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1936-1943**

Richard E. Daggett

Andean Past Monograph 5

University of Maine

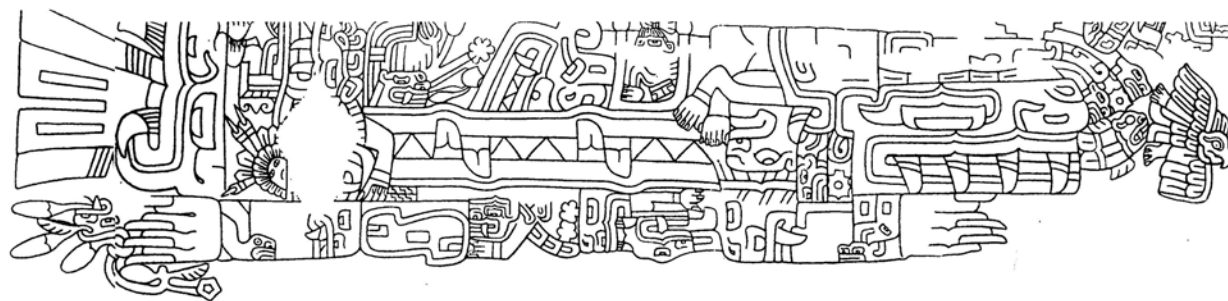
Department of Anthropology

ANDEAN PAST MONOGRAPH 5

JULIO C. TELLO AND THE INSTITUTE OF ANDEAN RESEARCH
1936–1943

by **RICHARD E. DAGGETT**
University of Massachusetts, Amherst

2021



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First edition: 21 August 2021

ANDEAN PAST MONOGRAPHS constitute a numbered publication series dedicated to book-length research in the archaeology and ethnohistory of western South America.

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Cover photo: Julio C. Tello inspects excavation at Cerro Sechín in Peru’s Casma Valley, 1937. Photograph by Donald Collier image # NNC2_568 (1936 19 7 0) courtesy of the American Museum of Natural History Library.

Title page design: One face of the Tello Obelisk from Tello (1923: figure 31).



EDITORS' PREFACE

It is our pleasure to present *Andean Past Monograph 5, Julio C. Tello and the Institute of Andean Research: 1936–1943* by Richard E. Daggett. Here Daggett continues to report his in-depth research on the life and work of Tello, a man who, with German archaeologist Max Uhle, can be regarded as one of the founding fathers of Peruvian archaeology.

Daggett began his serial biography of Tello in the very first volume of *Andean Past* (1987). There, he wrote about “Reconstructing the Evidence for Cerro Blanco and Punkurí” and faced head-on a major problem presented by Tello’s activities—his reluctance to publish fully in academic books and journals. Instead, Tello often reported in Peruvian newspapers, first and foremost Lima’s *El Comercio*. Fortunately, *El Comercio* has always functioned as a newspaper of record, and has maintained microfilms of its early editions. From the outset of his studies, Daggett pioneered the methodology of reconstructing Tello’s activities through newspaper accounts written by, or about, Tello. He continued his exposition of Tello’s work in an article entitled “The Paracas Mummy Bundles of the Great Necropolis of Wari Kayan: A History” published in *Andean Past* 4 (1994).

Were it not for newspaper articles, much of Tello’s work would be reconstructable only from his field records, a project that has been under way in recent years. For examples of the progress that has been made following this methodology, see the publications of the Archivo Tello cited in the bibliography of this volume, for example Cabanillas 2004; Ccosi 2009a, 2009b, 2010; Chávez Ballón 2014, 2016; Huapaya 2009, 2009b, 2009c, 2009d, 2009e, 2010, 2014, 2016; Mejía 2009a, 2009b, 2014; Paredes 2012, 2014; Paredes and Dalen 2016; Paredes

and Martínez 2009; Paredes and Sotelo 2010; Shady and Novoa 1999, 2000; Sotelo *et al.* 2012; Tello 2016a, 2016b; and Vega-Centeno and Castro 2007.

Moving away from a focus on individual projects, Daggett began to reconstruct Tello’s activities year-by-year, beginning with “Tello’s ‘Lost Years’: 1931–1935” (*Andean Past* 8, 2007).

Not satisfied that he had told the complete story, Daggett revisited Tello’s life and work in the early to mid-1930s, situating it in its political context. In 2016 we published our first *Andean Past Monograph*, Daggett’s 181 page work entitled *Julio C. Tello, Politics, and Peruvian Archaeology: 1930–1936*. Following a firm time line, the present volume covers the years 1936 to 1943 and elucidates Tello’s relationship with the Institute of Andean Research (IAR), whose membership consisted, and still consists, of a small group of scholars prominent in the field of Latin American anthropology, including archaeology. The IAR was particularly active in the years leading up to World War II, and while the war raged in Europe and Asia.

With these monographs Daggett enters into “thick description”, which is, as Wikipedia defined it as of 8 December 2020:

. . . A description of human social action that describes not just physical behaviors, but their context as interpreted by the actors as well, so that it can be better understood by an outsider. A thick description typically adds a record of subjective explanations and meanings provided by the people engaged in the behaviors, making the collected data of greater value for studies by other social scientists.

Because this monograph focuses not only on Tello, but on the IAR, it brings into play the IAR's founding luminaries including Wendell C. Bennett, Fay-Cooper Cole, Edgar L. Hewett, Alfred V. Kidder I, Alfred L. Kroeber, Samuel K. Lothrop, Philip A. Means, Leslie Spier, Alfred M. Tozzer, William Duncan Strong, and George C. Vaillant, adding their "subjective explanations and meanings" to the broad, yet detailed picture that Daggett paints. As a member of the IAR, the lead Editor finds this detailed account of the early days of the institution to be particularly compelling.

Some of this material is covered, but very briefly, in Daggett's introduction to Gordon R. Willey's "Experiences with the Institute of Andean Research: 1941-42 and 1946" that we published in *Andean Past* 9 (2009).

In this monograph the IAR members, Tello, and others speak to us in their own voices, largely through correspondence preserved in archives and meticulously cited by Daggett. We have included photographic portraits of as many as possible to help readers visualize the protagonists. One sees a group of men who were supremely self-confident and who set the tone of Andean archaeology for at least a generation. They often appeared oblivious to the concerns and sensibilities of their Peruvian counterparts. They held grand ambitions, but had slender means. They made few references to the important events of their day, most notably those of World War II. What references they do make are generally indirect.

The archaeologists depended upon the reliability of both the U.S. and Peruvian postal systems, seldom resorting to expensive long distance telephone calls or telegrams. Travel was almost always by train or ship, more rarely by air. In Peru automobiles, buses, and mules transported the archaeologists.

This monograph also clarifies the role of the IAR in intelligence gathering during the early part of the Second World War, a role that soon ceased as the U.S. State Department learned that archaeologists generally did not make very good spies.

In some ways, this monograph reads like an eighteenth century epistolary novel. Mme. de Graffigny's book, *Lettres de une péruvienne* comes to mind, in that correspondence carries the narrative in both works. However, *Letters of a Peruvian Princess* is fiction. *Julio C. Tello and the Institute of Andean Research* is an account of day-by-day reality, although sometimes told from subjective points of views.

Daggett's monograph illustrates the complexity of the relationships that had already developed between American archaeologists and Peruvian archaeology by the 1930s, as well as the influence that both U.S. and Peruvian politics had upon archaeology. It demonstrates the important role the IAR played in the 1930s and 40s. It reveals the many obstacles Tello faced both in Peru and in the U.S. While he was much admired among American academics, and was an important gatekeeper in Peruvian archaeology, Tello was also the victim of prejudice and had detractors.

Daggett's thick description lets us see life as it was lived, giving us an appreciation of the complexity of organizing archaeological work over long distances, while balancing competing interests and managing volatile egos. Meticulous accounting of small sums of money reveals the general anxiety over financial matters during the Great Depression and World War II years. Such accounting could be done because exchange rates were stable and inflation was not a major concern. Shorter summary descriptions would have masked the intensity of relationships.

The Editors wish to thank those who have assisted us with the production of this monograph. All of us worked under the restrictions posed by governments and institutions in response to the Covid-19 pandemic. This has meant that we have not been able to obtain all the illustrations we would have liked to have included, and we have had limitations on our reference checking. Among our stalwart band is, as always, Daniel H. Sandweiss, Editor and Founder of *Andean Past*. His encouragement and advice are always welcome. We are grateful to Cheryl Daggett for the attention she has paid to this monograph at all stages of production. Invaluable help with illustration and permissions to reproduce has been provided by Terence N. D'Altroy, Loubat Professor of Archaeology, Department of Anthropology, Columbia University; Carla Galfano, Registrar and Collections Manager, Museum, Dumbarton Oaks; Barry Landua, Systems Manager and Kristen Mable, Registrar for Archives and Loans, both of the Division of Anthropology, American Museum of Natural History; Alessandro Pezzati, Senior Archivist, Penn Museum; Gregory Raml and the rest of the library staff of the AMNH; Katherine Meyers Satriano, Senior Archivist, Cynthia Mackey, Office of Rights and Reproduction, Jeffrey Quilter, Senior Lecturer, Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnography, Harvard University; and Emma Turner-Trujillo, Assistant Registrar and Nina Cummings, Photography Archivist, both of the Field Museum of Natural History. This volume is published with the moral support of the Institute of Andean Research.

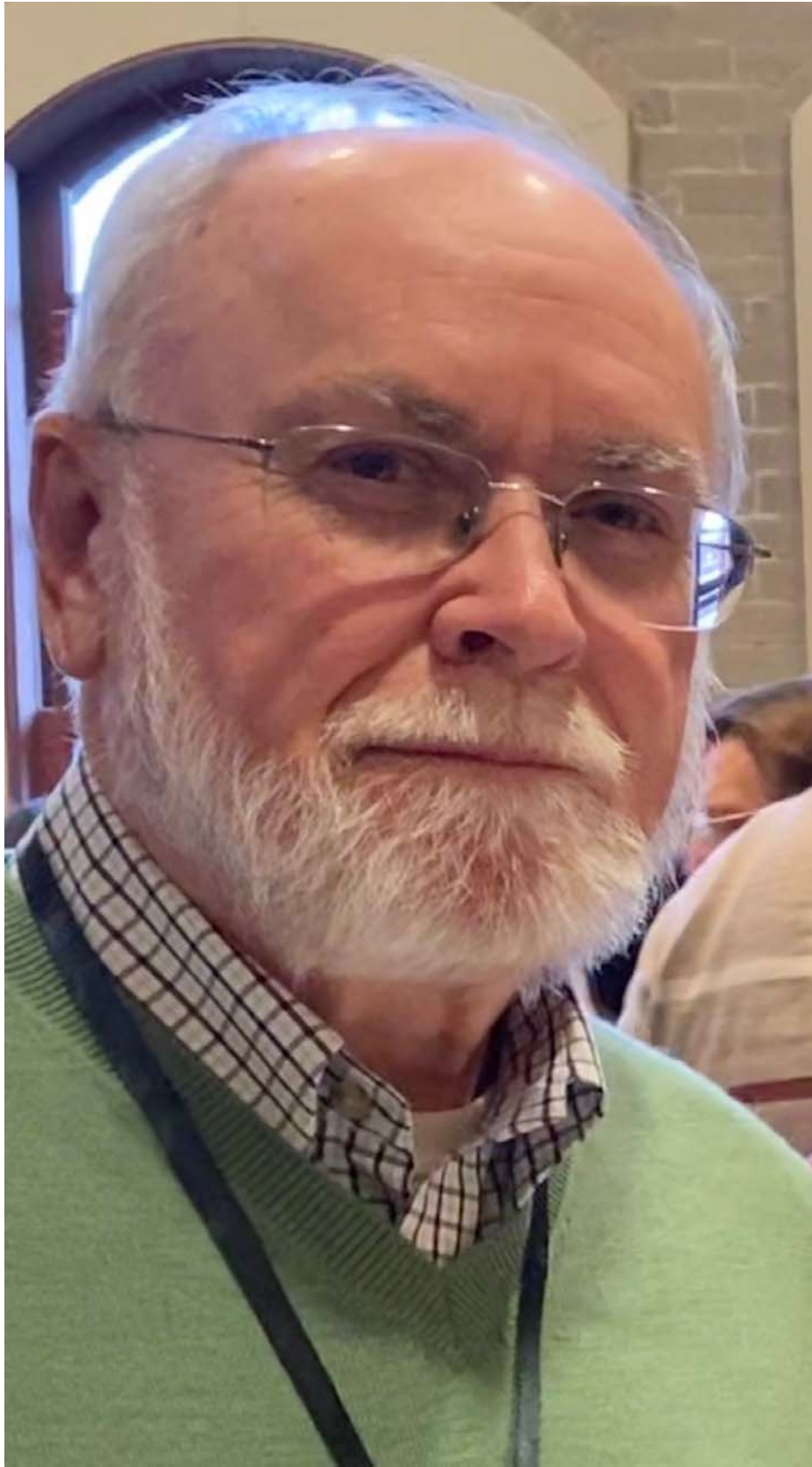
The Author would like to express his sincere gratitude to all the individuals who made it possible for him and his wife, Cheryl Daggett, to obtain copies of correspondence and other documents used in this work. This is especially true for the late Craig Morris, Curator in the Division of Anthropology of the American Museum of Natural History, who allowed them

access to the archive of the Institute of Andean Research, then housed in his office at the AMNH. The Author recognizes that in so doing, Morris placed faith that the Author would do justice to the individuals who took part in the creation and early history of the IAR. The Author trusts that he has done so. The Editors share the Author's confidence in this matter.

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Monica Barnes
David Fleming
21 August 2021



Richard E. Daggett

JULIO C. TELLO AND THE INSTITUTE OF ANDEAN RESEARCH: 1936–1943

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INTRODUCTION–NOVEMBER 29, 2019

Julio C. Tello (Figure 1), the subject of this monograph, was born in the Peruvian highland community of Huarochiri on 11 April 1880. At the age of thirteen, his family sent him to Lima to continue his education, in recognition of his extraordinary energy and thirst for knowledge. Over time, he drew the attention and support of the director of the national library, as well as that of a noted natural historian, who directed him toward linguistic and archaeological endeavors. He graduated from the University of San Marcos School of Medicine in 1909 and was awarded a two-year scholarship to study abroad. He chose to study anthropology at Harvard University, and graduated with a Master's Degree in 1911. After a year of post-graduate study in Europe, he returned to Peru as his nation's first professional archaeologist. Tello immediately made his intentions clear: to establish a national museum of anthropology, to promote science, and to protect the nation's pre-Columbian heritage that had been under attack since the Spanish Conquest.

