4, dated 4 January signed by the new minister of education, Riva Agüero, in his role as president of the National Board, was sent to the Administrative Council. The memo, which was made public on 13 January, dealt with the session of the board that had taken place the day before and that had focused on the need to study and conserve the archaeological sites in Nepeña. Specifically, the memo stated, the session had dealt with the council's report in which reasons were given for why it had not complied with the government's Supreme Resolution dated 28 September 1933 in which it had been authorized to conduct archaeological explorations and excavations in the valley. This lack of action on the part of the university, the memo concluded, had served to put these sites in grave danger and the board had decided that urgent actions needed to be adopted (Riva Agüero 1934).

On 12 January *El Comercio* published a statement to the effect that at its last meeting the National Board had granted Tello, as director of the University of San Marcos Museum of Archaeology, the authority to conduct archaeological research in the Department of Ancash for the purpose of determining the approximate area of the spread of the Chavín culture, both on the coast and in the highlands. Specifically, Tello was authorized to conduct a study of the ruins of

Chavín as well as ruins discovered by him in the Provinces of Huaraz, Huari, and Pomabamba, with the aim of determining similarities and differences in the highland and Marañón Basin styles, and those styles recently discovered on the coast in the Nepeña Valley (Anonymous 1934b). These were the same provinces that Tello had explored during the 1919 expedition that he directed on behalf of the university.

Also on 12 January, the University of San Marcos Administrative Council issued a detailed memorandum to the effect that it had determined that the Supreme Resolution of 28 September 1933 authorizing the university to conduct archaeological work in the Nepeña Valley lacked legal standing. The memo then listed the technical reasons behind this conclusion.

First, Tello had used Law 6634 to support his claim that the government should allow him to conduct work in the Nepeña Valley because he was a trained archaeologist and director of the university's archaeological museum. This law stated that the government would concede to national institutions the right to conduct explorations and excavations as long as the purpose of such work was serious and that all discovered artifacts were sent to a public museum. University authorities used this same law to support their claim that the supreme resolution dated 28 September was in conflict with this overriding law. Authorities then stated that Article 7 of Law 6634 specifically noted the requisites for determining whether an *institution* was scientific, inclusive of all the requirements listed by Tello, adding that the government could only act once it had received a report from the National Board. Authorities then argued that the *Administrative Council*, in accordance with the decree that created it, was merely administrative in nature and not a docent, technical, or scientific corporation. Authorities pointed out that the National Board had not issued a report prior to issuance of the supreme decree. Furthermore

authorities argued that the request by university officials for authorization to conduct explorations and excavations in Nepeña had not designated a representative holding the required scientific experience and archaeological expertise *previous to government approval* which was something that it was obligated to do.

Second, university authorities pointed out that the supreme decree had incorrectly invoked article 30 of law 6634 regarding the necessity of depositing all discovered artifacts in a public museum. Finally, university authorities argued that, in accordance with this law, scientific corporations soliciting approval to conduct explorations and excavations were required to *previously* present a plan or program of the proposed work, something that had not been done by the Administrative Council for the work in Nepeña. Finally, authorities then essentially concluded that the supreme resolution conceding permission to the university's Administrative Council to conduct explorations and excavations had been issued in error (Vega-Centeno 2005:173-174).

It is not known with certainty if the above report issued by the Administrative Council is the one that had been discussed at the 3 January meeting of the National Board, but it does seem likely.

After nine months of political peace, considerable surprise was manifested by the announcement on Sunday morning that the criminal investigation department had laid bare a supposed revolutionary plot to overthrow the Government. According to the official communiqué, a group of civilians had been attempting to suborn non-commissioned officers of the army, mainly belonging to the garrison in Lima, with the object of setting on foot an armed movement. The plot was nipped in the bud by the arrest on Saturday night of about

twenty individuals, including sixteen N.C.O.s, who were transferred in the early hours to the penal settlement at El Frontón. Although it is not stated that the plot was of Aprist origin, certain members of that party have been put under arrest (Anonymous 1934a).¹³³

On 20 January a brief report dated the previous day that had been sent from Pisco was published in *El Comercio*. This report stated that, as director of university's Museum of Archaeology, Tello was creating a disturbance on the South Coast while investigating the possibility of illegal excavations. This report stated that Tello had speculated that about a hundred mummies had been taken and shipped out of the country and that he had called upon the government to investigate the matter (Anonymous 1934c).

The following day the newspaper published a related editorial in which new and corrected details were provided. Tello, it was reported, had been commissioned by the government to inspect the ruins of Paracas. He subsequently determined that more than one hundred and fifty mummy bundles had been excavated and that the contents of these bundles had been shipped via the Port of Pisco to London and to New York. Tello had then denounced what had happened and had decried the indifference of authorities responsible for the protection of the sites. He had brought up the fact that on another occasion [in 1932?] port authorities at Lomas (Map 1) had prevented the shipment of mummies to Argentina, mummies that were under the responsibility of the National Museum. The editorial concluded in agreement with Tello that authorities in Peru should take responsibility for the care and protection of the national patrimony (Editor 1934a).

¹³³ "APRA prodded the regime, hoping to provoke an embarrassing overreaction. The party encouraged a plethora of labor disputes and attempted to organize a general strike in January 1934" (Werlich 1978:207).

Later it was reported that at the beginning of December 1933 the guard in the employ of the National Museum had abandoned his post at Paracas on the pretext of illness and had allowed looters to dig at the Cabeza Larga and the Cerro Colorado cemeteries. In response the National Board had sent Tello, who was able to confirm that during the previous three to four months a number of thefts had occurred at Paracas (Tello and Mejía 1967:196-197).

CUSCO: DISCOVERIES AND CRITICISM

During January, more reports from Cusco celebrated the discoveries that were being made at Sacsayhuaman. It was stated that a “scientific revolution” was in the offing with the discovery at this site of rooms with magnificent walls, portals, and niches, as well as stone staircases and aqueducts (Anonymous 1934d).¹³⁴

Defying bans on demonstrations, APRA staged boisterous celebrations in February that resulted in clashes with the police. The government charged the party with complicity in a military plot to overthrow

the regime and arrested 400 Apristas. As relations between APRA and the administration steadily deteriorated, Benavides continued to promise that congressional elections would be held in June (Werlich 1978: 207).



Figure 15. Luis E. Valcárcel (in white hat) at excavations and restorations at Sacsayhuaman. Photo courtesy of the Centro Luis E. Valcárcel, Lima, Peru.

On 5 February it was reported that Antúnez, as a delegate of the University of San Marcos, had returned from a visit to the Lampas Pampa and that he was heading towards the Marañon River (Anonymous 1934e).¹³⁵ Then, on the twelfth, it was reported that the residents of Chavín were excited about the prospects of tourism (Anonymous 1934h). It was later reported on 14 February that he had stopped off at the ruins of Chavín de Huántar (Anonymous 1934j). Two other unrelated reports were published on 11 February. One stated that a gold idol had been found in the ruins of Sacsayhuaman (Anonymous 1934f). The other stated

¹³⁴ “Hundreds of workmen . . . have been busy in uncovering walls, buildings, conduits, beautifully hewn stones, the base of a tower. . . . In less than two months time, ruins have come to light which duplicate the monuments that had been visible since the Spanish conquest of Cuzco. . . . Enormous monoliths, forming part of walls, three and four yards underground, have been unearthed; the series of three walls of the fortress of Sachahuaman which were visible until recently, have been continued on the northern side of the fort. . . . Among the recent discoveries . . . are ten vaulted niches in excellent condition. . . . Within the enclosure or room to which these niches belong, there is a narrow stairway” (Anonymous 1934i). “Side by side with Sachahuaman, much important work has been carried out in Cuzco itself. . . . Among these are included the laying bare of the old Incaic walls in the Temple of the Sun, the Temple of the Vestal Virgins (today the Convent of Santa Catalina), and the Callejón de Loreto, where stand the massive remains of two of the most famous of the Incaic palaces—Amarucancha and Ajillahuasi” (Anonymous 1934l).

¹³⁵ Antúnez excavated at Katak in 1934. He worked at what he described as a three-storied subterranean tomb that was decorated with pictographs representing mythological animals unlike those found at Chavín but instead like those of the Recuay culture of the Callejón de Huáylas (Antúnez 1941:220).

that Valcárcel was on his way to the ruins of Ollantaytambo (Map 9, Anonymous 1934g).

At the beginning of February it had been reported in *The West Coast Leader* that Valcárcel had made the decision to undertake excavations at Machu Picchu (Map 9) and at Ollantaytambo while continuing to work in the vicinity of Cusco (Giesecke 1934). Towards the end of the month *El Comercio* published a telegram from Cusco in which it was reported that the work at Ollantaytambo had hit a snag. Locals had complained about excavations being conducted in a cemetery that had been found there and from which mummies had been extracted. The locals had protested the removal of the remains of their ancestors and this had led to suspension of the excavations with the hope that the locals could be convinced that the discovery was of unique importance to the unraveling of the history of the area (Anonymous 1934k). This newspaper then published an editorial which sympathized both with the natural sentiment of the locals and the feelings of the investigators that a discovery of unique importance had been made. Despite these conflicting sympathies, the editorial concluded that it hoped that the locals could be persuaded to allow the work to continue (Editor 1934b).

The following day it was reported in *El Comercio* that scientific discoveries were being made at the ruins of Tecteccaca¹³⁶ where rich emeralds and other treasures had been found and that investigators were on their way to the ruins of Machu Picchu for the purpose of beginning work on a tourist hotel.¹³⁷ Among the other

treasures that had been found at Tecteccaca was a worked and burnished silver plate with encrusted conch shell and malachite that represented a true work of art. In addition “truly stupendous” offerings had been removed with great care for the enrichment of the National Museum (Anonymous 1934l). It was subsequently reported that a telegram had been sent to Valcárcel at the National Museum informing him that a precious plate encrusted with colored conch shell and six emeralds had been found at Titicaca [Tecteccaca?] near the city of Cusco (Anonymous 1934m).¹³⁸ Valcárcel had returned to Lima in mid-February and was expected to return soon to Cusco and continue overseeing the excavations that were being conducted there (Anonymous 1934n).

In its 11 February edition *La Crónica* published a long article by Rafael Larco Hoyle. This article, accompanied by numerous photographs of Chavín pottery held in the Larco Museum, served to announce his discovery of so-called Chavín pottery at a site in the Cupisnique Valley on the North Coast between the Chicama and the Pacasmayo Valleys. At this site, he explained, he and his companions had discovered an abundance of broken vessels of the Chavín type that Tello had yet to find at Chavín de Huántar. He called into question Tello’s idea that the Chavín culture had come to the coast via the highlands. He pointed out that pottery that Tello had claimed to be representative of highland Chavín culture was instead representative of a coastal Cupisnique culture (Larco 1934). It should be noted that during the period 21 February to 12 March, Mejía explored the

¹³⁶ Tecteccaca is a carved rock within urban Cusco.

¹³⁷ “The Committee has already taken under consideration the material problem of hotel accommodations and transportation to Cuzco. Unfortunately, Panagra and Faucett airplanes will not be in regular service until the latter part of April of the present year due to climatic restrictions. Once this service is in force, travelers may leave Lomas at 7 a.m. and arrive at Cuzco before 11 a.m. of the

same morning, passing over the glorious scenery” (Giesecke 1934).

¹³⁸ “In addition to massive masonry the soil has given up many valuable specimens of old Inca art, notably the gold llama and bracelet dug up on the hillock known as Titicaca on the outskirts of the Imperial City, and innumerable fragments of old pottery everywhere” (Anonymous 1934l).

Cupisnique Valley on behalf of Tello (Vega-Centeno 2005:119). Unfortunately nothing has yet been published on this work.¹³⁹

Toward the end of February the following was included in a report published in *The West Coast Leader* on the work that was being done in Cusco:

One fact seems to be proved by the recent excavations. Cusco and the surrounding ruins definitely date from the beginning of the Inca era. Cusco, Sachsahuaman, Machu Picchu . . . Ollantaytambo, all represent the same type of architecture and the same decorative work. Their age must, in the opinion of Dr. Valcárcel, be placed at between nine hundred and a thousand years. There is nothing to show that Cusco itself was built on the site of an older pre-Incaic city. . . . Of the relative age of pre-Incaic civilizations Dr. Valcárcel is not prepared make any definitive statement. . . . Dr. Valcárcel, without committing himself definitively, is inclined to believe that Tiahuanaco and Chavin represent the oldest traces of civilization, followed by the Nazca, Moche and Chimu on the coast (Anonymous 1934l).

Compare this statement with another published not long after in *The New York Times*.

It now seems far more probable that the silt and accumulations of débris of possibly thousands of years hid from the sight of even the Incas the majestic architectural

¹³⁹ Less than a year later it was reported, "Mr. Rafael Larco Junior, a keen student and connoisseur, is writing a book about the ancient civilizations. Among other things he will present proofs that uphold his latest discovery about the pottery up to now known as 'Chavin', which, according to his deductions, has not originated in that place, where no traces of it are found at the present day, but in Cupisnique, where fragments are found by the thousands" (Ward 1935a: 23).

conceptions of a race that may have preceded them by centuries. The stonework itself is said to reveal an amazing variation in quality of workmanship, indicating the lapse of generations at least between the master builders of the earlier epochs and the patch-work artisans of later eras. Beautifully hewn masonry is interspersed with coarse attempts at mending, doubtful in design (Hammond 1934).

It would seem that, at least in the opinion of one writer, Valcárcel was selectively interpreting what was being found to glorify the accomplishments of a generic Inca.

On 2 March it was reported that work had continued at Ollantaytambo and that excavations had led to the discovery of notable ruins as well as objects made of silver (Anonymous 1934o). Two days later a brief article informed the public that Antúnez was in the city of Huaraz for the purpose of studying the ruins there, and that he had just returned from a trip, that he had visited the ruins of Chavín and other unnamed ruins in the Province of Marañón, and that he planned to return to Lima (Anonymous 1934p). Subsequently, a letter to Antúnez dated 11 March was published in Lima in which he was asked to petition the government for funds to conduct formal excavations at the ruins of Pumacayán at Huaraz (Map 7; Izagurre 1934).¹⁴⁰

That same day it was reported that *El Sol* of Cusco had claimed that funds for the Cusco Centennial were being misappropriated. Specifically it was stated that while 109 workers were being paid for reconstruction work, only nine were actually doing this work (Anonymous 1934q). This brought a response from Valcárcel in the form of a letter to the editor of Lima's *El*

¹⁴⁰ "Pomakayan. In the northern part of Huaraz itself are the remains of . . . a large, terraced, truncated pyramid with interior stone-lined galleries. . . The pyramid is now badly destroyed" (Bennett 1944:12).

Comercio in which he stated that *El Sol* had published incorrect information and that in fact 800 workers were being employed at the ruins but that in any case the Cusco Executive Committee should thoroughly look into the matter (L. Valcárcel 1934a). In an editorial the following day the newspaper agreed that, given the importance of the work that was being done in Cusco, the matter should be thoroughly investigated (Editor 1934c). In Cusco *El Sol* continued to publish claims that fraud had been committed (Anonymous 1934r) while in Lima a letter dated 9 March received from the Prefect of Cusco detailing actions he had taken was published in *El Comercio* (Valdés 1934).

Tello apparently decided that this was the appropriate time to publish another public lecture in *El Comercio*. This time the subject was the archaeology of Cusco and this lecture could be construed as having been specifically directed at Valcárcel and his senior staff overseeing the Cusco excavations. This lecture was even longer than the one on precolumbian gold that had been published in this Lima daily on the first day of 1934, and, hence, this new one was published on two consecutive days, March 12–13.

Tello began by saying that excavations he had done for some time in the country for the purpose of finding new and important information relative to the indigenous civilizations that no longer existed deserved to be taken seriously not only by the government but also by the educated people in the country. Furthermore it was desirable in the interest of [pre]history to take this point into consideration not only out of enthusiasm engendered by the discovery of ancient relics but also by the fact that this scientific work contributed to the current and permanent accumulation of historical knowledge.

Having made this broad statement, Tello said he was of the opinion that the excavations presently being conducted in Cusco by workers

not versed in the practice of archaeology were going to do enormous and irreparable damage to the nation's heritage. This was because archaeology was a specialized science like that of medicine or engineering, one in which professional exercise of this specialty required previous and adequate technical preparation. Just as it was in the case in the medical profession, common sense was not enough in order to excavate archaeologically. Non-specialized intelligence, though brilliant, was insufficient. Professional competence in parallel with other scientific disciplines was inadequate. Like medicine, he stated, archaeology could not be improvised.

Continuing in this vein, Tello stated that one needed experience and an archaeological sense in order to observe, to register, and efficiently value the multiple facts and phenomena that the process of excavation offered and in order to grasp the no less important multiple and complex problems that arose from this process. In essence, the archaeologist was the receptor of all that was being provided during excavation. The archaeologist with a sufficiently educated sense served as the repository for all the secrets being revealed by the work. The soil being removed during this process had information and historical evidence that needed to be recorded, that needed to stay in its natural state. It was this, the recovery of all relevant information, in which the importance of archaeological excavation resided. Hence the need for special preparation.

Tello then said that because Peru had ancient ruins that rivaled the best in the Americas, that because its cemeteries and trash heap archive was the richest, that because Peru's histories and those of these other nations were linked, that all Peruvians should safeguard their heritage, that is, the monuments and archives that constituted the nation's most precious resource. The importance of this heritage, he pointed out, was the light it cast upon the his-

tory of the people who had previously lived on the native soil and its importance was in what one could learn from the accumulated moral experiences. Hence, to attempt to commit a crime against the integrity of these monuments and archives was an attempt to commit a crime against the foundations of Peruvian history.

Tello then stated that these "frivolous" considerations served to justify the nature of his article and served as the basis of his opinion regarding the inadequate way in which the ongoing excavations were being conducted in the Department of Cusco. So that the public could appreciate the nature of excavation from a wider and more adequate perspective, he stated that he intended to report in a general and summary way the character of the excavations that had up to then been conducted in Peru. This would be with respect to the motives and causes that had prompted them, while calling attention to the need to have these works done in accordance with the new postulates of modern archaeology.

As previously manifested, he continued, before the conquest of Peru, the monuments and cemeteries had served the Indians as huacas or sacred relics, places of the gods and of the ancestral spirits. Huaca for modern Indians represented all the marvelous works of the gods and their legendary ancestors. Hence, huaca was the intangible and inviolate place, taboo. No modern native with a race conscience dared profane his huacas and all of Peru's monuments were huacas.

The long history of the exploitation of antiquities essentially uninterrupted for four centuries, Tello continued, could be divided into four phases characterized by motives for exploitation and these phases corresponded to two perfectly defined attitudes regarding an appreciation of antiquity. In the first, importance was given only to hidden treasure, only intrinsic value was of

consideration, as in the case of precious stones. Value was only perceived in an artistic or historic sense as in the case of monuments and artifacts of exceptional value in accordance with shape or decorative execution. In the second, however, principal importance was given to where the monument or object was found based on the theory that their value was not dependent on their nature but on their associations, that only archaeological excavation could uncover.

The first of these distinct attitudes then became the focus of a long discussion. Tello stated that the exploitation of antiquities had begun with the Conquistadores. They brought with them a thirst for gold and a religious fanaticism leading to destruction. This adventurous ambition to obtain a fortune by chance or war booty resulted in the illicit appropriation of the treasures of the Incas through the sacking of temples and royal tombs. The most excellent works of Indian gold-working were broken or smelted because their only interest was in the value of the metal in accordance with its weight and grade. Because the monuments of Peru contained the remains of the elite, the search for treasure became a lucrative industry and a rich seam of exploration for both the Crown and the colonists. As gold taken from huacas proved to be as rich as that taken from mines, enforced huaca service became established and dictates were issued for this new industry. Gold taken from these huacas was done at the expense of art and history and it was done at the expense of the sweat and blood of the Indians.

Then in 1572, Tello continued, a clever individual, in order to learn the secrets of their interments, flushed out the abodes of the mummies of the Incas Huaina Capac, Amaro Tupac Inca, Pachacutec Inca, Upangui Inca, and Mama Ocllo, who was the mother of Huaina Capac, and found that these mummies were as fresh as if alive, and enclosed in copper containers. In

addition, all the rest of the ancient monuments and art objects as well as the bodies of ancestors that were held sacred by the Indians were held satanic by the Spanish who undertook a campaign to destroy them all. During this campaign, they took down monuments and sacked tombs, and they burned the mummies, their valuable clothes, and their ornaments. This vandalism reached its maximum intensity at the beginning of the eighteenth century and one example was sufficient to illustrate the disastrous effect of this ill-fated period. Under the government of Francisco de Borja, during just the four years from 1615 to 1619, the Spanish took from the Indians 10,422 idols, inclusive of 1,365 ancestral mummies, some of which pertained to the heads of primitive lineages and founders of communities. The destruction of the monuments and the sacking of these tombs during the time of the conquest and into the period of colonization, Tello concluded, were historical facts.

Tello pointed out that this was a critical, yet unknown period, one confused by fables and legends, and as a result, individuals believed blindly only what could be affirmed. History written by Indian chroniclers was based principally on the narratives of those who conquered and, hence, were influenced by the prejudices and the dominant opinions of the times. This history, in general written by rude adventurers, soldiers, priests, lawyers, or even by mestizos or Indians who were Spanish at heart, is one made up of a muddle of fragments of Indian legends and fables, and hence totally of an emotional, romantic, and interesting character. This, he said, was especially so for the so-called satanic beliefs of the Indians, as well as their government, social organization, and the like. It was only through analysis and severe critique that one could today make sense of the reliable historic data distorted and hidden within a cloud of misconceptions.

In summary, Tello said, the history of this period was true with respect to the acts of destruction, the sacking of the monuments, the destruction of the idols, and the extermination of the people, but it was *fantastic and confused* with regard to the uses, customs, arts, industry, and life in general of the people and of the Inca rulers. Just four centuries from the Inca traditions, he stated, Peruvians were left only with fables of giants and chaos.

Now, Tello went on, the types of treasure seeking that ruled during the conquest and from the beginning of colonization up until the present time had its equal in another distinct sphere. By this he meant the vandalism that sacrificed whatever monument of value that satisfied mere curiosity; vandalism that did great damage. Guided by legends and superstitions, the work of these vandals was as profane as that of the earlier seekers of gold, as they sought to attain for their own gain, to open a breach, part or perforate a monument to learn if treasures were contained within. Treasure seeking today, he pointed out, principally in certain coastal valleys, had become a diversion, a sport like hunting. The nature of this work did not require special preparation or excavation experience, rather only the desire to do so. Hence, the treasure seeker was generally foreign to all interests artistic or historical in nature.

Tello then said that a new sense of the approximation of antiquity had been arrived at with the notion that the monuments and objects were curiosities that could serve as historic testaments or works of art. This was because some of the Spanish felt admiration for the gigantic works of the Indians and for their marvelous objects of art. Thus, Francisco de Toledo suggested to Phillip II in 1572 that in the "arsenals" and in the chambers of the king there were some precious Indian arts that ought to be exhibited so that they could be admired and serve as amusement. Among those who admired

such works of art were some of the chroniclers, including Cieza de León who marveled at the monumental works of the Inca. This appreciation of the monuments and antiquities as mere curiosities grew a bit during the eighteenth century, and then reached a major intensity at the beginning of the nineteenth century when European intellectuals came to appreciate the works of classical antiquity. In effect, since the middle of the eighteenth century, a new spirit dominated Europe, centered on the study of classical civilization that became viewed as an imaginative and versatile spirit of the Latin race. This new spirit gave primary importance to testimonies, objects, and tangible facts—objective information as opposed to traditional speculative information.

Tello continued by saying this had resulted in the hoarding of ancient objects and the realist-materialist impulse that was not limited to classical antiquities but to all antiquities in general. This new way of thinking was reflected in Peru during the last century of colonialism and during the start of the Republican Period and it was manifested by a demand, sometimes great, for antiquities. This led to more exploration to find more antiquities. It was in this way that the search for curiosities was initiated in Peru and the art of the *huaquero* [treasurer hunter] had come to the fore. That consisted of discovering and excavating tombs for the purpose of finding offerings, principally ceramics. The *huaquero*, in the exercise of this destructive activity, became, over time, an experimental artisan—no longer simply a peon, but an expert in locating tombs, at times a virtuoso, a true maestro, and a very good aid to the archaeologist. He was able to find without much effort where to excavate on the basis of his experience. Working without anything more than a rod, he probed the earth to determine if there was any opening below. He did not excavate, the peons did. He directed the excavation and took from the tomb the best pieces of pottery, including

those that could be repaired. He then negotiated their quick sale or sold them either to a collector or to an agent of an antiquities shop. Hence, in addition to metal objects and precious stones, the *huaquero* now sought fine and saleable ceramics.

As a consequence of this new attitude regarding antiquities and the new art of archaeological site exploration, the first pottery collections were formed in Peru, and were exported to Europe, where they were avidly acquired by museums and by collectors. The principal museums of the world, especially those in Germany, acquired Peruvian antiquities through agents that purchased in Peru objects owned by *huaqueros* and by traffickers. In order to stop this exportation of antiquities, a decree dated 2 April 1822 was issued by the Government of Torre Tagle in which it was recognized for the first time that remaining monuments and treasures of ancient Peru were glorious and were the property of the nation. At the same time, there were various tentative steps taken by the government to found a National Museum of History and Antiquities that culminated in a 1 March 1841 decree establishing and regulating a museum on Espiritu Santo Street in Lima.

Tello explained that, during this period, the collections of Peruvian antiquities were studied as objects of art, as miscellaneous objects, or as examples of indigenous art, and at other times they were classified typologically in general as Incan antiquities. In certain cases, however, because of the abundance of examples at hand, investigators first undertook the study of the genetic or evolutionary characters of certain artifacts, for example, he said, works by Arthur Baessler on pottery and Paul Schmid [*sic*] on textiles that did not take into account the exact provenience of the different types studied or their cultural and chronological position. In addition, during this period, some travelers and scientists explored Peru, providing knowledge,

though imperfect, about its principal ruins and monuments. Tello said that the work of E. George Squier entitled *Incidents of Travel and Exploration in the Land of the Incas* was one of the most important, because of the exactitude of its observations, and for the accompanying plans and descriptions of the monuments seen by the author.

As a result of this new spirit of archaeological investigation, Tello went on, an essentially parallel development began with the work of recompilation and critique of the historical sources, and focused on the loss of information so contained that dealt with the data being coordinated and illustrated by archaeologists. William H. Prescott, he stated, was a true pioneer in this regard, while the best exponents in the critical analysis of history were Clements Markham, Adolph Bandelier, Marcos Jiménez de la Espada, Richard Pietschmann, and Philip Ainsworth Means.

Archaeology during this period, Tello continued, was not strictly speaking, either an art or a pseudoscience because it was merely descriptive. It was a simple aid to history, its objective data serving to demonstrate the material products of human activity. Archaeologists at this time dealt principally with intangible facts stripped of romanticism and past prejudices. Like the antiquary who was merely a collector or hoarder of objects, or the historian who hoarded books of all kinds, nothing was more indispensable to the archaeologist than the search for information and artifacts on the ground or at the site. With sufficient funding, the archaeologist was able to acquire artifacts for his own collection or for that of a museum. Nearly all the collections of Peruvian antiquities in American and European museums, he said, were obtained by purchase from *huaqueros*, like the collections of José Mariano Macedo, Manuel Ferreyos, Nicolás Saéñz, Emilio Montes, Eduard Gaffron, Christian Theodore Wilhelm Graetzer, N. Cen-

teno, the brothers Rafael and Víctor Larco Herrera, Luis Caparó Muñiz, Enrique Brüning, and others.

Up to this point, Tello stated, neither the study of the soil covering monuments, nor the condition of the artifacts found, had been given much importance. However, in order to ensure the integrity and conservation of what was found, new methods of applied anthropological research in archaeology required one to integrally study all materials found in tombs, not only those selected by the *huaquero*. Only in this way was it possible to obtain concrete information regarding the arts, industries, customs, and uses of the ancients. In this way the excavator attempted to secure the integrity of the discovery, to reproduce the objects with major exactitude, and to form a true data archive. With this new attitude there arrived the onset of a true science of archaeology and one may consider as an example of this the monumental work of Wilhelm Reiss and Alphons Stübel entitled *The Necropolis of Ancon in Peru*, from which one could get a true sense of the level of cultural material development that had been reached by the primitive populations of the coastal region. Yet, Tello cautioned, at the onset still nothing was provided regarding the cultural and chronological positions of these populations.

In like manner, Tello went on, during this phase of the development of archaeology the objective in the study of monuments was to do so with greater care so as to ensure their preservation, to clean them, to photograph them and, if possible, to repair them. But the soil that covered or hid these monuments was not given the least importance. For example an army of laborers slowly removed the "cement" [hardened volcanic ash] that covered the city of Pompeii when the excavations commenced because it was felt that the only recourse available was to haul it far away as quickly as possible. For work of this kind, one needed overseers, and, at times,

engineers, who could see to the conservation of the monuments and who could prevent the theft of discovered objects. The success of an excavation conducted in this way depended entirely on a large number of laborers, on the hardness of the soil, on the season the work was being done, on the efficiency of the machines or shovels being used in the removal of the soil, and on the number of overseers so that the machines or workers did no harm to the objects being unearthed.

Tello said that overseers in this kind of work had but two responsibilities: determining where a monument, tomb, or object was encountered, and taking all precautionary measures to ensure that discovered objects did not undergo the least deterioration or exposure to loss. This did not require special technical preparation. A contingent of active or designated workers and diggers and something in the order of prizes for the discovery of a monument, or for each object, was sufficient to secure the desired result. Such a practice today, he stated, was an archaeological “monstrosity”.

Having in this way indirectly characterized and dismissed the work being done in Cusco, Tello then began his discussion of the second of his two attitudes regarding an appreciation for the remains of antiquity. This, he stated, was the attitude of the modern archaeologist who had gained experience over time and who took advantage of the advances of anthropological investigative methods. For example, scarcely three months past, Rhys Carpenter, one of the most noted modern archaeologists,¹⁴¹ had com-

¹⁴¹ Rhys Carpenter (1889–1980) was a classical archaeologist, art historian, epigrapher, geographer, and published poet. He held an A.B. (1909), an M.A. (1914), and a Ph.D. (1916) in Classics from Columbia University. From 1909 to 1911 he was a Rhodes Scholar at Balliol College, Oxford. He also studied at the American School of Classical Studies at Athens (1912-1913). He taught at Bryn Mawr College, with interruptions, from 1913 to 1955. He held appointments at the American Academy in Rome

mented in general on the continuation of the official position of archaeologists who freely entered into a competition for the discovery of treasure, not only in the Department of Cusco, but also in those of La Libertad and Ancash. He had written “to excavate a site is to destroy it”.

Unfortunately the modern excavator is possessed by a social conscience and by his own diversion or his own edification; he is an emissary of science representing all of the members of his profession, now and in the future.¹⁴²

The moment of excavation, Tello explained, was unique; it represented, in large part, the movement of objects from an historic undisturbed and invisible place to a visible medium that was not historically pertinent. The fragments of pottery in the display case of a museum had artistic value, but they had probably lost their historic value, because now nothing could be said about their antiquity. The excavator not only wanted to know what had been found but

(1926-1927 and 1939-1940) and was director of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens (1927-1932) and a visiting professor there (1956-1957). At the American School at Athens he established the scholarly journal *Hesperia* in 1932. He was instrumental in the Agora excavations. He was the author of over twenty books, thirty articles, and numerous reviews. (<http://www.brynmaur.edu/library/exhibits/BreakingGround/carpenter.html>; accessed 19 May 2016)

¹⁴² Much of Tello’s exposition of the science and philosophy of archaeology had been previously stated in the last chapter of Carpenter’s book, *The Humanistic Value of Archaeology* where a very similar phrase is used (1933). Specifically, on page 103 of Volume IV Carpenter wrote: “Unfortunately, the modern excavator is possessed by a social conscience and the fear of his colleagues. He is no longer digging for his own amusement or his own edification; he is an emissary of science, representing all the members of his profession now alive or to live in future days. ‘To dig a site is to destroy it.’ The moment of excavation is unique; it represents for most objects a transition from undisturbed (but hitherto invisible) historical setting to a visible (but historically irrelevant) environment.”

also whatever else there was at the place where it was encountered. The most insignificant information regarding its stratification and the surrounding soil *could be* essential for an archaeologist, he said, and then he repeated this caveat for emphasis.