In pursuit of these goals, in 1917 he sought and won a seat in the lower house of Congress that he held until 1929, when the government created, with his guidance, the National Board of Archaeology. In 1919 he established a museum of archaeology at the University of San Marcos based on material he had collected that year in the northern department of Ancash. In 1924 he began teaching classes at the university, and at the end of that year he was named direc-

tor of the new National Museum of Peruvian Archaeology.

Tello had become the face of archaeology in Peru. Shortly thereafter he undertook years of highly productive explorations and excavations on the South Coast. Unfortunately, in the wake of a military coup in 1930, he lost his position as director of the National Museum and was replaced by a historian. The following year, Tello made use of his political experience to secure a position within the restructured museum, and took control of his South Coast collection, save that part that he had placed on display prior to his dismissal. Despite his reduction in rank, he fought against a rising tide of looting of archaeological sites, particularly on the South Coast, that was abetted by government indifference. With only limited government support, he made important discoveries on the North Coast in 1933. Starved for funding to pursue his work in his museums and in the field, and financially unable to publish results, Tello took advantage of an opportunity to travel to the United States and seek help. This resulted in the creation of the Institute of Andean Research.

In the official history of the Institute of Andean Research (hereafter the IAR) the following is stated:

The Institute of Andean Research, Inc. is a non-profit scientific and educational corporation organized under the Membership Corporation Law of the State of New York. The first proposals for the establishment of

an Institute of Andean Research were made at an informal meeting at the American Museum of Natural History in New York on the 13th of October, 1936, on the occasion of a visit of the distinguished Peruvian archaeologist Julio C. Tello. Later a formal organization meeting was held in Washington on the 28th of December, 1936 (Mason 1967:3).

This statement suggests that Tello's visit to New York in 1936 and the informal discussions held at that time may have been coincidental, or at the very least, that Tello had not played a pivotal role in the creation of the IAR.

In contrast, an earlier statement, published not long after the IAR had completed extensive research in Latin America during 1941–1942, strongly suggested Tello's role was actually instrumental in its creation. It reads:

In the year 1936 Dr. Julio C. Tello, of the Universidad Mayor de San Marcos, made an extensive tour of universities and anthropological institutions of the United States. At every opportunity Dr. Tello discussed with his colleagues the necessity of coordinated work in the Andean region. As a result a group of interested scholars organized the Institute of Andean Research in order to promote anthropological investigations in the Andean area and in related regions (Strong 1943:2).

Why two such very different statements? The earlier emphasized Tello's role in the creation of the IAR, while the later official history seems to downplay his role. This suggests a change in attitude toward Tello, from one highly appreciative of his role, to one neutral to somewhat dismissive in tone. There is also the question of the changing designation of Tello's position within the IAR, from counselor (Strong 1942:182) to member, but not founding member (Mason 1967:14), to founding member (Burger

2009:1–2). What was behind these changes that appear to reflect a greater appreciation for Tello's role over time?

The purpose of this work is to answer a single broad question: what was the nature and extent of Tello's involvement with the IAR inclusive of its founding? In addition to books and journal and magazine articles, sources include archival material and newspaper articles, especially those published in the Peruvian press. Before focusing on how the IAR came into being in 1936, however, it will first be necessary to provide background information. In part, this will serve to introduce Tello and various key individuals with whom he interacted prior to this time.

In 1925 Tello, the director of the new National Museum of Peruvian Archaeology, supervised explorations undertaken by Alfred L. Kroeber¹ (Figure 2) on behalf of Chicago's Field Museum (Kroeber 1926a:331). Toward the end of his stay Kroeber undertook a promising exploration of the Paracas Peninsula on the South Coast (Figure 3). When he returned the following year to continue his work there, he learned that Tello had successfully completed excavations at a site that Kroeber had missed on the peninsula because of a lack of communication between him and his informant. Subsequently Kroeber and Tello collaborated on

¹ Kroeber "entered Columbia College in 1892. . . . He took his A.B. in English in 1896 and his M.A. the following year on the same subject. . . . He served as Assistant in English from 1897 to 1899. . . . Meanwhile . . . he had taken courses in anthropology. . . . In the summer of 1899 he went on his first field trip. . . . in 1901 he was awarded his Ph.D. in anthropology. . . . In 1901 he was appointed Instructor of Anthropology at the University of California. . . . In . . . 1902. . . Max Uhle. . . had come to Berkeley after two years of archaeological research in Peru. . . . In 1922 he [Kroeber] began work on the archaeology of Peru. . . . Kroeber had ascertained by correspondence with Uhle that the excavator did not intend to publish on his collections [at Berkeley]. . . . In . . . 1925, Kroeber made his first trip to Peru" (Rowe 1962:395–402).

explorations and excavations in the Nazca Valley south of Paracas (Rowe 1962:403–404).

Not long after Kroeber's departure in 1925, Tello went to the Paracas Peninsula with Samuel K. Lothrop² (Figure 4) who was awaiting a return vessel to the United States. There they made a surface collection including fragments of textiles that had been eagerly sought by collectors, private and institutional, both inside and outside Peru since their first appearance on the market more than a decade earlier. This led to the discovery at this site later that year of numerous mummy bundles wrapped in these textiles. In 1927 Tello sent a team from the National Museum headed by Toribio Mejía Xesspe to conduct new excavations on his behalf at Paracas, and this resulted in the discovery and extraction of 429 more mummy bundles (Daggett 1991:40–42).

Toward the end of 1928, American president-elect Herbert Hoover made a tour of South American countries. In Lima President Augusto B. Leguía gave Hoover one of the treasured Paracas textiles (Speers 1928), a gift later reported in the 26 August 1930 edition of *The New York Times* to be one of the finest in existence (Anon. 1930b). Hoover's agenda called for him to visit Buenos Aires, Argentina, as recorded in *The New York Times* in its 18 December 1928 edition (Anon. 1928). This newspaper, in its 14 August 1927 edition, had reported that Robert Woods Bliss³ (Figure 5)

² Lothrop studied anthropology at Harvard University and was awarded his B.A. in 1915. In 1921 he was awarded his Ph.D. in anthropology by this institution. During the period 1917 to 1924, he focused his attention on the archaeology of Central America (Milla Batres 1986:294).

³ Bliss graduated from Harvard in 1900 and then went to Puerto Rico where he served from 1901 to 1903 as secretary to the island's governor. "Mr. Bliss' first post in the foreign service was as consul in Venice and after a year he was transferred to St. Petersburg as secretary of the embassy. Other posts included Brussels, Buenos Aires and Paris. In 1916 he was raised to the rank of counselor

had been sent there that year to serve as the American ambassador (Anon. 1927). He was an avid collector of Latin American antiquities (Lothrop 1963), possibly even the first serious such collector (Benson 1993:15), so it is not unreasonable to speculate that he would have taken an interest in the gifted textile.

As recorded in the 17 October 1929 edition of *El Comercio*, Tello opened a special Paracas exhibit at the national museum (Anon. 1929b). Subsequently, in its 22 October edition, this newspaper reported that Tello had publicly unwrapped one of the recently discovered mummy bundles at the museum with the help of his assistant, Rebeca Carrion Cachot (Anon. 1929c; Figure 5). A few months later he received a letter dated 20 August 1930 from a woman of means, Kathleen Peabody McLean,⁴ who resided in Santa Barbara, California. She mentioned interactions with him in 1929 and in 1930. She also mentioned her promise to him to try to develop an interest in his work in the United States after he had shown her some of what he had discovered. Finally, she noted a later visit to Lima by her friend Mrs. Bliss⁵ who

of the embassy in Paris . . . in . . . 1920 he became chief of the Western European Affairs Department in the State Department. . . [He] served as Minister to Sweden from 1923 until 1927 and then was named Ambassador to Argentina" (Anon. 1962).

⁴ According to an obituary published in the *The New York Times*, Kathleen Peabody McLean (née Burke) was born in London on 24 October 1887. On 5 April 1920 she married Frederick Forrest Peabody of Santa Barbara. After the death of her husband in 1927 she married John Reginald McLean in 1929 (Anon. 1958). He died that same year.

⁵ This referred to a brief stop in Lima that Ambassador Bliss and his wife made on 22 January 1930. It was reported in the afternoon edition of *El Comercio* that day that they had arrived (at the port of Callao) on the steamship *Santa Barbara*, on their way to Argentina, and had been met that morning by a representative of the Minister of Foreign Relations and by personnel of the

had encouraged her to act on this matter. As a result, she wrote, she had made overtures on his behalf that had resulted in a proposed expedition to Peru to be undertaken in part by the Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology at Harvard University (hereafter the Peabody Museum; Archivo Julio C. Tello, Museo de Arqueología, Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos, Packet 2, Volume 7 [01997-98]).⁶

Earlier in 1930, Tello had already received a short letter from Alfred M. Tozzer (Figures 7, 17) dated 20 July, confirming this joint expedition (Archivo Julio C. Tello, Museo de Arqueología, Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos, Packet 2, Volume 7 [01997-98]). Tozzer had begun teaching at Harvard in 1905 (Phillips 1955:74) and had been one of Tello's professors when he had attended Harvard's graduate school from 1909 to 1911 (Lothrop 1948:51). Bliss and Tozzer had been classmates at Harvard (Lothrop 1963:93). Unfortunately, this planned 1930 expedition never materialized, as Tello lost his position as director of the National Museum for political reasons following a military coup later that year.

Tello's replacement as director of the National Museum was Luis E. Valcárcel (Figure 8). He was essentially a historian, and he had originally been selected by the provisional government to replace the director of the Bolívar Museum, one of the nation's museums of history. Valcárcel took advantage of his unique dual appointments to oversee the creation of a new National Museum that included under its umbrella both of the nation's museums of history and its museum of archaeology. Unfortun-

American embassy. Later in the day, they were driven back to their ship, hence giving them ample time to visit the National Museum and see the Paracas exhibit (Anon. 1930a).

⁶ Because some of the archives consulted for this monograph have not yet established formal catalogue numbers, some of the references in this paper are necessarily vague.

nately for Valcárcel, however, existing space in the three national museums in Lima was limited, and it was decided to locate a new Institute of Anthropological Research in the old Bolívar Museum at Magdalena Vieja. Tello was effectively ceded control of the unopened Paracas mummy bundles when an agreement was reached to allow a newly created Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos (hereafter San Marcos) Institute of Anthropological Research headed by Tello to serve this purpose. As a result, the bundles were transferred to the Bolívar Museum that also served as the locale of the new Institute of Historical Investigations (Daggett 1991:49–51).

Toward the end of 1931, Marie Beale⁷ accepted an invitation from Ambassador and Mrs. Bliss to visit them in Buenos Aires. Later, while in Lima,⁸ she immediately asked the American ambassador to see the Paracas textiles that Tello had found. To her delight, Tello spent days with her. She took the opportunity to suggest to him an exhibit of the textiles to tour the United States, though she understood that such an endeavor would require a patron of the arts. She left Lima greatly impressed with Tello (Beale 1932:109–111).⁹ It seems reasonable to assume

⁷ According to an obituary published in the 3 June 1936 edition of *The New York Times*, Marie Beale, née Marie Oge (1880–1956), was the grandniece of the late Salmon P. Chase, Chief Justice of the United States, and she was then married to the ex-diplomat and Harvard alum, Truxton Beale (Anon. 1936b). For a photograph of Marie Beale see Beale (1932) facing page 283.

⁸ It was in the 17 November 1931 issue of the weekly *The West Coast Leader* that Marie Beale was reported to be in Lima (Anon. 1931a).

⁹ “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 that Dr. Julio Tello, now head of the Peruvian Archeological Department, had unearthed several years ago at Paracas. . . . To my delight, Dr. Tello at once appeared and for days untiringly showed me the treasures he had installed. . . . I suggested to Dr. Tello a show of Peruvian

that her interest in Tello and the Paracas textiles arose as a result of her recent visit to see her friends in Buenos Aires. It is unknown, however, if Mrs. Beale acted on Tello's behalf following her trip.

At the start of 1932, the budget for the anthropological institute at San Marcos was slashed by a third (Mejía 1948:24). It was at this time that the transfer of the mummy bundles to the national anthropological institute at the Bolivar locale was completed, although those bundles that had been put on display in 1929 in what had been the Museum of Peruvian Archaeology remained there on display. The lack of display cases and shelves at the Bolivar locale forced Tello to store the bundles on the floors of the institute's rooms and in its corridors (Tello and Mejía 1967:107). On 26 May 1932, Tello published a letter to the editor in *El Comercio* in which he attacked Valcárcel as head of the National Museum over his handling of reported looting on the Paracas peninsula (Tello 1932), while Valcárcel published a rebuttal in this same paper on the 28th (Valcárcel 1932a). In part, Tello argued that the earlier discovery of the 400 plus mummy bundles was transcendental, that each bundle was a museum unto itself exemplifying the greatest textile development in Peru, and that once fully known to the world this would bring the nation great acclaim.

In August 1933, Tello excavated two ceremonial sites in the Nepeña Valley on the North Central Coast. Both were early in date and one was decorated in the style of the designs carved in stone that he had seen in 1919 at the site of Chavín de Huantar (hereafter Chavín) in the

antiquities including the textiles . . . to tour the museums of 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" (Beale 1932:109–112).

North Central Highlands. This was a spectacular find that was even reported in the 13 September edition of *The New York Times* (Anon. 1933b). Around the same time notice was published in the 16 September issue of the *Illustrated London News* regarding the impending sale of Paracas textiles (Anon. 1933c), a sale that drew the interest of Bliss (Tello 1959:193) who, according to an account in the 18 May edition of *The New York Times*, had returned to the United States with the intention of retiring from diplomatic service (Anon. 1933a). On 20 May 1934, Philip A. Means¹⁰ (Figure 9) published in *The New York Times* details about Tello's discoveries in the Nepeña Valley (Means 1934).

A very important partial document exists in the miscellaneous manuscripts file in the archive of Harvard's Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology. It consists of the last three pages of a five-page memorandum by Means dated 6 September 1934 (Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology Archive, Harvard University, Miscellaneous Manuscripts, Philip A. Means Papers, accession no. 45-32, box 1, folder 3, correspondence). Means wrote that upon his return from Peru in December 1933¹¹ he had made an effort to seek support from more than one scientific group for research to be undertaken by him and Tello. He added that, al-

¹⁰ "At Harvard he [Means] graduated with the degrees of A.B. (1915) and M.A. (1917). . . . Means' field training started in 1914 when he left Harvard for eight months to accompany the famous expedition to Peru . . . under the leadership of Dr. Hiram Bingham. . . . He was able to visit . . . Machu Picchu . . . In 1917–18 and again in 1918–19, Means visited Peru. . . . In 1920 Means was appointed Director of the Museo Nacional (Sección de Arqueología) by President Leguía. . . . Means resigned in 1921" (Lothrop 1945:109).

¹¹ Means' pending arrival was reported in Lima in the 31 October issue of the weekly *The West Coast Leader* (Anon. 1933d). This source also reported in its 12 December edition that he had sailed for New York on 30 November (Anon. 1933e).

though he was later able to secure limited funds from two unnamed women to assist Tello in his field research in northern Peru, it was not until August that Alfred V. Kidder (Figure 10) contacted Means on behalf of Bliss and his wife. Kidder and Tello were essentially classmates at Harvard. This led to a 29 August meeting in Boston at which he and Kidder discussed matters and at which Kidder asked Means to prepare a memorandum.

Means proposed the formation and incorporation of the Friends of Peruvian Studies, members of which would contribute at least \$25 per annum, with sustaining members and guarantors being those who contributed \$100 and at least \$1,000 per annum, respectively. He envisioned both individual and institutional members, all of whom would receive reports, publications, and the like. The principal policies of the group would be: (1) cooperation with the Peruvian (National) Board of Archaeology; (2) facilitation of Peruvian-American cooperative ventures with results being published both in Spanish and in English; and (3) ceding to the board all collections of artifacts resulting from cooperative ventures, with selected artifacts then given by the board to the group to be distributed to museums and institutions they represented.¹² Means then proposed that the group send a field representative to Peru who was thoroughly competent in Spanish. This representative would assess potential projects by Peruvians, would be authorized to use group funding to facilitate board cooperation, would recommend American researchers to the board, and would

seek Peruvian members for the group. It was specifically stipulated that the field representative would not have to work for more than six months, and that all expenses incurred by the representative would be paid for by the group, an amount that he estimated at \$500–\$600 monthly. He concluded with the statement that Tello had told him that with a monthly stipend of \$300 he could employ a large number of workers with significant result.

It is reasonable to conclude that the idea of forming a group of individuals interested in promoting research in Peru came at least in part from Tello himself. Tello was forever trying to obtain funding to support work he and his staff were undertaking, both in his museums and in the field. He and Means had interacted in Lima toward the end of 1933 (Daggett 2016:81–82). One result of this interaction was an attempt by Means to obtain institutional funding to support research to be conducted by him and Tello. This had proven unsuccessful. A second result was an attempt by Means to find individual funding to support field research by Tello alone, and this had proven somewhat successful. Exactly how Kidder and/or Bliss found out about what Means was trying to do is unknown, but there would have been a very small universe of potential institutional and individual donors.

The Bliss reaction to Means' memo is unknown. Neither is it known if any further action was taken. What is known is that the proposed Friends of Peruvian Studies never came into being. It should be pointed out, however, that Tello, Means (Bennett 1946:234), Kidder (Woodbury 1973:22), and Lothrop (Easby 1966:256), had all graduated from Harvard. So, given the fact that Bliss had also graduated from that school, this made the venture very much a Harvard affair.

¹² According to a report published in the 6 October 1929 edition of *El Comercio*, the National Board of Archaeology had been created by the government toward the end of 1929 and membership was established to include the Minister of Education as chair, the Rector of San Marcos, the President of the Geographical Society of Lima, and delegates representing the national museums and the universities of Arequipa, Cusco, and Trujillo (Anon. 1929a). Membership in 1934 included both Tello and Valcárcel.

At the end of June 1935,¹³ a group headed by Edgar L. Hewett¹⁴ (Figure 11) arrived in Lima. The group included nine students from the University of New Mexico (Dutton 1935: 97–100). They had come in response to a call from Valcárcel to conduct investigations in southern Peru at the newly created Institute of Cuzco (Editor 1935:372). The group spent nine days in Lima before going to Cusco (Dutton 1935:99) and an unknown amount of time in Lima prior to their return to the United States. Among the University of New Mexico students were two, Barbara Loomis and Honour McCreery, who assisted Tello at his San Marcos Museum of Archaeology, as later noted in a letter Tello wrote to Lothrop on 11 June 1937 (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, American Museum of Natural History).

On 14 October 1935 Tello graciously responded to a letter dated 16 September that he had received from Daniel D. Kelly, President of the New Mexico Archaeological Society at Santa Fe. In this letter Kelley informed Tello that the executive board had unanimously designated him a life-long honorary member of the society (Angélico Chávez History Library Archive, Santa Fe, New Mexico, Edgar L. Hewett Collection, AC 105, box 55, untitled folder 1). Presumably it was because of his new connection with Hewett that Tello was so honored. Finally, it was during October that Tello and Valcárcel explored the ruins of Pukará in the Southern Highlands of Peru (Valcárcel 1935b).

¹³ The following was published in the 25 June 1935 edition of *The West Coast Leader*: “A party of some fifteen California students arrived by the s.s. *Santa Rita* from the States, via Balboa, on tour” (Anon. 1935a).

¹⁴ In 1927 Hewett “founded and took the chair of Professor of Archaeology and Anthropology at the University of New Mexico, Albuquerque” (Walter 1947:262).

At the beginning of 1936, Wendell C. Bennett¹⁵ (Figure 12) initiated research on the North Coast of Peru on behalf of the American Museum of Natural History (hereafter the AMNH; Bennett 1937c:21)), research that he later reported had been conducted to his great satisfaction in concert with Valcárcel and his staff at the National Museum (Bennett 1939b:3). This was not Bennett’s first trip to Peru. It is known, for example, as recorded in the 23 August 1932 edition of *The West Coast Leader*, that during that month he had stopped for a short time in Lima on his way to Lake Titicaca to conduct research in Bolivia for the AMNH (Anon. 1932). It is very likely that on this earlier occasion he had interacted with both Valcárcel and Tello.

In a letter dated 8 March 1936 Tello responded to one he had received from Hewett dated 11 February (specific contents unknown). In his letter Tello accepted Hewett’s invitation to assist in the University of New Mexico’s summer field school to be held in August (Angélico Chávez History Library Archive, Santa Fe, New Mexico, Edgar L. Hewett Collection, AC 105, box 23, folder “Tello, Julio, Dr.”). Officially, he had been invited by the Archaeological Institute of America¹⁶ and the University of New Mexico to teach a class in American

¹⁵ Bennett studied at “the University of Chicago which awarded him a Ph.B. degree in 1927, 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 of Anthropology. . . . Bennett’s first two field trips were devoted to . . . Bolivia. . . . In 1932, he established a sequence of three ceramic periods at . . . Tiahuanaco and in 1934 he was able to distinguish four ceramic periods . . . in the eastern lowlands and to correlate these with . . . Tiahuanaco. . . . In 1934 he also discovered a new culture underlying Tiahuanaco-style pottery at Chiripa, southeast of the Tiahuanaco site” (Rouse 1954:265–266).

¹⁶ Hewett had served as the director of American research at Santa Fe for the Archaeological Institute of America since January 1907 and in August 1930 he had been elected president of the managing board, in addition to his role as director (Bloom 1939:23).

Archaeology at the Chaco Canyon archaeological station (Heliodoro 1937:20).

Supreme Resolution 219 dated 28 May 1936 authorized Valcárcel to travel to the United States to study the organization of museums (Tello and Mejía 1967:202).¹⁷ It is unknown whether Tello's planned trip to the United States was also accorded government and/or university authorization, but presumably this was the case. On 30 June Valcárcel wrote a note from the McAlpin Hotel in New York City to someone at the AMNH who was unnamed but was presumably George C. Vaillant.¹⁸ Valcárcel told Vaillant he had been in contact with his good friend Bennett. He went on to say that Bennett had told him that he had written to him (Vaillant) in advance about his (Valcárcel's) upcoming trip.¹⁹ Valcárcel also wrote that he looked forward to visiting the museum, and that he planned to travel to Rochester, Minnesota, for an unstated reason (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH, George Vaillant file, correspondence).

¹⁷ In volume six, number two, on pages 183–197 of the 1937 volume of the *Revista del Museo Nacional* an anonymous article was published entitled, “El Museo Nacional y la Exposición de París”. It was stated therein that the Supreme Government had authorized the construction of a pavilion in Paris inclusive of an ancient Peruvian art section under the charge of the Department of Anthropology of the National Museum and its director Valcárcel. In April, it went on, Valcárcel had gone to Paris accompanied by two members of his museum staff, Alejandro González and Jorge Muelle, and on the 28th of this month the pavilion was solemnly inaugurated (Anon. 1937mm). So, in addition to just having been in Europe at government expense (during 1936), he was also to go to the United States at government expense.

¹⁸ For a photograph of Vaillant see Strong (1954).

¹⁹ Valcárcel later reported (1937c:59–60) he also visited the Brooklyn Museum, the University of Pennsylvania Museum (of Archaeology), the Field Museum in Chicago, and the National Museum in Washington, D.C.

Vaillant had graduated from Harvard and Tozzer had been one of his professors, just as he had been for Tello. Vaillant had worked with Kidder at Pecos, New Mexico and later, in 1926, he had conducted excavations (with Kidder) in Mesoamerica for the Carnegie Institution. It was in 1927 that he had begun working at the AMNH (Willey 1988:101–107). From 1928 to 1936 he focused his research on the Valley of Mexico (Strong 1945). In 1928 he presented a paper at the meeting of the International Congress of Americanists held at the AMNH, as did Kidder, Kroeber, Lothrop, and Tozzer (Boas 1928). Tello also presented a paper (1930) at this meeting that dealt with discoveries he had made during his 1919 exploration of the North Central Highlands, inclusive of what he had found at Chavín. Subsequently Tello gave talks at a number of universities in the Northeast sponsored by the Carnegie Institution (Mejía 1948:29).

FROM IDEA TO REALITY

July–December 1936

In the 7 July edition of Lima's *The West Coast Leader* it was reported that Tello had left for the United States and Mexico on a “government mission” (Anon. 1936c).²⁰ Three days

²⁰ San Marcos was a national or public institution overseen by the Ministry of Education so, even if Tello had gone to the United States specifically on behalf of the university, it could still be considered a “government mission.” One question that does come to mind is what constituted the “government” funded expenses incurred by Tello on his trip, in addition to his round-trip travel costs. The further question then becomes: how did the government fund this trip? That is, whether it did so as an expense to be paid out of the university's existing budget, or as a supplement to it. The former alternative would indicate support on the part of the rector, while the latter alternative would indicate support on the part of the government. In any case, obtaining government money to support his work was always a complicated business for Tello, and one that constantly challenged his considerable political acumen.

later, he was made a corresponding member of the Chilean Academy of History, indicating the vessel he was traveling on had first gone south to Chile before turning around and heading north. On 19 July he was made a corresponding member of the Panama Academy of History and that month he gave a talk on ancient Peru under the auspices of this academy. Subsequently, he gave a series of twenty-four talks or lectures at Chaco Canyon (Mejía 1948:29–30). In an interview later given in Mexico City, Tello stated that there had been about twenty professors and instructors and about eighty students (at the field school) and that in addition to giving lectures he had had the opportunity to explore the principal ruins of the American Southwest and to familiarize himself with methods of investigation and preservation of both artifacts and monuments. He stated that he had become familiar with both laboratory and excavation techniques (Heliodoro 1937: 20).

According to Richard B. Woodbury,

The site of the Chaco field school was in many ways ideal for conferences, as the University of New Mexico had built facilities for up to one hundred students and a large teaching and support staff. Following the close of the field school in the late summer these facilities could provide housing and meals for a conference larger than any field camp could accommodate. Donald Brand, Florence Hawley, and Frank Hibben (1937) provided some details of the facilities of the 1937 season which included “four blocks of tents which were disposed in a sinuous line along the foot of the cliffs on the south side of the Chaco arroyo, opposite Pueblo Bonito, and extending west for a furlong [one eighth of a mile] from the Casa Rinconada.” The more permanent Chaco Research Station “provided a lecture hall (which was also

used as a dining room), kitchen store-rooms, library, toilets, and showers.” Although there were a well and windmill that supplied water from the edge of the arroyo, lack of wind often required closing down the indoor showers and toilets. Groceries came from Gallup, a hundred miles from the south (1993:129–131).

According to the published manifest for the S.S. *Pennsylvania* sailing from the Canal Zone (Ancestry.com. California Passenger and Crew Lists, 1882–1959), Tello arrived at Los Angeles on 26 July (Figure 13)²¹. On 26 September he wrote to Beale and mentioned having met with her in Gallup on 24 August (Archivo Julio C. Tello, Museo de Arqueología, Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos, Packet 2, Volume 8 [02119]). It was also on the 24th that Hewett sent Tello an invitation to accept a temporary appointment to the managing board of the School of American Research and to attend the upcoming annual meeting of the board to be held at Santa Fe (Angélico Chávez History Library Archive, Santa Fe, New Mexico, Edgar L. Hewett Collection, AC 105, box 23, folder “Tello, Julio, Dr.”). Tello accepted in a letter to Hewett that he wrote at Crown Point on 25 August, adding that the “Archaeological Institute of Peru” (probably his anthropological institute) would be glad to cooperate with the School in archaeological field-work (Angélico Chávez History Library Archive, Santa Fe, New

²¹ “Here to confer with American archaeologists, Dr. Julio Tello arrived from Panama aboard the Panama Pacific liner *Pennsylvania*. He is a native of Peru and is considered among the world’s foremost authorities on the ancient Inca civilization of the South American Andes mountains. After spending a few days in Los Angeles, Dr. Tello will go to Albuquerque and then Chaco canyon, New Mexico, to meet with the field session of the University of New Mexico archaeological department. Attending will be scores of students and professors, his meeting will be directed by Dr. Edgar L. Hewett, professor of archaeology in both the universities of Southern California and New Mexico” (Anon. 1936d).