Tello continued essentially quoting Carpenter (1933:103-104). The same excavator could say what information was of value. If he was not an incurable romantic, or if his mind was not preoccupied at the moment, he should be able to know that when recovering or compiling information between ninety and one hundred percent of what he put into his daily log absolutely had no value, but, since he could not know what fact or aspect would be important to someone, somewhere, someday, he ought to continue his routine in a methodical and deliberate way, with as little critique as possible. This was because the excavator who insisted upon being a smart person and, who, like Adam, was unable to distinguish good from evil, was a stupid dangerous person in an excavation. This was due to the ignorance of the arrogant person who felt he could judge at the moment what could not possibly be known. Hence, with his nose to the ground and his eyes to the broken earth, the excavator should follow his routine with infinite and tedious patience, because he was on the front line; he was in back of the front rank of researchers both alive and yet to be born. To stimulate him, the excavator must know that he had the trust of aspiring scientists to do his job well, and he must feel that he should not betray this trust.

While Tello had previously spoken about the empirical or approximate age of an object or a ruin or the merit of its intrinsic or artistic value, he now specifically focused upon the scientific value of the soil in which they were found. In the first instance, he stated, information is appreciated for its specific, individual value, gold because it was gold, an object of art because of

its elaboration, its characteristics, and its symbolism. The scientist, however, valued the stratigraphic information obtained from excavation, the relative associations of artifacts found in the soil. Recently, he went on, thanks to the application of scientific method in historic investigations the careful description of archaeological information had culminated in the classification of artifacts and monuments into types or styles. Ancient architecture, painting, sculpture, etc. had been studied from a biological or evolutionary perspective taking into consideration the idea that each specimen was merely one part of an interrelated series of technological or artistic manifestations that made up a historic process, and this had led to the discovery of the correlation between different cultural types and different chronological epochs.

For the purpose of historic construction, Tello continued, it was not enough to simply study a monument or object independent of the soil or vice versa because they were complementary factors. Historic knowledge was the result of the information derived from both. The soil was like the patina of a monument, a patina formed at times over many centuries and by many generations in which there had been imprinted traces of rocks as well as traces of plants and animals that lived in the past. It was impossible to learn the history of these plants and animals by studying them simply as fossils without taking into account the different strata in which they were found. Neither was it possible, he added, to understand the history of the monument and the artifacts without undertaking a careful study of the soil or the accumulations of trash left by the different generations over time.

Tello then stated, presumably again quoting from Carpenter, that in today's archaeology "the process of excavation is like a lecture from a book whose remaining pages burn one by one as they are read." As such, Tello noted, this demanded the on-site presence of the archaeologist

who was uniquely responsible for the registration of the memoirs of the excavation— information that would otherwise be lost forever.

In the archaeological centers of Peru, Tello continued, soil at times was formed by the wastes of many generations of human activity and these wastes frequently covered ruins and cemeteries that corresponded to people of distinct epochs and cultures. At other times the soil was formed by mud-slides or “freely executed downfalls”, as in the case of wars or conquest. In other cases the soil was formed as a result of earthquakes, volcanic eruptions, rains, and other multiple phenomena. Even in the case when the overlaying soil was formed by lava flow or falling ash and contained no remains of human origin, important information could still be obtained. Soil was always important. The remains of volcanic ash that covered Pompeii and that was removed in great masses in the urge to find the city below was now being examined by archaeologists who were finding evidence of crops that had been cultivated in the gardens of Pompeii two thousand years ago.

Tello then stated that in the lower levels of the volcanic ash that covered the ruins of Huari in Ayacucho [which he visited in 1931] a vertical cut had been exposed by water flow and he found there the remains of stone tools leading him to suspect that within the lower level of this ash was concentrated very valuable information relevant to the antiquity of human culture in this region. When he first visited the Chavín de Huántar temple [in 1919] he considered its great antiquity because he had discovered that it was hidden partly by a layer of trash and partly by a thick cap of cultivated alluvial soil. At the same time, he admitted, he found it difficult to understand why the interior galleries of this temple were filled up to a certain height by accumulations of earth and stones. He then predicted that future scientists would derive useful information as to the antiquity of the ruins from the cap that

covered the temple and from the fill in the galleries.

It was Max Uhle, Tello continued, who first gave importance to soil in the study of Peruvian antiquity. The scientific excavations he had done in Peru served to make the first valuable and effective contribution to the chronology of its primitive civilizations and his chronological and cultural system served as the foundation and guide for later investigators. Explorations and excavations done by him in newly discovered archaeological centers and an analysis of museum collections had given evidence for an archaeological horizon and thanks to this work it had been possible to establish the chronological succession of different Peruvian cultures on a more solid basis. Excavations done in the most important archaeological centers had raised awareness that these sites were true deposits of information, true documentary archives that were indispensable for the acquisition of the exact knowledge of Peruvian history as well as the determination of the age of its different civilizations.

Besides, Tello went on, it was now recognized that the intrinsic knowledge of an archaeological object was not the most important for historical reconstruction. A glass necklace found in a known site and in a clearly defined strata was of greater value than a gold nugget or a work of art without the history of its discovery because it could prove that the glass was already being made in a particular period, and such a discovery could then perhaps be related to the rare discovery of a glass necklace in a looted tomb in the Huaca de la Misa at Chan Chan. The discovery of such artifacts here remained a mystery and the scientific recovery of such an artifact would make it more valuable than a gold nugget or an art object on display in Lima obtained by the hands of a laborer that offered no such information.

After referring to discoveries of a scientific nature that had been made by him and others in Peru, Tello specifically focused on the work being done in Cusco. The excavations at Sacsayhuaman and other places in the Department of Cusco, he began, were disgracefully being done in an empirical manner. From the dispatches sent by the local newspapers he could see that the work was being done simultaneously by overseers at different places and they were being assisted by laborers who were exploring, discovering, and extracting objects with great speed and enthusiasm. Eight hundred workers were being employed in this disagreeable and destructive work and, he added despairingly, even more might be employed given the interests of the mestizo population of Cusco that had always sought hidden treasures.

In the middle of the last century, Tello explained, Squier had observed that at Sacsayhuaman there was no place that had escaped being excavated dozens of times. Then quoting from an unidentified book or article by E. George Squier he said:

There are men constantly occupied at all times with the stadia . . . such that it appears to be the principal occupation of the inhabitants of Peru and that time, money, and work employed in digging and dismantling the ancient edifices has been sufficient to construct a railroad from one extreme of the country to another, to provide the walls of the ports, and that which is most necessary to provide the sewers of the cities.

Shifting back to the present, Tello declared that according to published reports, high officials limited themselves to inspecting the excavation sites, but not very often, and that they [Valcárcel] sent instructions to the overseers from Cusco, Arequipa, and even Lima. These instructions were sent to trusted and known individuals

who were charged with the vigilance of the excavations in order to prevent the loss or damage to the monuments and the recovered objects. In addition to making an inventory of the archaeological harvest of the laborers, they were charged with stimulating the hunt for curious archaeological objects through the payment of bounties. The laborers or overseers, according to these reports, had found in different places precisely constructed walls of stone, the remains of unknown animals, objects made of gold and of silver, some adorned with emeralds, as well as valuable pieces of pottery, but nothing had been learned about the history of these discoveries. This history did not exist, nor could it exist, because only an archaeologist could retrieve it, because only he could integrally understand the process of excavation.

At Sacsayhuaman, Tello then added, they had also found “an infinity” of human bones, all of them collected at one locale that, according to one press report, had then been thrown into a depot constructed in the same fortress to be pulverized in conformance with the “merited twentieth century homage to those who took part in an ancient and heroic war”. The human bones found at Sacsayhuaman to be pulverized, Tello emphasized, were material of the first order and through their study it would be possible to define the ethnicity of those who had been buried. Was, he asked, the place of the discovered bones an Incan or Pre-Incan sarcophagus? Were the Indians interred during or after the Spanish takeover of Cusco? Much information, he exclaimed, could be derived from a careful examination of the bones! Had the skull been Andean in type? Were some of the skulls deformed in a way corresponding to one or another known type of cranial deformation, affirmation of which would be of great benefit to the definition of cultures? Did any of the skulls evidence fractures caused by trauma or disease? So much, he exclaimed, could be gleaned from careful

observation of the material and the circumstances of their discovery!

Tello said that he did not hold out hope that the reasons he had expressed in his long article would be well received with a modest and sincere collaboration by those responsible for the Cusco excavations and the conservation of the Cusco monuments. As for the public, he lamented, in its enthusiasm at this time, on the eve of the celebration of the fourth centennial of the Spanish founding of Cusco, it was only disposed to appreciate the dramatic and emotional accidents of excavation and it would be hard to counter this and ever harder to convince them that scientific archaeological excavation should not be sacrificed to mere touristic curiosities. He concluded by saying that he simply wanted to register his protest and to appeal to the supreme justice of those both inside and outside Peru who were preoccupied with Peruvian history (Tello 1934b).

National elections were to be held June third.

In general the public is showing almost complete apathy, in the apparent belief that the elections will be entirely one-sided, though this depends largely on the action of the Aprista party. The Apristas continue to hold that the elections are illegal inasmuch as twenty-three vacant seats in the Assembly were held by members of their party who were deprived of their parliamentary rights by the vote of the actual Assembly acting under the instructions of the Sánchez Cerro government. They have, however, issued a manifesto in which they declare their intention on presenting the candidature of the same representatives who they consider were unjustly deprived of their seats. . . . In general, present indications go to show that any fight which is put up in the June elections will be be-

tween the representatives of the Congressional or Nationalist Party and those of the Centre who are out for clean politics and political independence. Whether the Apristas will be allowed to put up a strong electoral campaign is a little uncertain (Anonymous 1934ooo).

Problems continued to plague the work in Cusco. Questions regarding the possibility that fraud was being committed haunted the Central Executive Committee (Anonymous 1934r, 1934s, 1934v, 1934w). Because of persistent problems, the government felt it necessary to issue an expedited supreme decree (Rocas 1934).

In view of the fact that the public works programme and excavations now being carried out in Cusco and the vicinity will not be completed in time for the anniversary . . . a Supreme Resolution has been issued declaring that the official celebration will be held between March 23rd and July 31st. At some date within that period Cusco will be solemnly declared the Archaeological Capital of South America, and a series of typical festivities will be held...in accordance with the programme to be drawn up by the Central Executive Committee (Anonymous 1934t).

Valcárcel was projected to give two talks, one on prehistoric Cusco, and another on Inca Cusco (Anonymous 1934u).

Regarding the Central Executive Committee, it was felt it was necessary that some response be made to the accusations contained in Tello's recent publication in Lima. A preliminary statement was issued to the effect that work being undertaken under Valcárcel on behalf of the Technical Commission was limited to cleaning and restoration of the monuments and that no explorations of an archaeological character were being conducted. Furthermore, it was stated, this

work was being conducted in a scientific manner under the supervision of a number of engineers. Yes, it was added, some limited exploratory work was being undertaken, but this was being done under the direction of archaeologists based in Cusco, hence to describe what was being done as the work of *huaqueros* was outrageous. As a result, the committee had voted to send a telegram to a special delegate of the committee then traveling on the North Coast (Anonymous 1934x). Subsequently the committee reported that this special delegate was returning by steamship after having promoted the centennial celebration in the Departments of Piura, Lambayeque, and La Libertad (Anonymous 1934y).

On 26 March it was reported in Lima that Tello's article had been republished in Cusco (Anonymous 1934z) and that Valcárcel had communicated the official position of the Executive Committee that charges of fraud be thoroughly investigated (Anonymous 1934aa). It was reported that Valcárcel had responded in Cusco to the accusations that Tello had included in his article. He stated that as an archaeologist he understood that it was neither chance, as some believed, nor great scientific inspiration, that could explain everything. He went on to say that as director of the Cusco works he had not gone astray and merited confidence because he was being consulted and cited outside the country (Anonymous 1934bb).¹⁴³

¹⁴³ In a manner of speaking, Valcárcel was correct in stating that he was consulted by news organizations outside the country. For example, *The New York Times* mentions him by name in articles about the upcoming centennial celebration and specifically regarding what was being unearthed at archaeological sites (e.g. Anonymous 1934cc). However, this was disingenuous on his part. As the head of the Technical Committee that oversaw this work, he was its default spokesman for the foreign press, but this did not mean that foreign archaeologists trained in modern scientific method were communicating with him and citing him because of his scientific expertise. There was simply no one else in an official capacity associated with the work that they could ask about what was being found.

Valcárcel might have later cited as proof of this the following dispatch from Cusco that was published not long after in *The New York Times*:

At yesterday's opening many saw for the first time the newly uncovered Incaic walls. . . . In addition to massive masonry, the soil has given up many valuable specimens of Inca art, notably a gold llama and a bracelet. . . . Some of the specimens are Spanish, . . . and it is these, according to Dr. Valcárcel, which show that the Spanish deliberately buried Sacsayhuaman. Among them are horseshoes, swords, and other weapons. In some trenches recently opened were also found thousands of human bones lying in such a way as to indicate either that their resting place was once the scene of heavy fighting four hundred years ago, or that some conquerors had put to death hundreds of Indians there. A fact of primary archaeological importance has been confirmed by the work of excavation, according to Dr. Valcárcel, and that is that Cusco and the surrounding ruins date back to the beginning of the Inca era. Remains uncovered at Cusco, as well as at Pisac, Cancha, and Ollantaytambo all represent the same type of architecture and of decoration. A theory that Cusco might have been built on the site of a pre-Inca city is not supported by anything uncovered so far. This would indicate that Cusco is comparatively "young" in an archeological sense, as compared with remains found elsewhere in Peru (Anonymous 1934cc).

Given the fact that the official position of the Executive Committee was that only work of a cleaning and restorative nature was being done, it is very interesting that one of its prominent members, namely Valcárcel, was advertising archaeological interpretations of discoveries made at sites during this supposedly non-scientific exercise. In any case, it should also be noted

that at least one foreign publication, London's *Nature*, while subscribing to the official line that the Valcárcel-directed excavations in Cusco were being undertaken "in accordance with the principles of scientific excavation", advised caution. Specifically it was noted

The presence of a number of distinguished archaeologists in Peru during the celebrations which began on March 23 and will go on until July 18, will no doubt, guide, as well as stimulate, local effort, which is inspired by motives not entirely unmixed. Even in Peru, archaeology is not immune from the spur of over-enthusiastic nationalism (Anonymous 1934dd).

Finally, it has been reported that sometime in March, Muelle conducted field research in the Paracas region, a place where he had investigated in 1932 (Buse 1974b). He was then in the employ of the National Museum, so it is presumed that this work was done for and under the auspices of this institution. Given Muelle's past criticism of Tello for not having quickly published on his work in this region, it should be noted that Muelle never published anything on his 1932 or 1934 work.

On 6 April Lima's *El Comercio* published the response of the Central Executive Committee's Special Delegate, Atilio Svirichi, to Tello's article. This publication (Svirichi 1934) was in the form of a letter dated 29 March.

Rather than specifically address the charges made by Tello against the work being conducted in Cusco, Svirichi attacked Tello's work at Paracas, first making the point that the ruins on the peninsula had been discovered by anonymous others and not by Tello. Then various charges were first made by Svirichi. The material found in the Paracas tombs had yet to be studied and to the disgrace of the country the Paracas sites had not been protected, as evidenced by the fact

that they had since been subjected to non-stop looting. The artifacts recovered at Paracas had yet to be reported on and, even if restored, these artifacts had suffered defects. The National Museum had neither drawings nor photographs of these artifacts and the 429 mummy bundles that were extracted had been kept in an inappropriate locale where they were in the process of being destroyed by humidity. Finally, of the more than one hundred opened bundles, only a few of the mantles, adornments, and utensils taken from them were on exhibit in the National Museum.

Then Svirichi pointed out that Yácovleff had found fault with Tello's claims that evidence supported the presence of the sweet potato and surgical instruments at Paracas. He noted that, despite the fact that Tello's contract with the Leguía government had provided increased funding, Tello had been mostly silent about what he had found at Paracas, and this had led to increased criticism from the scientific world that remained "permanently orphaned" from valuable information. In a word, he stated, the National Museum had nothing more than a great disorder of Paracas objects, some knives, and no documented sources that shed light on the work at Paracas. Svirichi asked a series of questions. Have the objects, the pottery, and the remains been drawn or photographed? Why were there no reproductions in the National Museum? Was the necropolis in some state of repair or preservation? No, he answered, none of this had been done. He stated, without providing names, that the work in general that had been done at Paracas had been undertaken by subordinates or museum employees without Tello being present to supervise.

The Paracas region, Svirichi continued, from the moment it was excavated, had become a panorama of destruction. The extraction of the hundreds of mummy bundles by Tello had been done without scientific criteria. Precise measure-

ments of the funerary constructions were lacking and, apart from the initial information that had been published by Tello, science was ignorant of the so-called caverns and funerary mausoleums, and it was ignorant of the details of the patios, living quarters, kitchens, and subterranean funerary chambers mentioned by Tello. The gravity of this charge against him, Sivirichi exclaimed, was enormous, especially given the fact that Tello had in his recent article strongly advocated the collection of even the most insignificant information during excavation.¹⁴⁴

Clearly, Sivirichi emphasized, the excavations carried out by Tello at Paracas had been empirical in nature and not scientific. This absence of a scientific sensibility was corroborated by a careful review of the inventory of Paracas objects in the National Museum by Yácovleff. This was an inventory that served not to support any claim of scientific discovery by Tello but rather to confuse studies and observations. Then taking on the role of a frustrated researcher, Sivirichi stated that the inventories of artifacts that had been found during the unwrapping of the mummy bundles suffered from a lack of scientific criteria and served only as mere enumerations of artifacts contained within the bundles, thus making it impossible to study prime materials such as the cotton or wool from which the mantles were made. There were no drawings, no photographs, no evidence of a documentary nature regarding the *in situ* positions of the mummy bundles, the procedures

¹⁴⁴ The following criticism of Tello's publishing history should be noted: "In Peru very important archaeological research is being carried out by Doctor Tello. . . . What now seems desirable is a detailed description of the greatest possible number of graves from Paracas in order that a clear idea may be obtained as to what inventions in different spheres were known in Peru during that early period. The furniture of each grave should be kept together, not only in museums, but in publication. It is only from a series of such publications that we shall be able to gather positive knowledge of Peruvian chronology. As it is, all we can do is believe or discredit, as we prefer, the statements made by the various authors" (Nordenskiöld 1931:418).

used in the process of mummification and embalming, and of the diverse ways in which the bundles had been made.

Sivirichi then made other points. The National Museum had still not received an official report on the discoveries made at Paracas and this made an integral study of the Paracas zone that much more difficult. In addition, although the museum was dedicated to "supreme special studies", it knew nothing about the anthropological conditions of the Paracas populations, their ethnic affinities, or their level of cultural achievement. Finally, he exclaimed in a particularly accusatory, even personal way, everything was kept a guarded secret by Tello! Everything was kept in a "counter-productive and egotistical silence", one that had come to the attention of the scientific world that agreed that archaeological discoveries did not belong to a single individual, that nobody had the right to conserve human patrimony in silence!

It is interesting to note that Sivirichi had chosen to attack the messenger, Tello, and not his message that the Cusco excavations were not being done in scientific way. It seems clear that this delegate had a personal stake in the matter of things Paracas, given his expression of anger that those interested in such had not been permitted access to the information that Tello had elicited from his study of the material extracted during his pre-revolution excavations on the peninsula. This delegate obviously took the position of Valcárcel, Yácovleff, and Muelle that Tello had not excavated following the tenants of science on the peninsula, nor had he published within a reasonable time the results of his work.

These complaints completely ignored the fact that Tello had worked with very limited resources since being replaced by Valcárcel and, conversely, the fact that Valcárcel and his staff appeared to have been blessed with almost unlimited government funding. Of course, since

being replaced as director by Valcárcel, Tello had himself publicly complained on more than one occasion about the lack of protection for archaeological sites in general and particularly those in the Paracas region. This complaint had clearly been directed at Valcárcel who, in response, had stated that the National Museum had made arrangements to safeguard the Paracas sites. Tello had also publicly complained about the lack of proper facilities in which to house the mummy bundles under his care, as well as the lack of funding to conduct research. On at least one occasion, he had publicly explained that he had deliberately limited airing the results of his studies in order to hinder the activities of *huaqueros* and pseudo-students of the nation's pre-Hispanic past. Evidently this special delegate representing the Central Executive Committee in Cusco was one of those whom Tello considered to be an example of the latter category of individuals and he, in turn, had taken the opportunity to lash out at Tello with a vengeance.

It will be recalled that in 1931 Valcárcel oversaw the creation of the National Museum that became the umbrella institution for the nation's anthropological and historical museums. Because of insufficient space, however, he was forced to enter into an agreement with the Rector of the University of San Marcos. This agreement called for the university to have its Institute of Anthropological research serve as the museum's proposed institute. Because Tello was the director of the university's institute, this meant that he became *de facto* head of the museum's institute. This did not mean that Tello worked for Valcárcel, only that he provided a service to him. When the vast majority of the artifacts collected by Tello and his staff on the South Coast, including most of the Paracas mummy bundles, were transported to the old Bolivar Museum, this gave Tello and his staff effective control of this unique and valuable collection.

Over time two wounds, one caused by Tello's replacement by Valcárcel and the other created by Tello's control of this collection, likely festered. This, taken in conjunction with the fact that Tello continued to be denied access to his museum at the university, must have created a great divide between the Tello and Valcárcel camps and what had been an ancillary part of the National Museum effectively became the new home of the university's museum. Hence, putting personal grudges aside, this new criticism of Tello, that was primarily presented from the viewpoint of the staff of the National Museum's Department of Archaeology, rises to a credible level. That is, there was likely more than a kernel of truth behind the claim that Tello was restricting access not only to the collection, but also to the results of studies made on this collection, and that this was occurring much to the displeasure of some members of the staff at the National Museum.

CHAVÍN, PARACAS, AND CUSCO

Toward the beginning of April, Antúnez delivered a talk at a meeting of the Geographic Society of Lima in which he discussed his recent travels in the Department of Ancash. Specifically he spoke about the geography and geology of the region, apparently making no mention of any archaeological sites encountered and/or visited (Anonymous 1934ee). Of note, weeks earlier, a letter Antúnez had written regarding the need for the government to undertake excavations at the ruins of Pumacayán in the vicinity of Huaraz was published in Lima. In this letter he made mention of his trip to Huaraz in May 1915, when the site was threatened by illegal excavations, and a second trip in 1931 when he saw that damage to the ruins had continued unabated. As in the case of Chavín de Huántar, he recommended that the government try to enlist American aid to assist in needed repair and reconstruction of the ruins (Antúnez 1934). Antúnez's idea of reconstructing ruins for

the purpose of promoting tourism was well received in the department in general and at Chavín in particular (Anonymous 1934ff).

The National Board met on 9 April, and Tello presented a report on the state of the archaeological sites of Paracas and other sites in the Department of Ica.¹⁴⁵ Tello also presented a report on proposed regulations to be issued by the board to focus on safeguarding these sites. It was voted that a report containing specifics regarding illicit excavations in this department be passed on to the Judicial Assessor of the Ministry of Education for action. Of note, at this meeting a request by an individual to conduct excavations in the Nepeña Valley was rejected (Anonymous 1934gg).

Part of Tello's report has been published and is loosely translated as follows:

The principal cause favoring the destruction of monuments, the looting of cemeteries, and the sale of antiquities, which have increased alarmingly in recent years, is in my opinion, the confused sense that exists regarding the true purposes of the institutions designated to protect and take care of them as well as the lack of coordination among the pertinent laws. The National Museum has now been charged with too many broad and extraordinary powers and obligations that have almost entirely prevented it from efficiently exercising its most essential functions. If it had not been possible for the museum to protect gold collections within its own premises, it was ill-prepared to efficiently protect the archaeological collections in other national museums, much less the monuments and archaeological sites throughout the vast

territory of Peru (Tello and Mejía 1967:197).

Needless to say, this was a clear condemnation of Valcárcel in his role as head of the nation's Museum of Archaeology. In Tello's mind, Valcárcel had greatly expanded the functions of the National Museum as a whole to the specific detriment of the archaeological department contained within.

On 16 April, Tello wrote a letter to Riva Agüero in which he made reference to the recent meeting of the National Board held on 9 April. Tello noted that he had been asked by him to write and explain the difficulties he was having relative to his work in Nepeña. Tello wrote that up to now he had assumed sole responsibility for the study and conservation of the ruins discovered in the valley. He went on to say that he had not received "a single centavo" from the government or from the University of San Marcos to pay for the costs related to the discovery, explorations, and excavations undertaken in the valley during the past three months, nor for the custody and vigilance of the same during the nine months preceding the writing of his letter. He also wrote that he was still being denied access to both the university's library and its Museum of Archaeology. He ended with a plea that in his role as minister, Riva Agüero help him with these problems (Tello 1975-76: III).

On 25 April it was reported in Lima that the Cusco excavations were again experiencing difficulties, and that all of the workers excavating at Sacsayhuaman had been dismissed (Anonymous 1934hh). On 2 May it was reported that the excavations at Sacsayhuaman remained paralyzed (Anonymous 1934jj).

On 12 May Valcárcel published a short article in *The Illustrated London News*. This article was illustrated by eight photographs of "Sajsawaman's huge masonry" and was entitled,

¹⁴⁵ Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú (Lima), Archivo Histórico Riva-Agüero, Colección Toribio Mejía Xesspe, Informes 2206, 6 April 1934.

“A Great Inca City at Cusco Destroyed and Buried by the Conquistadores”. In part he wrote:

After four months of work, the following results have been obtained: Excavation of the megalithic bastions on the western side, the northern trenches, the gateway and staircases. A large number of blocks of stone have been restored to the walls of which they once formed a part. Restoration of the means of communication between the various parts of the vast citadel, including the sound-channels which were used for transmitting orders. The tracing of the three great towers . . . one of which was cylindrical in shape. From the remains which have been found, it is possible to appreciate their magnitude and their architectural beauty. The revelation of the extraordinary water supply which the fortress possessed. The main reservoir was in a well-defended position. . . . From this great basin which forms a perfect circle, ran the aqueducts, which, passing through distribution-cisterns, conveyed the water to every part of the vast citadel. These aqueducts were also connected to the drainage channels. Excavation of the highest part . . . towards the west, where six dwellings were found, three of which are still standing, with the doorways, vaulted niches, passages, and flooring almost complete. This group probably belonged to the temples. When carrying out the work during the process of clearance, considerable quantities of fragments of earthenware were found, a number of pieces of stone, bone, copper, and silver, all in the genuine Inca style. As the work progresses, the underground passages will shortly be explored. These are positive labyrinths, and it would not be surprising if they led us to the sacred tombs of the Emperors (L. Valcárcel 1934c).

The sheer magnitude of the work then being done just at Sacsayhuaman is stunning. The amount of information that was being irretrievably lost daily as a result of the way the work was being conducted is almost inconceivable. It is no wonder Tello felt the need to register his complaint, his outrage, and his deep sense of loss despite knowing full well the educated, but untrained, as well as the public at large, were ignorant of matters scientific and couldn't care less.

On 13 May Lima's *El Comercio* published a note that the ruins of Chavín de Huántar were being threatened by heavy rains (Anonymous 1934kk) and on 21 May it published a report in which it was noted that these ruins were in a state of complete abandonment (Flores 1934).

Two days later, the following was published in *The West Coast Leader*:

Commencing May 13th, Peruvian Airways Division of Pan American Grace Airways inaugurated a service of weekly flights from Lima direct to Cusco, leaving Lima at 6 a.m. on Sundays and arriving in Lima on Mondays at 10.30 a.m. Flying time between the two cities is approximately three hours, with a maximum elevation reached of some 16,000 feet. The new service is designed especially to handle tourist traffic in connection with the Cusco Fourth Centenary celebration (Anonymous 1934ll).

Señor José de la Riva-Agüero, President of the Council and Minister of Justice, tendered his resignation last Saturday. . . . As on the two previous occasions President Benavides has looked elsewhere than to the ranks of the professional politicians for the man to form the new Ministry. The choice has fallen upon Dr. Alberto Rey de Castro, an Arequipa lawyer of long standing. Like . . . Dr. de la Riva-Agüero, Dr.

Rey de Castro has never previously taken part in active political life though he did serve in various diplomatic capacities abroad. The new Prime Minister, who is to arrive in Lima from Arequipa at the end of this week, has made no change in the Cabinet. . . . He himself will assume the portfolio of Justice and Education formerly held by the retiring Premier (Anonymous 1934mm).¹⁴⁶

Like Tello, Valcárcel made use of Lima's *El Comercio* to reach a general audience in issues published on 9–10 May in which he presented his initial report on the work being done in the Department of Cusco that he illustrated with half a dozen photographs (L. Valcárcel 1934b). Unlike Tello, however, Valcárcel had at his disposal the resources of the National Museum. Hence, he published this same report, dated 1 May, in the first issue of the museum's journal, and the following is based upon this latter publication:

Valcárcel reported that work was being done at Sacsayhuaman and other locations in Cusco and its immediate vicinity, at Ollantaytambo, Pikillacta (Map 9), Machu Picchu, and at other locales outside the city. He provided brief descriptions of the work being done at each, focusing primarily on Sacsayhuaman, and followed this with lists of sixteen general and fifteen

specific conclusions, respectively. Among the former were that nearly everything encountered belonged to the Inca culture, there having been found only a little evidence for exotic artifacts; that the idea that there had been a distinct period of megalithic architecture was not supported, rather Inca architecture could be subdivided into two or three distinct types or styles; and that the superposition of these styles did not necessarily signify the superposition of cultures. Among his specific conclusions were that the so-called fortress of Sacsayhuaman had not been constructed to defend the city of Cusco but, instead, was a fortified area in which to house refugees as well as the Inca elite; that this was an Inca structure; that accounts of the chroniclers regarding its dating were reliable; that the abundance of Inca aqueducts found throughout the department proved that water was considered not only a primal element necessary for life, but that it was also considered as the principal cosmic element of transcendental mysticism (L. Valcárcel 1934i: 181-187).

Valcárcel then provided a very brief discussion of the artifacts that had been found during excavations, concluding with surprisingly small totals for his fifteen distinct categories and subcategories of artifacts that ranged from those made of clay, metal, bone, wood, and stone to human, plant, and animal remains. He ended by noting that numerous individuals had taken part in the accumulation of information, citing some by name (*ibid.*: 187-191).

Unlike the case of the newspaper article, only a single drawing accompanied the above article, but another Valcárcel article published in the same issue of the museum's journal was profusely illustrated. This second article was focused on Sacsayhuaman and it included photographs, architectural plans and renderings, as well as drawings of eighty artifacts. It included selected quotes from chroniclers and from modern researchers who had visited the site. In

¹⁴⁶ "A preliminary agreement on the Leticia dispute in early May 1934 brought an abrupt shift in Benavides' domestic political strategy. An almost total surrender of Peru's demands, the protocol with Colombia was denounced by Riva Agüero. It seemed certain to encounter strong opposition in congress and throughout the nation. On April 30th, the Revolutionary Union had staged a huge rally to commemorate the death of Sánchez Cerro, and its orators demanded that government follow the hard line of the 'martyred president'. Benavides now determined that he would need Aprista co-operation to enlist popular support for the Leticia settlement and that his rightist cabinet would have to be replaced. The president cleverly forced the resignation of Riva Agüero and appointed a new moderate ministry" (Werlich 1978:207).

addition to drawings of individual artifacts, it provided dimensions and brief descriptions of each (L. Valcárcel 1934i).

Beginning 25 May, the first of three articles was published in *El Comercio* regarding the abandonment of the ruins of Paracas. First it was reported that *La Reforma* in Pisco had written that José Valdivia Guillén, the primary employee of the National Museum, had been provided with only the most basic resources for his subsistence, thereby making it impossible for him to live at the site. Furthermore, it was reported that the sub-prefect of the Department had been informed of this lamentable situation and had offered to provide whatever resources were needed (Anonymous 1935nn).

Subsequently, on 27 May, it was noted that the previous day *La Reforma* had published, in a follow-up article, that Valdivia had not received money for his subsistence and had been in a desperate financial situation and this was what had caused him to abandon his post at Paracas and travel to Pisco with his wife. The secretary of the National Museum, it was reported, had issued a disclaimer of sorts stating that Valdivia had received advance money on 2 April, then more money for moving expenses, and that on 22 May he had been sent through the Italian Bank his payment for the first half of May. Despite this attempted disclaimer, however, it was the opinion of the Lima daily that the net result was that Valdivia and his wife had gone hungry from 1–22 May and this had forced them to go to Pisco (Anonymous 1934oo).

The last of the three *El Comercio* articles was published on 28 May and it was also based on what had been published in *La Reforma* the previous day. The essence of the article was that there had been no attempt made by this latter newspaper to denounce the funding source involved, only to point out that the individual involved had been forced to travel to Pisco with

his wife to get food and, as a result, the newspaper had been obliged to make the provincial sub-prefect aware of the situation. He, in turn, had received word via airmail that the situation had been rectified and that the guard would immediately return to his post. The Pisco article had concluded with the statement that the sub-prefect had thanked the newspaper for making him aware of the situation (Anonymous 1934pp).

There was no public response from Tello. Perhaps he felt that it was either unnecessary or would do no good.

Tello was in contact with Means and sometime in 1934 he sent him a summary of his discoveries in the Nepeña Valley (Vega-Centeno 2005:177-178). Likely with this and discussions he had had in Lima with Tello in mind, Means published an article dealing with these discoveries in the 20 May 1934 edition of *The New York Times*. Included was the following:

Today Dr. Tello is a very great student, possessing all the fire and self-devotion of the best type of scientist. Because of his racial heritage, he has a deeper insight into the meaning of the things which he digs up than anybody not of Indian blood can hope to have. To listen to his [sic] talk, whether in his excellent English or in his perfectly modulated Spanish, is to drink a deep draught from the font of knowledge, one that is spiced by a delightful humor. Dr. Tello's recent work has to do with the Chavin culture, which he holds to be both older and more lasting than the Tiahuanaco, which he regards as a subdivision of it. Moreover, he is of the opinion that Chavin art antedates Early Chimú or Muchik [Moche] art, and the discoveries he has made since August seem to support this position (Means 1934:12).

On May 24, the regime publicly announced the signing of the protocol in Rio de Janeiro and a gigantic, “nonpartisan” peace parade was organized to demonstrate the nation’s gratitude to the president. But, as Benavides reviewed the throng from the balcony of his official residence, the marchers unfurled Aprista banners, demonstrating that the parade was largely an APRA affair (Werlich 1978:207-208).

It was sometime in May that Tello accepted an invitation to teach a course on the history of Peru at the Antonio Raimondi College [high school], and this served to augment the limited income derived from his teaching at the Catholic University in Lima (Santisteban 1956:25). At the beginning of June coverage in the Lima press shifted away from Sacsayhuaman. It was reported that the Departmental Board of Archaeology had refused the request of the Cusco Executive Committee to assume oversight of the ruins of Machu Picchu (Anonymous 1934qq). It was also reported that this committee had asked this board to assume oversight of other ruins in the Cusco region (Anonymous 1934rr).

On 3 June Lima’s *El Comercio* published a brief document signed by Rospigliosi dated 14 May. This acknowledged the receipt by the University Council of Antúnez’s report on the “important *ad-hominem*” work he had been commissioned to undertake at Chavín de Huántar and at Tinyash (Map 5) (Rospigliosi 1934).¹⁴⁷ Subsequently, this daily published the results of

¹⁴⁷ “Santiago Antúnez de Mayolo made a trip into the north highlands in 1934. . . . At Huamba and Aija in the upper Huarmey Valley, many stone statues of seated figures with large heads and shields were described and compared with statues in the Callejón de Huáylas. A map of Inca roads in the Callejón and Marañón was made, and photographs of Chavín were taken. In Tinyash, on the Marañón, Dr. Antúnez studied three groups of ruins which had both curved and rectangular stone walls with niches in them. A slab with a relief design of a seated warrior holding a club in one hand suggests some of the plaques of Manabí, Ecuador” (Bennett 1938a:179).

an interview with Antúnez. Specifically, in his answer to a question regarding the importance of the ruins of Chavín, he stated that he had first visited these ruins in 1915, at which time he had made a technical assessment of the damage being done by seasonal rains. As a result, he had asked the local governor to take action. As to the question he was asked about whether the ruins could be reconstructed, he answered, “why not?” While it was beyond the fiscal means of the government and the university to undertake the reconstruction, he pointed out, foreign scientific institutions could help. He then went into a technical discussion of the structural integrity of the ruins, based on his recent visit and indicated that the ruins had become more accessible given the expansion of the rail system from the coastal port of Chimbote to the Callejón de Huáylas and construction of a road in this highland valley (Anonymous 1934ss).

While nothing was stated about the ruins of Tinyash in this notice, Antúnez, in 1941, published a report on his trip in the journal of the *Boletín de la Sociedad Geográfica de Lima*. He noted that after working at the ruins of Chavín, he had explored to the east, in the hope of finding other Chavín period sites. It was along the way that he had first heard about the ruins of Tinyash. He described them as stretching half a kilometer in length along a ridge and consisting of three principal parts, one on the right above the first mound, one on the summit in the center, and a lower one on the left that corresponded to the temple. The central part consisted of a kind of half lunar tower surrounded by a bowed cylindrical wall in front of which was found a tomb divided in half by a stele representing a warrior holding a trophy head in one hand and a staff in the other.

As for the temple, it was described as relatively small, having a pair of lateral towers at the front of which and between which appeared to be small low ornamental hearths all of which was

set on a stone platform. The temple had a basement level and two upper floors and the face of its eastern and southern sides were adorned with small human tenon heads, one of which had been taken to the local hacienda. This head, he added, he brought back to the University of San Marcos Museum of Archaeology, suggesting some interaction between Antúnez and Tello following the expedition (Antúnez 1941:207-216). It should be noted that stone tenon heads decorated the principal structure at Chavín.

On 14 June, a brief report on a recent undated meeting of the National Board was published in Lima. Among other things it was reported that the board had denied a petition by a named individual to undertake excavations in the Nepeña Valley, that it had ordered the regional board in Puno to send to the National Museum gold plates found during excavations in the Province of Sullana, that it had commissioned Valcárcel to conduct an investigation of archaeological sites in Puno, and that it had ordered the National Museum to publish in its journal the results of the inspection undertaken by Valcárcel at the ruins of Churajón in the Department of Arequipa,¹⁴⁸ as well as the results of the work being done in the Department of Cusco (Anonymous 1934tt). Given that the board had ordered the National Museum to publish, it is unclear whether or not this meant that the government would provide extra funding for this purpose. In any case, Valcarcel seems to have continued to receive extraordinary support from the government to achieve his goal of transforming Cusco and its environs into a showcase based on his vision of an idealized Inca past.

¹⁴⁸ Previously reports on work that was done by Valcárcel at the ruins of Churajón had been published in the Lima press (e.g. Anonymous 1933tt, 1933bbb). Churajón is a post-Tiwanaku urban center forty kilometers from the city of Arequipa, discovered in 1931 by Monseñor Leonidas Bernedo Málaga. It comprises occupation zones, *chullpas*, canals, reservoirs, roads, terraces, and standing stones that possibly functioned as a clock or calendar.

Toward the beginning of July, the Lima press focused on the selection of a house in Cusco to serve as the locale for the proposed archaeological institute (e.g. Anonymous 1934uu; Editor 1934d; Pareja 1934). Toward the end of the month Valcárcel published in *El Comercio* the first “chapter of his book” dealing with Cusco as the archaeological capital of South America. Valcárcel’s publication was heavily illustrated, including one photograph each of Machu Picchu, Sacsayhuaman, and the façade of the nation’s Museum of Archaeology, as well as maps of northern South America and the city of Cusco. This published “chapter” served as an invitation to explore the various archaeological sites briefly mentioned in the text and served, as well, to celebrate the uniqueness of Cusco as an archaeological center (L. Valcárcel 1934a).

Valcárcel also published a shorter article in the *Bulletin of the Pan American Union* that included the following:

An Archaeological Institute of Cusco has been established; it now has important collections of objects for scientific study. It hopes for the support of similar American and European institutions, and invites scientists from all countries to undertake research expeditions in Cusco (L. Valcárcel 1934e: 485).

FOCUS ON ANCASH

Around the same time, the following was published in *The West Coast Leader*:

Among passengers arriving by the S.S. Santa Cecilia on the 18th, were Mr. Cornelius Roosevelt, a student at Harvard, son of Colonel Roosevelt, former Governor of Puerto Rico and the Philippines, and the grandson of the late ex-President Theodore Roosevelt; and Mr. Richard Cross, a student at Yale. They are interested in arche-

ological investigations and propose to carry out a survey of the famous Inca wall near Chimbote.¹⁴⁹ They will leave early next week for the latter port accompanied by the well-known Peruvian archaeologist, Julio C. Tello (Anonymous 1934vv).

Roosevelt subsequently wrote:

In 1931, while taking aerial photographs of the Peruvian coast, the Shippee-Johnson Peruvian Expedition discovered an ancient wall running inland from the coast near the Santa Clara hacienda parallel to, and a short distance north of, the Santa River. They followed it by plane until they lost it about thirty miles from the coast and also visited it on foot toward its seaward end. It was to further investigate this remarkable wall that Richard Cross and I went to Peru during the summer of 1934 (Roosevelt 1935:21).

Two years before, the above noted Lima weekly had published the following:

¹⁴⁹ "Among the most interesting discoveries made by the recent Shippee-Johnson Peruvian Expedition was that of a great wall. . . . The wall was discovered in the course of explorations by airplane, and, although its existence was vaguely known by some of the natives, it has until now escaped the attention of the many archaeologists who have worked for years in this region. This is explained by the fact that from the ground only small sections of the wall can be seen at one time, and these appear to be merely part of the ruins of the many elaborate fortifications scattered over the region. Only when seen from the air does the wall show its true nature and extent. The aviators followed the wall from its beginning about six miles from Chimbote on the coast to a point some forty miles inland, where it was lost in the poor light of a foggy afternoon; its actual extent is unknown. When later examined in small part from the ground, it was seen to average about seven feet in height; it apparently was originally about twelve or fifteen feet in height and about the same in thickness at the base. Built of broken rocks set with adobe cement, its outer surface is so well chinked with small stones as to be practically unscalable without ladders. At irregular intervals on both sides of the wall, but at short distances from it, are a series of small forts, of which fourteen were seen" (Anonymous 1932v: 7).

Dr Tello, a leading authority on the Inca and pre-Inca civilizations states that he had never heard of the long wall in the narrow upper valley of the Santa River until it was photographed and reported by the Shippee-Johnson Expedition. It is hoped that he will be able to make a careful examination of this long wall, and investigate its numerous forts in the near future (Wheeler 1932).

By the same token, the following had been published in *The New York Times*:

Dr. Julio C. Tello, director of the University of San Marco's archaeological museum in Lima, professed ignorance of the wall and said that he had been unable to find any one among the residents of the lower Santa Valley who knew anything about it (Anonymous 1932a).

This latter quote suggests that Tello had looked into the matter after notice of the discovery, but it is unknown if he and/or one of his employees actually visited Santa at this time.

In any case, Tello was given an opportunity to satisfy his scientific curiosity with the arrival of the two American students. However, Tello, as the following quote from Roosevelt attests, was at that time on the verge of beginning his travel to Chavín:

One of the first things that we did was to call on Dr. Julio C. Tello, the eminent Peruvian archaeologist. We discussed our plan with him and learned that he was just about to start on a trip in the same general direction. It was his intention to go eventually to Chavín de Huántar. . . . As Cross and I were equipped with good cameras, flashlight apparatus, etc., Dr. Tello invited us to accompany him as his photographers. He agreed to spend a week investigating

the wall. We rented a large touring car, equipped with giant balloon tires for desert travel, and left for Lima on July 24, 1934 (Roosevelt 1935:21).

According to Cross's unpublished travel diary,¹⁵⁰ he and Roosevelt first met with Tello on the night of 18 July and found him quite pleasant and agreeable to their plan to join his expedition. The driver picked them up at 7:30 in the morning of 24 July and, after picking up Tello, they finally left Lima about two hours later. They had lunch on the roadside and reached Huacho at about five in the afternoon and there they spent the night at the Hotel Italia.¹⁵¹

In his travel diary Roosevelt remembered things a little differently.¹⁵² The driver arrived at seven o'clock, they loaded all their "junk", they went to Tello's house and found him waiting with a duffle bag, and then picked up the boy helper Juan and a tape measure before heading out of Lima about eight. They stopped along the way and bought enormous hot dogs at a roadside stand. Their vehicle was a large Hudson touring car without a muffler that made for very noisy climbs up steep hills. The driver exhibited extraordinary skill in navigating the desert and they never got stuck. While they had planned to travel as far as Paramonga, it took them until five in the afternoon to get to Huacho so they called the Hacienda Paramonga from there and

¹⁵⁰ A member of the Cross family sent a copy of this diary to Donald A. Proulx in 2004 who, in turn, kindly provided me with a copy.

¹⁵¹ The Hotel Italia was apparently not then the choice of tourists. "Good food and modern beds may be found at the Hotel Pacifico at Huacho, which city makes a satisfactory headquarters from which to take daily excursions" (Anonymous 1932q).

¹⁵² Steven Wegner kindly provided me with a copy of this diary in 1994.

said they would not be arriving as had been planned.¹⁵³

Soon after getting on the road the morning of 25 July they stopped to take pictures of a great wall:

which starts at the sea and runs into the hills. No one has yet investigated its course or end. The wall is a well built shell of big adobe blocks with its center filled with carefully laid small, rough stones. It stands about nine or ten feet in height at the present time, with a base ten or twelve feet wide. Sections are beautifully preserved, although many blocks have been removed for building purposes (*ibid.*).

It is unknown whether Tello visited this wall during one or both of his visits to Huaura in 1933. It seems likely, however, that Tello took advantage of his "photographic team" to visit and record this extraordinary archaeological relic.

According to Roosevelt's field diary, they then drove to the Paramonga Hacienda where they were provided with a Ford car and drove to visit the nearby large brick "Fortress of Paramonga" that Tello felt instead served as a temple because it lacked the characteristic features of a defensive structure. Unfortunately, a large carved stone over the main entrance that Tello may have seen in 1933 was no longer in evidence. The team had their picture taken at this place by one of the ubiquitous and dogged

¹⁵³ "In commemoration . . . of the fourth anniversary of the abolition of road tolls throughout Peru, the asphalted section of the Pan American Highway from Lima to Paramonga, a distance of 200 kilometres, was formally inaugurated. . . . In addition, work is well advanced on the section running to the port of Huarmey. . . . North of Huarmey and as far as the ports of Casma, Chimbote and Salavarry, work is in active progress in several sectors" (Anonymous 1939). Hence, travel from Lima to Chimbote in 1934 was on unpaved roads.

tourist photographers. After having lunch at the hacienda, they then continued the drive northward toward Huarmey, first stopping at the Cerro de Huaca cemetery. There Tello found some sherds in the upper layer of exposed burials and they took photographs of some deformed human skulls evidencing copper stains in the oral cavity.

Arriving in Huarmey, they found a decent hotel that the students considered amazingly cheap. News of Tello's arrival quickly spread and an individual came to offer a painted leather drum for sale. It was the first such drum found in an "Inca" tomb and Tello's interest was greatly piqued and serious bargaining between him and the owner began immediately. When the students went to bed, Tello was hastily sketching and the bargaining remained ongoing.

Unfortunately the owner refused to part with it save at an exorbitant price. It measured about a foot across, and except for a tear in one face it was in perfect condition, with the colors red, yellow, and blue—as brilliant as when they were painted, a truly unique specimen (*ibid.*: 23).

As Roosevelt remarked in his diary, immediately after breakfast he had the opportunity to photograph the drum while Tello distracted the owner. Despite the fact that Tello had gotten the sale price down to twelve pounds from the original forty, the price was still too high and Tello left Huarmey extremely disappointed.

According to Roosevelt's diary, they next drove to the ruins of Chanquillo in the Casma Valley that Tello had visited on more than one occasion in 1933 and once again the students took lots of photographs. They then drove on to a hotel in Chimbote without making a stop in the Nepeña Valley. During the next four days, from 27 July to 30 July, they explored the Santa wall from Santa Clara near the coast up the

valley as far as Tanguche (Map 5).¹⁵⁴ Tello discovered evidence for conical adobe at both locales.¹⁵⁵

Then it was on to the highlands. On the morning of 30 July, they took the train as far as Huallanca (Map 5)¹⁵⁶ and there they made

¹⁵⁴ An unpublished monograph by Tello, based on his 1934 exploration of the Santa wall, is included in the University of San Marcos Museum of Archaeology Tello Archive (C. Valcárcel 1966:66).

¹⁵⁵ Tello (1938) identified two Chavín temples in the Santa Valley, Inka Pampa, two kilometers to the northeast of Hacienda Guadalupito (Map 7), and Ipuna, higher up in the valley. Presumably these are the two conical adobe sites that he discovered in 1934 in the company of Cross and Roosevelt.

¹⁵⁶ "Going up the valley, the railway line seems to divide the cultivated fields on the right from the scrub-dotted sand hills on the left. Banana trees are plentiful, but there is hardly any other fruit. The countryside looks poor, the fields unkempt, and the huts of the most remarkable description, a few being made of corn stalks. Cultivation around Chimbote only dates a few years back when an arrangement was made with Tambo Real that some water should be allowed to pass for the irrigation of the land. Here and there grow patches of flowers, and donkeys are everywhere. . . . Indian corn, cotton and bananas seem to be the principal products, the hedges are made up of piled-up brushwood; a striking sight is the long aqueduct that crosses the valley. Crouching on a rocky hillock the ruins of Castillo. . . . Passing a large canal we crawled up a sandy, rock-strewn river bed flanked by hills of blue-black rock, and then we met the Santa valley, the train running through green fields to Vinzos station. On and up the valley, the Santa sprawling along on its water bed. In a little station water was being pumped up into the railway tank by means of a windmill. Occasionally we saw goats or sheep, but on the whole animals are scarce. A hanging bridge spans the river at Tablones, and soon after we began to pass little knots of men engaged in washing the sands of the Santa for gold, their scattered camps dotting the river banks up to the place where the Rio Negra empties into the Santa. Really black are waters of the Rio Negra. . . . They carry gold, and there are important gold washings some way beyond Chuquicara. At Chuquicara the train stops for half an hour, to allow time for lunch. . . . We followed the course of the Santa between high rock walls that shut out the air, the train crossing and recrossing the river on steel bridges. Tunnels and bridges along this section give the line

arrangements to be driven to Caraz (Map 7)¹⁵⁷ in the Callejón de Huáylas.¹⁵⁸

In the meantime, Mejía had been busy following Tello's instructions to continue the excavations in Nepeña. He and the young student, Julio Noriega, left Lima on 26 July and were driven to the valley, arriving at Huacho just after four in the afternoon. Like Tello and his party, they stayed at the Hotel Italia. They arrived in Nepeña the following day and learned that young Ayulo Pardo had replaced Harrison as manager of the Hacienda San Jacinto. On 28 July, Carlos Fonseca, who had been in charge of overseeing the Nepeña sites since February, left for Lima. Mejía and Noriega visited Cerro Blan-

a faint resemblance to the Central Railway. Mouths of mine tunnels gaped from the hillside at Mirador. Women came to the train at all stations selling oranges, sweet limes and 'granadillas'. . . . Alfalfa takes the place of cotton, and the fields are fenced by stone walls. Then, hidden among the towering mountains, we came upon the tin-roofed, white-washed station of Huallanca" (Anonymous 1934ttt).

¹⁵⁷ "The motor road from Huallanca to Caraz runs through the spectacular Cañon de Pato, passing en route through a series of tunnels with ever at the bottom the Santa river foaming along and cutting its way through massive walls of rock. Caraz is a pleasant and clean little mountain town with a plaza with pine trees rearing their heads at the corners and the usual mixture of palms and flowering shrubs. There are plenty of benches, a fountain, and a bandstand. . . . The plaza is dominated by the sharp contours and glistening white peak Huandoy (6400 metres)" (Anonymous 1937:16).

¹⁵⁸ "The Callejon de Huaylas is a peculiar freak of nature some 80 miles long by 15 miles broad and say 4 miles deep, and formerly appeared to have no outlet for humans since it is closed on the south by the meeting of two high mountain chains on the north by the turbulent Santa river which has cut a deep precipitous gash between the high smooth walls where the rumbling stream buffets its way through the Cañon del Pato or 'Duck Gulch', since these birds seem to be the only ones to navigate it unless one included the condors or turkey buzzards that circle far overhead: but man never found passage along its banks. Some 70 years since, two Peruvian capitalists obtained a concession for a railway through the Callejon to enter the promised land" (Anonymous 1936c: 14).

co on 29 July and found things to be as they had been the previous December. They began excavations anew there the following day with the help of two laborers. Among the more interesting discoveries during the first few days of this work was a fragment of a stylized adobe feline face found in the fill. They continued to find conical adobes as well as evidence that walls had been painted with red, white, and black colors.

On 3 August the young student Juan Sánchez arrived from the Santa Valley. Mejía received a wire from Huaraz that had been sent by Tello in which he was asked if he could send Noriega to the highlands via Chimbote. The following day Mejía and Noriega traveled to the megalithic ruins of Paredones in the upper valley (Vega-Centeno 2005:119-123), possibly under instructions to do so by Tello. On 6 August Mejía and Noriega returned to work at Cerro Blanco and the neighboring Moche ruins of Pañamarca while Sánchez left for Lima (*ibid.*: 123). At least at this time, Noriega stayed in Nepeña.

It appears that "young Juan" did not make the trip to Caraz with Tello and the two American students, a trip that especially impressed these students once they had left the train. Roosevelt later wrote:

The road from Huallanca to Caraz is a marvel of engineering, piercing the hills by means of 43 tunnels and winding its way up impossible slopes. In Caraz we stopped long enough to photograph some of the peculiar carvings that were gathered in several collections and built into many of the houses. One large stone was used as a bench in the plaza, with the carved side underneath. We were unable to see the nature of the carving, but Dr. Tello hoped on his return to prevail on the mayor to overturn the rock (Roosevelt 1935:32-33).

According to Roosevelt's journal they had arrived at Caraz on 31 July and after breakfast the following day they went to the home of Dr. Augusto Soriano and took many photographs of his interesting pottery collection. Following that they took many shots of the various carved stone monoliths, principally heads, which were scattered throughout the city. Then they spent a lot of time trying to overturn the above-mentioned stone bench and stopped only after the two students had prevailed upon Tello to do so. This laborious task had taken so long that they almost postponed their trip to Huaraz but finally left shortly before noon. Stopping only for a quick lunch, they made it to Huaraz late in the afternoon and Tello immediately set off to find some friends and came back about two hours later followed by "half the town".¹⁵⁹

As Roosevelt explained it, Tello's arrival had caused quite a stir and a special meeting of the aldermen was convened to give him a reception. They then all went to collect the students and then went to the town hall where the mayor was waiting. There followed many speeches and a resolution was passed thanking Tello for his visit. According to Cross's diary they finally had dinner at 9:30, presumably at the Hotel Geneva where they stayed.

We spent the next two days taking photographs of the monoliths in the vicinity of

¹⁵⁹ "Huaras is a thriving city of some 15,000 inhabitants" (Anonymous 1937b: 16). "A wide road with some very fine country homes leads into the town, and there is a fine avenue near which is the tennis court, but from that we turned into the impossibly narrow streets of Huaras. So narrow indeed that a car fills them to the exclusion even of pedestrians. . . . White walls, red tiles, quaint little balconies; steep, crooked, cobbled streets. . . . Indians shuffle through the streets and plazas, taxis wind and twist through the narrow thoroughfares, donkeys, usually loaded with firewood jostle the pedestrians. . . . Although most of the homes have neither drains nor running water the town has water pipes and many fountains from which the poorer people carry their supplies, and drains in covered stone causeways run the length of the streets" (Ward 1934).

Huaraz. There was an especially fine collection gathered at the hospital, and another group was built into an old Spanish building, the Pantheon Vieja. Most of the monoliths are three or four feet in height and are carved from gray granite or a bluish stone. With few exceptions they represent men either standing or squatting. . . . Many of them hold shields on one arm and on the other a human head with the hair hanging down. In the Pantheon Vieja we found several carved slabs representing animal figures – pumas . . . generally with a human figure beside them. Many of the monoliths, because of their convenient size, had been used to build steps across the little roads winding up the hills. Others were still buried in the fields just as they were originally placed, four of them often forming a square (*ibid.*: 33).

Tello had seen most, if not all, these sculptures of the post-Chavín Recuay culture during his 1919 university-sponsored expedition and he subsequently used painstakingly created drawings of them to illustrate his 1923 opus on religion in ancient Peru. Ever the opportunist, he took advantage of his young traveling companions to create a photographic archive of this unique collection of stone idols. According to Roosevelt's diary, such was Tello's interest that the partially buried steles were dug up to be photographed even to the extreme that no care was given to digging up streets or endangering individual homes in this quest.

On 3 August they explored the site of Kekamarca (Map 7) outside the city.¹⁶⁰

¹⁶⁰ "Kekamarca . . . East of Huaraz on a ridge. . . is a rock outcrop with several natural flat terraces augmented by artificial stone terraces. The ruins are extensive and consist of terraces, walls, and some delimited rooms, rectangular in shape and about 7 by 2 meters or smaller. The walls are made of double facings of stones filled and chinked with smaller stones. . . . A large granite block, 2.5 meters long, 1 meter wide, and 50 centimeters thick, has a relief figure cut

While we were picking our way through the rambling ruins...we passed a large rectangular slab of granite. . . . We paused to examine it. Scraping a little of the dirt from underneath the stone, Dr. Tello inserted his hand and felt rough carving on the underside. Men and crowbars were sent for, a trench was dug, and after four hours of concerted effort the stone was rolled over. . . . The rock was about nine feet long, four feet wide, and twelve inches thick. Carved on it was a life-size figure of a god . . . the first of its kind found in the Santa Valley, and one of the largest in all Peru (*ibid.*: 33/36).

In his diary Roosevelt wrote that Tello was "wildly excited" about the find and they wet the stone to darken the edges of the carving to facilitate taking pictures.

This proved to be the final day of research in and around Huaraz. The expeditionary team then traveled to the Hacienda Olleros (Map 7), being driven by its owner Juan Caceras. There he provided horses for their sojourn to the ruins of Chavín de Huántar (*ibid.*: 36). By now the team had grown to include the young Catholic priest Soriano Infante, the physician Pedro Vega, and a young lad who was to help Tello with the making of plaster casts at the site. Tello had intended to take both of the students to this famous ruin but, according to both diaries, Cross became ill with flu-like symptoms and, after making arrangements for his care, Tello and the remainder of his team left for Chavín the next morning, Sunday 6 August.

Two brief reports both dated 3 August were included in a short article dealing with Tello's travels that was published in Lima's *El Comercio*

the following day. One report from Huaraz said that Tello had arrived with students from Yale and Harvard, that they had been accorded a solemn reception, that the municipality had declared Tello an honored guest, and that Tello and his companions intended to travel to Chavín, Huari, and Huánuco (Map 1). The second report originated at Chavín where it said the locals eagerly anticipated the arrival of Tello and his two companions. Tello was referred to as an illustrious man of science and the ruins of Chavín de Huántar were said to be in a lamentable state of abandonment (Anonymous 1934ww). In addition to wire service, it should be noted that Huaraz and the other towns of the Callejón de Huáylas were at this time connected by long distance telephone with Lima (Ward 1934).

Although Roosevelt noted in his diary that they had experienced a strong wind and a snow-storm at the summit of the high sierra, the crossing over into the lowlands was essentially unremarkable and the group arrived that same day. As it had been in Huaraz and elsewhere in the Callejón de Huáylas, Tello's arrival created a stir. A wire report from Chavín dated 6 August was published on 7 August in *El Comercio*. It was reported that Tello, the director of the Institute of Archaeology, had arrived the previous day accompanied by Soriano Infante, the president of the Archaeological Society of Ancash, and his nephew, the physician Pedro Vega Gamarra. No mention was made of Roosevelt. The report went on to say that Tello had been reserved when asked for an interview by the United Press correspondent, saying only that he felt it necessary to explore and deeply study the ruins of Chavín de Huántar that were so famous, adding that the ruins were a testament of a singular and primitive American culture. The report closed with the statement that the exploratory and investigative work would begin immediately (Anonymous 1934xx).

on its convex face. The figure represents a male with raised hands of five fingers each, and separated legs with five-toed feet. Features are in relief, the mouth being rectangular with incised teeth" (Bennett 1944:12-13).

In addition to this wire report, the following was published in the 7 August edition of *The West Coast Leader*:

Dr. Julio C. Tello, well known Peruvian archaeologist arrived on the 6th inst., at Chavín, Department of Ancash, to carry on research work in the famous pre-Inca ruins near that point. He was accompanied by Drs. Soriano Infante and Pedro Vega Gamarra, of the Institute of Archaeology of Ancash and by Mr. Cornelius Roosevelt, grandson of the late President Theodore Roosevelt and Mr. Richard Cross, students at Harvard and Yale, respectively, who are making an archaeological vacation trip to Peru (Anonymous 1934yy).

Either the news that Cross had been left at Huaraz was unknown or it had been decided for some reason not to mention this fact.

In any case, we have Roosevelt's journal as a source for what the team did next. The following morning they went to the ruin and Tello had Roosevelt take lots of photographs. After lunch Roosevelt and Soriano explored the subterranean galleries at the site and Roosevelt took more photographs, especially of a monolith carved in the form of a feline god that was known as the Lanzón because of its lance-like shape. The following day Roosevelt returned to the galleries to take more photographs. He also took pictures of the ruins from above, as well as shots of some individual carved stones at the site. In the meantime, Tello and his assistant struggled to make plaster casts of some of the carved stones. The night of 7 August was the last for Roosevelt at Chavín and the following morning he began his return trip to Huaraz.

On 8 August *El Comercio* updated its readership on Tello. This consisted of a wire report dated 7 August in which it was stated that Tello had arrived the previous afternoon, in the com-

pany of the members of the archaeological commission and the United Press correspondent. The report went on to state that Tello had undertaken an interesting visit to see much of the ruins, including many of the subterranean compartments. Tello had said that the great monolith found there represented the blood-thirsty demon-god and that it was the most important monolith yet found at the site. Saying that he hoped to make new subterranean discoveries, Tello then called attention to the calamitous state and abandonment of the ruins. Tello stated that a complete series of photographs were being taken of the site and that he hoped that they would serve to amplify the importance of the studies that he had made on Chavín civilization. It was reported that the nephew of the current president of the United States was exploring the ruins with Soriano Infante, while Tello and Vega, the director of Astrology [sic] of the Institute of Archaeology of Ancash were engaged in making molds of monoliths (Anonymous 1934zz).

The following day this Lima newspaper published two United Press reports from Chavín dated 8 August. In the first, it was stated that after days of work, Tello had declared on 7 August that the primitive [old] Chavín civilization was widespread and that it was advanced in the arts. He had stated that the Lanzón stone idol found in the interior of the ruins of Chavín was the most important known in the Americas.

Included in this report was the statement that Roosevelt, a Harvard student and nephew of the current president of the United States, who had served as the photographer of the expedition, and who had worked incessantly in the interior of the ruins for 86 hours, had begun his journey back to the United States. The second report stated that at five in the afternoon of 8 August Tello gave a well-attended talk at the locale of the municipal council. It was reported that work would continue at the ruins

and its focus would be on an exploration of the subterranean chambers (Anonymous 1934aaa).

Readers in Lima were kept abreast of what was happening at Chavín with yet another United Press report dated 10 August. It was stated that Tello had worked hard all the previous day and had made molds of the great Lanzón idol found in an interior chamber, something that was truly unique in the world of science. This mold, it was noted, would justifiably call the attention of the nation to this idol when it was reconstructed and exhibited in Lima. While it was stated that nothing of importance had been found to date, it was also noted that Soriano and Vega had dedicated themselves to the collection of pottery and other artifacts (Anonymous 1934bbb).