Mexico, Edgar L. Hewett Collection, AC 105, box 23, folder "Tello, Julio, Dr.").

On 14 September Kroeber wrote to Tozzer and said Hewett had sent his invitation to Tello after he had learned about the latter's idea of establishing cooperative archaeological ventures in Peru from Reginald G. Fisher.²² Hewett had been the one to initiate contact with Beale, and invite her to New Mexico. When Beale met Tello in Gallup, she told him that she knew nothing about the School of American Research (Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology Archive, Harvard University, Alfred M. Tozzer Papers, accession no. 41-10, box 1, folder 16, correspondence). This suggests that Tello had brought up her name during his discussions with Fisher and/or Hewett and that the latter had then decided to contact her. The ethnologist Leslie Spier (Figure 14), who also taught at the field school that year, (Woodbury 1993: 131) and who had interacted with Tello, in turn told Kroeber in his letter to him dated 22 September that the net result of Beale's discussion with Tello was that she had signed an agreement to provide for a fellowship to assist him with his work (Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology Archive, Harvard University, Alfred M. Tozzer Papers, accession no. 41-10, box 1, folder 16, correspondence).

As reported on pages 37–38 in the 1936 issue of *El Palacio* (1936t), the meeting of the managing board was held on 29 August. In attendance were trustees of the Museum of New Mexico. Present were Tello, Hewett, Fisher, and other individuals including Daniel T. Kelly (President of the New Mexico Archaeological

²² According to an account published on page 9 in the 1935 edition of *El Palacio* (volume 39), Fisher had directed field-work at Chaco for the School of American Research, the University of New Mexico, and the Museum of New Mexico during the summer of 1935 (Anon. 1935b). On page 38 of volume 41 (1935) of *El Palacio*, it was reported that Fisher was a member of the staff of the School of American Research (1936t).

Society), Willard V. King of New York City,²³ and Frederick W. Hodge of the Southwest Museum in Los Angeles.²⁴ According to Spier, in his 22 September letter to Kroeber, at the meeting Tello presented his idea of establishing an International Institute of Andean Research that would have a [executive] committee in charge of funds, that included a Peruvian, and an administrative board. Tello had proposed that this board would be actively in charge of the institute, would have a Peruvian secretary, would have revolving membership, and would be responsible for appointing a [field] director, perhaps himself, for the first year (Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology Archive, Harvard University, Alfred M. Tozzer Papers, accession no. 41-10, box 1, folder 16, correspondence).

On 4 September, Hewett wrote to Tello and enclosed a copy of an alternate plan that he had drawn up based on their previous discussion. He said that he and Beale had conferred (presumably after the meeting) and they had agreed that the plan outlined for his consideration would best fit his needs. This plan called for the following:

- (1) A proposed Institute of Andean Research would be established to undertake scientific research in South America.
- (2) This IAR would be under the control of a seven-member managing board consisting of the

²³ According to an account published in the 16 December 1931 edition of *The New York Times*, Willard V. King was a trustee of the Heye Museum of the American Indian and of Columbia University, as well as past President of the Columbia Trust Company, all situated in New York City (Anon. 1931b).

²⁴ The anthropologist Frederick Webb Hodge was connected with the Heye Museum of the American Indian in New York City. "In 1932 the Board of Trustees chose Hodge as director of the Southwest Museum" (Judd *et al.* 1957:403).

rector of San Marcos, the chancellor of the “University of International Relations in Los Angeles, California” (probably the School of International Relations at the University of Southern California), and the president of the Schools of American Research as well as appointees Beale, Bliss, King, and Hodge who would remain in office until such time as qualified replacements were elected.

(3) It would be the responsibility of a South American director and an American director to prepare and carry out a scientific program subject to the approval of the managing board. Approval of the board was required for fellows and associates nominated by the directors as permitted by available funding. Tello of Lima, Peru and Fisher, the assistant director of the School of American Research, were to be appointed directors of the IAR.

(4) The proposed IAR would function under the aegis of the School of American Research of the Archaeological Institute of America—as an auxiliary of this corporation—and the IAR’s South American and North American headquarters would be at the University of San Marcos in Lima and the School of American Research (at Santa Fe), respectively, as long as this was mutually satisfactory to both schools.

In his letter, Hewett pointed out to Tello that the sole purpose of the proposed IAR was to support his work and that a substantial initial contribution (by Beale) had been tendered. He also pointed out that the facilities of the Santa Fe institution had been offered for free, which served to reduce overhead expenses and minimize administrative start-up, and that the only thing remaining for Tello to do was to accept the directorship of this IAR. Hewett then followed with a note of caution, saying that getting other institutions involved would probably lead to confusion and a lack of substantial aid for his work. He closed with the statement that, as they

had previously agreed upon, the two of them and Beale would meet in Washington, D.C. about the first of November (Angélico Chávez History Library Archive, Santa Fe, New Mexico, Edgar L. Hewett Collection, AC 105, box 23, folder “Tello, Julio, Dr.”).

As previously mentioned, one of the individuals who taught alongside Tello at the field school was Spier. In his letter to Kroeber dated 22 September, Spier reported that Tello had sought his advice a fortnight (two weeks) prior to the 29 August meeting (Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology Archive, Harvard University, Alfred M. Tozzer Papers, accession no. 41-10, box 1, folder 16, correspondence).²⁵ In his letter to Tozzer dated 14 September, Kroeber said Tello had told Spier that Hewett had approached him with a plan to establish a branch of the American School in Peru that would completely support him. Spier said that upon hearing this he had warned Tello that Hewett was trying to monopolize him and that if he allowed this to happen it would alienate him from nearly everyone else in the United States (Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology Archive, Harvard University, Alfred M. Tozzer Papers, accession no. 41-10, box 1, folder 16, correspondence). So, we know that in the days, even weeks prior to 29 August, Tello and Hewett were each formulating plans to create a specific kind of cooperative venture to facilitate their own archaeological research in Peru. Tello confided in Spier, who cautioned Tello not to link himself with Hewett, and he also confided in Fisher who advised Hewett on what Tello was up to. Hewett then contacted both Tello and Beale, and set the stage for a meeting between the latter two, at which time Beale agreed to financially support Tello.

²⁵ In 1936 Spier served as the research director of the University of New Mexico Chaco Canyon field sessions (Spencer 1987:445).

The information Kroeber passed on to Tozzer was contained in the letter that the former had received from Spier dated 22 September. According to this letter, it seems Tello and Spier also discussed matters after the 29 August board meeting, at which time Tello said he had been under the impression that the School had a very high status, but that after meeting with the group at Santa Fe, and after listening to a number of impartial observers, he had changed his opinion on the matter. Finally, Spier recalled that (leading up to the 29 August meeting) Tello had said he was being pressed by Hewett to sign a document, and that he had advised Tello to counter Hewett's offer with an offer that the School instead take part in his own proposed Andean Institute as one of a number of institutional participants (Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology Archive, Harvard University, Alfred M. Tozzer Papers, accession no. 41-10, box 1, folder 16, correspondence). In effect, Tello had unwittingly found himself involved in a long-standing dispute between backers of Kidder and Hewett and, in essence, Spier was trying to prevent Tello from becoming deeply involved with an individual who had detractors in the eastern part of the country.

According to an account published in the 1 January 1947 edition of *The New York Times*, Hewett had been awarded a doctoral degree in *archaeology* from the University of Geneva, Switzerland and "was with the Yale-Babylonian expedition in Palestine, Syria, Arabia and Mesopotamia in 1923, with explorations in Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia and the Sahara in 1926, and in Asia Minor and Mediterranean Islands in 1930" (Anon. 1947). Before entering the University of Geneva in 1903, however, his first field-work consisted of excavations undertaken during the previous five years on the Pajarito Plateau (Walter 1947:260–261) a few miles west of Santa Fe, New Mexico. He was awarded his doctoral degree in 1908 after having been

named the director of the new School of American Archaeology by the Archaeological Institute of America in New York (Woodbury 1993: 35). This organization had been founded in 1879 "to support Old World Classical and Biblical archaeology. . . . In the 1880's, the Institute had supported . . . work . . . in the Southwest but had otherwise ignored Americanist work" (Fowler 2003:309).

In contrast, Kidder had received his doctorate in *anthropology* from Harvard University. Tozzer had been one of his professors and, in 1910, he had written a long letter to a Boston financier in which he had assessed Hewett's standing among American archaeologists. He wrote that there were few individuals connected with scientific institutions who approved of his work (Woodbury 1993:88; see also Hinsley 1980). Tozzer may have been influenced in his attitude about Hewett in part by Kidder.

[Kidder] first visited the Southwest as a green easterner, still an undergraduate at Harvard, in the summer of 1907. . . . He and two others . . . joined . . . Hewett . . . at Bluff City Utah. Hewett gave them sketchy instructions for making "an archaeological survey" and left them on their own for the next six weeks. . . . After graduating from Harvard the next year he returned to the Southwest. He began graduate work in 1909 . . . and in 1914 received his Ph.D. from Harvard with a dissertation on Southwestern ceramics. . . . In 1915 . . . Phillips Academy in Andover, Massachusetts, selected Kidder to direct a large, long-term program of excavation in the Southwest. He promptly chose the large ruined pueblo of Pecos . . . and directed excavations there for ten seasons (Woodbury 1993:4).

From the first Kidder had in mind specific goals at Pecos, among them the clear defi-

inition of a sequence of pottery types, the assignment of relative ages to them by stratigraphic means, and reconnaissance of the entire Rio Grande drainage (Woodbury 1973:37).

[Kidder] set standards in publication, synthesis, and the administration of archaeological research that were instrumental in lifting archeology out of its traditional antiquarianism, with its emphasis on the collecting of specimens for museums, and turning it toward acquiring data about man's past. Although archeology as practiced in the Old World had had a long history of development as a recognized scholarly discipline, it had been mainly concerned with the classical civilizations and their immediate forerunners . . . and interest had been overwhelmingly directed to securing, by excavation or purchase, objects of artistic interest and the study of the remains of monumental architecture (*ibid.*:2).

Hewett, however, was by nature stubborn, and did not take to the intrusion of new ideas in his "back yard." He "fought the ideas of younger men. Kidder at the Pecos Ruins had a hard time" (Nusbaum 1980:21).

During the mid-1920's, John D. Rockefeller Jr. is said to have visited the Southwest with his family, and to have become interested in the idea of creating an archaeological laboratory there. Subsequently, Hewett had tried to secure the directorship of the proposed laboratory for himself. However, a group of archaeologists from institutions in the East with a long history of antipathy toward him had stymied his ambition by successfully promoting the candidacy of a long-time friend of Kidder's for the position (Woodbury 1993:13). Kidder was himself deeply involved, and from 1927 to 1935 he served as chairman of the board of directors of the Labo-

ratory in Santa Fe, a semi-autonomous research center endowed by the Rockefeller Foundation, and associated in its research with other archaeological and anthropological organizations in New Mexico (Woodbury 1973:48). Kidder's

concern for the . . . institution . . . was undoubtedly mainly due to his hope, as leader of the 'new archaeology' of that time, that an up-to-date anthropological research approach would be carried out there, rather than the outmoded research approach that Hewett exemplified (Woodbury 1993:3).

Hewett had sent his 4 September letter to Tello care of the University Club in Los Angeles, California (Angélico Chávez History Library Archive, Santa Fe, New Mexico, Edgar L. Hewett Collection, AC 105, box 23, folder "Tello, Julio, Dr.").²⁶ The young archaeologist Donald Collier²⁷ (Figure 15) later wrote to Ben

²⁶ Regarding the American School of Archaeology, a third branch in Los Angeles "was established, through affiliation with the University of Southern California. For two years Dr. Hewett headed the Department of Anthropology and Archaeology there created, and, since 1934, has continued as director of research for that university" (Bloom 1939:23).

²⁷ Donald Collier "received his A.B. from the University of California in 1933. . . . His father . . . served as U.S. commissioner of Indian Affairs. . . . Collier began his archaeological fieldwork in 1933 as a field assistant with the Museum of Northern Arizona. . . . [He] spent time in Peru and Bolivia in 1936 on a U.S. Department of Agriculture expedition studying land use and terrace systems and collecting maize varieties" (Thompson 1996:44-45). As attested by the following notice published in the 22 December 1936 edition of *The West Coast Leader*, Collier had just returned from Peru: "Among passengers sailing by the s.s. Santa Inez on the 23rd inst., for New York were—Mr. Charles Collier, who has been touring South America studying soil erosion and conservation for the U.S. Department of Agriculture, accompanied by Mrs. Collier; Mr. Donald Collier, ethnologist" (Anon. 1936r). Finally, Bennett (1938b:177) credits Collier with investigating the ruins of Pukará in the southern highlands of Peru in 1936 on behalf of the AMNH.

nett on 13 June 1937 and reported that Tello had traveled to the West Coast with McCreery (one of Hewett's students at the University of New Mexico) and along the way they had discussed plans for field-work in Peru the following year (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH), work that Hewett had reminded Tello of in his 4 September 1936 letter to him (Angélico Chávez History Library Archive, Santa Fe, New Mexico, Edgar L. Hewett Collection, AC 105, box 23, folder "Tello, Julio, Dr.>").

According to the letter dated 26 September that Tello later sent to McCreery, he apparently met her mother at this time (Archivo Julio C. Tello, Museo de Arqueología, Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos, Packet 2, Volume 8 [02122]) suggesting a stopover of unknown duration. It was on 4 September that Tello was made an honorary member of Mu Alpha Nu, the fraternity of American anthropologists (Mejía 1948:30) and it was on 6 September that he replied to Hewett from the University Club. He wrote that he had been pleased to receive the memorandum about the proposed IAR that upon first glance seemed "excellent". However, he then pointed out some issues that they needed to discuss in Washington, D.C. He felt that the IAR's board should name one director of any nationality and of any institution and one assistant director subordinate to the director. He also wanted clarification of Article four of the memorandum (in which it was stated the proposed IAR would be under the aegis of the School of American Research). He felt that it needed to clearly recognize the autonomy of the IAR, so as to make it possible for it to take advantage of potential economic support from the Peruvian government and the Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos, and to make it possible for it to collaborate with any institution or individual (Angélico Chávez History Library Archive, Santa Fe, New Mexico, Edgar L.