Tello would have strongly disagreed with the assessment that nothing of great importance had resulted from the work at Chavín. He later wrote that, while he had been profoundly disturbed by the damage caused by water at the site since his last visit in 1919, he had been pleasantly surprised when he had inspected a newly exposed section and saw sherds of the Chavín type in its deepest layers (Tello 1960:84). This was at a locale that he designated Edifice E, at the southern end of the ruins where the river had cut into the site (*ibid.*, figure 5, page 66). Specifically, well-polished jet black sherds without decoration and red sherds with incised and stamped decoration were found (*ibid.*: 29). Such pottery had never before been found in the highlands and, especially, at Chavín. With the help of young students from the nearby school, ninety sherds were collected on 7 August (*ibid.*: 89). In addition, 797 more sherds and 15 stone artifacts were found at the ruins, both on the surface and beneath it (*ibid.*: 314).

On 13 August, this daily published a short article based on a United Press report dated the day before. It was stated that after a week of

work at Chavín, Tello and Vega had left for the Department of Huánuco and toward the Marañón River. The author of the report, it was stated, had the opportunity to speak with Tello before he left and Tello had indicated that he planned to return the following Saturday, given time constraints. Furthermore, he stated that he planned to focus on gathering information on the different and important prehistoric ruins to be found on the Marañón and, especially, at “La Tinya” [Tinyash] where he felt the most primitive American civilization was to be found. It was also stated in this report that Soriano Infante had completed his stay at Chavín and was leaving that day for Huaraz (Anonymous 1934ccc).¹⁶¹

On Monday 14 August, Mejía received a telegram that Tello had sent the previous day, in which he stated that he was going to the Marañón and would return on Saturday 18 August. Work continued at Cerro Blanco. On 18 August Noriega traveled to Jimbe high up in the valley (Vega-Centeno 2005:132-134).¹⁶² Whether Mejía had been instructed by Tello to send him there is unknown but it seems clear that Tello wanted the work to focus both on a reconnaissance of all megalithic sites in the valley and excavations at Cerro Blanco.¹⁶³

Tello’s plans for a relatively quick trip did not pan out. It was not until 24 August that *El Comercio* published a brief United Press report from Chavín dated the previous day, in which it

¹⁶¹ “Messrs. Cornelius Roosevelt and Richard Cross, American students who have been visiting pre-Incaic remains in the north in company with Dr. Julio C. Tello, Peruvian archaeologist, arrived by Faucett line plane on the 12th inst., from Chimbote” (Anonymous 1934ddd).

¹⁶² Jimbe is at 9°1' S, 78°8' W, approximately twenty kilometers NNE of Paradones.

¹⁶³ “Among passengers sailing by the m.v. Santa Inez north last week were . . . Mr. Cornelius Roosevelt and Mr. Richard Cross” (Anonymous 1934eee).

was stated that Tello was expected to arrive that afternoon, after having made a detailed study of the important prehistoric ruins of the region (Anonymous 1934ggg).¹⁶⁴ A United Press report dated 24 August provided more information. After an exploration lasting twelve days, Tello and Vega had returned. Tello, it was reported, had expressed great pleasure regarding their explorations and had said they were at the ruins of Chavín to continue investigations there. It was stated that they were going the next morning to San Marcos (Map 5) where there were prehistoric ruins (Anonymous 1934hhh).¹⁶⁵

Then it was reported in this daily that Tello had given another talk at Chavín the night of 24 August on the topic of the Chavín civilization, in which he had classified the ruins of Chavín as the most important of that ancient and extensive American culture. In this talk he referred to the marvelous folklore that existed—folklore that was unequaled or imitated by any other culture. He stated that, above all, this culture was admirable for its physical art that extended to the shores of the Pacific and into the valleys of the Amazon. Chavín, he said, represented the highest level of culture that man had achieved in the Americas and he strongly urged the people

¹⁶⁴ Tello later reported that he photographed a stone sculpted with a figure in the Chavín style at a private residence on the Hacienda Pomacocha (Map 7). Natives there had said that the object had been taken from ruins near other ruins named Olayan and Yura-yako (Map 7; Tello 1960:246). The accompanying drawing (*ibid.*: Figure 81, page 247) is said to be of a mythological warrior holding a trophy head and beneath is written the name Yaro Wilka apparently indicating that this was the name of the originating site. Yura-yako is approximately sixty kilometers east-northeast of Huaraz.

¹⁶⁵ The following was published in the 21 August 1934 edition of *The West Coast Leader*: “A sale of South American antiquities was held at Sotheby’s, London, recently. . . . Among a collection of Peruvian gold objects [was] . . . an unusually tall Chinese [Chimú] beaker in gold in the form of a head with prominent nose, from the coastal region of Huarmey received particular attention and was finally sold for 135 [pounds]” (Anonymous 1934fff).

to protect the nearby ruins because they constituted a glorious reminder of their ancestors. This report ended with the statement that Tello was now to be found in San Marcos, while Vega was working at Chavín (Anonymous 1934iii).

Two final United Press reports on Tello’s daily activities were published during the month of August. In the first, dated 27 August, it was stated that Tello and Vega had begun their return trip to Lima by way of Recuay and that Tello thought he would first visit some sites in the Callejón because these sites were very similar to Chavín sites. It was reported that the day before, Tello had thanked the public and the mayor of Chavín for the way he had been received during his stay. Finally, it was reported that in the community there was a marked interest in what Tello had to say about his archaeological work in the region (Anonymous 1934jjj).

In the second report, sent from the town of San Marcos and dated 30 August, it was stated that the noted archaeologist Tello had studied the ruins of Chavín and Tinyash¹⁶⁶ in the Province of Marañón and had taken photographs and made molds at these important sites. It was also stated that Tello and Vega had traveled the previous day to the Callejón de Huáylas where they planned to continue their studies (Anonymous 1934mmm).¹⁶⁷

Tinyash was the name of the ruin that Antúnez had visited earlier in the year and it is unknown whether Tello directly or indirectly obtained access to information about this site prior to beginning his exploration in July.

¹⁶⁶ Tello was also reported to have worked at the ruins of Chichipón (Map 7; Mejía 1967: xvi).

¹⁶⁷ “At a meeting of the Peruvian Touring Club held on August 29th, the new Board of Directors was elected for the coming twelve months. . . . The following are the Chairmen of the different committees of the Touring Club . . . Archaeology: Sr. Julio C. Tello” (Anonymous 1934ooo).

On 29 August the American archaeologist Alfred Kidder and American anthropologist and historian Philip Ainsworth Means met in Boston to discuss organizing a large group of people, including amateurs, whose purpose would be to promote archaeological and historical research in Peru. At Kidder's request, Means prepared a memorandum, a copy of which is included in the archives of the Harvard University Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology. According to this memorandum, dated 6 September, a group tentatively to be known as the "Friends of Peruvian Studies" was to be incorporated. Basic principles of the policy of the group would be three-fold: collaboration with the National Board of Archaeology and History, fostering the work of Peruvian researchers, and turning over to the board all recovered artifacts.

It is unknown to whom this memorandum was sent. Neither is it known the degree of success Kidder and Means had in generating interest in their proposed Peruvian support group. The absence of any known result, however, suggests that the idea of creating the "Friends of Peruvian Studies" did not generate the required interest. In any case, the fact that no mention was made in the memorandum of Valcárcel or the National Museum is noteworthy. Instead, the National Board and Tello were mentioned and the fact that Means admitted in the memorandum that he had experienced limited success in getting funding to help Tello since his return from Peru clearly implies that he wanted Tello to be a recipient of research funding.

The very end of August and the beginning of September saw a striking shift for readers of *El Comercio* in Lima from a focus on reports on Tello's activities in and around Chavín to a focus on reports on Valcárcel's activities in and around Cusco. At this time there was published the first report on the opening of the new Archaeological Institute in Cusco (Anonymous

1934kkk). It was specifically mentioned that Valcárcel, as director of the nation's Museum of Archaeology, had sent out invitations to attend the opening ceremonies of the institute in the name of the minister of education (Anonymous 1934lll). Then it was reported that Valcárcel had spoken at this solemn opening ceremony and that pamphlets providing information on what had recently been found at Sacsayhuaman were distributed (Anonymous 1934nnn).

Valcárcel later noted that the institute had exhibition salons or halls, including at least three large ones, workshops, offices, storage facilities, a library, and a small apartment for the comfort of guests (L. Valcárcel 1936b: 43).

Finally, a telegram that the National Museum received from its director general was published. In this telegram, Valcárcel wrote that the entire society of Cusco had congratulated him on the opening of the new institute, where there were exhibited paintings by the celebrated artist Alejandro González. After stating how proud he was of being a resident of Cusco that was the Archaeological Capital of South America and that was also a grand center for high study, he concluded by giving thanks to the nation's president and by asking him for a minimal support of thirty thousand soles (L. Valcárcel 1934f). Whether or not the requested funding was for monthly support of the new institute, start-up support for this institute, or additional funding in general for the work in Cusco is unknown.

At present very little public interest has been evinced in the by-elections to fill the twenty-eight vacant seats in the Constitutional Assembly and to elect fifteen Senators to the Upper House. Only in the latter part of this week have leading parties presented the lists of their candidates, the delay being due to the doubt which exists as to whether the elections would take place

on the date fixed, September 20. . . . It may be said that the political complexion of the Constituent Assembly is more pronouncedly pro-government than it ever was in the early days of the constitutional regime of President Sánchez Cerro. . . . In the contest for the vacant Deputyships, the fight will mainly be between the representatives of the National Party and the Aprista Alianza Nacional. It is generally conceded that the Apristas will sweep the board in the Department of La Libertad (six vacancies). But of Lima (five), Loreto (three), Lambayeque (three) and Tacna (two), will be hotly contested. All of these seats were formerly held by Apristas who were deprived of their parliamentary rights last year (Anonymous 1934qqq).

Mejía continued overseeing excavations at Cerro Blanco in the Nepeña Valley and on 2 September a sherd decorated with an incised design in the Chavín style was unearthed there. The following afternoon he received a telegram from Tello saying that he would be arriving at Chimbote via train on Saturday 8 September (Vega-Centeno 2005:158-159).

The final of the series of *El Comercio* reports on Tello's activities in the Department of Ancash was published on 9 September. Sent from Caraz on 8 September, the United Press report stated that he had arrived at this city after having visited the ruins of Tunshuacayo (Tunshucayco) or Incahuain (Map 7) and that he had said that, because he was in a hurry, it would not be possible for him to give a talk (Anonymous 1934ppp). It is known that after returning to the Callejón de Huáylas he worked at the site of Walun near Huaraz (Map 7). He met the hacienda owner Tomás Dextre and together they excavated in Carhuaz the Recuay ruins of Kopa Grande (Map 7) and examined the Recuay tombs at Tullo (Map 7). Dextre had worked at the latter site in 1916 and in 1920 and he had extracted a large collection of artifacts,

some of which had been transferred in 1921 to Tello's care as director of the University of San Marcos Museum of Archaeology (Tello 1942:664-665).¹⁶⁸

To summarize, work by, and on behalf of, Tello in Ancash in 1934 had proven very fruitful for adding to his knowledge of the Chavín culture. Two more Chavín conical adobe sites had been found on the coast in the Santa Valley, Chavín pottery had been found in the Nepeña Valley at Cerro Blanco, and pottery of this culture had also been found at Chavín de Huántar itself. In addition, more monoliths carved with Chavín designs had been found and photographed in and around Chavín de Huántar and Tello now had a photographic record of the ruins of Chavín.

On 13 September the readers of *El Comercio* were notified that Valcárcel was visiting Puno (Map 1), where he was interacting with the principal intellectual and social circles in that southern highland city (Anonymous 1934rrr). A few weeks later, as "Curator of the Peruvian National Museum in Peru and Director of Archaeological Research at Cusco", he published another article including photographs of newly exposed megalithic architecture in *The Illustrated London News*.

In part he wrote:

During the months from February to May this year, new and important discoveries have been made in the Cusco area. Vast structures, terraces, aqueducts, roads, and flights of steps are rising to the surface under the pickaxe of the archaeologist. The

¹⁶⁸ It is unknown when the excavations in Nepeña concluded, the last published field entry by Mejía dating to 7 September 1934 (Vega-Centeno 2005:159) without a subsequent entry that work had ended. It is known, however, that in October that year Tello sent Mejía and Vicente Segura to Chavín de Huántar with instructions to collect more data and to draw up a plan of all the ruins (Tello 1960: 84).

earth is restoring to the contemplation of man the work of past generations, and presents to the student's eyes abundant and valuable material required for reconstructing the life of the past. In the environs of the old capital of the Incas toward the east . . . a very famous sanctuary has been unearthed . . . called Kenko¹⁶⁹. . . . It consists of a rocky group in which natural caverns have been utilized for the making of tombs for the Inca nobility. . . . Towards the east there appeared to be an amphitheatre . . . divided into twenty-two spaces forming wide vaulted niches. On the west, the sacred area was shut off by a duplicate building, consisting of a hall and a lateral vestibule, at the two ends of which opened heavy doors giving access to the amphitheatre. Almost in the centre there stood a great solitary zoomorphic rock (L. Valcárcel 1934h:509).

Valcárcel also had this to say about recent discoveries at Ollantaytambo:

Set against the rocks are two-storey buildings, narrow and high, with a large number of windows. Various tombs were discovered in these buildings. . . . It was the mausoleum of the nobility. . . . Many interesting relics were found: wooden vases highly ornamented with incised geometrical figures, . . . small silver vases, ceramics in the purest Inca style, highly polished stone tiles, bricks, hangings of various kinds, and many other rare articles which are now seen for the first time" (*ibid.*).

On 16 September a report was published in *El Comercio* that dealt with a talk illustrated with photographs that Antúnez had recently given on his trip to Ancash at the School of National Arts. He discussed the ruins of Chavín and

¹⁶⁹ Kenko (Qenqo) is a rock outcrop with associated Inca features about a half a kilometer east of Sacsayhuaman.

Tinyash, and provided plans that he had drawn up for each. He also discussed a subterranean chamber that he had investigated at Katak (Map 7) that he said evidenced drawings of mythological animals of the Recuay culture (Anonymous 1934sss).

On 27 September *El Comercio* published a telegram sent by Valcárcel from Puno the day before. He wrote that during his exploration of the Department of Puno he had learned much that would clarify the relationships between the Tiahuanaco, Cusco, Nasca, Paracas, and Chavín cultures and that he planned to present a report to the National Board. He indicated that the ruins of Pukará represented a site of the first order with stone sculpture and magnificent pottery (L. Valcárcel 1934g).¹⁷⁰

On 10 October a lunch in honor of Antúnez was held in the salon of the Hotel Bolívar. Among the small group of friends and colleagues attending was Jorge Muelle, but not Rospigliosi or Valcárcel (Anonymous 1934uuu). Yácovleff was ill and soon to die (e.g. L. Valcárcel 1934l) and, given that Muelle is reported to have begun serving in the position of chief of the Technical Division at the National Museum in 1934 (e.g. Milla Batres 1986, Volume 6:231), a position that Yácovleff had held, it is possible that Muelle was at least provisionally serving in this role on 10 October. While it is possible that he and Antúnez had established a strong relationship, it is also possible that Valcárcel was still outside Lima and that he asked Muelle to stand in for him as a representative of the National Museum. As for Rospigliosi, it seems unlikely that he and Antúnez had a falling out. It is possible that he was ill, preoccupied with university business, or

¹⁷⁰ In 1932, Valcárcel had published two articles on Pukará in the journal of the National Museum that dealt with mythic themes represented in the stone sculpture at Pukará that he compared with mythic themes painted on Nasca pottery (L. Valcárcel 1932d, 1932e).

perhaps reluctant to attend a function attended by university faculty.

About this time, Tello may have published in the journal of Lima's Catholic University an article in which he detailed his updated thoughts about Peru's prehistory. This was essentially the same paper that he had sent to be presented at the First International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences¹⁷¹ held in London during the period 30 July to 4 August.¹⁷² Tello's conference paper was entitled, "Las inter-relaciones de diversas culturas del Perú", and it was presented on 1 August. The following summary prepared for Tello in London was published later that year:

¹⁷¹ In the United States, early notice of this meeting was published at the beginning of 1933 in the *American Anthropologist* (Editor 1933c: 211). Subsequently, the following was published in this journal at the beginning of 1934: "The First International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences will be held in London, July 30 to August 4, 1934. 'The Congress is designed to include all those departments of research which contribute in the scientific study of man, in their application to races, peoples and modes of life. . . . Subsequent sessions are to be at intervals of four years. The new Congress should thus always meet at two years' interval between Prehistoric Congresses, and always in those years when the Americanist Congress meets in Europe; for example, at Seville in 1934'" (Editor 1934h).

¹⁷² "This congress was particularly remarkable for its large attendance. . . . Attendance was over 1200, representing 40 countries and innumerable institutions; 201 abstracts of papers were printed *before* the meetings. Meetings were held in the classrooms of London University, and special sessions were arranged in museums and private collections. Unfortunately 'Americanists' from the Americas were thinly represented. . . . Undoubtedly the reason Americanists were not present in great numbers is that they have lost interest in such meetings after the collapse of the old and time-honored Congrès Internacionale des Américanistes. Due to the inferior management of the Buenos Aires congress in 1932, and the apparent total abandonment of the Sevilla meeting to be held this year (1934), it is understandable that Americanists should hesitate to spend time and money on long travel" (Blom 1934:636).

The chief archaeological sites of Peru occur in the inter-Andean *hoyas* [basins], the cis-Andean quebradas, and the valleys of the Litoral. In the mountain region there is a common cultural substratum, and the variations observable in it follow without break of continuity, as stages in the development of a single culture. In the Litoral, the remains of the existence of a heterogeneous culture, products of different styles appearing either mixed in the same site, or in adjacent or superimposed deposits.

The inter-Andean *hoyas* show two main stages in the evolution of sculpture and pottery; one archaic and strictly Andean, the other developed, under influences from the Forest region and of agriculture, and marked by a complicated symbolism based on jaguar, serpent, and vulture forms. Both of these phases underlie such above ground structures as the *chullpas* and the fine polychrome pottery.

The development of inter-Andean art takes place in stages; it acquires certain original characteristics in the various *hoyas* in which it took shape, and reaches its highest development first in the Hoya del Marañón, and, afterwards, successively, in the Callejón de Huáylas, and the *hoyas* of the Mantaro, Titicaca, Apurímac, and Urubamba. The styles developed in each of these inter-Andean regions, under the joint influence of environment and religious belief, are the archetypes of all the Peruvian cultures. Peruvian cultures are not merely local or the products of their narrow regional environments, but have assimilated along with it the influence of the other geographical environments of Peru. Thus, in the Litoral the local influence competes with the Forest-Andean influence; in the Sierra, the Forest-Andean

dominates the local Andean, while that of the Litoral is scarcely felt at all.

The art of the Litoral is exceedingly complex, employing raw materials from other regions, and influenced at all stages by the inter-Andean cultures. Its sites, cemeteries and rubbish-heaps are extensive, rich in well-preserved material, and frequently stratified. Evidence from the use of metals, building materials, and technical processes in pottery, burial customs, and cranial deformation, supplements evidence of art in stone and pottery. Never-the-less, the cultures of the Litoral are all related; the varieties which they represent depend on the progress or decadence of their arts in relation to the Andean archetypes which gave them birth, and on the degree in which the local environment has influenced their adaptations of Andean archetypes.

These inter-Andean archetypal cultures spread to the Litoral in successive periods: first, the cultures of Chavín (Hoya del Marañón) and Mantaro which form the first horizon of the Litoral; later, the cultures of Cajamarca, Apurímac and Tia-wanaku, which, joined to the local cultures formed under the influence of the earlier influx, constitute the Middle Horizon; and, lastly, the Inca culture, joined to the cultures subsequently developed, forms the upper stratum" (Aitken 1934:239-240).

Tello's published paper, entitled "Origen desarrollo y correlación de las antiguas culturas peruanas", had no supporting maps or other visual aids, thereby making it difficult to understand then, as today, by all but those intimately familiar with his work over the years. While he did make brief mention of Paracas, and while he did specifically mention discoveries that he had made at Huancayo (Map 1) and at Huari in the Central Highlands and South Central High-

lands, respectively, this paper was very much focused on the highlands of the Department of Ancash.

For example, he referred to the numerous statues he had found in 1919 in the District of Aija, in the Callejón de Huáylas, in the Province of Pallasca and said that they could be classified into four principal types: (1) statues of men and of women standing or seated with legs marked only by clefts without representation of clothing; (2) seated men or women with legs straight and together, with feet connected by talons and with digits directed outward; (3) men or women seated with legs crossed and the male sexual organ represented by a cross; and (4) men or women with feet shown as talons pointed outward and fingers inward (Tello 1934c: 152-153). It was examples of such statues that he was so intent upon having Cross and Roosevelt photograph in the Callejón.

Tello also stated that in the Provinces of Pallasca, Pomabamba, and Huari of the Marañón Basin there existed an archaic culture totally similar to the earliest such found in the Callejón de Huáylas both in terms of stone structures and stone sculptures representing heads of human cadavers and felines, as well as stelas adorned with figures of diverse monstrous beings; giving as an example of structural similarity the style of the subterranean temples of Katak and Chavín de Huántar. Tello pointed out that distinctive pottery with incised designs of the Chavín style had finally been found at Chavín. As for this style, he wrote that in Chavín art the jaguar, the serpent, the condor, and heads of human cadavers played important roles. He also wrote that in Chavín art there was a special sub-style composed of monstrous figures or dragons mixed with aggregated symbols based upon the jaguar (*ibid.*: 156).

It was in his concluding remarks that he stated the development of an inter-Andean art

style could be divided into successive stages, first reaching maximum development (at Chavín) in the Marañon Basin from which it spread to the Callejón de Huáylas and then as far south as the Cusco/Lake Titicaca region and the Cajamarca region to the north. He stated that the manner in which art developed in each region at the impulse of religious beliefs constituted the most important factor in differentiating art in general. Trunks or archetypes of these styles moved to the Pacific Coast in successive periods. The first cultural movement westward was that of Chavín, and the Marañon representative of the first horizon or lowest strata (at Cerro Blanco, for example). Later, the northern Cajamarca, and (southern) Apurímac and Tiahuanaco cultures interacted with local coastal cultures during the Middle Horizon, and lastly the Inca culture united all previously developed cultures (*ibid.*: 168). Tello was here speaking of successive Early, Middle, and Late Horizons.

Two other points should be made. Tello specifically stated that the Recuay culture in the Callejón de Huáylas dated after the Archaic culture there (*ibid.*: 154), and that there existed a very old stone art in the Cusco region and eastward that was similar to the art of central and northern Peru. He also said that the pottery found here, both in form and in decoration, was not like that found in the north, but was instead similar to that found in the Pukará and Lake Titicaca region to the south (*ibid.*: 160).

The Benavides government delayed the election until November and it was predicted that a revolution was coming as a result.

Late in October Haya de la Torre narrowly escaped death when an airplane he had chartered to fly him to Trujillo mysteriously malfunctioned. APRA charged that the government had sabotaged the craft. The national assembly ratified the [Leticia settlement] protocol on November 2. But

the preceding day the regime had announced the sixth postponement of the election—ostensibly to purge 4,000 fraudulent registrations (about one percent of the total) from the voting lists. The predicted Aprista revolt began on November 26, 1934. . . . Informers apparently betrayed the movement in Lima, where police foiled an attempt to capture a military arsenal. A daring plan by a few Apristas to storm the presidential palace and seize Benavides also failed. In the Sierra, government forces turned back a vigorous assault on Huancaayo, but Aprista units captured Ayacucho and Huancavelica after brisk battles with civil guard and army personnel. By the end of the month, however, the government had regained control over both cities (Werlich 1978:208).

Toward the end of 1934 it was reported that the ruins of Chavín were in deplorable condition and that to prevent the destruction of this notable work of the Chavín civilization urgent attention was required (Anonymous 1934yyy). It was reported also that a monolith had recently been discovered in the highlands near Pomabamba in the Department of Ancash (Map 5). This monolith was cut in low relief with the figure of a female symbolizing death and having a feline head, bulging eyes, and an open mouth. Below this figure were said to be seen trophy heads and “hieroglyphic” figures (Anonymous 1934zzz).

TRUJILLO, LIMA, AND CUSCO

At this time, in the Lima press, there was a shift away from articles about Cusco and Chavín and toward those dealing with Lima and Trujillo. Because of the upcoming celebration of the fourth centennial of the founding of the Spanish city of Lima, access to the ruins of Pachacamac and Cajamarquilla to the south and west of the nation’s capital, respectively, began being dis-

cussed in the press (e.g. Editor 1934e, 1934f). There was also news about an upcoming celebration of the fourth centennial celebration of the Spanish city of Trujillo on the North Coast (Editor 1934g). It was proposed in Trujillo that an archaeological conference be held there, that the wall paintings of the Huaca de la Luna at Moche be restored, that some of the decorated walls at Chan Chan be restored, and that the Huaca del Sol be protected from destruction by water (Anonymous 1934vvv). By the same token it was proposed that Riva Agüero preside over this conference and that Tello and Valcárcel be asked to participate (Anonymous 1934xxx). It was also proposed that the city of Trujillo host an archaeological exposition to which noted foreign researchers be invited to attend (Anonymous 1934www).¹⁷³ Finally, at the start of 1935, it was noted that Larco Herrera would be staying in Lima to promote the Trujillo celebration (Anonymous 1935a) and a program published for the official celebration of the Lima Centennial included a 29 January excursion organized by the National Museum to the ruins of Cajamarquilla (Anonymous 1935b).

Perhaps partly with the Lima celebration in mind, Tello began to document some of the major archaeological ruins in and around that city. A number of documents written by Tello on the archaeology of Lima have recently been published, including a short one dated 14 January, 1935 that dealt with his thoughts on ancient religion in the Lima valley (Shady and Novoa 1999:45-46). It seems likely that two other brief documents that were undated, but which also dealt with Lima's precolumbian religion (*ibid.*: 46-49), were also written in this general time period. There was also included an inspection

report on the ruins of Mateo Salado (Map 3)¹⁷⁴ dated 6 January (*ibid.*: 96). A photograph of Huaca Juliana (Map 3),¹⁷⁵ a photograph of Huaca Beatriz (Map 3) on the grounds of the University of San Marcos, three photographs of mounds comprising the ruins of Limatambo (Map 3; *ibid.* 72-79), and three photographs of Huaca Pando (Map 3; *ibid.*: 95), all dated to January 1935, were published. Also recently published is a 1934 photograph of the mound known as Huaca Concha at the site of Maranga (Map 3; *ibid.*: 84) and another one taken at Maranga in 1935 (*ibid.*: 95) suggesting that Tello's attention was drawn to sites in and around Lima earlier, perhaps toward the end of this year.

The photograph of Huaca Beatriz is said to have been taken on property comprising the University of San Marcos School of Agriculture and that this huaca was in the process of being demolished by order of the school's Administrative Council that was headed by Rospigliosi (*ibid.*: 95). This certainly suggests that he and Tello continued to be at loggerheads regarding matters archaeological. This also suggests that Tello was then also focused, in part, on sites in and around Lima because of imminent threats to particular sites. Tello had written an inspection report for the ruins of Mateo Salado and it is

¹⁷⁴ "Pando is made up of five pyramidal structures all of roughly equal size. They are arranged in a rectangle, one on each corner and one in the center and are surrounded by a medium-sized wall, crenellated on two sides. Between the huacas . . . are located various low structures which could have been either living or storage space. . . . The huacas are connected by raised causeways. The whole is a remarkably neat and well-planned layout . . . and appears to have been built as a unit" (Stumer 1954:140).

¹⁷⁵ Huaca Juliana, also called the Huaca Pucllana, is in the Miraflores section of Lima (Aguerto 1984:86). The huaca or mound is long and relatively thin with one end pointed towards the sea. This mound was reported to be associated with a large rectangular walled plaza the dimensions of which were 480 by 70 [meters?] (Middendorf 1973 [1893-1895] Volume 2:72).

¹⁷³ Yacovleff's death was reported in the 20 December, 1934 edition of *El Comercio* (Finn 1934). Subsequently Luis Valcárcel published a tribute to Yacovleff, reporting in the journal of the National Museum that he had died on 16 December (1934f:323-326).

possible that he had done so at the behest of the National Board. Unfortunately, since the Nepeña crisis, press reports in Lima on meetings of this board were few and far between.

“Attacks [by APRA] on Cusco in early December, and Cajamarca a month later . . . failed and troops squashed general strikes in several southern cities” (Werlich 1978:208).

[A] mob of about one hundred peasants launched an attack on the barracks of the Guardia Civil in Cajamarca at 1.30 p.m. on January 6th. The attacking party was headed by a lorry from which the movement was directed by the leader . . . said to be a member of the Aprista party . . . [who] was shot dead. . . . Within an hour and a half of the outbreak the movement was completely suppressed. The casualties amounted to eleven dead, including the police corporal, and ten wounded, of whom four were policemen.

At 1.10 a.m. on January 10th, when the last touches were being put to the morning edition, a bomb placed in the window of the Editor-in-Chief of “El Comercio” exploded with considerable force. The only occupant . . . was . . . a leading member of the Unión Revolucionaria Party. . . . The material damage was relatively small. . . . Investigations are in active process. . . . At the moment of the explosion, a taxi cab was seen careering at full speed up the street. . . . One of the soldiers of the military guard which has been stationed at the entrance of “El Comercio” since a mob attack on the building some two years ago fired several shots from his rifle. . . . Drivers of certain taxi cabs which were in the neighborhood at the time have been arrested. . . . the bomb was loaded with black powder and buckshot” (Anonymous 1935b).

The regime arrested nearly 1,000 Apristas, including many top leaders, but Haya de la Torre eluded capture. . . . Shortly after the suppression of the uprising Benavides secured new legislation that greatly increased his emergency powers and provided harsher penalties for political agitators and persons bearing arms against the government. The regime outlawed both the Aprista and Communist labor federations. . . . Within a month of the uprising all imprisoned Apristas were exiled (Werlich 1978:208).

During February, Tello continued to work at ruins in the Lima Valley and he extended his research northward into the Chillón and Chancay Valleys (Maps 3, 5; Mejía 1948:15). It was in its 1 February edition that *El Comercio* announced that the latest issue of the National Museum’s journal had just come out. Specifically, it was noted that the new issue included two contributions by Valcárcel and that in the first, as editor, he wrote about the founding of Lima, while in the second, he focused on the work that was being done at Sacsayhuaman. As to his latter contribution, Valcárcel was praised in the announcement for his “fastidious annotation” of information that contributed to a better understanding of Inca architecture. This was a work that included plans and photographs that revealed the importance of strategic military constructions and that included a graphic inventory of artifacts recovered during the cleaning of the ruins (Anonymous 1935c).

The newspaper announcement was referring to the third and last issue of the journal for the year 1934. As he had in two previous reports on the work at Sacsayhuaman, Valcárcel gave brief descriptions of sites that had been worked, he provided measurements of walls that had been exposed, and he offered a graphic inventory of select artifacts that had been found, including measurements of each. Specifically, drawings of

sixty artifacts, mostly ceramic, were provided, as well as two site drawings, including a plan of the ruins of Sacsayhuaman. Interestingly he also included at the end of his article two exterior and four interior photographs taken of Cusco's new archaeological institute (L. Valcárcel 1934k).

Subsequently, articles dealing with the grandeur, allure, and precipitous state of the ruins of Chan Chan were published in *El Comercio* (Anonymous 1935d; 1935e; Greslebin 1935). The recent discovery and excavation of a site in the Trujillo area had merited a visit by Valcárcel and had elicited a strong suggestion in the local press that excavations be continued with support from the centennial organizing committee (Anonymous 1935g).

Also published was an article by former Minister of Education Ricardo Rivadeneira (1935) that ended with the statement that the ruins of Chan Chan were being threatened by the destructive force of rain. This was followed by a series of articles by Aurelio Miró Quesada, a member of the family that owned *El Comercio*, that focused on the archaeology of Trujillo. On 27 January, he published an article that included a discussion of the Chiclín Museum owned by the Larco family and directed by Larco Hoyle (Miró Quesada 1935a). Articles he published one and two days later, respectively, dealt with the treasures that had been taken from Chan Chan by the conquering Spanish and from the Huacas del Sol and de la Luna, specifically mentioning the wall paintings at the latter (Miró Quesada 1935b, 1935c).