Hewett Collection, AC 105, box 23, folder "Tello, Julio, Dr.>").

According to the 27 September letter that Tello later sent to Means, he traveled from Los Angeles northward to Santa Barbara where, with the advance help of Beale, he spoke with Bliss and the latter agreed to pay his expenses in that city (Archivo Julio C. Tello, Museo de Arqueología, Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos, Packet 2, Volume 8 [02129–30]). This likely refers to Bliss's sponsorship of a talk on ancient Peru that Tello gave in Santa Barbara (Mejía 1948:29). It should also be noted, however, that Spier told Kroeber in his 22 September letter to him that it was at this time that Bliss agreed to the idea of sponsoring a second fellowship for the proposed IAR (Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology Archive, Harvard University, Alfred M. Tozzer Papers, accession no. 41-10, box 1, folder 16, correspondence). In his letter to Beale dated 26 September, Tello expanded slightly on his Santa Barbara stay and said he and Bliss had met at the home of William Crocker, President of the San Francisco Art Association (Archivo Julio C. Tello, Museo de Arqueología, Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos, Packet 2, Volume 8 [02119]). Traveling further north, he was in San Francisco on 8 September where he received a letter from Beale dated the day before, the contents of which are unknown. It is known, however, that Beale had sent on his behalf some pictures to a Mr. Pflugger (of the Museum of Art) in San Francisco because on 26 September Tello wrote to the director of art of this museum, Grace McCann Morley, and asked that originals of these pictures be sent to Kroeber at the University of California for the purpose of publication (Archivo Julio C. Tello, Museo de Arqueología, Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos, Packet 2, Volume 8 [02124]).

In San Francisco Tello again gave a talk.

This speech was delivered at the San Francisco Museum of Art on 8 September. Dr. Tello presented his thesis that the intra-Andean valleys, such as the Callejón de Huaylas and Chavín, were the seat of all Peruvian civilizations. In his lecture he illustrated his concept of the spread of this basic civilization to the coast of Peru, at Nepeña and Paracas, and to the interior of Peru (Bennett 1937a:316).

At the University of California (Berkeley) Tello is reported to have given another talk about ancient Peru to the students of the Department of Anthropology (Mejía 1948:29). He also spent some time with Kroeber.

Subsequently Kroeber wrote letters at the request of Tello to Kidder, to Spier, and to Tozzer representing the Historical Division of the Carnegie Institution in Washington, D.C.,²⁸ Yale University, and Harvard University, respectively. In his letter to Tozzer dated 14 September, Kroeber summarized events to date regarding Tello's desire to create support in the United States for his work in Peru (an Andean Institute), Hewett's attempt to take control of the situation, and Spier's confidential advice. He wrote that Tello wanted to establish a committee or board of trustees (to raise funds) and an administrative board to determine fund allocation, the selection of fellows, etc., suggesting Bliss, King, Means, Beale, (José de la) Riva Agüero,²⁹ and the rector of the Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos as trustees, and Kroeber, Tozzer, Spier, Hewett, and Kidder as administrators. Kroeber added that Tello had an offer to provide a fellowship from Beale and a

pledge from Bliss to provide support with the amount and form to be decided at a meeting in Washington. As for Tello's travel plans, Kroeber wrote that he expected him to go to Boston after stops in Washington, D. C. and New York, perhaps writing in advance to confirm, but that, in any case, Tello could be contacted through the Peruvian Consulate in Washington, D.C. Kroeber went on to express his fear that Hewett would completely tie things up if he couldn't take control, and thereby prevent Tello from succeeding in his venture. He then went on to say that he had engaged in a detailed discussion with Tello during which time he had agreed to serve on the Institute's administrative board. This he did, Kroeber pointed out, because he felt Tello was absolutely the best archaeologist in South America. Tello, he declared, knew more about Peruvian prehistory than any three others put together, and had discovered and controlled data on at least six previously unknown cultures.

Kroeber also addressed potential concerns about Tello. Because he was a scientist at heart, he said, and incredibly devoted to his research, one had to allow for the fact that he, like other South Americans, was not as fully trained as those in the United States and in Europe. While not part of Peru's government, Tello was, at present, not in disfavor. He still taught (at San Marcos) and had modest funding (for the anthropological institute) where he was able to care for and study the (Paracas) collections he had made. Finally, Kroeber stated that Tello knew he needed to publish descriptive reports on his work and that he (Kroeber) had agreed to try to help in this matter, because expense was a problem for Tello. The important thing, as far as he was concerned, Kroeber stressed, was that good illustrations be published regardless of Tello's interpretations of the data (Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology Archive, Harvard University, Alfred M. Tozzer

²⁸ According to Woodbury (1973:52) the "trustees of the Carnegie Institution of Washington created a Division of Historical Research in December, 1929 with Kidder as its chairman."

²⁹ The historian José de la Riva Agüero served as Minister of Education during the years 1933–1934 (Tauro 1966–67, Volume 1:60).

Papers, accession no. 41-10, box 1, folder 16, correspondence).³⁰

Spier's 22 September response to the letter that Kroeber had presumably written to him on 14 September (specific contents unknown) is uniquely informative, because of its tone, as well as its content. In addition to information already presented, Spier told Kroeber that he had been very happy to receive his letter, because he had been proven right when he had assured Tello that he would be well received by him (at Berkeley).³¹ Spier wrote that he had been infected by Tello's enthusiasm and integrity. Tello had told him, he continued, that he wanted to begin to change the attitude in his country toward antiquities from one that was sentimental (art historical) to one that was scholarly (scientific) and that it was for this reason that he wanted to leave (some of) his notes and illustrations in the United States where they would be appreciated and cared for.

Spier also wrote that although he was unaware of the extent of Hewett's tampering with

³⁰ Kroeber wrote for example "The stylistic relation between Early Nazca pottery designs and Paracas textile designs is so close as to leave little doubt of a common origin; that is to say, of a transfer of the designs from one medium to the other. Dr. Tello, impressed with the antiquity of Paracas, seems inclined to consider the Paracas textiles the earlier. In common with most archaeologists I hold it to be more likely that the Nazca pottery is the earlier, because naturalistic or seminaturalistic representations containing curved lines involve no difficult technique in pottery painting, but do involve a high and special technical development in textile ornamentation" (1937:128).

³¹ According to the account published in the 1 October 1920 issue of *Science*, Spier had moved that year from the AMNH to the University of California at Berkeley, where he became curator of the museum of the Department of Anthropology (Anon. 1920). In 1931 he married Anna H. Gayton, a former graduate assistant of Kroeber's who, in the mid 1920's, had helped him with the study of Peruvian collections at Berkeley's Museum of Anthropology (Rowe 1978:653–654). Hence, there would have been a strong connection between Spier and Kroeber.

Tello's relations with Beale and Bliss, he had little concern. It was his understanding, he explained, that Hewett himself had no money to work in Peru, and all that Tello needed to do was to move forward. In his estimation, Spier wrote, Tello was the one in control of the situation, and he could prevent Hewett and his people from working there. Spier then suggested to Kroeber that he back Tello's IAR Research, feeling confident that Kidder and Tozzer would do likewise. As for himself, Spier said, he was all for Tello, and he would do his utmost to help him define his research, obtain funding, and get fellows. He closed his letter with the suggestion that they all reassure Tello regarding Hewett (Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology Archive, Harvard University, Alfred M. Tozzer Papers, accession no. 41-10, box 1, folder 16, correspondence).

While this exchange was taking place on his behalf, Tello experienced a delay in his trip across the country to gather support for his proposed IAR. On 27 September he wrote to Means from the Rabbain Hotel in Rochester, Minnesota. He said that he had cut his stay with Kroeber short because of Carrión's arrival in New York City en route to the Mayo Clinic in Rochester, Minnesota, and, hence, he had traveled to Rochester to meet her. Not finding her there, he had then gone to Chicago to meet up with her. From there he had brought her to the Mayo Clinic where, after a detailed examination lasting three days, she had undergone successful surgery the previous Monday (Archivo Julio C. Tello, Museo de Arqueología, Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos, Packet 2, Volume 8 [02129–30]). The 27th was a Sunday, so Tello was writing six days later. Hence, the surgery would have taken place on the 21st. On 16 September, Reginald Fisher sent a wire to Tello care of the Morrison Hotel in Chicago, in which he reported that the translation (of the proposed Hewett plan) was all set for a final proofreading, and in which he asked

Tello to send him his planned itinerary, as well as addresses at which he could be contacted (Angélico Chávez History Library Archive, Santa Fe, New Mexico, Edgar L. Hewett Collection, AC 105, box 23, folder "Tello, Julio, Dr."). Obviously Tello must have contacted Fisher and/or Hewett about his change of plans. It would also appear that Tello must have had to wait in Chicago for Carrión to arrive. How long he did so, and how he spent his time is unknown.

To backtrack, Mejía had written to Means from Lima on 27 August asking that he meet Carrión in New York City. He wrote that, because of a medical problem, she had left that day (from the Port of Callao) aboard the steamship *Santa Clara* that would arrive in about fifteen days, and asked him if he would meet her there (Archivo José de la Riva Agüero, Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, Toribio Mejía Xesspe correspondence). It is unknown when Tello learned of Carrión's trip but, given the suddenness of his departure from Berkeley, it seems highly likely her trip had not been planned prior to his sailing in July. Kroeber probably made no mention of Tello going to Rochester in his letter to Tozzer, out of respect for Carrión's privacy, and because her medical problem had nothing to do with Tello's proposed IAR. In any case, fifteen days after leaving the Port of Callao meant that Carrión would have arrived on or about 11 September. Tello gave a talk at Berkeley after 8 September, and then left Kroeber's house after two days—perhaps on the 10th or the 11th. Whether it was Mejía, Means, and/or Carrión who contacted Tello is unknown.

On the evening of Thursday, 24 September Tello gave a talk at Plummer Hall under the auspices of the Mayo Foundation chapter of Sigma Xi. The following day a report on his talk

was published in Rochester's *Post-Bulletin*.³² In part it was reported:

Dr. Tello told his audience of the discovery at Paracas, 60 miles south of Lima, of a large cemetery where two types of graves were found; cavern in which bundles of the bodies were thrust into deep holes, and necropolis, with larger mummies wrapped in the finest of textiles, beautifully embroidered, and dating from before Christ. In the cavern graves, holes had been dug in hard soil and held as many as 20 to 30 bodies, with at least 50 per cent of the skulls showing surgical operations, and most of them revealing bone disease. The smaller bundles were apparently of the poor class of peoples, he explained. From the larger bundles which have been opened, however, he stated only old men, have been discovered. With the bodies were found small items used during their life, items representing mythical beings, all associated with agriculture. Mutilations of the nose, mouth and forehead were apparently post-mortem operations made to insert paper-thin pieces of gold. . . . From the classic period the archeologists found pottery work depicting amputations and parts of the body together with agricultural products. Whether the surgical operations depicted, however, were for human sacrifice or cure, is undetermined, he explained.

The motive of cure of bone diseases was evident in the last period, before the conquest, said Dr. Tello, who showed slides of the various discoveries as he talked. One of Dr. Tello's collections, showing 50 per cent recoveries from the crude skull surgery, is now in the Harvard medical

³² A Spanish translation of this report was published in the 25 October 1936 edition Lima's *El Comercio* (Anon. 1936k).

school. Dr. Tello, in answering questions on the religion of the peoples in pre-Christian era, explained that there was apparently worship of some monsters, in shape of alligators, and that in all eras there were found agricultural gods. In the classic era, in approximately the eighth century, they worshiped anthropomorphic gods (half human, half animal gods), still keeping, however, some of their agricultural gods. Discoveries of the life in the sixteenth century, he said, showed worship of the sun in human form. It is Dr. Tello's belief that the first peoples immigrated into the Peruvian era from the north, a branch of the Mongolian race, settling first in the inter-Andes territory, then going east into the jungle country, and finally, in the third epoch, moving westward (Anon. 1936f).

On 27 September the following report was published in *The New York Times*:

A strange cargo—the skull of a mummified Inca—went northward toward Rochester, Minn. in a commercial airliner today. The skull shows a wound made, undoubtedly, by a club or stone during a battle attendant upon the Inca conquests. It also shows signs of an operation by primitive Indian surgeons, noted for their skill in the trepanation of craniums. The consignee of the skull is the Peruvian archaeologist, Horacio [sic] Tello, now at the Mayo Clinic in Rochester (Anon. 1936g).

It was subsequently reported in the Wednesday, September 30th edition of the *Rochester Bulletin* that Tello had planned to donate the skull to the Mayo Clinic but had decided not to because it lacked [sufficient?] evidence for trepanation. Furthermore, Tello was reported as saying that he would later send a better pathological example to the clinic (Anon. 1936h). It is unknown if he did.

In addition to the letter he wrote to Means on the 27th, Tello wrote a number of other letters while in Rochester. On 25 September he sent a brief letter to Beale advising her of Carrión's condition (Archivo Julio C. Tello, Museo de Arqueología, Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos, Packet 2, Volume 8 [02113–14]). Then on 26 September he wrote letters to Beale, to McCreery, and to Morley in San Francisco. As noted previously, Morley was the art director at the San Francisco Museum of Art, and, in his letter to her, he asked that the originals of pictures he had left with the museum be sent to Kroeber and that any material published on the pictures be sent to him care of the Peruvian Consulate in New York City (Archivo Julio C. Tello, Museo de Arqueología, Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos, Packet 2, Volume 8 [02124]). In his letter to Beale, he stated that he had (first) spoken extensively with Hewett and (then) with Kroeber at Berkeley. Help from both was assured, and others to be involved (at the administrative level) were Spier, Tozzer, and Hodge. Other than her, he wrote, (trustees) would be Bliss and King. He asked that she speak with Means, Spier, and Tozzer and stated that he would meet with her in Washington, D.C., to finalize things (Archivo Julio C. Tello, Museo de Arqueología, Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos, Packet 2, Volume 8 [02119]). As for McCreery, he wrote that after a troubling week, he was finally ready to resume his trip to establish his planned IAR. He said that he had spoken to Kroeber and, with his moral support and that of Hewett, Tozzer, and Aspers [?], he was hopeful that things would finally come together at the upcoming meeting in Washington, D. C. (Archivo Julio C. Tello, Museo de Arqueología, Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos, Packet 2, Volume 8 [02122]).