Tello is reported to have published an article in the 1 March 1935 edition of the Lima daily *La Prensa*. This was a special edition celebrating the founding of Trujillo, and the article included twelve pictures from the "magnificent collection of nearly 800 select specimens of ancient Peruvian art . . . in the National Museum of Archae-

ology in Madrid" (Means 1942). While the nature and extent of this article is unknown, there are suggestions that it was both less controversial and less intellectually deep than those for which he was known. It was published in a special edition that likely included a series of "fluff" pieces. It was published in a conservative daily that emphasized art history, rather than the science of archaeology. Hence, it is not surprising that the article was not included in official Tello bibliographies published immediately after his death (e.g. Espejo 1948a).

It was apparently during this period that Valcárcel became involved with the Trujillo celebration. A series of three wire reports from Trujillo dated 10 April were published in *El Comercio*. In the first, it was stated that the Trujillo daily *La Industria* had just published a long article dealing with the upcoming centennial celebration in the city. It was stated further in this article that Valcárcel had sent to the celebration committee an archaeological plan to deal with the conservation of the city's ruins for the purpose of tourism. The second report provided much more detail. The ruins of Chan Chan and the Huacas del Sol and de la Luna at Moche were specified as requiring attention, as was the July date for the holding of a national archaeological conference at Trujillo. Also mentioned was the plan by the committee to delimit the zone of Chan Chan, to facilitate its study, and the plan to undertake a careful and scientific excavation there and at the Moche huacas with the cooperation of the University of La Libertad. Finally, in the third wire, it was reported that a history teacher at this university had sent a letter to *La Industria* in which he insisted upon verification of the demarcation of the Chan Chan zone using students of the city's university (Anonymous 1935i).

In fact, as in the case of the Cusco centennial celebration, Valcárcel appears to have become the public face of the Trujillo celebra-

tion for those outside Peru. For example, the following was published in *American Antiquity*:

On July 28th, 1935, a Peruvian Archaeological Conference is being held at Trujillo, Peru, under the auspices of the Museo Nacional of Peru and its able director, Dr. Luis E. Valcárcel. This conference plans to discuss specific problems of Chimu archaeology, but at the same time the whole problem of relations and regulations of foreign scientific institutions will be considered (Bennett 1935:71).

Later this conference was postponed until the end of 1936 (Anonymous 1936l).

At the same time, Valcárcel continued to publish outside the country a number of short illustrated articles based on work being done at the ruins of Pisac. He published in the 13 April issue of the *The Illustrated London News* an article on "The Inca Stronghold of Pisaj" that was accompanied by four small and two large previously unpublished photographs of stone ruins at this site.

He wrote, in part:

The place has been frequently mentioned in books and illustrated by photographs. But what is not known is that Pisaj was not merely a rock surrounded by a few dilapidated dwellings, but a very expansive site. . . The work accomplished by the writer in 1934 brought to light an occupied area eight times larger. Beneath age-old entanglements of brushwood, beautiful stone buildings were found. The hill on whose summit Pisaj stands was virtually reconstructed. . . so numerous and formidable are the walls and terraces which scale it from above downwards in every direction. .

. . Roads were made on the very brink of the steep rock. Some sections are separated from others by ascending walls which traverse the mountain side obliquely. The structure terminates in a little fort which overhangs the abyss. . . . Excavation of the ruins revealed streets. . . . The superposition of a more rustic style indicates two epochs within the same Inca period but not two distinct cultures. The well-hewn blocks and the rougher stones above alike belong to the architecture of Cusco's rulers. . . . Unfortunately, the tombs of Pisaj were rifled many years ago, and it is only possible to explore a few. This work and that of cleaning of Pisaj, is reserved for a later occasion (L. Valcárcel 1935a: 594).

Given that he was dealing with the same information, it was probably at this time that Valcárcel published an article about work at Pisac in the *Revista de Geografía Americana* in Buenos Aires. He illustrated this article with six photographs, including five that he had published in London, but in this article, rather than emphasizing the military aspects of the setting and architectural features of the site, he instead emphasized features at the site that suggested it had served as an Inca sanctuary with important ceremonial components. Perhaps this difference in presentation had less to do with an attempt to squeeze out different articles and more to do with the target audiences of the two publishing venues.

The following advertisement was published in the 30 April edition of *The West Coast Leader*:

During the months of May, June, and July, an interesting series of lectures will be given at the British Legation by Dr. Julio Tello. The lectures will be held on Wednesdays at 6.30 p.m. Price of admission will be 15 Soles for the series of six lectures, or 3 Soles for a single lecture.

Information and tickets may be obtained at the British Legation. The lectures will be illustrated by interesting lantern slides and photographs and by rare examples of pottery. The following are the titles and dates of the lectures . . . "The Empire of the Incas, its Government and Social Organization", May 15 . . . "Pre-Inca civilizations with reference to their age and chronological order", May 29 . . . "The archaic cultures of Peru" June 5 . . . "The culture of the Middle period and the period of decline", June 26 . . . "Lima before the days of Pizarro", July 10 . . . "The Gods and Demons of Ancient Peru", July 24 (Anonymous 1935j).

It would appear that Tello was in need of financial support and he was making use of connections he had previously cultivated at the British Embassy to help him in this matter. This conclusion is especially supported by the fact that an admission fee was being charged, something that was very rarely done. It may well be that, given the funding requirements for work at the university's anthropological institute and for work in the field, even compensation from his two teaching positions was insufficient, or that continued miserly support for this institute was becoming more of a problem. In any case, this is the only known instance since his removal as director of the nation's Museum of Archaeology of his giving talks to the general public for a fee.

Only the outlines have been allowed to come to light of the abortive revolutionary plot which was due to break out in Arequipa on May 9th. For some days previously the authorities have been fully aware that efforts were being made to induce the garrison to rise in revolt against the Government. To this end, funds were apparently forthcoming in large quantities, and several junior officers, as well as a number of non-commissioned officers and men, were won

over to the side of the plotters. The plan was to take the Prefecture by storm prior to declaring a provisional government. The local authorities . . . bided their time until they could get the ringleaders. . . . They acted swiftly and surely at the end of the week. . . . As usual, the Apristas are accused of having been at the back of the movement but . . . several prominent Leguists have been implicated. . . . Although it had been stated that the movement was to coincide with risings in other parts of the country, no effects have been felt elsewhere, least of all in Lima (Anonymous 1935l).

Rarely in the history of Lima has such a wave of horror swept over the city as when on Wednesday afternoon the news flew like lightning from mouth to mouth that Dr. Antonio Miro Quesada, Managing Director of "El Comercio", and his wife had been assassinated in front of the Teatro Colon. The pair had left their flat in the Hotel Bolivar shortly after 1.30 p.m. and were on their way to lunch at the National Club when a young man approached them from behind and, drawing a Colt 32 revolver from his pocket, fired two shots almost point blank into the back of Dr. Miro Quesada's head [who] dropped dead onto the pavement. . . . Señora de Miro Quesada turned abruptly around at the sound of the shot and struck wildly at the assassin with her handbag. The latter in turn fired three more shots, and the wife sank dead by the side of her husband. . . . [The assassin] had formerly been a member of the Aprista party (*ibid.*).¹⁷⁶

¹⁷⁶ "The assassin, Carlos Steer Lafonte, is a youth of nineteen years, the son of Captain Steer, a naturalized Peruvian of English birth, who is in command of the 'Urubamba' of the Compañía Nacional de Vapores. Among the many contradictory statements which the young man made to the police was one to the effect that he had formerly been a member of the Aprista party but had been

[President] Benavides gained the implacable hatred of the Miró Quesada family and their newspaper after . . . [the assassin] received a twenty-five year prison term rather than the death penalty (Werlich 1978:209).

On 25 June *The West Coast Leader* reported that a group of fifteen California students had arrived at Callo aboard the ss Santa Rita (Anonymous 1935m). Then it was announced in the 28 June edition of *El Comercio* that the group was led by Edgar Lee Hewett (Anonymous 1935n).¹⁷⁷

Later one of the students wrote:

Headquarters were secured at the Hotel Plaza. . . . Then for nine days there were excursions . . . [and] trips to museums One of the highlights was the excursion to

expelled for indiscipline. Asked for the motive of the crime, he declared that it was on account of the editorials which had been published in 'El Comercio' against Aprism. He confessed that he had been preparing the crime for some time past. . . . He had bought second-hand in Callao the Colt pistol, which he had been practising for some days in his bedroom at the family home in Barranco. Steer flatly denied that he had any thought of killing Señora de Miro Quesada and that he only fired in a fit of madness when she struck him over the head with her handbag. Among his friends, the young man was commonly known as 'el loco Steer' and in his home he had long been subject to wild accesses [sic] of passion. It was on account of his undisciplined nature that his father had on more than one occasion lately threatened to banish him from the home" (Anonymous 1935k).

¹⁷⁷ The following notice had been published in the United States: "The Instituto Arqueológico del Cusco, Peru, has been inaugurated as a center of advanced studies whose principal concern is with the past and present of the aboriginal American races. Luis E. Valcárcel, Director General del Museo Nacional, desires exchanges for the new institute with individuals and institutions, and offers all facilities for investigations in the Cusco-Puno-Apurímac region" (Editor 1935b: 372). It would not be surprising to learn that Hewett and Valcarcel corresponded prior to the former's arrival in 1935.

the ruins of Cajamarquilla and Pachacamac . . . and Ancon. . . . Representatives of the National Museum accompanied the party. . . . The students were allowed to make surface collections of sherds, fragments of textiles, nets and mats, and miscellaneous objects. These items were later inspected by the Department of Antiquities, and permission was given for the students to take their assemblages home with them. . . . [On the] Fourth of July . . . Dr. Hewett and his party . . . attended the reception at the American Embassy given by Ambassador and Mrs. Dearing. Departure was made from the capitol city on the following day (Dutton 1935:99-101).

On 8 July the Benavides government finally made good on its announcement to reopen the University of San Marcos and on 10 July the faculty hierarchy comprising the School of Letters and Science met in session in the meeting salon of the University Council. On 20 July Tello and Riva Agüero were among those named to the School's board of directors. Classes were assigned. Valcárcel was assigned to teach the first year [bachelors degree] class in the ancient and colonial history of Peru, while Tello was assigned to teach the third year [doctoral degree] class in American and Peruvian archaeology (C. Valcárcel 1967:81-85).

Rospigliosi was officially removed from his position as head of the university and was replaced by the newly elected rector Dr. Alfredo Solf y Muro (Anonymous 1935o).¹⁷⁸

¹⁷⁸ "Under authorization of Law No. 7824 passed by Congress last September, the Supreme Government has decreed the reopening of San Marcos University closed owing to political troubles for the last three years, and has drawn up the new Statues. The outstanding feature of these is the abolition of the principle of co-government which in the past led to considerable friction between professors and undergraduates and a declaration to the effect that the University must henceforth abstain from any interventions in politics. . . . At a meeting of the Delegates held on

On 27 July a small article appeared in *El Comercio* that dealt with Tello's next expedition. This was based upon a United Press report that had been sent the day before from Canta in the upper Chillón Valley, Lima's neighbor to the north. It was reported that Tello had passed through the city after having visited the ruins of Kantamarka¹⁷⁹ accompanied by the Lieutenant Mayor Alejo Falconi and that Tello had indicated that he next planned to go to the city of Huánuco in the highland Department of that name (Anonymous 1935q). Two possible Kantamarka sites that may have drawn Tello's atten-

tion are Rúpac and Chíprac.¹⁸⁰ Near the city of

Monday, Dr. Alfredo Solf y Muro was elected by an overwhelming majority of the Faculties. . . . Dr. Alfredo Solf y Moro was born in the Department of Lambayeque some sixty years ago and studied first at the National School of Chiclayo and later at the University of San Marcos, where he subsequently received his Doctor's degree in Letters and also in Law in 1904. . . . In 1908 he was admitted to the Bar and in the course of his legal career has held many posts of honour, including membership of the Supreme Court of Justice and Dean of the Bar Association. In 1911 he was elected Deputy for Chiclayo under the aegis of the Civilist Party and was re-elected in 1917" (Anonymous 1935o).

¹⁷⁹ The present day town of Canta is at kilometer 101, northeast of Lima, in the upper Chillón Valley, on the prolongation of Avenida Túpac Amaru. The pre-Inca site of Kantamarka is five kilometers northeast of Canta.

¹⁸⁰ "Ascending the height . . . we come to the ruins of the ancient towns of Rúpac-Acñay and Chiprac . . . situated on the most prominent part of the Andine spurs on the left bank of the river Pasamayo . . . Rúpac . . . most of the structures are well preserved . . . We find the entrances and porticos of all the houses to be intact; the beautiful stone cornices of the roofs and interiors are in equally good condition, as are also the ornaments or colored geometric designs of the walls. . . . On two beautiful hills are the ruins of Rúpac. A portico or general entrance, with broad stairway; a communal building, with arcades facing a circular area or lookout; certain sarcophagi, or cylindrical or quadrangular *chullpas*; and the fiery red color of the exterior painting of some of the houses are the most interesting features. . . . There was here also an irrigation canal. . . . Continuing along the same road, we ascend to the top of one of the branches in the Andine spur. . . . On it is situated the ancient town of Chíprac, twenty-eight hundred meters above the level of the sea. Its length is more than two kilometers, while it is only one hundred and fifty meters wide. . . . It is well preserved. . . . On the eastern side are parallel walls; one of them is two meters wide, with some small doors. . . . Between . . . is a moat. . . . The city is surrounded by several circumvallate walls. [In] the upper quarter . . . are to be found the most important buildings, such as the structure . . . selected for our study. In the façade is a beautiful trapezoidal niche; at the lower part of the entrance, there is a lateral opening that leads to a compartment, court, or anteroom. The interior is a large hall, the walls of which are decorated with certain architectural details. In the corner is a very well built fireplace. . . . It contains openings through which air is passed to feed the fire, a trapezoidal door for the introduction of wood, and a large chimney or ventilation pipe, a meter in diameter, by three and a half meters in length which ascends vertically, passing through the wall. In the external wall of the building and beside the fireplace, there are several small chambers. . . . Some buildings have inner patios, with columns that surround them after the manner of peristyles. . . . Chíprac has three quarters. . . . In the first . . . is a row of tombs in which are still preserved many human remains. . . . Under the eaves of the houses . . . may be seen handsome cornices of stone. In front are large porticos or niches of a trapezoidal or rectangular form. Sarcophagi, in the form of boxes or chests, may be seen in the interior patios of these houses. . . . In the northern part of the upper quarter . . . a building constructed on a platform . . . two terraces . . . that rise above the plaza . . . the doors of the building that face the plaza are trapezoidal. . . probably a temple. The plaza measures one hundred meters in length, by fifty in breadth. . . . At the end of the lower part of the city there is a wall. . . . It also has a portico that leads to a

Huánuco¹⁸¹ he visited the ruins of Kotosh.¹⁸²

Tello later wrote:

Among the potsherds taken from the subsoil of the Chavín de Huántar temple were some resembling the incised and carved types of the Amazon country. . . . This fact, added to the reports of the Franciscan missionaries of the existence of fine, black, carved pottery in the outskirts of San Luís

vast cemetery, which consists of small boxes that contain, as a rule, two or more bodies. Tomb caves, equally numerous, are also found in the suburbs of the town, and each of them contains many bodies" (Villar 1924:233-236).

¹⁸¹ "A rambling sort of town is Huánuco. Seen from the slopes of the surrounding mountains the place looks like a gigantic orchard, amid the trees of which a few houses are nestling. It contains at present, from eight to ten thousand inhabitants, and the ground covered by the city is extensive, and yet it has the appearance of a small country village. Except for a few central streets, where the houses are built, city style, close to each other, the other streets run through orchards, so that there are only two or three houses to the block. This should make it a very picturesque town, but unfortunately all these orchards are surrounded by walls from about six to ten feet high which shut out the view from all sides. There is a project afoot to provide the town with drains and running water. At present the water comes from the river through a filter, and pours in a continuous stream from the public fountains, from which the inhabitants help themselves. The drains are open gutters down the centre of the streets. . . . Some of the earth-paved streets boast of cement sidewalks, and a few are roughly cobbled. . . . The streets are wide and fairly level and there are several public squares besides the Plaza de Armas with its fountains and its gardens. . . . A lazy kind of place and a lazy climate. . . . Cars have become the universal mode of transport and no one keeps a horse in the town. The streets that are not orchards are all rows of little shops. For blocks on end every building is a shop, most of which are practically empty. . . . At present the only other meeting place besides the picture palace is the tennis court. . . . No one hurries in Huánuco, even about making money. . . . Those who do get rich do so in a leisurely way" (Ward 1935b: 15-16).

¹⁸² Kotosh is a series of temples dating to the Pre-ceramic or Late Archaic Period, five kilometers from the present city of Huánuco.

de Shuaro, in the Perené basin¹⁸³, induced me to make an archaeological inspection trip to the headwaters of the Marañón, Huallaga and Ucayali rivers. In the surroundings of Huánuco, I found several artificial hillocks on whose surface appeared a few Chavín potsherds. In one of these, called the huaca Kotosh, dug into past years down to its base by treasure hunters, I found in the upper beds of the cutting an abundance of Chavín potsherds mixed with other types closely resembling, on the one hand, incised and painted pottery of the Paracas caves, and, on the other, incised and carved Amazonian pottery (Tello 1943: 152).

Accompanying Tello on this inspection trip to Kotosh was the engineer Pedro T. Figueroa Villamil; Javier Pulgar Vidal (Pulgar 1940) then a student at Catholic University (Mejía 1956:320) and later a famous geographer of Peru; and the young American Caleb Hathaway (Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology Archive, Harvard University, Samuel K. Lothrop Correspondence File, Box 6, Folder 6, Tello to Lothrop, 3 February 1937). Tello is also reported to have visited at this time the sites of Huánuco Viejo¹⁸⁴ and Choras¹⁸⁵ (Mejía 1948: 15) and to have then gone to the Callejón de Huáylas (Mejía 1956:320) where the site of Katak was visited (Tello 1960:38). The fact that Huánuco Viejo was reported to have portals with carved animal figures likely stimulated

¹⁸³ The Perené is a tributary of the Ucayali River.

¹⁸⁴ Huánuco Viejo, now called Huánuco Pampa, is a large Inca provincial site about 150 kilometers by road west of the present city of Huánuco.

¹⁸⁵ Choras is a district of the province of Yarowilka in Huánuco Region.

Tello to visit that site.¹⁸⁶ As for Choras, it is the capital of the district of the same name situated west of Huánuco, near the Marañón River.

Before being replaced as head of the University of San Marcos, Rospigliosi made a final attack against Tello. In mid-July *La Prensa*

¹⁸⁶ "These ruins occur in the province of Huamalies, eighteen leagues west of the present town of Huánuco. . . . They are 12,156 feet above the sea, and are of great extent, covering more than half a mile in length. These remains consist of two distinct portions. The smaller is a quadrangular *terre-plein*, with a parapet, generally called El Castillo; the other is a much larger structure, somewhat irregular in outline, but filled with curious buildings of rectangular form, some entirely without door-ways or entrance of any kind. . . . A part of the works are of limestone, cut accurately, and laid without cement. . . . The remaining structures and the outer wall are of rough stones, cemented. This wall has been broken down in most places; but where it is standing it is 16 or 18 feet high and 3 or 4 feet thick. Entering from the road leading from Huánuco, you come upon an open space, in the centre of which is an excavation . . . or reservoir, 250 feet long by 130 feet wide. . . . The only other work in this portion is a house of cut stone. . . . Beyond this portion is a *terre-plein* . . . 20 feet high, on which are a number of houses, of cut and of rough stones, most of them divided into several apartments. . . also a bath . . . of cut stone. . . . Leading to this portion of the works is a double doorway of cut stone, with a long, door-less, rectangular room on either side. Opposite, at a distance of 240 feet, is a similar structure, and still farther on is the outer door-way of the works. . . . The door-ways are narrower at the top than at the bottom, and each is crossed above by a slab 13 feet long. . . . The first one is overgrown. . . above the second portal and at the sides are rudely cut animal figures with a square niche near each. The door-less rooms show no signs of steps for entrance. . . . At right angles to the lines of these were others now greatly ruined. Beyond the second portal, and seventy feet from it, is another structure, with its double portal, not, however, of cut stone. Between these portals, on either side, are door-ways heading into the rectangular rooms, which have also various openings, from without, and six small chambers. The Castillo is about 250 yards from the larger structure. It is 180 feet long by 80 wide, and has a fine cut-stone wall 13 feet high. An inclined plane leads up to the *terre-plein*, which is entered by two portals, with animals rudely sculptured at the top. The wall has a cornice of projecting stones, and forms a parapet 3 ½ or 4 feet high. A canal to drain this work is still discernible'" (Squier 1973 [1877]:216-218).

published a copy of a report on Tello that Rospigliosi had submitted to the Administrative Council under a banner headline deploring the loss of more than 200 artifacts from the university's Museum of Archaeology. Essentially this report stated that a number of years past the university had agreed to purchase Tello's archaeological collection for ten thousand soles. Payment for the collection was to be made over time and in effect the university annually paid Tello nine hundred and sixty soles plus interest. Payment of the entire amount due was made to Tello despite the fact that an inventory of the museum's collection showed the loss of more than two hundred artifacts inclusive of the complete loss of the Raimondi Collection that was of great intrinsic and historical value. As a result the university's Administrative Council had named a commission to investigate the matter for the purpose of sanctioning those responsible (Anonymous 1935p).

About six weeks later *La Crónica* picked up the Tello story wanting to know the result of the investigation into the matter (Anonymous 1935x). The following day this newspaper (Anonymous 1935z), *El Universal* (Anonymous 1935y), and *El Comercio* as well (Tello 1935) published the same "letter to the editor" signed by Tello. Only in the latter newspaper was it noted that this "letter" was dated 13 August, suggesting that it was, in fact, an internal report later made public.

In this "letter" Tello, in a matter of fact manner, detailed the conclusions that had been reached by the rector of the University of San Marcos regarding the supposed disappearance of the entire Raimondi Collection that had recently occupied the press. He listed three conclusions: (1) this collection was in the custody of the university's Museum of Archaeology and it consisted of 390 artifacts on display; (2) all of the artifacts acquired by the university via purchase or by its own expeditions were to be found

in the museum, with the exception of a few that had disappeared when the university had been closed; (3) in this museum there were to be found hundreds of artifacts that he had acquired during his various travels in Peru that had cost the university nothing, some that he had donated, and others that were on conditional deposit in accordance with authorization given by the university (Tello 1935). Hence, Tello never specifically addressed the charge he had received payment from the university but instead only implied he had not, perhaps as a way of dismissing an accusation he considered unworthy of response.

On 8 August *El Comercio* had published a United Press report it had received the day prior from Trujillo. This report was about concern that had been expressed in the local newspaper, *La Nación*, that public works employees were extracting large amounts of gravel and rubble from the ruins of Chan Chan for the purpose of improving roads. Hence, it was stated it was urgent that both local authorities and the National Board be notified to put a stop to this (Anonymous 1935r).

Two days later, a second United Press report from Trujillo was published in this Lima daily in which further details were published. Construction material was being taken from the Chan Chan zone by order of "official institutions" and it was said by them that this was being done with great care so as to limit damage to the ruins but the immense size of the area comprising the ruins made this difficult. The Trujillo report then repeated its plea that the National Board step in to protect the ruins (Anonymous 1935s).

Yet another United Press report was published in *El Comercio* on 11 August. It was stated in this report that the departmental prefect had the day before made an inspection of Chan Chan accompanied by representatives of both *La Nación* and *La Industria* and he had decided that

the local archaeological board should be assigned technical oversight and the centennial committee should appoint a guardian (Anonymous 1935t).

What makes this series of articles particularly interesting is the fact that in its 14 August edition *El Comercio* published supporting documentation showing that Valcárcel was involved. Two documents were published. The first was a communication [telegram?] dated 9 August that the Prefect of the Department of La Libertad had sent to Valcárcel in his role as Secretary of the National Board. In this wire he made reference to two wires he had received from Valcárcel regarding the Chan Chan matter. He stated that after receiving the second wire he had made an inspection of the ruins accompanied by the director of *La Nación* and the editor of *La Industria*. While he had concluded that the work being done at Chan Chan did not affect the stability or conservation of the ruins, he did agree to the compromise of the board to designate an individual to determine where construction material could be extracted for public works projects without endangering the ruins and he agreed with the suggestion that the centennial committee appoint someone to guard the ruins. He indicated that he had notified the local police to be on the lookout for *huaqueros* and that this had resulted in the capture of four individuals who were in possession of sixteen artifacts. He concluded his communication with a request that he be sent copies of all legislation pertinent to the preservation of the national patrimony.

The second document was a summary of the meeting held prior to the inspection of the ruins at the office of the prefect on 9 August. At this meeting were the prefect and the above two newspaper representatives. The document was signed by all three of the individuals in attendance. Of interest, in addition to the discussion of suggestions involving the appointments of a

technician and a guardian, it was noted in the summary that the director of *La Nacion* had reported that on 9 August a peasant was observed taking adobes from Chan Chan's prehistoric walls (Lanatta *et al.* 1935).

This public documentation of an incident involving the ruins of Chan Chan provides a unique insight into the general workings of the bureaucracy involved in the protection of the national patrimony. Not only this, it also provides insight into the particular role played by Valcárcel. Whether or not he had specifically been contacted in his role as secretary of the National Board or because as director of the National Museum he had then been involved with the Trujillo centennial celebration is unknown. In any case, it bears pointing out that communication between Lima and Trujillo in 1935 involving a threat to Chan Chan appears to have been much faster than that between Lima and Pisco in 1932 involving a case of purported theft at Paracas. Perhaps this may be explained, in part, by the expansion of telephone service within the country.

No specific mention of Chan Chan was made in the summary of a meeting of the National Board that was published in *El Comercio* on 23 August. While no date was given for the meeting, it was stated that those in attendance included the minister of education, Colonel Ernesto Montagne, the rector of the University of San Marcos, Sol y Muro, and Tello and Valcárcel representing the university's Institute of Anthropological Investigations and the National Museum, respectively. Apparently, given the following list of actions, this was a very fruitful meeting and one in which Montagne made it very clear that the attitude of the government had changed for the better regarding matters archaeological and historical. Tello, in particular, appears to have benefitted from this change that likely was

the result of an economic upturn in the country.¹⁸⁷

First, for the purpose of housekeeping, the National Board had decided that in addition to extraordinary sessions, it would meet on the second Saturday of each month and that Rector Sol y Muro would serve as the board's vice president. Then came specific actions. It had been decided to send an official memorandum to the prefectures of the department of Lima concerning attacks against the national patrimony, inclusive of the ruins of Cerro Azul, Incahuasi (Map 8), and Cerro del Oro in the Province of Cañete on the South Coast and it had been decided to send a note to the government's minister [of education?] regarding "supposed authorization" to allow an individual to excavate in Nepeña. It was also voted to send telegrams and letters to all the nation's local archaeological boards to elicit from them suggestions regarding the conservation of ruins in their respective jurisdictions and it was voted specifically to make the authorities in the Provinces of La Libertad on the North Coast, Junín in the Central Highlands, and Puno in the Southern Highlands (Map 1) aware of the threats to the national patrimony in their respective jurisdictions.

¹⁸⁷ "In policy terms, Peru essentially reacted to the [economic] crisis in predictable ways, rather than try a radical new direction. After 'adjusting' by defaulting on its debt, the government simply waited for the international market—that is, demand and prices—for its main commodities to go up again. When that happened beginning for silver, gold, and copper, in 1932 and for cotton and sugar in 1933, Peru simply resumed its traditional export-led growth model. Unlike most Latin American governments, it did not resort to import substituting industrialization policies" (Klarén 2000:278). With this in mind, consider the following description of Lima by a visitor in 1935: "The first impression of Lima is highly modern. The Panagra bus that whirled me from a just completed airport conducted me along a broad boulevard with trees in rows of lavender flower, dripping with bloom. . . air of twentieth century suburban affluence. . . Lima is a cosmopolitan up-to-date city" (Niles 1937:46-47).

In addition to the above, it was noted that the National Board had officially thanked Valcárcel for the work he had overseen in the Cusco and Puno Departments. At this meeting it was decided to send to each member of the board, in advance of the extraordinary meeting to be held on the last day of the month, a copy of Tello's proposal to protect the national patrimony, as well as the "communications and suggestions" of the board's secretary (Valcárcel). The board had just decided to ask the government to send to the Constituent Congress a proposal to amend Law 6634 overseeing matters archaeological and it seems likely that Tello's report was connected to this request. Finally, at this meeting of the Board it had been voted to solicit from the government's General Funds account for 1936 not less than twelve thousand soles to defend the national patrimony (Anonymous 1935v).

This was a paltry sum, indeed, when one considers the hundreds of thousands of soles that the government was investing in the Valcárcel-directed work being done in the Departments of Cusco and Puno. The promotion of tourism was clearly at the top of the archaeological agenda for this government despite the fact that it resulted in insufficient attention being given to the increasingly serious problem of defending the national patrimony. Nevertheless, Tello was working on this problem and a modicum of success was in the offing.

The meeting of the National Board had actually first been reported on in the 19 August edition of the new Lima daily *El Universal*.¹⁸⁸

¹⁸⁸ "*El Universal*, a new morning newspaper to be published simultaneously in Lima and Callao, is announced to make its first appearance in the course of the present month. . . . The promoters are the national news agency *Cadelp S. A.* represented by Messrs. James Bayly Gallagher and Juan Echeopar Herce, and Mr. Henry Hammond de Lavallo. . . . The establishment is situated in the calle General La Fuente in the spacious building formerly occupied by *El Tiempo*" (Anonymous 1935f).

This was a short article, the title of which focused on the proposal that Tello had presented at the meeting. It was stated that the meeting had taken place two days before on 17 August after a long break, and the following unofficial details were given relating to Tello's proposal. The proposal or document dealt with questions related to the sale of artifacts to buyers outside the country and the frequent illegal excavations being undertaken by private citizens for profit in recent times that served to make a mockery of the government's vigilance. The proposal suggested that the board, and the minister of education especially, take up these matters with the goal of enacting the necessary measures to better care for the nation's archaeological treasures (Anonymous 1935u).

Hence, it would appear that Tello understood that the government had decided to refocus somewhat on matters archaeological and he was prepared to take advantage of this change. While it is unknown how far forward Tello's initiative was carried by the government, it is known that a couple of weeks later it was reported in *El Comercio* that the representative of Ancash in the Constituent Assembly was going to present a bill soon in the chamber in which he argued for the creation of a managing board within the Ministry of Education to be charged with overseeing archaeological monuments, museums, and archives (Cavero 1935).

In the 26 August edition of *El Comercio* it was announced that Larco Hoyle had made a new archaeological discovery in the Viru Valley. Specifically it was reported he had discovered stone ruins in the Queneto canyon a few kilometers from Tombal that he considered the most ancient found on the Peruvian coast (Anonymous 1935w).¹⁸⁹

¹⁸⁹ "On the north side of the Viru Valley . . . is the dry quebrada of San Juan . . . a great gulch of stones washed and tumbled from the steep sides. . . . Remains of Inca roads may be seen in the valley. . . . One road leads up the

A book about the archaeology of the Department of Lima (Villar 1935) was likely published some time during the last quarter of the year. Included in this book was a brief introduction by Tello dated 12 September that must have served as a seal of approval for the author and the publisher given that Tello was regarded as the nation's premier archaeologist. Naturally Tello lauded the author in so doing he observed that the author had accomplished so much without economic assistance, perhaps a not-so-subtle jibe at the national government. In any case, it is noteworthy that the author of the book was a member of the faculty of the San Marcos School of Theology and that some time during 1935 he and Muelle conducted excavations at the coastal site of Ancón just north of Lima in search of Chavín remains (Buse 1974b).

In mid-September public attention was again turned to the ruins of Chavín de Huántar and the discovery of the remains of a megalithic

quebrada and passes by the temple of Queneto. . . . It is an open temple of two principal terraced platforms outlined with thick walls of upright stones. No adobe is found in its construction. Generally speaking the temple faces east although the actual orientation is twenty degrees out of line. It can be best described by section. The eastern section, A, is an open rectangular platform 34 meters wide and 43.20 meters long (inside measurements). Both sides are formed by wide walls, 2.60 to 2.80 meters, outlined with stones set on edge with a smaller fill between. . . . At the back edge of the section a wide terrace, the same height as the side walls, leads back to the base of the front wall of Section B. In the center of the western part of the sector is a massive rough stone upright. The exposed part measures 3.50 meters wide at the ground, and 60 centimeters thick. . . . Section B is to the west of Section A and from 3 to 3.5 meters above it. Traces of steps in the jumbled stones at the back of the low terrace of Section A lead up to the 1.70 meters wide gateway. The gate leads into the more ample entry way, 8.60 meters wide and 7 meters deep, flanked by thick walls. The enclosure thus approached is 27.80 meters square (inside measurements). . . . A pillar like that in Section A is found in the back central half of Section B. . . . A gateway through the center of the west wall of Sector B, 1.70 meters wide leads to a small enclosure, about 13 meters square" (Bennett 1939:24).

canal measuring 220 centimeters wide and 60 to 100 centimeters thick that had been submerged since the heavy rains of 1925. This discovery brought joy to the local community but it also renewed fear that the upcoming rainy season would again endanger the ruins (Anonymous 1935bb). This fear brought the call for action on the part of the National Board (Editor 1935aa).

A few weeks later it was reported in Lima that the president of the District Board of Archaeology, in compliance with orders from the Departmental Board and with cooperation of local authorities, had seen to the recovery of the newly uncovered monolith at Chavín (Anonymous 1935bb).

In October Valcárcel published a short article in *El Comercio* on the depiction of warriors on Moche stirrup-spouted vessels that was illustrated by photographs of five pieces of pottery presumably from the collections of the National Museum (L. Valcárcel 1935b). It may have been about this time that the next issue of the museum's journal came out and one of his contributions was his third on work that had been done at and in the vicinity of Sacsayhuaman. He included thirteen photographs of uncovered megalithic architecture and two architectural renderings in addition to some measurements that had been taken of selected architectural units. Also, as in the past, he included brief descriptions of and dimensions for ninety-seven illustrated artifacts, mostly pieces of pottery (L. Valcárcel 1935c).

In this issue Valcárcel also published an article about the stone sculpture and pottery found at the ruins of Pukará, ruins in the vicinity of Lake Titicaca that he had first visited in 1925. Tello would have been struck by the accompanying six photographs of pottery said to be incised with depictions of a mythic and/or feline deity and the eight photographs of various stele said to be carved with depictions of deities. Tello would

also have taken note of Valcárcel's closing remark that verification of the antiquity of Chavín, Pukará, and Tiahuanaco was of great importance (L. Valcárcel 1935d: 25-28). In light of this, it is not surprising that the two of them were soon reported to be exploring sites in the southern highlands. It should be noted, however, that, according to Valcárcel, he had invited Tello to accompany him because he wanted Tello to share with him his "invaluable experience" regarding the sites in Cusco (Matos *et al.*: 1981:298).

On his way to Cusco toward the end of 1933, Valcárcel had first explored the ruins of Churajón and Chuquibamba (Map 1) in the Arequipa Region (*e.g.* Anonymous 1933qq; 1933zz) and he and Tello, accompanied by the British attaché, visited these ruins toward the end of October. Then without the attaché, but with an archaeologist affiliated with the University of Cusco, they excavated two tombs at the site of Wactalacta. Tello was said to have been pleased with what he had seen there and that he and Valcárcel planned next to take the train to Cusco (Anonymous 1935cc). From Cusco he and Valcárcel then went to Pukará.¹⁹⁰

A couple of years later it was reported regarding the ruins of Pukará:

On an artificially terraced hill are three sunken courts. Somewhat over thirty meters square, lined with upright stone slabs set at intervals. Some stone architecture is still seen near these courts although many pieces have been transported to the town. . . . Dr. Valcárcel has made a complete photographic record of these interesting statues which are suggestive of the Tiahuanaco style but distinct in many details. On the Rio Pucará, some distance away, a cut in

the bank reveals great quantities of sherds, decorated sherds from open, straight sided bowls, decorated with both painted and relief design (Bennett 1938a: 177).¹⁹¹

According to Tello:

In October, 1935, I spent a few days in Pukará, a village in the Province of Lampa on the right bank of the headwaters of the river of the same name, a small tributary of Lake Titicaca. This place is an old pottery-making center, famed for the antique stone sculptures, statues and relief existing in the vicinity. The modern village of Pukará stands on a wide alluvial terrace that partly covers another town of greater area, the remains of which are evidenced by hillocks and rows of stones, disposed in circles and rectangles scattered over the plain. Some of these stones are dressed, polished and carved with figures in great part analogous to those appearing on the Chavín monoliths. . . . In Pukará, the case may very well be the same as at Chavín; that is, that the buildings and carved monoliths do not belong to the same era as the pottery found on the surface, that they are only survivals of the culture buried beneath the alluvium. These considerations . . . led me to make a careful examination of the river bed in the portions nearest to the ruins. There in the steep banks I discovered . . . several superimposed layers of rubbish containing rich

¹⁹⁰ Pukará is an important archaeological site dating mostly to the Early Intermediate Period. It is in the Pukará District of the Lampa Province of the Puno region.

¹⁹¹ *The West Coast Coast Leader* included in its 2 April 1935 issue the following comments in connection with an article about an ongoing art exhibit in Lima: "two brothers from Puno . . . for some years have been devoting themselves to the study of the pre-Incaic civilization of Pukará. . . . For three years they have devoted themselves in excavations among the ruins of old fortresses and burial grounds with a view to obtaining a whole range of pottery. . . . Their work has received the commendations of many of the best-known Peruvian archaeologists of today, including Dr. Luis E. Valcárcel, Director of the National Museum" (Anonymous 1935h).

archaeological material of the same kind found at Kotosh; a multitude of fragments of the finest pottery, incised, carved and painted; as beautiful as, and in certain aspects, superior to the best specimens of Chavín pottery. This abundant material gathered at Pukará affords a fresh and illuminating contribution to our knowledge of Chavín art. The Pukará pottery is one of the best manifestations of the Chavín art proper; in it appear, as predominating motives, figures of the jaguar, the owl, the fish and the serpent, modeled, carved and drawn in the Chavín style (Tello 1943:152-153).

At the beginning of November, Valcárcel was interviewed at his home only hours after returning to Lima. He stated that the object of his trip, that was a vacation of sorts, was to establish an historic relation of the ancient cultures of the region. Among others he mentioned having visited the ruins of Sacsayhuaman, Ollantaytambo, Pisac, Pikillacta, Machu Picchu, and Pukará. The trip, he stated, had once again demonstrated the capital importance of these ruins and, for this reason, their preservation merited urgent attention and he was going to ask the National Board to double the amount being allotted for Cusco. He went on to speak of the recently organized Cusco Municipal Office, the purpose of which was to promote tourism, and continued at length in this vein. He argued for the construction of a special tourist hotel and it was indispensable, he emphasized, that information be published advertising the hygienic conditions available to tourists at Cusco. The extension of the roads to Ollantaytambo and to Pisac needed to be completed. He concluded by saying that he planned to head out soon for Machu Picchu (Anonymous 1935dd).

It was on 5 December (Sotelo 2012:73) that Tello, with the help of Carrión and Mejía,¹⁹² opened Paracas mummy bundle Number 94 in the presence of the American author Mrs. Blair Niles.¹⁹³ She later wrote this about Tello:

There are people who so completely live in the lifework which is their destiny that you never think of talking to them about any other subject. Their work appears inseparable from the pulsing of their hearts, as vitally as air to the lungs. To people like this everything outside the chosen pursuit seems incidental to the role for which they have been cast. They have, as it were, become mere tools through which an absorbing interest expresses itself. The Peruvian archaeologist, Dr. Julio Tello, is such a man. The bare mention of the archaeology of Peru turns on a light which shines in his eyes and through the thick lenses of his spectacles, illumining his face. The zest of his work is in his quick step: there is not enough time for all that he would do. His voice is vibrant with an inner compelling force. His whole personality is so charged with the subject to which he is dedicated that the man himself makes an unforgettable impression (Niles 1937:71).

¹⁹² Others who assisted Tello in the opening of the mummy bundles were Victoria López, Víctor Martínez, and the photographer Eduardo Estrada González (Sotelo 2012: 418).

¹⁹³ "Mrs. Blair Niles, who arrived in Peru recently from New York by air and has since made trips to various sections of the Republic by plane, was a passenger by Panagara plane on the 8th. inst. for Pisco. She is the author of 'Casual Wanderings in Ecuador', one of the few worthwhile travel books dealing with that Republic. According to the *New York Times* her visit to Peru is for the purpose of gathering additional material for her forthcoming novel. 'Day of Immense Sun', which will be published next spring. Mrs. Niles' husband, Robert Niles Jr., is to join her in Lima shortly, and they will return to New York in January" (Anonymous 1935gg).

As for the opening of the mummy bundle, she wrote:

Doctor Tello and Mejía removed the outer sacking . . . and then it stood in its original wrapping. . . . The work proceeded slowly and with great care. . . . Doctor Tello's staff had worked so long together that each automatically carried out certain parts of the work. And all went forward in a stillness unbroken except for Doctor Tello's voice dictating descriptions to Señorita Carrión, or stopping occasionally to take a photograph" (*ibid.*: 82).¹⁹⁴

A report on the recent meeting of the National Board was published on 6 December. In matters pertinent to archaeology it had been decided to authorize Wendell C. Bennett¹⁹⁵ of the American Museum of Natural History to conduct research in the "Chimú region" of the North Coast.¹⁹⁶ Bennett was an archaeologist who was no stranger to Lima, having spent a week there in 1932.¹⁹⁷ It had also been decided

¹⁹⁴ "Mrs. Blair Niles was a passenger by Faucett plane on the 30th, inst. from Lima to Cajamarca" (Anonymous 1935ee).

¹⁹⁵ "Born in Marion, Indiana on August 17, 1905, Bennett grew up in Oak Park, Illinois. . . . He attended . . . the University of Chicago, which awarded him . . . an M.A. in 1929, and his Ph.D. in 1930. . . . In 1931 he went to the American Museum of Natural History . . . as Assistant Curator in Anthropology" (Rouse 1954:265-266).

¹⁹⁶ Bennett later wrote, "Sailing from New York on December seventh, 1935, we arrived in Lima on the twentieth. After a few days of preliminary preparation, we left Lima, on the twenty-eighth" (1939:3).

¹⁹⁷ "Mr. Wendell Clark Bennett, assistant curator of anthropology of the American Museum of Natural History . . . arrived by the S.S. 'Santa Maria' on the 12th inst. from Mollendo" (Anonymous 1932r: 19). "Dr. Wendell C. Bennett and . . . were passengers by the S.S. 'Santa Maria' for Cristobal, following a short stay in Lima, returning from research work in the Lake Titicaca region" (Anonymous 1932s).

that it was essential that all projects for the creation of regional archaeological institutions and museums be presented to the Board and that the Cusco Departmental Board ensure that municipal projects in the city of Cusco not cause damage to historical monuments. It was also decided to assess fines on those responsible for the destruction of unspecified huacas in the Lima Valley and, at the same time, undertake an inventory and classification of all huacas in the valley, as well as the determination of their condition. As for two requests to look for "treasure", it was decided to send these requests back to the minister of education with the opinion of the board. In addition to taking note of communications received from the Ancash, Ayacucho, and Amazonas Departmental Boards, it was noted that Tello and Valcárcel had presented a report on the state of sites that they had seen on their recent travels and the results of excavations that had been made by them (Anonymous 1935gg).¹⁹⁸

On 13 January 1936 Tello wrote a report based on his inspection of the site of Cinco Cerritos in the Lima Valley, inclusive of a field drawing of the largest of the mounds comprising the site (Vega-Centeno 2005:96). On 26 January Tello wrote a second report on these ruins in which he stated that the site was on the Hacienda Pando that was owned by Riva Agüero (*ibid.*: 96-98).¹⁹⁹ Also dated 26 January was an article he wrote that was published in the first issue of *La Gaceta Municipal de Magdalena*.

¹⁹⁸ As shown by the following, the economic situation at the University of San Marcos had improved since its reopening. "The balance sheet of the four months ending December 1935 . . . shows that the revenues are in a satisfactory condition, receipts during that period amounting to Sl. 606,980.88, of which Sl. 100,000 were derived from the balance left over from the budgets of the three years during which the University remained closed" (Anonymous 1936j).

¹⁹⁹ Subsequently a plan dated 2 March, 1936 was made of the ruins of Cinco Cerritos by a member of Tello's staff (Vega-Centeno 2005:97).

In this article he first provided a detailed history of the site, inclusive of Inca period occupation in the valley, and exploration of the site beginning in the nineteenth century. He pointed out that, like other large sites in the valley, this site provided important and unique evidence regarding precolumbian cultures in the valley. Hence, in his view, the site was of great historical importance and needed to be preserved. He then brought up the fact that Law 6634 had declared the property of the state all vestiges of precolumbian material activity, but that during the past two years there had been multiple incidents of the adobes being taken for construction purposes from this and other named sites in the valley. He concluded by saying that Huaca Mateo Salado was the best conserved of these sites and he appealed to the patriotism and culture of authorities and the public in general to promote the conservation and restoration of this important ruin (*ibid.*: 99-100). It is unknown if Riva Agüero supported Tello in this matter.

Valcárcel published a brief report on the trip he had taken with Tello in the next issue of the museum's journal that was advertised in the 19 January 1936 issue of *El Comercio*.²⁰⁰ He listed four conclusions based on this exploration and the work that had been done up to that time in the region: (1) In the preliminary exploration of Cusco all the archaeological material encountered up to then corresponded to the last Inca period, but that deep excavations would nevertheless reveal evidence corresponding to earlier times; (2) All the work that had been done up to that point, while of great interest, was only preliminary in nature and it only served to facilitate the study of the monuments that had been discovered, monuments that required the adoption of urgent actions for their preservation;

²⁰⁰ "Mrs. Blair Niles, American travel writer, and her husband, Mr. Robert Niles, were passengers by Aerovias Peruanas on the 12th inst., for Trujillo, en route north, following a tour of central and southern Peru" (Anonymous 1936a).

(3) As Tello had shown through fairness and impartiality, this work had contributed to removing the veil of ancient civilizations that had been hidden, the study of the principal material of which will occupy future archaeologists; (4) None of the monuments that had been discovered or uncovered were in danger of falling down or of destruction; these works, megalithic sites, were so gigantic that they would continue to defy time as well the brutal and destructive actions of men.

As for Pukará, Valcárcel stated that explorations there were of great significance for the prehistory of Peru and that the data and scientific materials obtained there would be the object of immediate study. He added that he was sure that this would resolve problems regarding the antiquity of civilizations in the Southern Andes that had up to then been obscured. Valcárcel then praised Tello for the deep and abiding scientific spirit he had exhibited while assessing Cusco's monuments, during which time he offered hypotheses or explanations. He added that he had been fortunate to have Tello's input and that this was something that he and the employees of the institute ought to appreciate. Hence, the major lesson learned from the trip was that investigators needed to work in harmony. After urging that this harmony be developed as quickly as possible with the help of the government, he concluded by saying that the eyes of America were on them as inheritors of the most admirable culture on this side of the continent (L. Valcárcel 1935f: 205-206).

The above statements by Valcárcel are best understood within the context of Tello's 1934 criticism of the work that was being done in Cusco and the published announcements that had been made at the August meeting of the National Board, in which the government had reaffirmed its commitment to protecting the national patrimony (1935ff). While he did not admit that the work that he had overseen in the

Cusco area was old-fashioned and not up to current scientific standards, Valcárcel did essentially admit that Tello had been right in saying that the Cusco work was incomplete, and that pre-Inca remains were being ignored. By the same token, Valcárcel essentially admitted that relations between his employees at the National Museum and those at the institute headed by Tello were less than friendly, and that this had had a deleterious effect on the conduct of archaeological research in Peru.

So, publicly at least, Tello and Valcárcel appeared to have buried the hatchet, that is, to have reached an agreement to work with one another. However, Valcárcel remained vague on one point and seemed accusatory on another. He chose not to subscribe to Tello's idea that the pottery found at Pukará was Chavín in date and culture, saying only that this material would be subjected to immediate study. Of course, the question that immediately comes to mind is, by whom? And this leads to Valcárcel's decision to specifically say that the employees of the institute, Tello's institute, should learn to work harmoniously, the very clear message being that they were at the root of the problem and not his employees at the National Museum.

In any case, it should be noted that in this same issue of the museum's journal Valcárcel published his fourth and final report on the work done at Sacsayhuaman. He followed the same format as before, this time providing brief descriptions, measurements, and drawings for more than one hundred and fifty artifacts. Given his above "confession", it is of particular interest that he highlighted on the first page of his article that just beneath the surface, a Tiahuanaco culture ceramic artifact had been found, providing, as he put it, the first clear evidence for the co-existence of the Tiahuanaco and Cusco cultures (1935e: 163).

A report on a recent meeting of the National Board was published in *El Comercio* on 22 February. Funding was recommended for work in Puno and funding was to be applied toward reminding all teachers and students that it was against the law to explore or excavate at archaeological sites. The board approved the motion that the director of the National Museum (Valcárcel) urgently request enlargement, construction, and repair of the separate locales of the institution.

The National Board also decided to recommend to the president of the Cusco Board the conservation of Inca ruins that had recently emerged from a lake near the town of Chinchero (Map 9). The board also decided to send to the minister of education an expedited request relative to the construction of a hotel at Machu Picchu, and decided to telegraph the prefects of Cusco and Ayacucho to direct them to put an end to the sale of historical objects. Finally, in light of information received from the Institute of Archaeology in Cusco and official documents it had received, the board resolved to deny press reports regarding a supposed robbery at the Cusco cathedral.

The National Board also made decisions that affected the Valley of Lima. It ordered that the reclamation of bricks at Lima archaeological sites by companies for construction purposes be stopped, stating that such action was permitted only under conditions determined to be proper by the Office of the Inspector of Antiquities. In furtherance of this, the board stated that a detailed study of each and every one of the monuments in the valley was needed to determine the importance of each, to classify them in accordance with their state of preservation, structure, age, and possibilities for exploration and partial restoration. It mandated the cataloging of historical monuments in Lima by the chief of the Department of History in the National Museum, with the assistance of Riva Agüero,

who had denounced specific acts of destruction in the city of Lima (Anonymous 1936b).

The first mention of an Office of Inspector of Antiquities is notable. Mention was made in connection with archaeological sites in the Valley of Lima and duties of the inspector may have at that time been limited to making an assessment of the sites in that valley. Although left unstated, it seems likely that Tello, given his recent interest in the matter, had been appointed to head this office. Certainly this office was charged with an important responsibility, and it seems likely that the upcoming Lima Centennial celebration had stimulated its creation. But how much real authority the government actually gave to the office and how much of a financial investment it made in the office are questions left unanswered. Given the relative lack of work at sites in the Valley of Lima covered by the Lima press, it is highly doubtful that the amount of funding provided by the government ever reached the lofty amounts dedicated to the Cusco Centennial celebration.

Announcement of the formation of the “Acción Patriótica” was confined to a brief statement, binding its signatories to “an intense and disinterested nationalistic action, which will define and consolidate the elements of the resistance against destructive extremism, and restore and guarantee the social order”. . . . It was stated that formation of the “Acción Patriótica” was merely transitory, preparatory to the formation of a definite political party. Whether Dr. José de la Riva Agüero would become a candidate for the presidency, as a standard bearer for the new party was not stated . . . [in] interviews with Dr. de la Riva Agüero. . . . He referred to the assassination of the late Don Antonio Miro Quesada, Director of ‘El Comercio’, last year, and declared that this crime, inspired by political extremists of the left, was a grave warning of

the necessity that all adherents of political parties of the Right should unite together to meet the social and political dangers which threatened the country. “Acción Patriótica” he frankly admitted, was made up of adherents of the Civilista party and followers of the late President Sánchez Cerro, claiming a large following among the more conservative elements of the working class. . . . [he] insisted that the “Acción Patriótica” stood for complete electoral freedom, and urged the derogation of the transitory Emergency Law, which now limits political propaganda [and] regards closer international co-operation and friendly relationships among the Bolivarian republics and the republics of Latin America at large (Anonymous 1936e).

Valcárcel led a group of University of San Marcos School of Letters students to the ruins of Pachacamac on 8 March (Carrasco 1936). In mid-March it was reported that, because of continuing threats to archaeological and historical sites, there was a demand in Trujillo for the creation of a local archaeological board (Anonymous 1936d). Toward the end of March an editorial was published in *El Comercio* that dealt with the formation of the Regional Archaeological Museum of Ancash in Huaraz. It was stated that information had been received regarding an attempt to put together a permanent archaeological exhibit in Huaraz in celebration of the departmental centennial celebration, but that the regional museum had insufficient funds to do so. One result was that the museum’s director had asked departmental representatives in congress to request that the government purchase important local collections of artifacts. Needless to say, the editor supported this idea and also called on the government to strengthen efforts to impede the destruction of the national patrimony by preventing the export of private collections. Finally, the editor pointed out the

importance of regional museums like those in Huaraz and Cusco as well as those in the process of being formed in Trujillo and Ica (Editor 1936).

At the start of the month of April *El Comercio* published a notice sent in mid-February to Valcárcel from the president of the Spanish Association of the Friends of American Archaeology that he had been named an corresponding member of the association and also published Valcárcel's 28 March humble reply (Altamira and Valcárcel 1936).

In mid-April Valcárcel published a second thematic article in *El Comercio* based on the National Museum's collection of Moche pottery. This short article was accompanied by photographs of four pieces of pottery representing women in an increasingly war-like culture (L. Valcárcel 1936a).

In mid-April an article was published in *El Comercio* in which it was stated that Tello had given a talk at the Peruvian Touring Club. While the subject of the talk was on the archaeology of the department [of Lima?], no date was given. Instead all that is said is that the talk was given after his recent [1935] work in the department (Anonymous 1936f). It should be noted that at the meeting of the club on 29 August 1934, Tello had been named chair of the Archaeological Committee (Anonymous 1934ooo).

Benavides's mandate was to expire in December 1936, at the end of Sánchez Cerro's legal term. The President declared that he had no desire to remain in office beyond that time and scheduled elections for 11-October to choose a new chief executive and a parliament to replace the national assembly (Werlich 1978:209).

After two days recess at the end of last week, the Constituent Assembly resumed

its sessions on Monday when an extraordinary credit of S/. 35.000 was voted to meet the cost of the forthcoming elections. In the earlier part of the session a protest was made against the action of the Minister of Government in putting under arrest a number of Unión Revolucionaria partisans who had assembled in a private residence to discuss politics. The same Deputy also stated that at the Mass celebrated last Sunday in memory of the late President Sánchez Cerro a further number of arrests were made. It was agreed to address a Memorial to the Minister asking under what legal dispositions citizens are prohibited from meeting in private residences (Anonymous 1936g).

In May it was reported in Lima that neighbors of the barrio of Pumacayán had denounced the fact that they had been fined by the municipal inspector for having damaged the ruins of that name in the outskirts of the city of Huaraz. The inspector had ordered that ongoing work cease and he had ordered that future work be placed under the supervision of the Departmental Archaeological Institute (Anonymous 1936h).

At this time Bennett was still working on the North Coast. He later wrote:

January ninth to the thirty-first, 1936, was passed in the Trujillo region, examining its famous ruins and conducting minor excavations. February first to March nineteenth was spent in Viru Valley, examining many sites and concentrating excavation at some of them. After ten days in Chicama Valley, we went to Lambayeque Valley from April first to May twenty-sixth, again concentrating on site excavation. May twenty-seventh to June seventeenth in Chicama Valley was utilized to visit many sites, to observe excavations by the Larco brothers,

and to study their magnificent collection of North Coast pottery (Bennett 1941:3).

Regarding Rafael Larco Hoyle in particular, he wrote:

He is particularly interested in the Chavín-style designed pottery found in this region. . . . He has discovered the site of Cupisnique. . . . He advocates the use of the site name "Cupisnique," rather than the style name "Chavín". . . . While Larco publishes articles in the local press, his work will not be appreciated until the book he is preparing . . . is issued (Bennett 1937:250).

Bennett also wrote:

Sr. Jorge Muelle, of the Museo Nacional, who accompanied the writer on part of his 1936 trip in the Viru Valley, has brought out a guide [book] to the ruins of the vicinity of Trujillo, Chicama, Viru, and Santa, as well as several articles analyzing Early Chimu design (Bennett 1938b: 233).

Finally, he wrote:

The National Museum of Peru offered us unusual cooperation. We wish to extend our thanks to the Director, Doctor Luis E. Valcárcel. . . . Señor Muelle was sent . . . as its representative in the field and proved of excellent assistance as well as a fine friend (Bennett 1941:3).

The following notification was published in the 23 June issue of *The West Coast Leader*:

Mr. Wendell Bennett, archeologist of the American Museum of Natural History, who has been carrying out research on the West Coast, arrived by Aerovias plane on the 20th inst., from Trujillo (Anonymous 1936k).

He had completed his fieldwork and had returned to Lima to settle his affairs there. He certainly would have interacted with Valcárcel, given that Muelle had been working with him and it seems likely that he would have interacted with Tello who, he later wrote, "assisted in innumerable ways" (Bennett 1941:3).

It was in June that Tello wrote a prologue to a book dealing with *ayllus* and cooperative socialism. In part he wrote the following, loosely translated from the original Spanish:

The Conquistadors altered the ancient order of things with better weapons and enslaved the Indians, tearing down their monumental works and displacing the fundamental institutions of their civilization. They annulled the primary sources of the country's economy, substituting mining for agriculture and herding. The democratic organization based on cooperative and communal work was replaced by a monarchical political organization based on private property and class stratification, the master and the slave. The country was untimely turned from the normal biological course of its development and impelled toward industrial roots (Tello 1936: xi).

On 7 July, the following notice was published *The West Coast Leader* "Dr. Julio C. Tello, prominent Peruvian archaeologist, en route to the States and Mexico on Government mission" (Anonymous 1936m).

CONCLUDING REMARKS

Context is important in both science and history. To understand the history of Peruvian archaeology is to place archaeological endeavors within the context of their time. Julio C. Tello was a public servant and, as such, he was at the mercy of the whims of those to whom he reported. At the start of 1930, he was the director

of the National Museum of Archaeology, he taught at the University of San Marcos, he directed this university's Museum of Archaeology, and he was a member of the National Board. Hence, he served at the pleasure of the Peruvian president, the education minister, and the university rector. The overthrow of the national government late in August that year had an immediate impact on Tello. First, he was forced to defend himself against slanderous charges, and then he was replaced as director of the National Museum by Luis Valcárcel who had at first been called to Lima to take charge of one of the nation's museums of history.

The years immediately following the establishment of a military junta were unstable at best. Presidents came and went, one in part because of student unrest and another by way of assassination. Ministers of education were changed even more often, at times also because of student unrest. At the university the struggle for control between the students and the faculty finally led to the closing of the school in 1932. This meant that Tello was deprived not only of his income as professor and director but he was also deprived of access to the collections and his papers at the museum.

Money to support research both in the laboratory and in the field was a constant problem for Tello and he often had to rely upon private assistance. However, Valcárcel seemed awash in funding. Throughout this time period, he clearly enjoyed the support of the national government, regardless of who was in office. In 1931 he was named director of a new well-funded National Museum that incorporated all of the nation's museums of archaeology and history. Then the government spent huge amounts of money on work at archaeological sites inside and outside Cusco in order to promote tourism, despite dire economic times. One of Tello's assistants switched his allegiance to Valcárcel and worked in the National Museum's Depart-

ment of Archaeology where he convinced a young artist to join him. From this position they criticized Tello's archaeological endeavors, particularly those related to his work at Paracas. On one occasion Valcárcel felt it necessary to publicly distance himself from this criticism.

For his part, on more than one occasion Tello found it necessary to complain about indifference on the part of the national government, in general, and on the part of Valcárcel, in particular, with regard to the national patrimony, in general, and in particular to sites on the Paracas Peninsula. At the start of 1934 Tello also criticized Valcárcel for the theft of gold artifacts at the National Museum the previous January. Tello used this as an opportunity to publicly lecture Valcárcel and his assistants on scientific research, something he repeated a few months later when charges of malfeasance dogged the work being done at Cusco.

By this time, Tello had successfully weathered the storm created by his going directly to the minister of education in his role as director of the university's Museum of Archaeology to ask for funding to continue his Chavín-related research in Nepeña. The reason Tello bypassed the university's Administrative Council in this matter became clear months later when this council, and particularly one member who had a grudge against him, decided to deny Tello money for his Nepeña research. Instead, the council decided to give money to the individual it had sent to investigate the Nepeña excavations so that he could work at the ruins of Chavín.

Nevertheless, on more than one occasion Tello proved his political astuteness. It had been his idea to create the National Board of Archaeology and this gave him a place to argue for his archaeological agenda. It was this board that supported his work in Nepeña and it was this board that gave Tello permission to undertake

Chavín research in 1934, not only at the ruins of Chavín de Huántar, but in the entire Department of Ancash. Tello also managed to take effective control of the nation's Paracas collection, when an agreement was made between Valcárcel and the university's rector to have the university's new anthropological institute act in place of the National Museum's proposed investigative institute, for which there was insufficient space.

Despite their differences, toward the end of 1935, Tello and Valcárcel together investigated both the ruins of Pukará and the many ruins that were being worked on in and around Cusco to promote tourism. It was on this trip Tello found evidence that convinced him Pukará had experienced a Chavín period of occupation and it was on this trip Tello pointed out to Valcárcel that work in the Cusco area had exposed pre-Inca occupations, something the latter was forced to admit publicly.

This apparent willingness on the part of Tello and Valcárcel to cooperate was at odds with the animosity that lingered between the Tello and Valcárcel camps. There was no sign that Tello was going to get increased governmental funding. Though Tello had reasserted himself as the nation's preeminent archaeologist, by the beginning of 1936 he still lacked needed resources, particularly money to preserve, conserve, and study the Paracas collection that he controlled, as well as money to fund his Chavín-related field research. It was for this reason he traveled abroad to seek support and he succeeded in doing so when he convinced a group of Americans to found an institute to promote research in the Andes. The founding of this institute and Tello's subsequent involvement with it is of such significance that it merits a separate in-depth reporting.²⁰¹

²⁰¹ Two brief histories of the early years of the Institute of Andean Research have been published (Daggett 2009; Mason 1967).