Tello also sent a letter to Caleb Hathaway in Washington, D.C., on the 26th. He wrote that he would be in that city before 15 October and

would be able to see him. He asked that Hathaway let him know through the Peruvian Consulate in New York City where it would be convenient to do so (Archivo Julio C. Tello, Museo de Arqueología, Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos, Packet 2, Volume 8 [02125]). Tello later included a mention of Hathaway in a letter that he wrote to Lothrop on 3 February 1937 saying that Hathaway had accompanied him on a trip to the headwaters of the Huallaga River, that he was a good companion, and that he wanted to return to Peru (Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology Archive, Harvard University, Samuel K. Lothrop Papers, accession no. 996-20. box 6, folder 6, correspondence). Tello had gone to this region in 1935 and at that time had discovered Chavín pottery at the site of Kotosh (Mejía 1948:15).

Finally, Tello wrote to Fisher on 29 September. In his 27 September letter to Means, Tello had stated that he was heading to Chicago the morning of the 28th. His plan was then to go to Boston and to Lennox, Massachusetts (where Means resided), and that Means should contact him at the Peabody Museum (in Cambridge, Massachusetts; Archivo Julio C. Tello, Museo de Arqueología, Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos, Packet 2, Volume 8 [02129–30]). This plan, however, was delayed for some reason. In the letter he wrote to Fisher on 29 September he said that he was leaving for Chicago on 30 September and that from there he planned to travel to New York City, then to Cambridge, then to the Peabody Museum, then to Yale in New Haven, Connecticut, and finally to Washington, D. C. Specifically he planned to be at the (Peabody) museum on 7 October and then be in Washington three days later (Archivo Julio C. Tello, Museo de Arqueología, Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos, Packet 2, Volume 8 [02131]). It may have been on his return trip to Chicago that Tello first got

together with Fay-Cooper Cole³³ (Figure 16) at the University of Chicago, as Cole noted in his 1 November letter to Bennett (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH). Of course, it is also possible that they first got together while Tello was in Chicago awaiting the arrival of Carrión, but the fact that Tello makes no mention of Cole in the correspondence that he sent from Rochester suggests otherwise.

Tozzer finally responded to Kroeber's 24 September letter on 15 October, saying that he had not written sooner because until then he had nothing to say regarding Tello's situation. He then provided information that he had been given mostly from Kidder. He told Kroeber that Tello had left (for Mexico), that Kidder had met with Beale and Bliss (in Washington) where he had fully informed them about Hewett, that they understood the situation, and that they would [together] give no more than \$3,000, though there was no commitment on paper. As for Tello, Tozzer told Kroeber that he had spoken with Bennett³⁴ and Vaillant the day before in New York City, at which time it had been decided to establish an organization with a small committee including Hewett, but not Kidder, because he did not want to take part. In addition it had been decided to have two Peruvian officials on the committee despite concern from Tello (Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology Archive, Harvard University, Samuel K. Lothrop Papers, accession no. 996-

³³ Cole "was educated at Northwestern University, the University of Chicago, the University of Berlin, and Columbia University. . . . in 1906 . . . he became ethnologist for the Field Museum of Natural History. . . . [and] in 1924 . . . lecturer in anthropology at the University of Chicago. . . . By 1929 he was professor and head of the newly formed Department of Anthropology" (Jennings 1962:574).

³⁴ The following notice was published in the 28 July 1936 edition of *The West Coast Leader*: "Among passengers sailing by the s.s. Santa Barbara on the 30th, inst. for New York . . . Dr. Wendell C. Bennett" (Anon. 1936d).

20, box 6, folder 1, Institute of Andean Research).

Kroeber, Kidder, and other interested parties would then have received a copy of a memorandum dated 13 October that summarized a plan of IAR organization that was the result of a meeting held by Tello, Bennett, Vaillant, Lothrop, Spier, and Clarence L. Hay³⁵ that had taken place at the AMNH. This memorandum began with the statement: "Dr. Julio C. Tello has proposed the organization of an Institute for Andean Research to sponsor, direct, and coordinate research work in the Andean region, in archaeology, ethnology, linguistics, physical anthropology, and allied subjects."

In outline form there followed specifics herein summarized:

1. A small committee in charge of all IAR funds and activities would be created to be composed preferably of American citizens with one member appointed chairman. Members would act as individuals and not as representative of any currently affiliated institution. While the term of office had not yet been set, it was suggested that the committee be self-perpetuating and that the position of chairman be rotated among the members. Specific activities of the committee included raising and handling of funds, appointment of research workers, and the appointment of the director of field-work. Suggestions for the committee were Kroeber, Lothrop, Kidder, Spier, Hewett, Tozzer, Means, Cole, and Bennett, with Kroeber to act as chairman.

³⁵ According to his obituary published in *The New York Times*, Clarence L. Hay "son of John Hay, Secretary of State in the McKinley Administration . . . received his bachelor's degree from Harvard College in 1908 and a master's degree, in affiliation with the Peabody Museum, in 1911. . . . He began at the American Museum of Natural History as an unpaid volunteer and advanced to the position of trustee and secretary to the board in 1931" (Anon. 1969).

2. The director of field-work would be appointed for a period of from one to two years and would be responsible for preparing and submitting to the committee a plan of research. All assistance possible would be given to the director inclusive of direct funding and the selection of research workers once this plan was approved.

3. Patrons of the IAR would consist of donors, with no amount designated.

4. All professional anthropologists of all nationalities who worked in the Andean region or who had an interest in so doing were to be considered professional associates. Each would pay a minimal fee of \$1.00 and would have no voice in the committee but could make or could be asked to make suggestions.

5. Research workers could be those working directly for the IAR, those supported by other institutions who apply to the IAR for advice and assistance in obtaining field-work permits and the like, or those from foundations assigned by the IAR for supervision such as fellows of the National Research Council.³⁶

6. A special category of Peruvian relations councils was suggested (by Tello) to serve in an advisory capacity to facilitate the granting of permits (in Peru), perhaps the existing National Board of Archaeology. Membership of this National Board was noted as then consisting of the minister of public education as chairman, the director of the National Museum (Valcárcel), the rector of the Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos, Tello, and representatives of the Universities of Cuzco, Trujillo, and Arequipa.

³⁶ Kidder served as Vice Chairman of the Division of Anthropology and Psychology of the National Research Council during the years 1925–1926 and as Chairman during the years 1926–1927 (Wauchope 1965:156).

7. The IAR would function in the same way as any other in applying for required government permits.

8. Collections made by IAR workers would be subject to host country laws, but the exportable portion could be donated to the university museum to which the worker was affiliated, could be presented to museums, universities, etc. by the donor of the research funds preferably with the institution(s) so designated in advance or could be presented to a museum, university, etc. by the committee. In all cases, it would be the responsibility of the research worker to have the donated material available for further study as soon as possible.

9. An annual circulating letter or report on the results of the IAR's activities and future plans could be sent to all IAR members. Meetings could take place in conjunction with meetings of the International Congress of Americanists.

Finally, it was stated in the memorandum that Tello was of the opinion that the IAR would attract many contributions from Peruvians and it was stated "an Institute of this kind, although starting on a modest scale would crystallize interest in the Andean Region, thus providing a channel for assistance from other Institutions" (Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology Archive, Harvard University, Samuel K. Lothrop Papers, accession no. 996-20, box 6, folder 1, Institute of Andean Research).

On 13 October Hewett sent a telegram to Beale saying that he thought Tello was in Washington and asked if they had met. If so, he suggested that the three of them meet about November 1st as planned and to have Tello contact him (Angélico Chávez History Library Archive, Santa Fe, New Mexico, Edgar L. Hewett Collection, AC 105, box 23, folder "Tello, Julio, Dr."). Beale sent a telegram in

return to Hewett on 17 October saying that Tello had been in Washington about two weeks before and that she had seen him only briefly. She also told Hewett that she would be glad to see him when he came to Washington, that she thought Tello had not yet decided on his offer, and that, in fact, he was out of the country and would not return until November (Angélico Chávez History Library Archive, Santa Fe, New Mexico, Edgar L. Hewett Collection, box 23, folder "Tello, Julio, Dr.>").

Apparently, because he had not heard from Tello, Hewett sent a telegram to the Peruvian Consul in New York City on 22 October requesting his present address (Angélico Chávez History Library Archive, Santa Fe, New Mexico, Edgar L. Hewett Collection, AC 105, box 23, folder "Tello, Julio, Dr.") and received a response two days later that said Tello could be reached at the 44th Street Hotel in that city (Angélico Chávez History Library Archive, Santa Fe, New Mexico, Edgar L. Hewett Collection, AC 105, box 23, folder "Tello, Julio, Dr.>"). Again demonstrating a degree of anxiety, Hewett then apparently wrote in advance a note to Tello dated 23 October that he sent out after hearing back from the consul. In this note Hewett asked Tello whether he had decided to accept the plan presented in New Mexico, and, if so, indicated that the two of them should meet with Beale in Washington early in November, suggesting specifically that they do so on 7 November (Angélico Chávez History Library Archive, Santa Fe, New Mexico, Edgar L. Hewett Collection, AC 105, box 23, folder "Tello, Julio, Dr.>").

Tello had already written a letter to Hewett on 23 October in which he said he was leaving that day for Mexico. He also said he had given a lot of thought to the organization of an IAR that would last and be free of any interference that would inhibit its performance in South American scientific study and investigation. He

referenced the copy of the memorandum that Hewett had enclosed with his letter dated 4 September and his response. In this response, he pointed out, he had said that he did not think it would be feasible to create the IAR as a Peruvian branch of the School of American Research of the Archaeological Institute of America, or even dependent upon this school, because it would immediately cause opposition from other institutions both national and foreign that wanted to work in Peru.

Tello then said he had since spoken with, among others, Kroeber, Cole, Bennett, Kidder, Lothrop, and Mason,³⁷ all of whom were individuals with a strong interest in Peruvian archaeology and ethnology. He had also spoken at length with Pedro Oliveira, the assistant director of San Marcos, who was then in New York City.³⁸ As a result, he had concluded that it would not be advisable to create in Peru an institute that would merely be a branch of a particular national or foreign institution. Hence, he had proposed to the mentioned individuals that the institute have an executive board composed of professionals with a special interest in Peruvian studies that would lend moral aid and perhaps financial support for investigations then being undertaken in Peru (Angélico Chávez History Library Archive,

Santa Fe, New Mexico, Edgar L. Hewett Collection, AC 105, box 23, folder "Tello, Julio, Dr.>").

Hewett responded to Tello's letter on 2 November, first stating that he felt the copy of the new organizational plan decided upon in New York that had been enclosed reflected a purpose very different from the one they had discussed in New Mexico. Hewett explained to Tello that he had been under the impression he wanted financial help and the aid of trained students to help him finish the projects he had begun, and, thereby, allow him to begin new projects. He went on to say that Fisher had also been under this impression, based on the talks he (Fisher) had had with him (Tello) and that, he (Hewett) had inferred Beale's financial offer had been made with this in mind. Hence, he said, he had come up with a simple organizational plan that put him (Tello) in charge in Peru with assistance from Fisher. For the purpose of efficiency and reduced administrative costs, he added, his organizational plan had allowed for the possibility that the proposed Andean institute function under the aegis of the School, but, that in any case, it would have its own executive board. With Beale's financial aid, he then said, he felt that at least three graduate students that were known to him could be sent immediately to Peru to help him.

However, Hewett mused, it might be that the new plan better suited his (Tello's) purpose and he trusted that it did. For his part, however, he could not participate in such an unwieldy organization, adding that he had little faith in the *institutions* now comprising the Institute. It had been his experience, he stated, that a professional board comprised of individuals representing university departments and students who put their own interests first and that were separated by great distances, making it difficult to hold meetings as needed, was unable to function effectively. The head of such an institute would not be able to continue research,

³⁷ Tello may have been referring to John Alden Mason. The following was announced in the 25 December 1925 edition of *Science*: "Dr. John Alden Mason has resigned his position at the American Museum of Natural History . . . to take a position with the University Museum of Philadelphia where he becomes curator of the American section" (Anon. 1925). In any case, it is unknown where Tello and Mason interacted, or even if they talked on the telephone instead of meeting face-to-face.

³⁸ It is unknown if Oliveira's presence in New York City was coincidental, or if Tello had been in contact with San Marcos administration through the Peruvian consulate, and Oliveira had come specifically to take part in negotiations.

given the full time nature of the position. In his view, a small board or executive committee made up of proven administrators and businessmen best assured efficiency. He closed by telling Tello that he and Fisher held him in the highest esteem, that the School would continue to be at his service, and that it still valued cooperation with him in its work in Peru (Angélico Chávez History Library Archive, Santa Fe, New Mexico, Edgar L. Hewett Collection, AC 105, box 23, folder "Tello, Julio, Dr.").

Hewett wrote to Beale the same day, 2 November, enclosing a copy of his letter to Tello and a copy of the organizational plan of the Institute. He stated that he hoped Tello would not be discouraged by what he had written. He also said that he did not know whether or not she and Tello had spoken, but, that in any case, he did hope she would respond and tell him of her intentions (Angélico Chávez History Library Archive, Santa Fe, New Mexico, Edgar L. Hewett Collection, AC 105, box 23, folder "Tello, Julio, Dr.").