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- 1930g Las pinturas de Zubiaurre sobre temas peruanas. *El Comercio* 27 September, page 6 (Lima).
- 1930h Patronato Nacional de Arqueología. *El Comercio* 4 October, page 8 (Lima).
- 1930i El Nuevo Director General de Instrucción. *El Comercio* 7 October, page 5 (Lima).
- 1930j Sociedades e instituciones. *El Comercio* 10 October, page 8 (Lima).
- 1930k Vida universitaria: Se declara la huelga. *El Comercio* 12 October, page 5 (Lima).
- 1930l Vida universitaria: La huelga de estudiantes. *El Comercio* 13 October, page 5 (Lima).
- 1930m Concurso para la provision de una plaza de dibujante en el Museo de Arqueología Peruana. *El Comercio* 22 October, page 4 (Lima).
- 1930n Vida universitaria. Comisión de reforma de la universidad. *El Comercio* 23 October, page 5 (Lima).
- 1930o Vida universitaria. Comisión de reforma de la Facultad de Historia, Filosofía, y Letras. *El Comercio* 6 December, page 5 (Lima).
- 1931a Sentence against Ex-President Leguía and His Three Sons. *The West Coast Leader* 6 January, page 11 (Lima).
- 1931b University Disturbance. *The West Coast Leader* 10 February, page 7 (Lima).
- 1931c Museo de Arqueología. *El Comercio* 13 February, page 3 (Lima).
- 1931d Las actividades de ayer a los príncipes de Gales y Jorge de Inglaterra. *El Comercio* 13 February, page 5 (Lima).
- 1931e Revolt at Callao. *The West Coast Leader* 24 February, pages 1, 14 (Lima).
- 1931f Prince of Wales. *The West Coast Leader* 24 February, page 1 (Lima).
- 1931g Aversion of the Callao Revolt. *The West Coast Leader* 24 February, page 3 (Lima).
- 1931h Politics and Government: Revolt and Counter Revolt; New Jiménez Government. *The West Coast Leader* 3 March, page 1 (Lima).
- 1931i Sánchez Cerro Wants to Come Back. *The West Coast Leader* 12 May, page 7 (Lima).
- 1931j Governmental Reasons for Refusal of Entry to Sánchez Cerro. *The West Coast Leader* 19 May, page 1 (Lima).
- 1931k Lynching of Comandante Salazar. *The West Coast Leader* 19 May, page 1 (Lima).
- 1931l Students Still Protest. *The West Coast Leader* 2 June, page 2 (Lima).
- 1931m Asamblea tumultuosa en la Universidad de San Marcos. *El Comercio* 7 June, page 4 (Lima).
- 1931n Revolutionary Plot: Martial Law Declared throughout the Republic. *The West Coast Leader* 9 June, pages 1-2 (Lima).
- 1931o Sánchez Cerro Protests. *The West Coast Leader* 16 June, page 21 (Lima).
- 1931p The Home Coming of Sánchez Cerro. *The West Coast Leader* 30 June, Supplement, page IV (Lima).
- 1931q The Cuzco Rebellion. *The West Coast Leader* 7 July, page 1 (Lima).
- 1931r APRA Leader Returns. *The West Coast Leader* 14 July, Supplement, page II (Lima).
- 1931s A Man of his Word: Rafael Larco Herrera. *The West Coast Leader* 21 July, page 1 (Lima).
- 1931t David: The Shepherd of Peru. *The West Coast Leader* 28 July, page 1 (Lima).
- 1931u The General Elections. *The West Coast Leader* 4 August, page 1 (Lima).
- 1931v Presidential Candidates. *The West Coast Leader* 4 August, page 15 (Lima).
- 1931w Una comisión arqueológica en Huancayo. *El Comercio* 7 August, page 7 (Lima).
- 1931x Excavaciones en las ruinas de Huari (Ayacucho). El Prefecto del Departamento al lugar de las excavaciones para certificar los huacos extraídos por el doctor Julio C. Tello. *El Comercio* 11 August, page 13 (Lima).
- 1931y The Trial of Ex-President Leguía. *The West Coast Leader* 11 August, page 1 (Lima).
- 1931z The Prisoner of Lima: The Odyssey of Ex-President Leguía. *The West Coast Leader* 11 August, page 4 (Lima).
- 1931aa A Professorship Declined. *The West Coast Leader* 22 September, page 7 (Lima).
- 1931bb VII Congreso Científico Panamericano. *El Comercio* 2 November, page 8 (Lima).

- 1931cc Government and Politics. *The West Coast Leader* 3 November, page 1 (Lima).
- 1931dd Politics and Government. *The West Coast Leader* 17 November, pages 1-2 (Lima).
- 1931ee The Political Amnesty. *The West Coast Leader* 24 November, page 19 (Lima).
- 1931ff The Trial of Ex-President Leguía. *The West Coast Leader* 22 December, page 7 (Lima).
- 1931gg Government and Politics. *The West Coast Leader* 29 December, page 17 (Lima).
- 1932a Great Wall of Peru Held To Be Pre-Inca. *The New York Times* 25 January, page 11.
- 1932b Death of Ex-President Leguía. *The West Coast Leader* 7 February, page 1 (Lima).
- 1932c Death of ex-President Leguía. *The West Coast Leader* 9 February, pages 1-2 (Lima).
- 1932d Peruvian Government and Finance. *The West Coast Leader* 16 February, page 7 (Lima).
- 1932e "La Crónica" re-appears. *The West Coast Leader* 23 February, page 7 (Lima).
- 1932f Attempted Assassination of President Sánchez Cerro. *The West Coast Leader* 8 March, pages 1, 8 (Lima).
- 1932g Politics and Government: Condition of President Sánchez Cerro. *The West Coast Leader* 15 March, page 1 (Lima).
- 1932h Special 'Summer' School at the University of San Marcos. *The West Coast Leader* 15 March, page 8 (Lima).
- 1932i Further Reforms for San Marcos University. *The West Coast Leader* 19 April, page 5 (Lima).
- 1932j Las autoridades del Cuzco han apresado al buscador clandestino de un tesoro. *El Comercio* 2 May, page 13 (Lima).
- 1932k El prefecto ha denunciado una sustracción hecha al Museo Brüning, Chiclayo. *El Comercio* 4 May, page 13 (Lima).
- 1932l Abortive Naval Revolt Ends in Tragedy. *The West Coast Leader* 10 May, page 5 (Lima).
- 1932m Arrest of Haya de la Torre. *The West Coast Leader* 10 May (Lima).
- 1932n President and University. *The West Coast Leader* 10 May (Lima).
- 1932o The Trujillo Rebellion. *The West Coast Leader* 12 July, pages 10-11 (Lima).
- 1932p Se ha procedido a inscribir los objetos arqueológicos en el patronato de Piura. *El Comercio* 15 August, page 13 (Lima).
- 1932q Lima to Huacho, Huara, Supe, Barranca, Pativilca, Paramonga, Via Central Railway, Northwestern Railway and Auto, Some 150 Miles Northward to the Fortaleza Ruins. *The West Coast Leader* 16 August, pages 6-7 (Lima).
- 1932r Personal. *The West Coast Leader* 16 August, page 19 (Lima).
- 1932s Personal. *The West Coast Leader* 23 August, page 2 (Lima).
- 1932t Revista del Museo Nacional. *El Comercio* 8 October, page 5 (Lima).
- 1932u Personal. *The West Coast Leader*, 6 December, Supplement, page 1 (Lima).
- 1932v The Great Wall of Peru Discovered from the Air. *Discoveries* 2:7-8.
- 1933a Robo en el Museo Arqueológico Nacional: Parte de las piezas robados carecen de valor arqueológico. *El Comercio* 20 January, page 4 (Lima).
- 1933b El robo al Museo Arqueológico Nacional. *El Comercio* 21 January, page 6 (Lima).
- 1933c La esposa del Ministro de Inglaterra hizo una visita a la población de Casma. *El Comercio* 13 February, page 9 (Lima).
- 1933d Pasó por Casma, con rumbo al sur, la Señora Bentinck, esposa del ministro ingles. *El Comercio* 16 February, page 9 (Lima).
- 1933e La esposa del Ministro de Inglaterra, Mr. Bentinck, se encuentra en Huacho. *El Comercio* 17 February, page 9 (Lima).
- 1933f Congress and Local. *The West Coast Leader* 28 February, page 21 (Lima).
- 1933g Peru. *The West Coast Leader* 14 March, pages 11-12 (Lima).
- 1933h Travel: North of Lima. *The West Coast Leader* 21 March, pages 7-8 (Lima).
- 1933i The Cajamarca Rising. *The West Coast Leader* 21 March, page 17 (Lima).
- 1933j General Benavides in Lima. *The West Coast Leader* 28 March, page 9 (Lima).
- 1933k Instalan el Patronato de Arqueología de Amazonas en la ciudad de Chachapoyas. *El Comercio* 21 April, page 11 (Lima).
- 1933l Assassination of President Sánchez Cerro: Election of General Oscar R. Benavides as his successor. *The West Coast Leader* 2 May, pages 7-8, 22 (Lima).
- 1933m Peru-Colombia. *The West Coast Leader* 2 May, page 22 (Lima).
- 1933n Ayer llego a la ciudad de Chachapoyas el General francés Pierre Langlois. *El Comercio* 5 May, page 13 (Lima).
- 1933o El General Pierre Langlois inicia la exploración de las ruinas incaicas de Amazonas. *El Comercio* 8 May, page 7 (Lima).
- 1933p Personal. *The West Coast Leader* 16 May, page 11 (Lima).
- 1933q Se halla en Chachapoyas la expedición que dirige el General Pierre Langlois. *El Comercio* 19 May, page 11 (Lima).
- 1933r The Assassination of President Sánchez Cerro: Proceedings of the Court Martial. *The West Coast Leader* 20 June, page 9 (Lima).

- 1933s El resguardo martimo de Pisco impide el embarque de un bulto con huacos. *El Comercio* 24 June, page 11 (Lima).
- 1933t The New Ministry. *The West Coast Leader* 27 June, page 27 (Lima).
- 1933u Government and Local: The New Ministry. *The West Coast Leader* 30 June, page 12 (Lima).
- 1933v Pre-Inca Building Is Found in Peru. *The New York Times* 13 September, page 21.
- 1933w Ancient Peruvian Embroideries: Rare Prizes for the Collector. *The Illustrated London News* 16 September, page 121.
- 1933x Continúan efectuando excavaciones de índole arqueológica en el Nepeña. El doctor Julio C. Tello declara que se trata de un sensacional y valioso hallazgo de carácter científico. *El Comercio* 24 September, page 15 (Lima).
- 1933y Un ídolo de gran tamaño fue hallado en las excavaciones iniciadas en el valle de Nepeña. *El Comercio* 25 September, page 11 (Lima).
- 1933z Nuevos detalles sobre el descubrimiento de carácter arqueológico, en Nepeña. *El Comercio* 26 September, page 11 (Lima).
- 1933aa Un nuevo hallazgo arqueológico en la huaca de Pungurí. *El Comercio* 28 September, page 13 (Lima).
- 1933bb Los descubrimientos arqueológicos de Nepeña, *El Comercio* 1 October, page 13 (Lima).
- 1933cc Nuevas excavaciones arqueológicas serán practicadas en la próxima quincena en el palacio de "Cerro Blanco", en Nepeña: El Dr Tello explica a un representante de la Cadelp los recientes hallazgos. *El Comercio* 3 October, page 13 (Lima).
- 1933dd Regresará a Lima el arqueólogo Dr. Tello, debido a discrepancias surgidas con relación a las excavaciones que se llevan a cabo en las ruinas de Punkurí. *La Crónica* 3 October, page 9 (Lima).
- 1933ee Further Discoveries in Nepeña Valley. *The West Coast Leader* 3 October, page 8 (Lima).
- 1933ff Las ruinas del valle de Nepeña. Lo que refieren los doctores Tello, Valcárcel y Antúnez de Mayolo se trata de restos de la civilización de Chavín, los dos últimos coinciden en sus apreciaciones. *El Comercio* 5 October, page 7 (Lima).
- 1933gg Es muy lamentada en la Provincia de Santa la paralización de los trabajos arqueológicos en el valle de Nepeña: A su paso por Chimbote, al doctor Julio Tello hizo importantes declaraciones. *El Comercio* 5 October, page 11 (Lima).
- 1933hh No ha habido el propósito de interferir los trabajos del Dr. Tello en Nepeña. *La Crónica* 6 October, pages 1, 5 (Lima).
- 1933ii Sesionó ayer el Patronato Nacional de Arqueología. *El Comercio* 11 October, page 3 (Lima).
- 1933jj Dirigirá el Dr. Tello los trabajos de excavación en las ruinas arqueológicas de Nepeña. *La Crónica* 11 October, page 2 (Lima).
- 1933kk El descubrimiento arqueológico de Nepeña. *Touring Club Peruano* 15, October (Lima).
- 1933ll Patronato Nacional de Arqueología. *El Comercio* 17 October, page 3 (Lima).
- 1933mm Rumored Revolutionary Plot. *The West Coast Leader* 24 October, page 12 (Lima).
- 1933nn Personal. *The West Coast Leader* 24 October, page 20 (Lima).
- 1933oo Personal. *The West Coast Leader* 31 October, page 12 (Lima).
- 1933pp Government and Local. *The West Coast Leader* 14 November, page 10 (Lima).
- 1933qq Aprist Demonstration in the Plaza Acho. *The West Coast Leader* November 14, pages 10-11 (Lima).
- 1933rr Personal. *The West Coast Leader* 14 November, page 21 (Lima).
- 1933ss Sociedad Geográfica de Lima. *El Comercio* 15 November, page 3 (Lima).
- 1933tt Se han realizados nuevos hallazgos arqueológicos en el Departamento de Arequipa. *El Comercio* 19 November, page 15 (Lima).
- 1933uu El doctor Luís E. Valcárcel visita la ciudad de Arequipa, en tránsito a la del Cuzco. *El Comercio* 20 November, page 13 (Lima).
- 1933vv Personal. *The West Coast Leader* 21 November, pages 19-20 (Lima).
- 1933ww Personal. *The West Coast Leader* 12 December, pages 21-23 (Lima).
- 1933xx Descubrimientos arqueológicos en el Cuzco. *El Comercio* 17 December, page 15 (Lima).
- 1933yy Acuerdan que repare la carretera a las ruinas de Sacsihuaman en el Cuzco. *El Comercio* 18 December, page 33 (Lima).
- 1933zz Los descubrimientos en la Fortaleza de Sacsahuaman son de mucha importancia. *El Comercio* 21 December, page 15 (Lima).
- 1933aaa Noticias del Cuzco. *El Comercio* 24 December, page 15 (Lima).
- 1933bbb El doctor Valcárcel emite opinión acerca las ruinas de Chuarajón y Sachaca, situadas en Yarabamba. *El Comercio* 31 December, page 14 (Lima).
- 1934a Discovery of Revolutionary Plot. *The West Coast Leader* 9 January, Supplement, page II (Lima).
- 1934b Exploraciones arqueológicas en Chavín. *El Comercio* 12 January, page 10 (Lima).
- 1934c Causan sensación en Ica las declaraciones hechas por el catedrático doctor J. Tello: Dice que se ha llevado a cabo excavaciones sin el respecto permitido. *El Comercio* 20 January, page 11 (Lima).

- 1934d Con toda celeridad siguen efectuando excavaciones en las ruinas Sacsaihuaman. *El Comercio* 23 January, page 11 (Lima).
- 1934e El doctor Santiago Antúnez de Mayolo ha regresado del viaje. *El Comercio*, 5 February, page 13 (Lima).
- 1934f Hallan algunos ídolos de oro en Sacsayhuaman. *El Comercio* 11 February, page 13 (Lima).
- 1934g Los Señores Valcárcel, Wagner y Harth Terré partieron del Cuzco hasta Ollantaytambo. *El Comercio* 11 February, page 14 (Lima).
- 1934h La población de Chavín, en el Departamento de Ancash, futuro centro de turismo nor-peruano. *El Comercio* 12 February, page 13 (Lima).
- 1934i Recent Archaeological Excavations at Cuzco. *The West Coast Leader* 13 February, page 27 (Lima).
- 1934j Continúa viaje de Chavín con rumbo al Marañón el Dr. S. Antúnez de Mayolo. *El Comercio* 14 February, page 11 (Lima).
- 1934k La protesta de los indigenas del Cuzco, suspende los interesantes descubrimientos arqueológicos iniciados en el cementerio de Ollantaitambo, en aquel departamento. *El Comercio* 25 February, page 15 (Lima).
- 1934l Unburying the Past: Excavations in Cuzco and the Vicinity. *The West Coast Leader* 27 February, page 13 (Lima).
- 1934m Siguen practicandose en forma científica las excavaciones en las ruinas de Tecteccaca, Cuzco. *El Comercio* 28 February, page 11 (Lima).
- 1934n Hallazgo arqueológico importante. *El Comercio* 1 March, page 2 (Lima).
- 1934o Han continuado con éxito las excavaciones que se realizan en las ruinas de Ollantaitambo. *El Comercio* 2 March, page 13 (Lima).
- 1934p El doctor Santiago Antúnez de Mayolo, delegado de la Universidad, llegó a Huarás. *El Comercio* 4 March, page 13 (Lima).
- 1934q Lanza una denuncia grave el periódico 'El Sol', del Cuzco: Asegura que se malgastan los dineros dedicados a restaurar los monumentos. *El Comercio* 4 March, page 13 (Lima).
- 1934r Presentaron la denuncia en el Cuzco por los fraudes con el dinero pro cuarto centenario. *El Comercio* 7 March, page 14 (Lima).
- 1934s Alrededor de la inversion incorrecta de los fondos Pro Centenario del Cuzco. *El Comercio* 13 March, page 15 (Lima).
- 1934t Forthcoming Elections. *The West Coast Leader* 13 March, page 11 (Lima).
- 1934u Boletín del Comité Ejecutivo pro-conmemoración del IV Centenario del Cuzco. *El Comercio* 14 March, page 1 (Lima).
- 1934v Una carta del Dr. Wagner sobre supuestos fraudes en las obras de Sacsahuaman. *El Comercio* 14 March, page 13 (Lima).
- 1934w Los fraudes descubiertos en el empleo de los fondos Pro Centenario del Cuzco. *El Comercio* 15 March, page 14 (Lima).
- 1934x Boletín del Comité Ejecutivo pro-conmemoración del IV Centenario del Cuzco. *El Comercio* 16 March, page 3 (Lima).
- 1934y Boletín del Comité Ejecutivo pro-conmemoración del IV Centenario del Cuzco. *El Comercio* 18 March, page 14 (Lima).
- 1934z Reproducen en el Cuzco el trabajo del arqueológico señor Tello, publicado en Lima. *El Comercio* 26 March, page 12 (Lima).
- 1934aa Artículo del Director del Museo Nacional sobre las excavaciones del Cuzco. *El Comercio* 26 March, page 12 (Lima).
- 1934bb El Alcalde del Cuzco denuncia las excavaciones arqueológicas clandestinas verificada en Huaraira. *El Comercio* 26 March, page 12 (Lima).
- 1934cc Cuzco Celebrates Fourth Centenary. *The New York Times* 1 April, Section IV, page 8.
- 1934dd Archaeological Studies in Peru. *Nature* 133 (3362): 524 (April 7).
- 1934ee Sociedad Geográfica de Lima. *El Comercio* 10 April, page 16 (Lima).
- 1934ff La población de Chavín en el departamento de Ancash, futuro centro de turismo nor-peruano. *El Comercio* 12 April, page 13 (Lima).
- 1934gg Patronato Nacional de Arqueología. *El Comercio* 17 April, page 3 (Lima).
- 1934hh Despidieron a todos los obreros que trabajan en las ruinas Sacsayhuaman. *El Comercio* 25 April, page 13 (Lima).
- 1934ii A Year of Stable Government. *The West Coast Leader* 1 May, page 21 (Lima).
- 1934jj La paralización de los trabajos de excavación en las ruinas de Sacsayhuaman. *El Comercio* 2 May, page 14 (Lima).
- 1934kk Paredes del Castillo de Chavín se caen a causa de las lluvias. *El Comercio* 13 May, page 15 (Lima).
- 1934ll Panagra Flights to Cuzco and Southern Peru. *The West Coast Leader* 15 May, page 16 (Lima).
- 1934mmm The New Premier. *The West Coast Leader* 15 May, page 17 (Lima).
- 1934nn Es crítica la situación de guardian de las ruinas de Paracas, señor Valdivia. *El Comercio* 25 May, page 4 (Lima).
- 1934oo Comentan en Pisco el caso del guardian de las ruinas de Paracas, José Valdivia. *El Comercio* 27 May, page 17 (Lima).
- 1934pp El guardian de las ruinas de Paracas aclara lo dicho por él al llegar a Pisco. *El Comercio* May 28, page 19 (Lima).

- 1934qq El Comité del Centenario del Cuzco hizo entrega de las obras de Machu Picchu. *El Comercio* 1 June, page 13 (Lima).
- 1934rr Entregaron al Patronato de Arqueología las ruinas de Piquillacta y Pisac en el Cuzco. *El Comercio* 7 June, page 13 (Lima).
- 1934ss Conversando con el Dr. Santiago Antúnez de Mayolo, sobre las ruinas del Castillo de Chavín. *El Comercio* 11 June, page 5 (Lima).
- 1934tt Patronato Nacional de Arqueología. *El Comercio* 14 June, page 4 (Lima).
- 1934uu El local para el instituto arqueológico. *El Comercio* 11 July, page 13 (Lima).
- 1934vv Personal. *The West Coast Leader* 17 July, Supplement, page XXIII (Lima).
- 1934ww El doctor Tello va a Chavín a estudiar las célebres ruinas de "El Castillo". *El Comercio* 4 August, page 13 (Lima).
- 1934xx Para ejecutar trabajos arqueológicos llegó el Dr. J. Tello a Chavín. *El Comercio* 7 August, page 13 (Lima).
- 1934yy Personal. *The West Coast Leader* 7 August, page 7 (Lima).
- 1934zz La visita del doctor Julio C. Tello a Chavín, para estudiar "El Castillo". *El Comercio* 8 August, page 13 (Lima).
- 1934aaa Los estudios del Dr. Julio C. Tello en los monumentos prehistóricos de Chavín. *El Comercio* 9 August, page 11 (Lima).
- 1934bbb La labor científica del doctor Julio C. Tello en "El Castillo" de Chavín. *El Comercio* 11 August, page 11 (Lima).
- 1934ccc El doctor Julio C. Tello se ha dirigido a examinar las ruinas del Marañón. *El Comercio* 13 August, page 11 (Lima).
- 1934ddd Personal. *The West Coast Leader* 14 August, page 21 (Lima).
- 1934eee Personal. *The West Coast Leader* 21 August, page 5 (Lima).
- 1934fff Sale of South American antiquities. *The West Coast Leader* 21 August, page 16 (Lima).
- 1934ggg Regresará a Chavín Dr. Julio C. Tello, después de un viaje por el Marañón. *El Comercio* 24 August, page 13 (Lima).
- 1934hhh El doctor Tello regresó a Chavín, de su viaje a las ruinas del Marañón. *El Comercio* 24 August, page 14 (Lima).
- 1934iii Conferencia del Dr. Julio C. Tello, sobre cuestiones arqueológicas. *El Comercio* 26 August, page 16 (Lima).
- 1934jjj Emprendieron ayer viaje a Lima, desde Chavín, los doctores Tello y Vega. *El Comercio* 28 August, page 14 (Lima).
- 1934kkk Se vio muy concurrida en el Cuzco la conferencia arqueológica de Fritz Buck. *El Comercio* 30 August, page 15 (Lima).
- 1934lll La inauguración del Museo Arqueológico en el Cuzco por el Dr. Luís Valcárcel. *El Comercio* 30 August, page 15 (Lima).
- 1934mmm Las ruinas de Chavín y de Tinyash son visitados por el Dr. Julio C. Tello. *El Comercio* 31 August, page 13 (Lima).
- 1934nnn Solemne inauguración del Instituto de Arqueología en la población del Cuzco. *El Comercio*, afternoon edition, 1 September, page 2 (Lima).
- 1934ooo Peruvian Touring Club. *The West Coast Leader* 4 September, page 20 (Lima).
- 1934ppp El arqueólogo Dr. Julio C. Tello ha llegado a Caraz de su excursión por Chavín. *El Comercio* 9 September, page 15 (Lima).
- 1934qqq Politics and Government. *The West Coast Leader* 11 September, page 5 (Lima).
- 1934rrr El doctor Valcárcel visita Puno. *El Comercio* 13 September, page 13 (Lima).
- 1934sss Escuela Nacional de Artes y Oficios. *El Comercio* 16 September, page 5 (Lima).
- 1934ttt The Callejón de Huaylas. *The West Coast Leader* 2 October, pages 19-20 (Lima).
- 1934uuu Agasjo al doctor Santiago Antúnez de Mayolo. *El Comercio* 11 October, page 5 (Lima).
- 1934vvv Proponen en Trujillo la realización de un curso arqueológico del norte del Perú. *El Comercio* 8 November, page 13 (Lima).
- 1934www La Junta del Cuarto Centenario de Trujillo acoge la idea para una exposición de arqueología. *El Comercio* 12 November, page 13 (Lima).
- 1934xxx Toma cuerpo la iniciativa del museo y congreso arqueológico en el IV Centenario de Trujillo. *El Comercio* 18 November, page 15 (Lima).
- 1934yyy El monumento arqueológico llamado "El Castillo", está en condiciones deplorables. *El Comercio* 23 November, page 13 (Lima).
- 1934zzz Ha sido encontrado un interesante monolito en la cercanía de Pomabamba. *El Comercio* 24 November, page 16 (Lima).
- 1935a Se efectuará un congreso arqueológica exposición agro-pecuaria y avícola. *El Comercio* 6 January, page 21 (Lima).
- 1935b Local and Commercial. *The West Coast Leader* 8 January, page 21 (Lima).
- 1935c Revista del Museo Nacional. *El Comercio* 1 February, page 9 (Lima).
- 1935d Más de cien turistas hacen una visita a Trujillo, y a los monumentos de Chan Chán. *El Comercio* 3 February, page 18 (Lima).
- 1935e Las ruinas de Chanchán. *El Comercio* 3 March, page 9 (Lima).

- 1935f "El Universal": a new daily newspaper to appear simultaneously in Lima and Callao. *The West Coast Leader* 12 March, page 15 (Lima).
- 1935g Elogían un descubrimiento de carácter arqueológico hallado en una residencia de Mansiche. *El Comercio*, afternoon edition, 16 March, page 2 (Lima).
- 1935h Revival of the Ceramic Art of Pukara. *The West Coast Leader* 2 April, page 14 (Lima).
- 1935i Plan de protección a la arqueología en la provincia de Trujillo. *El Comercio* 11 April, page 13 (Lima).
- 1935j Lectures on Ancient Peru to be Given at the British Legation. *The West Coast Leader* 30 April, page 22 (Lima).
- 1935k Assassination of Dr. Antonio Miro Quesada and his Wife. *The West Coast Leader* 14 May, page 14 (Lima).
- 1935l Abortive Revolutionary Plot in Arequipa. *The West Coast Leader* 14 May, Supplement, page 1 (Lima).
- 1935m Personal. *The West Coast Leader* 25 June, page 54 (Lima).
- 1935n Se encuentra en Lima una comisión estudiantil norte-americana. *El Comercio* 28 June, page 6 (Lima).
- 1935o Reopening of the University of San Marcos. *The West Coast Leader* 16 July, page 8 (Lima).
- 1935p Ha desaparecido valiosas especies del Museo Raimondi de la Universidad de San Marcos. *La Prensa* 18 July (Lima).
- 1935q Visito las ruinas de Kantamarca el Dr. Julio C. Tello. *El Comercio* 27 July, page 6 (Lima).
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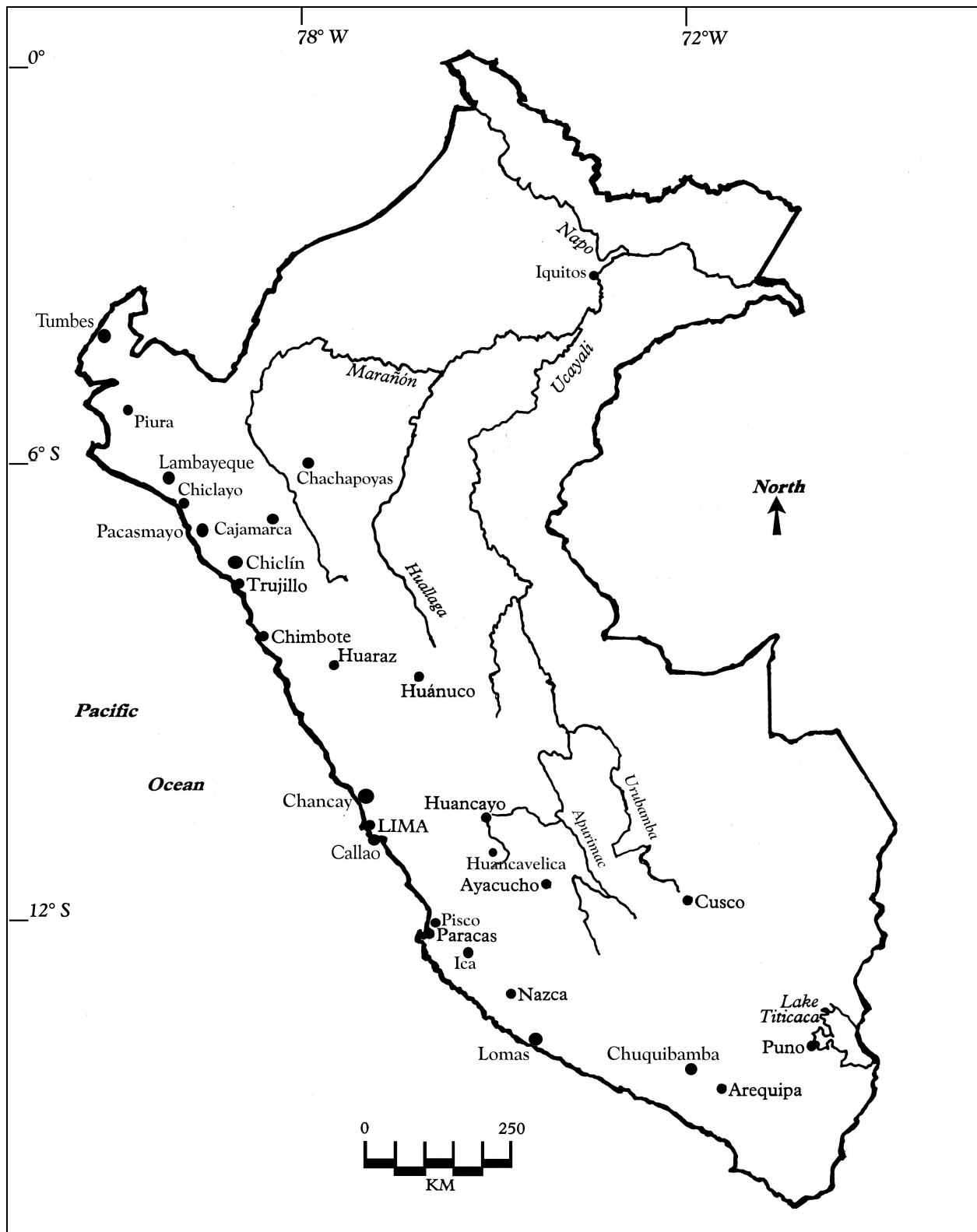
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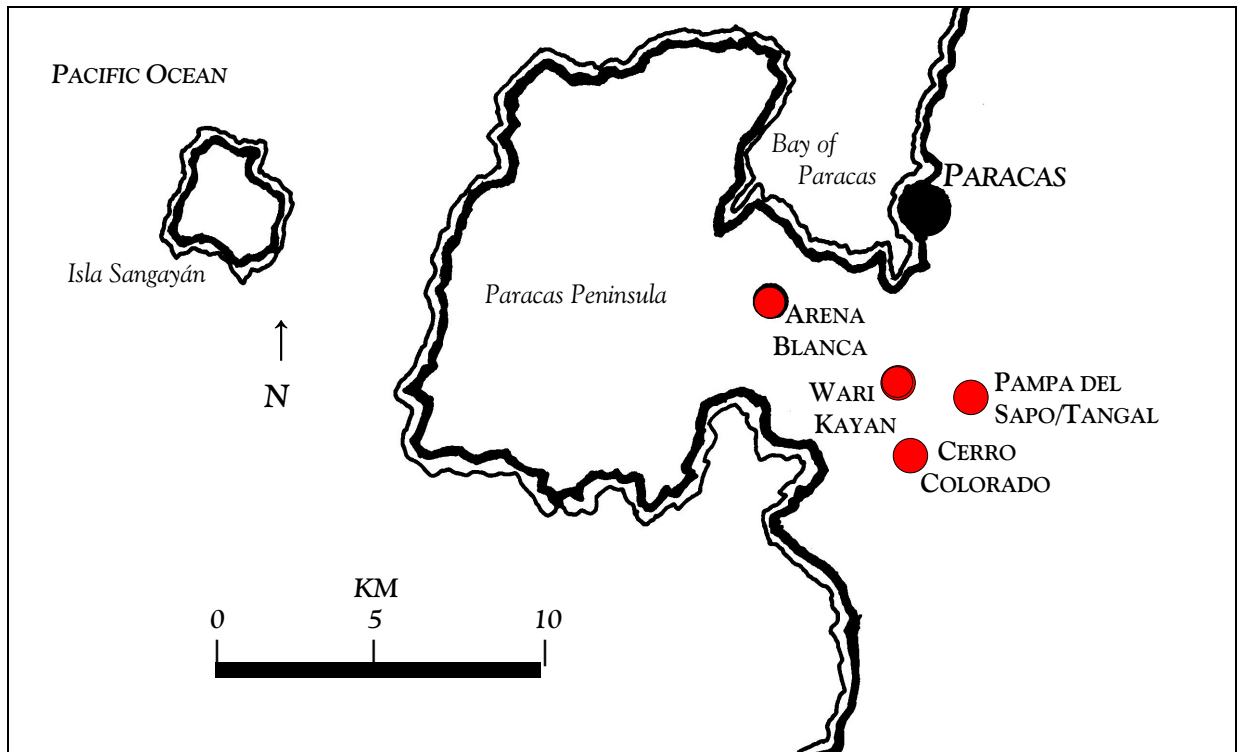
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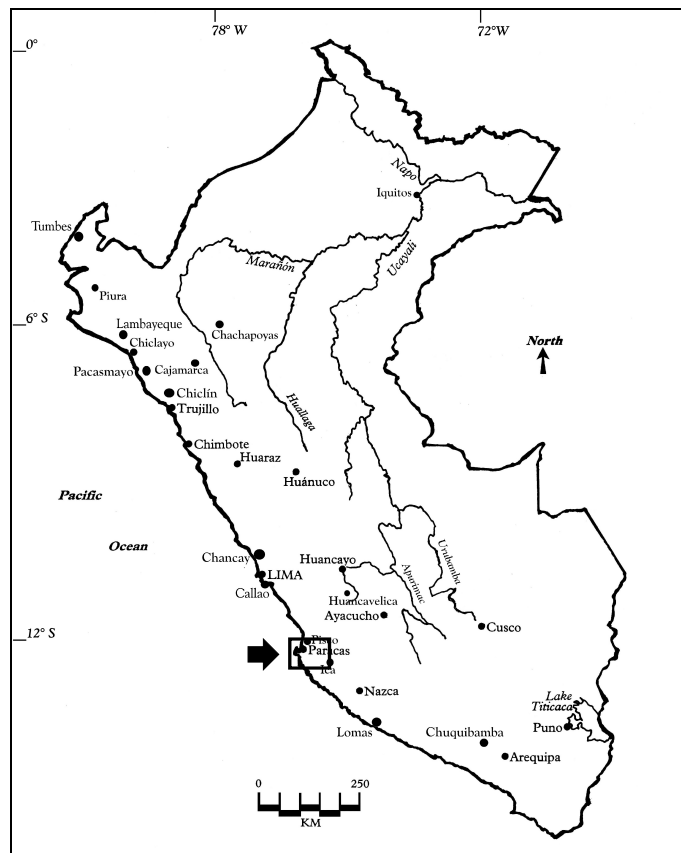
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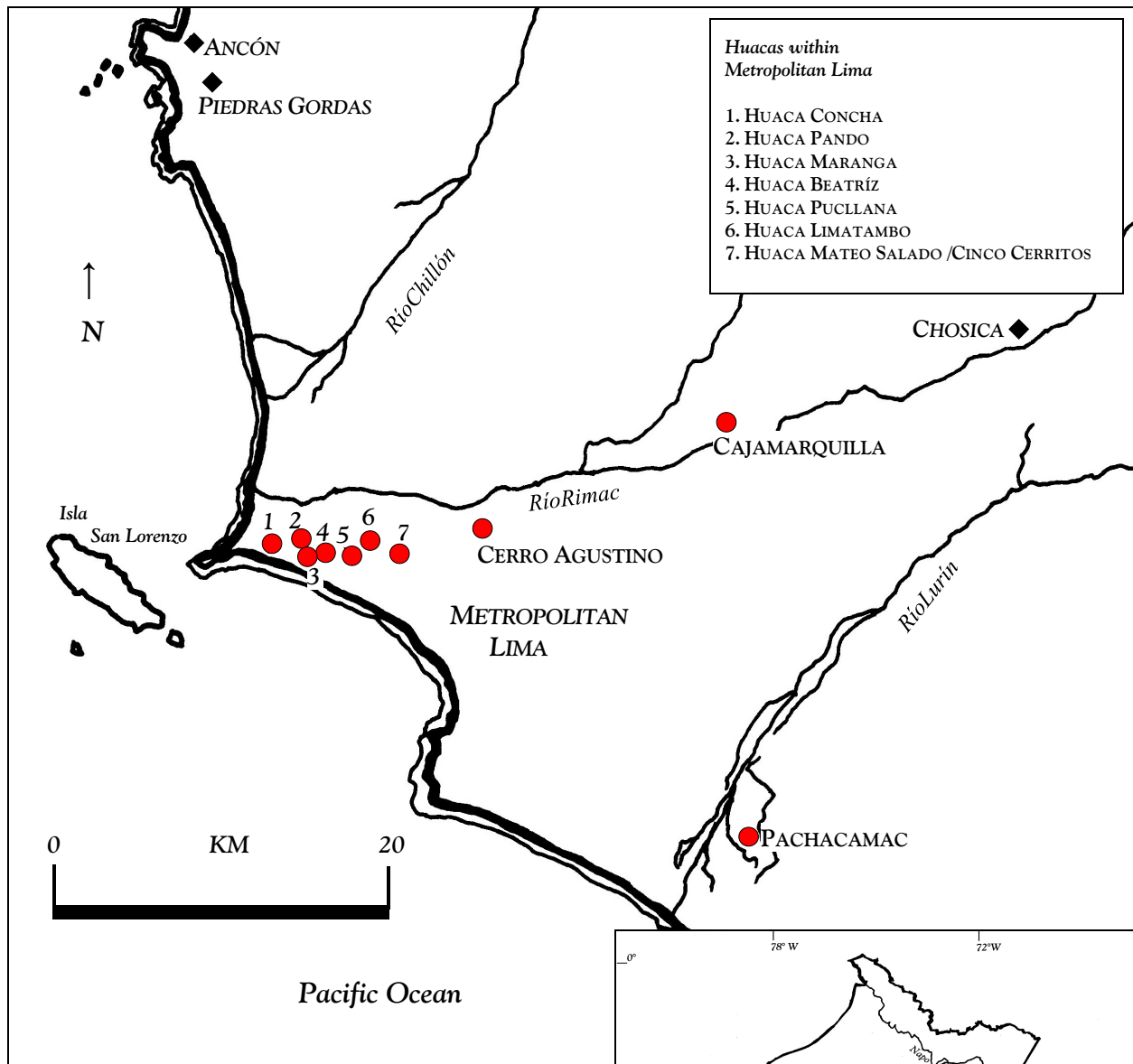