Beale finally wrote back to Hewett on 14 November. She began with the statement that she was surprised Tello had left, and would not be returning to Washington, though adding she had been told events in Peru had required him to return there.³⁹ She then said she had been

³⁹ A series of articles were published in 1936 in *The New York Times* that dealt with a political crisis in Peru. On 10 October it was reported: "The capital today buzzed with political rumors as the nation prepared for the election of a President, Senators, and Deputies on Sunday" (Anon. 1936i). On 24 October it was reported: "A new Peruvian Cabinet took office today . . . in the midst of uncertainty over the recent Presidential election. . . . The Leftist candidate in the Presidential election of Oct 11, Dr. Luis Antonio Eguiguren, has shown a lead in returns thus far made known. His three Rightist opponents have declared Dr. Eguiguren's candidacy was merely a blind for the Leftist Aprista party, which the government barred from the ballot" (Anon. 1936j). Finally, on 4 November, it was reported: "The Constituent Assembly . . . nullified today the apparent election to the Peruvian Presidency of Dr.

disappointed that the New Mexico plan had not been accepted, and agreed that the new plan calling for participation by many eminent scholars might prove unwieldy. Despite the fact that she planned to support Tello, she was going to wait and see if the IAR was actually functioning. Toward this end, Beale told Hewett, she was going to New York the next day to speak with Bennett. She told Hewett in conclusion she was sorry he would not be serving on the board of the Institute, but that she was relieved she herself would not have to serve in any capacity (Angélico Chávez History Library Archive, Santa Fe, New Mexico, Edgar L. Hewett Collection, AC 105, box 23, folder "Tello, Julio, Dr.").

By the time Tello had left for Mexico things had been set into motion. Kidder had written to Beale on 27 October and had told her he had just written to Bennett. He went on to say he thought Kroeber should become president of the IAR⁴⁰ and that Bennett should become secretary given he was on the East Coast.⁴¹ Assuming this happened, he wrote, Bennett would soon con-

Luis Antonio Eguiguren, nominee of the Social Democratic party, whose candidacy met the government's disfavor . . . Dr. Eguiguren had received support from the outlawed communistic Aprista party" (Anon. 1936m). Later it was reported in the 17 November edition of *The West Coast Leader*, "Following four days debate, the Peruvian Constituent Assembly on Friday, November 13th, approved the majority report of the National Electoral Commission, extending the Presidential term of General Oscar R. Benavides for a further period of three years, or until December 8th, 1939" (1936o).

⁴⁰ "Kroeber was an arresting figure . . . compactly and strongly, although not heavily built. There was a quality of trimness and neatness about him. This physical impression of self-contained compactness harmonized with an emotional and intellectual containment" (Willey 1988:171).

⁴¹ "Wendell Bennett always exuded a captivating quality of self-assurance . . . a very positive assurance. . . . You liked Bennett almost as soon as you met him" (Willey 1988:123), and this characteristic may have also played a role in his selection as Secretary of the Institute.

tact her (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

On the 27th, Kidder also responded to a letter he had received from Bennett dated 17 October (contents unknown). In his letter Kidder told Bennett he had spoken with Beale and Bliss, and that they were happy with the organization of the IAR that had been proposed (in New York). Regarding Beale, Kidder told Bennett she had specific ideas for the money she had agreed to donate; that is, to have someone sent to Peru to help Tello, and who could perhaps make arrangements for an exhibit that might create American interest in Peru, and thereby stimulate other donations. Kidder added that his response to Beale had been that he could not speak for the committee, but that he was sure it would cede to her desires. He then told Bennett that it was time to act, and, if Kroeber agreed to become president, he should appoint him (Bennett) as secretary, and, if so, Bennett should write to Beale (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

Cole wrote to Bennett on 1 November in reply to a letter from Bennett (date and contents unknown). Cole told Bennett he was sorry he had missed him when he was in Chicago, that he thought Tello's plan had promise, that he would gladly assist in any way he could to forward his plan, and that he thought Tello would not be returning from Mexico, despite his plan to do so (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).⁴²

Subsequently, Bennett received a letter from Kroeber dated 4 November in which he said he had just received a letter from Kidder (date and

contents unknown) along with a copy of the 27 October letter he (Kidder) had just sent to Bennett. Kroeber said he had already written to both Tello (date and contents unknown) and to Spier (date and contents unknown) saying he would gladly serve as chairman of the committee as long as someone from the East Coast was appointed secretary, given his relative isolation on the West Coast. Kroeber then told Bennett that he liked Kidder's suggestion that he (Bennett) assume the position of secretary and that he was officially requesting him to do so (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

On 11 November Bliss wrote to Bennett. He apologized for not having responded sooner to his letter dated 17 October, contents unknown, in which was enclosed a copy of the memorandum on the proposed organization of the Institute that had been the result of the meeting held with Tello on 13 October. Bliss explained he had not written sooner because he had often been away from Washington during October (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

On 18 November Kroeber, as head of the committee, sent a joint notification of Bennett's appointment to Bennett, Cole, Hewett, Kidder, Lothrop, Means, Spier, and Tozzer. He announced that a business meeting of the executive board (committee) would take place at the Carlton Hotel in Washington, D.C. on the afternoon of 28 December (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH). As Kroeber and Bennett were the only two to have agreed thus far to become members of the IAR, everyone else on the receiving end of Kroeber's announcement, save Bennett, was technically being invited to also become a member.

Beale and Bennett began to correspond in December. On the 10th she wrote to him and said that Kidder had told her that Kroeber had agreed to become chair and that this pleased

⁴² It was reported in the 8 November 1936 issue of Mexico City's *El Universal* that Tello had given a talk entitled "Dios y demonios de antiguo Peru" in the Antonio Alzate National Academy of Sciences (Anon. 1936n). This report was subsequently republished that same year in the 22 November edition of Lima's *La Prensa* (Anon. 1936p).

her. She then offered her home as a locale for the IAR's business meeting to be held on the 27th of the month (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH). Bennett responded on the 12th. He thanked her for her kind invitation. He said that Kroeber had actually called for a hotel meeting for the 28th because everyone on the committee would be attending the meetings of the American Anthropological Association to be held there December 27–29, and their meeting had to conform to the general program of this larger meeting (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH). On the 12th she wrote to Bennett and said that Kidder had told her that she had been mistaken and that the IAR's meeting would take place on the 28th. She repeated her offer to host the meeting on this corrected date (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

That same day, 12 December, Bennett wrote to Kroeber and advised him of Beale's invitation, adding that she had initially written to him in response to a letter he had sent to her at the request of Kidder, in which he had enclosed a copy of the minutes of the meeting in New York. He added that he felt it would be wise to invite her to attend the business meeting, given that she had been the "moving spirit" of the organization (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH). Kroeber wrote back on 21 December and said he agreed with the idea of inviting Beale, adding that it was his understanding Kidder knew her personally, and it would be best to delay sending her an invitation until they had spoken with him on the 27th. Finally, Kroeber told Bennett he looked forward to talking with him at the meeting about his recent field-work in Peru (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

Also on 12 December it was announced in *The New York Times* that Tello had been appointed Honorary Curator of Andean Archaeology at the Peabody Museum (Anon. 1936r).

Whether this was purely a symbolic gesture, or something more tangible was not stated. In any case, certainly Tozzer, likely Lothrop, possibly Kidder, and perhaps even Means, had a hand in it.⁴³

On 19 December Hewett wrote to both Tello and to Beale. In his letter to Tello he reminded him that two or three of his students were willing to go to Peru to help him. He went on to say he would soon be meeting with these students and that had not yet heard from him regarding his plans and, hence, he would not be able to advise them. He then stated he had not yet received a reply to the letter that he had sent on 2 November and therefore assumed it had not reached him. He then summarized what he had written earlier concluding that he decided for the reasons stated not to become a member of the committee of the new Institute (Angélico Chávez History Library Archive, Santa Fe, New Mexico, Edgar L. Hewett Collection, AC 105, box 23, folder "Tello, Julio, Dr."). As for his letter to Beale, Hewett reiterated what he had written in his last letter to her and spoke of the letter he had received from Kroeber inviting him and other proposed members of the committee to meet in Washington at the end of the month (date and specific contents unknown). He had told her that he needed to advise two or three of his students who expected to return to Peru to offer their help to Tello, but that he had not yet heard back from him. He asked her to inform him of the result of meet-

⁴³ It should be noted that in his letter to Vaillant dated 19 October 1936 Tozzer mentions having received the outline of the proposed IAR and said he saw no reason why the Peabody Museum couldn't cooperate, and that they should do something. He also said that while he was in San Francisco (likely earlier in the year), he and Kroeber had talked about South American research. This, Tozzer explained, happened before he knew anything about what he referred to as the Tello situation (Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology Archive, Harvard University, Alfred M. Tozzer Papers, accession no. 41-10, box 1, folder 16, correspondence).

ings concerning Tello's proposed organization (Angélico Chávez History Library Archive, Santa Fe, New Mexico, Edgar L. Hewett Collection, AC 105, box 23, folder "Tello, Julio, Dr."). It is unknown if either she or Tello responded.

Tello did write to Means from Lima⁴⁴ on 22 December, responding to a letter dated the 16th in which Means had gently scolded him for involving Hewett (Archivo Julio C. Tello, Museo de Arqueología, Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos, Packet 2, Volume 8). Tello included in his response the reasons why he had accepted Hewett's invitation to come to New Mexico: to resolve his publication problem and to resolve the more important problem of getting researchers in Peru to apply scientific principles. He also said that he had a list of Peruvians in mind from which to solicit funds to support the work of the Institute, specifically naming Riva Agüero, Pedro Beltrán⁴⁵ and Eulogio Fernandini (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).⁴⁶

A week before the business meeting, on 21 December, Beale wrote to thank Bennett for having advised her on whether her donation to the IAR would be classified as a charitable donation under present income tax law. She inquired whether he had as yet obtained a

⁴⁴ The following notice was published in the 1 December 1936 edition of *The West Coast Leader*: "Dr. Julio C. Tello, a leading Peruvian archeologist, arrived by the *Reina del Pacífico* from Havana, following an extended visit to the States" (Anon. 1936q).

⁴⁵ Pedro Beltrán had served as the president of the National Agrarian Association in 1927 and was director of the Central Reserve Bank in 1929. In 1930 he was named the director and president of the directorate of the Central Reserve Bank. In 1934 he formed a group that purchased the Lima daily *La Prensa* that had been shut down by the Government (Tauro 1966–67:178–179).

⁴⁶ Eulogio Fernandini was the vice-president of the People's Bank and a wealthy philanthropist (Paz 1921: 144–145).

Treasury Department ruling, and, if not, could he please do so before the end of the year. She then asked that, in the absence of such a ruling by then, if she could make her contribution to the AMNH to be earmarked for the IAR (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

On 24 December Bennett wrote to Beale to say no ruling had been received, and he doubted one would be forthcoming before 1937, hence he had investigated the matter within the museum. He advised her to send the check made out to the curator-in-chief of the Department of Anthropology with a letter stating that the money be designated for Andean research. This, he said, would generate the customary acknowledgment and receipt that could be used as proof of a charitable donation. He also advised her to send a second letter to the curator-in-chief indicating that the donation should only be spent with the consent and approval of the IAR's secretary (himself). He concluded by saying he felt that the IAR would establish a way to handle its funds at the upcoming business meeting (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

Bennett subsequently prepared and circulated an undated report on this 28 December meeting. He provided the following information: (1) Bennett, Cole, Kidder, Kroeber, Lothrop, Means, Spier, Tozzer, and Vaillant had been in attendance; (2) Kroeber was elected chairman of the committee and Bennett was elected its secretary-treasurer; (3) Lothrop (chairman), Vaillant, and Bennett were appointed to a sub-committee tasked with looking into incorporation with the authority to act on behalf of the IAR; (4) Cole (chairman), Spier, and Bennett were appointed to a sub-committee charged with selecting candidates for research; (5) Tello was appointed Peruvian counselor and representative of the IAR for the upcoming year; (6) it was proposed that the IAR advise the ministers of education and other organizations in the

various Andean countries of the organization and purpose of the IAR; (7) it was decided to postpone expansion of the IAR until funding permitted; for example not to include more associate members; and (8) discussion was undertaken regarding the idea of publications, but no commitment was made (Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology Archive, Harvard University, Samuel K. Lothrop Papers, accession no. 996-20, box 6, folder 1, Institute of Andean Research).

Later, Bennett published a notice regarding the founding of the IAR in *American Antiquity*. It read:

The Institute of Andean Research has been organized to promote and foster anthropological research in the Andean region. The Executive Committee is composed of nine members: A.L. Kroeber (Chairman), W.C. Bennett (Secretary-Treasurer), A.V. Kidder, A.M. Tozzer, P.A. Means, Leslie Spier, G.C. Vaillant, S.K. Lothrop. Dr. Julio C. Tello has been appointed Peruvian Representative and Counsellor for the first year (1937a:316).

To recap, Tello came to the United States with the idea of creating an International Institute of Andean Research. In New Mexico he discussed this plan with Spier and with Fisher, the latter passing this information on to Hewett. Hewett then contacted Beale. She and Tello met at Gallup on 24 August and she made a firm commitment at that time to fund one researcher to help him with his work in Peru. Subsequently Tello presented an inclusive plan of IAR organization at the meeting held at Santa Fe on 28 August. Hewett drew up an exclusive plan of IAR organization based on his discussions with Tello, and, with the consent of Beale, he mailed it to Tello in Los Angeles for his approval. Discussions with Spier before and after the meeting convinced Tello that it would

be unwise for him to accept Hewett's plan, because it would antagonize others in the country.

From New Mexico Tello went to California and, with the help of Beale, he spoke with Bliss at Santa Barbara around 7 September and this resulted in a general commitment to help. A day or two later Tello entered into serious discussions with Kroeber at Berkeley that again proved fruitful. Kroeber agreed to serve on a proposed executive board and, at Tello's request, he sent letters to Kidder, Spier, and Tozzer advising them of Tello's plan and explaining his problem with Hewett. Meanwhile Tello abruptly traveled to Chicago to meet Carrión, and bring her to Rochester, Minnesota, where she was diagnosed and successfully treated at the Mayo Clinic. He then brought her back to Chicago to see her off and then, perhaps, spoke with Cole, who also gladly agreed to support Tello's institute. From this point on, things become less clear as Tello's "planned itinerary" appears to have been in a constant state of flux.