Map 1. Base map of Peru showing some of the cities mentioned in the text.

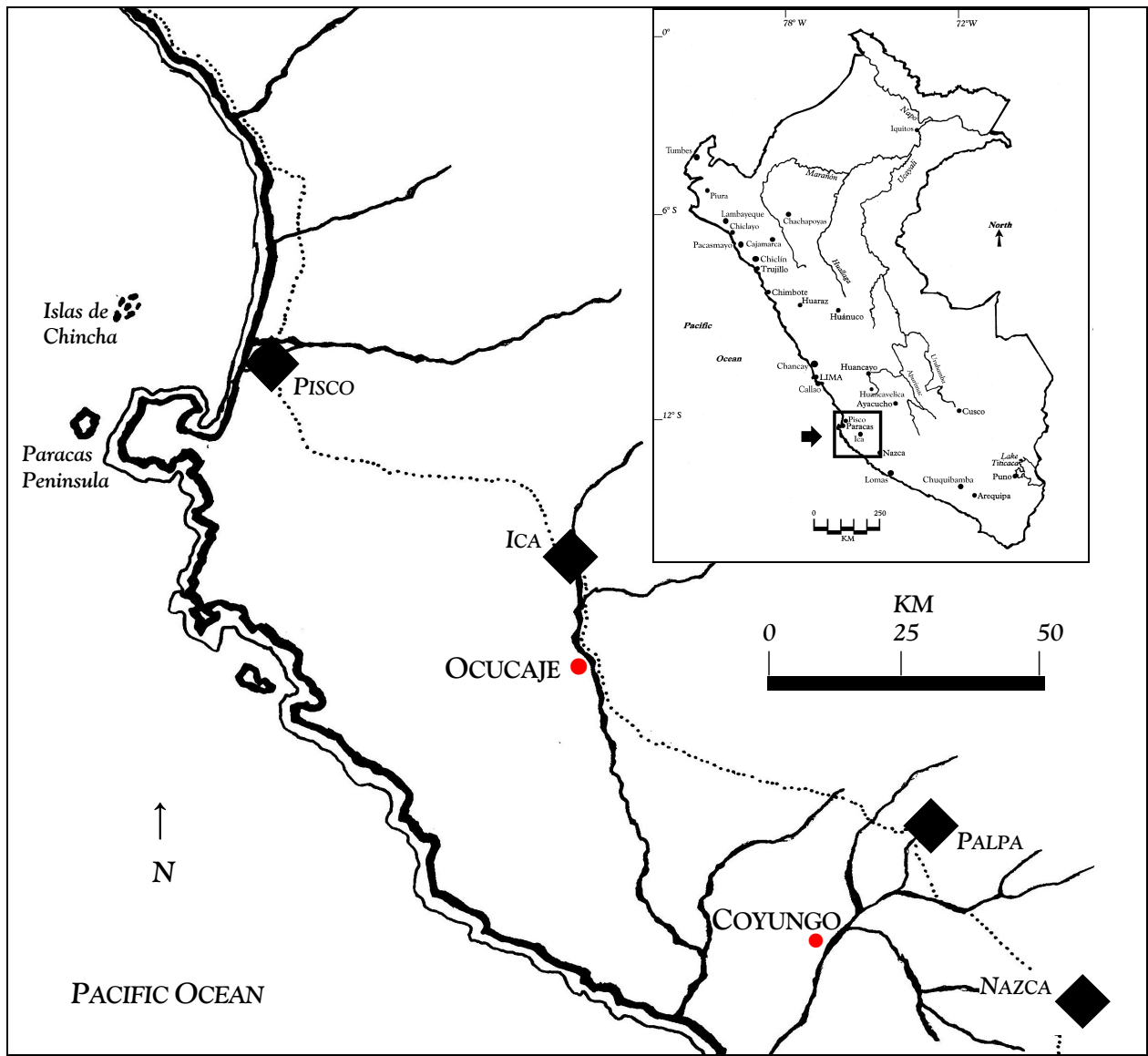


Map 2. Top: map of the Paracas Peninsula showing archaeological sites (red circles) mentioned in the text; Right: base map of Peru showing location of the Paracas Peninsula.

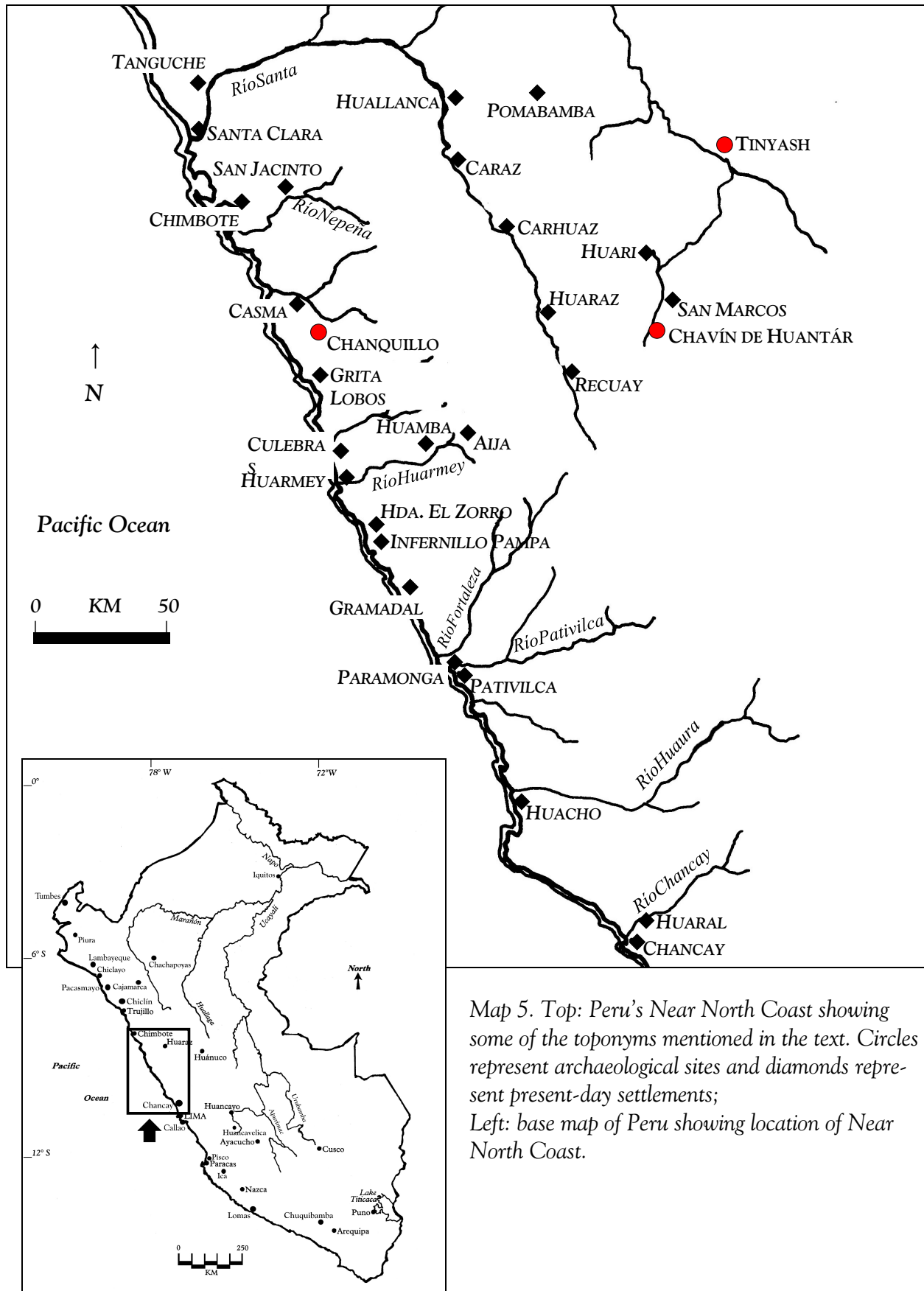




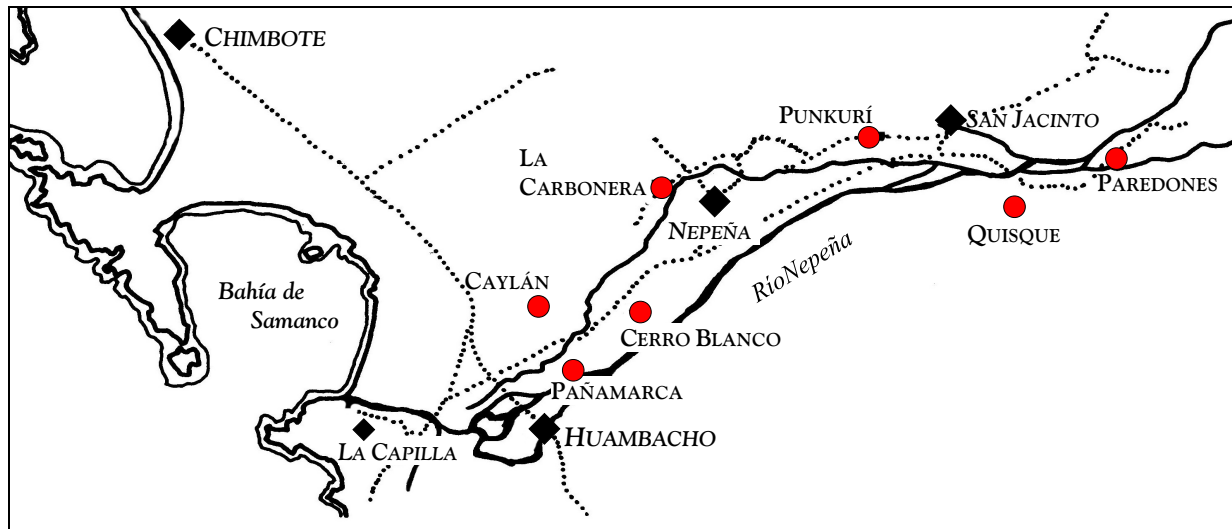
Map 3. Top: map of the lower Chillón, Rimac, and Lurín Valleys showing archaeological sites (circles) mentioned in the text. Diamonds represent present-day settlements; Right: base map of Peru showing location of Chillón, Rimac, and Lurín Valleys.



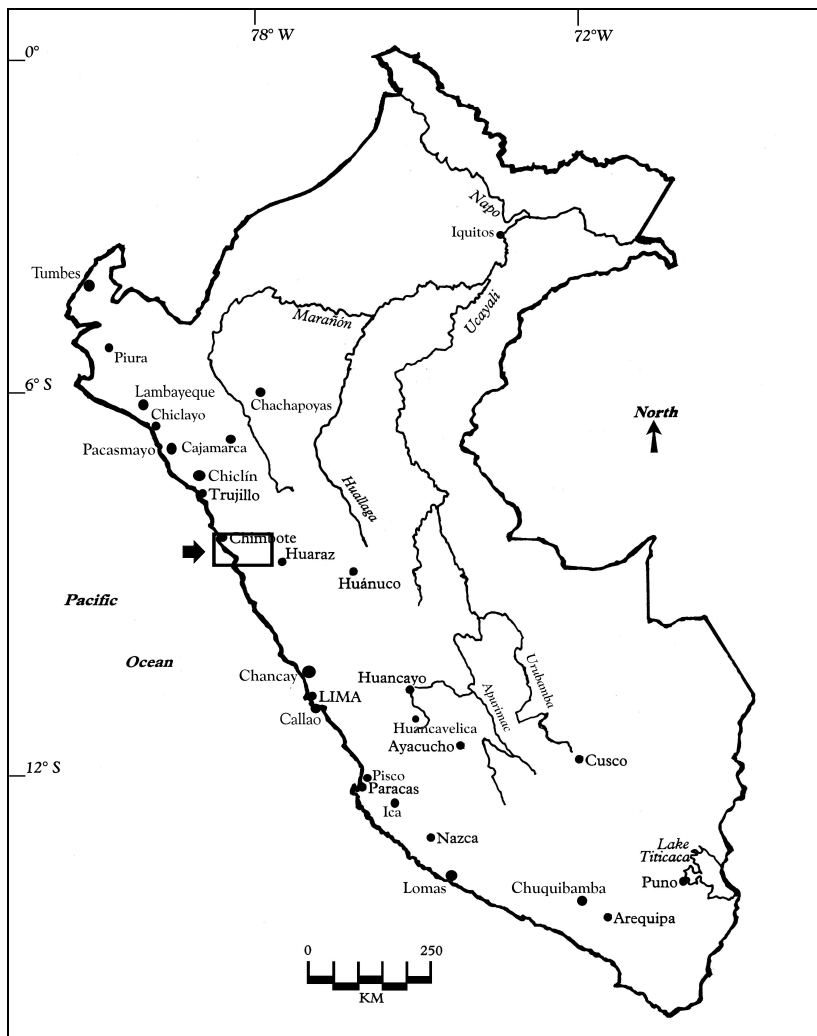
Map 4: The lower Pisco, Ica, and Nazca Valleys showing archaeological sites mentioned in the text (circles). Diamonds represent present-day settlements. The dotted line is the Pan American Highway.

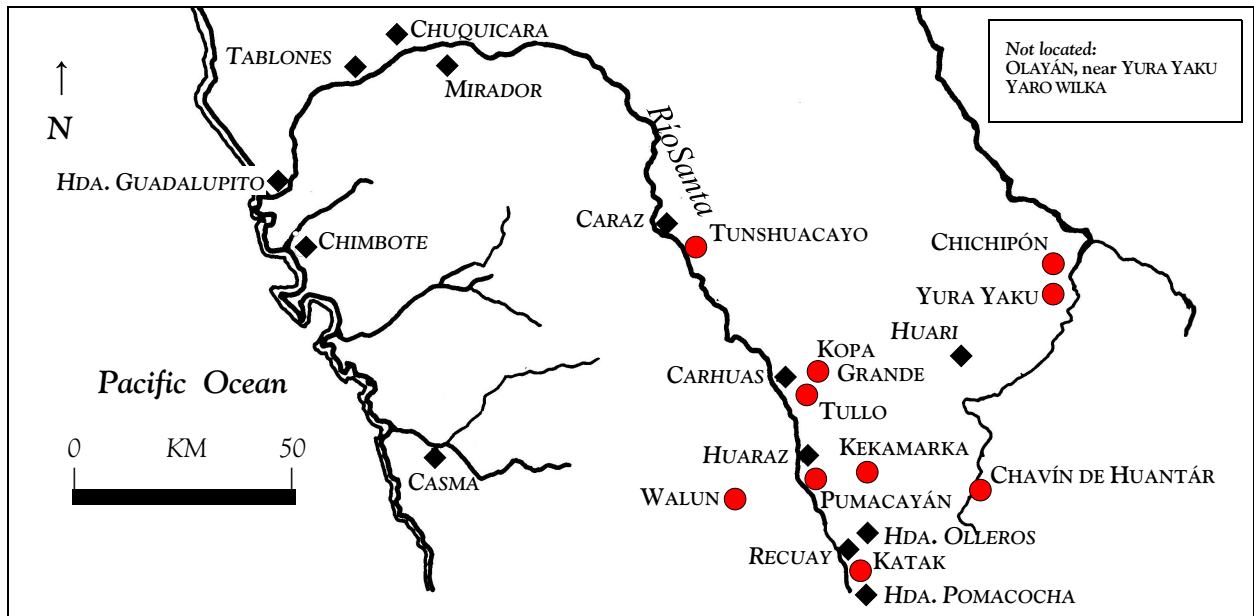


Map 5. Top: Peru's Near North Coast showing some of the toponyms mentioned in the text. Circles represent archaeological sites and diamonds represent present-day settlements; Left: base map of Peru showing location of Near North Coast.

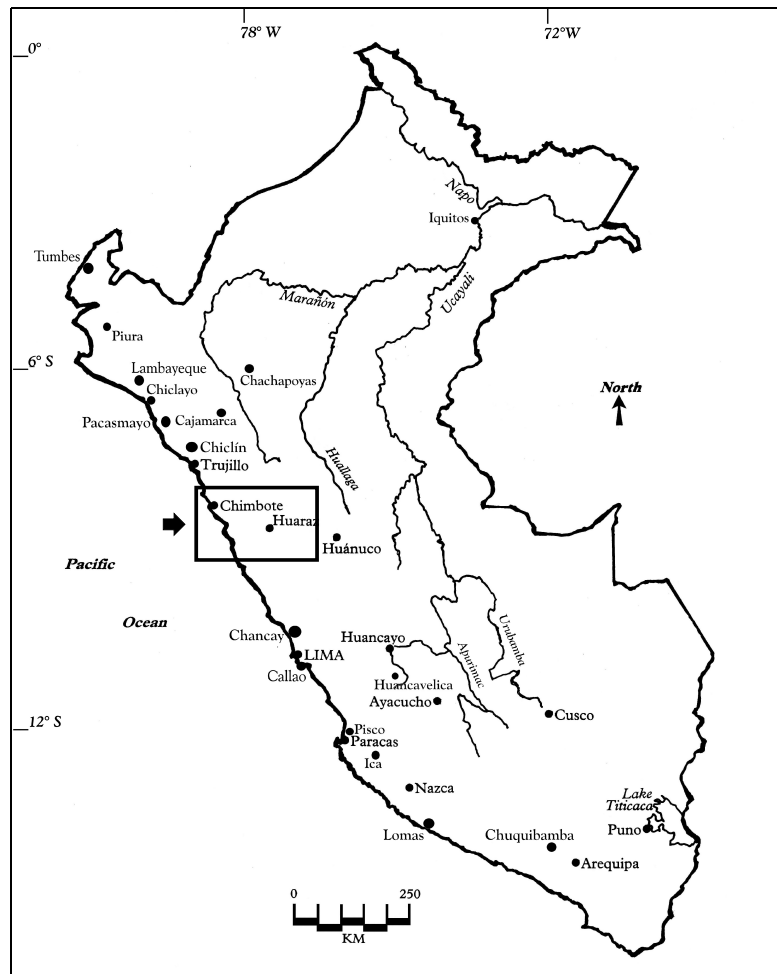


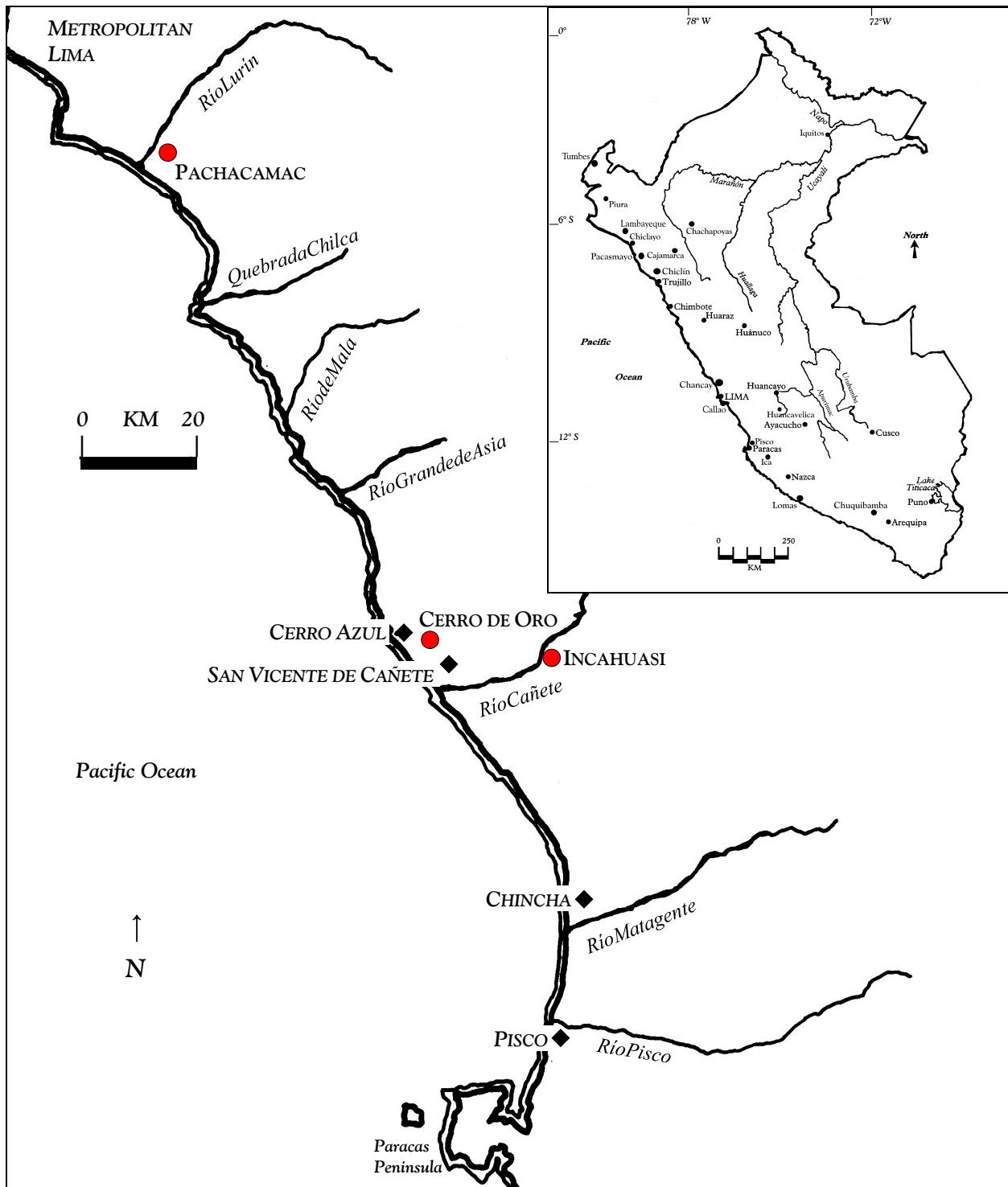
Map 6. Top: the lower Nepeña Valley showing archaeological sites (circles) mentioned in the text. Diamonds represent present-day settlements. The dotted lines represent major roads; Right: base map of Peru showing location of top map.



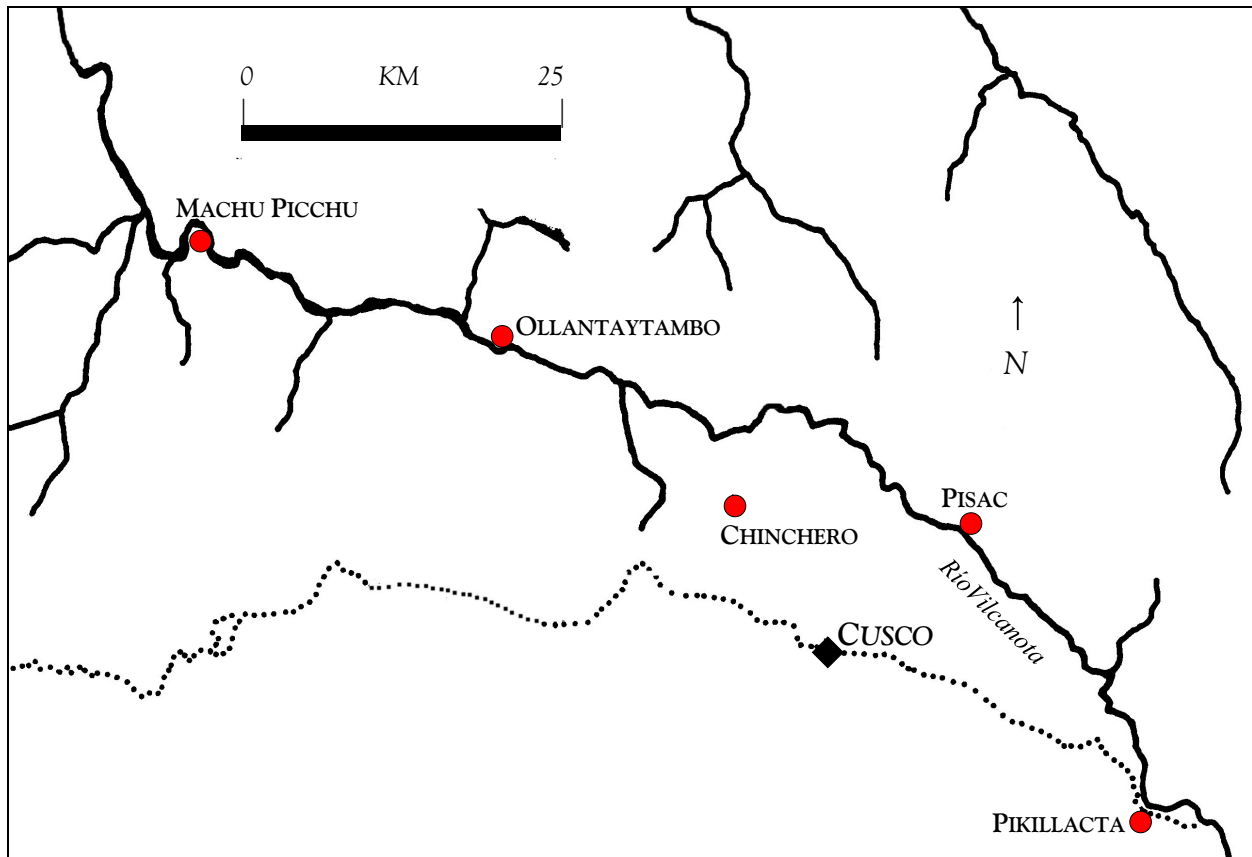


Map 7. Top: The Callejón de Huaylas showing archaeological sites mentioned in the text (circles). Diamonds represent present-day settlements; Right: base map of Peru showing location of top map.





Map 8. Peru's Near South Coast showing archaeological sites (circles) mentioned in the text. Diamonds represent present-day settlements.



Map 9. Top: the Cusco area showing archaeological sites mentioned in the text; Right: base map of Peru showing location of the top map.