Beale reported that she had spoken briefly with Tello in Washington, D.C. around the end of the first week of October. Tozzer reported that Tello had been "here", presumably meaning the Peabody Museum, around the end of the second week of October, that he had just met with Bennett and Vaillant in New York City, and that he had left for Mexico. Tozzer also reported that Kidder had discussed the Hewett matter with Beale and Bliss. In fact, Tello, Bennett, Vaillant, Spier, Lothrop, and Hay had met at the AMNH in New York on 13 October, and had drawn up a proposed plan of organization for the IAR that was based on Tello's preferred inclusive model. According to this plan, the IAR's committee would be tasked with providing student support for approved work by Tello, and this committee would also be tasked

with giving to Tello the money it had solicited to support this work.

Subsequently, Tello told Hewett he had spoken with the assistant rector of San Marcos in New York, and that he was leaving for Mexico on 23 October. Then Kidder wrote to Tozzer on 27 October and reported he had spoken with Beale and Bliss in Washington, and that they were happy with what had been drawn up at the AMNH. Beale's comment that problems in Peru had forced Tello to leave the country helps to explain the latter's apparent absence at the meeting in Washington.

Finally, Kroeber and Bennett agreed to become the IAR's chairman and secretary/treasurer, respectively, and a business meeting was scheduled by the former to be held in Washington on 28 December. A week or so before this meeting Bennett investigated income tax law at Beale's request. Although invited, neither Beale nor Hewett attended the meeting, but Vaillant did. At this meeting Tello was appointed Peruvian representative and counselor, rather than field director.

A ROCKY START

Late December 1936–May 1937

Kidder wrote to Bennett on 30 December to inform him that after the meeting (at the Carlton Hotel) he had spoken with Bliss and had asked him to match Beale's \$1,500 scholarship in order to send a second student assistant to Peru to help Tello and that Bliss had agreed. Kidder also told Bennett he had heard from Beale that Hewett had written to her about students of his who had expected to be funded by her so that they could join Tello in Peru. Kidder then said he had advised her to write to Hewett and tell him to have the students contact him (Bennett) on the matter. Although he didn't think Hewett would do so, he went on,

he felt the IAR could not simply dismiss the students out of hand as potential candidates for the two scholarships (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH). Tello had written to Barbara Loomis on 24 December (letter contents unknown) and in her response dated 16 January she said she had shared his letter with McCreery (Archivo Julio C. Tello, Museo de Arqueología, Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos, Packet 2, Volume 8 [02175]).

Tozzer wrote to Tello on 31 December and told him that he was proposing to him and to the IAR the name of Isabel Guernsey⁴⁷ as a candidate to work with him in Peru. He explained that she was the daughter of Samuel Guernsey (Figure 17) who had worked at the Peabody Museum for many years but who had recently died.⁴⁸ He went on to say she had been working on the museum's Peruvian textiles, that she was technically savvy, and that he, Bennett, Means, and Kidder could all vouch for her. Tozzer also spoke of sending Kidder's son (Figure 18) and namesake⁴⁹ along with his wife

⁴⁷ For a photograph of Guernsey see Mohr Chávez (2005), p. 297.

⁴⁸ The following was published in the Monday 25 May 1936 edition of *The Harvard Crimson*: "Samuel J. Guernsey, Curator of Archaeology at Peabody Museum, died early Friday morning at the age of 68. Heart failure abruptly ended his 27 years of service to the University. . . . He had gained national renown as a maker of habitat models for Anthropology Department" (Anon. 1936a). "Samuel James Guernsey, Curator of Archaeology in the Peabody Museum of the Harvard University, died . . . on May 23, 1936 . . . he served as Hemenway Assistant (1910–1914), Assistant Curator of Archaeology and Ethnology (1915–1920), Assistant Director (1920–1927), and as Curator of Archaeology 1928–1935" (Kidder 1937:135). "During the summer of 1914, Kidder, along with Samuel J. Guernsey . . . carried on investigations for the Peabody Museum of Harvard in . . . northeastern Arizona" (Wauchope 1965:151).

⁴⁹ "Alfred (Alfie) was little interested in archaeology in 1927, but when he entered Harvard in 1929 he turned to it" (Woodbury 1993:44).

(Mary)⁵⁰ down to Peru to conduct research (Archivo Julio C. Tello, Museo de Arqueología, Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos, Packet 2, Volume 8).

Beale wrote to Bennett on 1 January 1937 and told him she had followed his instructions regarding her donation, adding that she had been disappointed not to see him in Washington the previous week (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH). Bennett wrote back the next day to thank her for her check and to say it had been deposited in a special IAR fund. He then told her Cole had been chosen to head the subcommittee to select a student for the IAR's first project, and he apologized for not meeting with her, suggesting that Kidder was best suited to speak with her about the IAR (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH). Bennett then sent a second letter to her on 4 January in which he stated an IAR Research Fund had been set up at the AMNH and that the IAR was looking into the possibility of incorporation (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

Bennett also wrote to Spier and to Cole on 4 January. He told Cole the Institute had \$1,500 (from Beale) and was anticipating another \$1,500 (from Bliss). He speculated that this money would allow the Institute to send two students to help Tello, given an estimated \$500 in travel expenses and a monthly stipend of \$250 per student for four months (\$1,000). He added that, because Tello was bilingual, it would not be necessary for a student to be conversant in Spanish. Bennett then listed four potential candidates: (1) Ted McCown,⁵¹ a doctoral

⁵⁰ "On June 23, 1934, Alfred Kidder married Mary Bigelow Barbour . . . daughter of Thomas Barbour . . . [who] was for many years the director of Harvard's Museum of Comparative Zoology" (Mohr Chávez 2005:252).

⁵¹ "Theodore Doney McCown was born in Macomb, Illinois, on June 18, 1908. . . . McCown came to Berkeley with his family in 1914, his father having taken the

student at the University of California (at Berkeley) who, though he had worked with Kroeber on the school's Peruvian collection, might better be sent to work on Tello's skull collection but, in any case, would not be available until May or June; (2) Guernsey, who could work on the Paracas mummy bundles and textiles; (3) Ben Rouse, a Yale doctoral student who spoke Spanish but who would not be available until 1938; and (4) Junius Bird (Figure 6), a non-degree holder at the AMNH who, among other things, had worked with him (Bennett) in Bolivia and who wanted to work on shell heaps at Ancón and at Supe (on the Central Coast of Peru; IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

In his letter to Spier, Bennett essentially summarized the detailed information he had given to Cole. Bennett reiterated the point that he did not think fluency in Spanish was necessary, as long as the person selected to work in Peru stayed in Lima, or stayed with Tello (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

Cole wrote back to Bennett on 6 January and said he had received a letter from Tozzer (date and specific contents unknown) in which he said he had nominated Guernsey. Cole asked Bennett to verify if it had been Kroeber and the two of them that had been named to the selection committee. He also asked Bennett if a second candidate had been proposed. He closed by saying that Kroeber would be visiting him in

position of Dean of the Pacific School of Religion. During the 1920's Ted McCown lived for several years in Palestine, while his father was director of the Palestine Exploration Fund; this exposure to formal archaeology led him to an interest in Anthropology, in which he obtained his B.A. degree in 1929 from Berkeley. McCown's interest in the Palestine region persisted, and as a Fellow of the American School of Prehistoric Research, he participated from 1932-35 . . . in the famous excavations of Mt. Carmel. . . . The fossil human skeletons of Middle Paleolithic age there became his focus of interest" (Hammel *et al.* 1970).

Chicago in about ten days, and, at that time, they would discuss likely candidates, and then they would take a vote by mail (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

Spier responded to Bennett on 13 January and told him he was enthusiastic about Guernsey and McCown, and that both he and Kroeber were of the opinion the latter could help get Tello to properly publish the results of his work (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

As it turned out, Cole also wrote to Bennett on the 13th saying that Kroeber was coming to Chicago to discuss matters. He also said he had just received a letter from Collier in which he had expressed a strong interest in being considered for a scholarship, and in which he had said he had talked with him (Bennett) about this (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH). Cole then wrote to Bennett with a copy to Spier on 18 January, saying that he had spoken with Kroeber, and that they had concluded Guernsey should be offered one scholarship, and that McCown should be offered a second, if he were to be available. If not, the subcommittee should consider Collier, who had just returned from Peru, who had studied under Kroeber, and who was then a student of his (Cole's) in Chicago (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH). Bennett responded the following day, the 19th, and told Cole, in part, that he and Collier had talked at length in New York, and that the latter had written to him (Cole) on his advice (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

Backing up, Bennett wrote to Tozzer on 6 January and told him Vaillant was concerned that Guernsey's mother might object to her going to Peru. He also reported that he and the subcommittee were working toward incorporation, and that he was meeting with a lawyer that

afternoon (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

Tozzer responded on 8 January and said Guernsey was willing to go, and her mother had no objection. Although he admitted she was very timid, he said he planned to send her down to Peru with Kidder II and his wife, so that they could get her established, regardless of where Tello might be, and then leave her (on her own; IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

It was on 7 January that Bennett wrote to Hewett, and asked him to submit to Cole the names of his students for consideration as candidates for IAR scholarships (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH). Whether Hewett did so is unknown, but seems unlikely. Also on 7 January, Bliss wrote to Bennett to thank him for sending a copy of the minutes of the December meeting, and to ask him to remind him how much he had agreed to donate to the IAR, an amount that he said that Kidder had told him, but that he had forgotten. He then specifically addressed Tello's appointment as Peruvian representative and counselor of the IAR for the first year. He reminded Bennett that Tello had lost his position as director of the National Museum of Archaeology, likely for political reasons, and that he had been reduced in stature to the director of a less important San Marcos museum. As a result, Bliss wrote, given his experience working with high-level officials in Latin America, he thought it would be wise to appoint an additional Peruvian official of higher influence in the Peruvian government, who might be in a better position to advance the work of the IAR. He closed by saying both he and his wife were quite pleased with the first steps that had been taken to put the IAR into action (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

Bennett answered Bliss on 11 January and told him Beale had donated \$1,500 and, while he had not spoken to Kidder since the meeting in late December, he had understood from Kidder it had been agreed that he (Bliss) would match Beale's donation. Bennett then expressed his appreciation for the advice Bliss had given, adding that when he had worked in Peru the first eight months of 1936 (on behalf of the AMNH) he had done so dependent entirely on Valcárcel as head of the National Museum, for permits and government contracts. But, he added, the IAR's situation was different. Then Bennett shifted his focus to Tello, and provided some insight into the discussions that had taken place in New York, and later in Washington. He said Tello had a charming personality, and he had done much to promote an interest in Peruvian archaeology while traveling about the country the past year. Bennett then said that it was because of Tello that the IAR was organized, and that money had been raised. Yet, he went on, the committee was interested in the entire Andean region, not just Peru, and, despite the fact that Tello had been very anxious to become a member of the committee, it was thought this would be unwise, and could lead to great jealousy in his country. Hence, it had been decided to appoint him counselor. Bennett then brought up the fact that Tello was in charge of the Paracas mummy bundles and textiles at a museum in Magdalena Vieja (the locale of the old Bolivar Museum of History and now part of the National Museum), and that the committee planned to send a textile expert (Guernsey) to help him and that would not require any government permit. As for the individual to be sent by the IAR to excavate in Peru, that person would deal directly with Valcárcel, who was someone that he (Bennett) anticipated might become the Peruvian counselor in the future (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

Bliss sent a letter to Bennett on the 16th of January, enclosing a check in the amount of \$1,500. Regarding the Paracas material, he told Bennett that, as he recalled, a number of years before he had had the pleasure of seeing Tello's collection of mummy bundles, some of which had been unwrapped. He added that he had since hoped the Peruvian government might somehow be persuaded to send some of the bundles to museums in the United States, so that some of the precious Paracas textiles could be exhibited. He then said that perhaps an interest in Peru created by the IAR might convince Peruvian authorities to so act (on the Paracas matter) as a way of promoting tourism in their country. He concluded by saying he was very glad that the IAR wanted to more widely disseminate the information Tello had amassed on his (Paracas) collections (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

Bennett replied to Bliss on 19 January and said that, while a few Paracas textiles had "slipped" out of Peru, the Peruvian government was very reluctant to send some of the mummy bundles to foreign museums as gifts. He then said he had discussed the matter both with Tello and with Valcárcel, and that each had agreed in principle with the idea. He concluded that he hoped the IAR could facilitate matters, because he feared the bundles would rot away if they were not properly cared for (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

In addition to Tozzer, Bennett wrote to Lothrop on 6 January. He told him he had written a report summarizing the incorporating committee's position, and that he had shown it to Kroeber. He went on to say that Kroeber had told him to go forward with incorporation for the good of the Institute, and, as a result, he had scheduled an appointment with a lawyer to discuss matters and to get an estimate of costs (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

Lothrop then heard from Tello, receiving a letter that had been written on 9 January. Tello began by saying he was on the eve of flying to Chiclayo, but that he *had* wanted to write him at length regarding the IAR's plans and the need to establish a connection between the Museum of Archaeology at San Marcos and the Peabody Museum. However, he explained, the university had been on summer break the previous fifteen days, and that had delayed things. Also, he had not yet heard from Kroeber regarding what the committee had decided (in December), and that this had delayed his submission of a definite plan of work for 1937. Tello then provided details of why it was that he was going to Chiclayo. It was, he wrote, because treasure-seekers with government authorization had illegally excavated huacas in the Department of Lambayeque, huacas that Lothrop knew contained artifacts principally made of gold, silver, and copper. Specifically, a few days earlier, someone named Muñoz, with the help of one hundred workers, had dug into one of the huacas, and had taken out artifacts weighing about twenty kilos that were made of mostly gold, but there were also some made of silver. Then, the prior day, these artifacts had arrived in Lima by airplane, and were taken to the Reserve Bank where they were carefully examined. Among the artifacts were four large gold vases, two that were encrusted with turquoise, and all of which were absolute gems, because he had never before seen anything like them. Also included among the artifacts were a gold ceremonial staff, and three large blades (*tumis*). He went on to say that the handle of one of the large blades measured about forty centimeters high and was really extraordinary, being in the form of the Chimu agricultural god set upon a pedestal, into which the blade was affixed. From what he had been told, he added, the looters had found a kind of altar laminated with gold and silver, and a number of bodies wrapped in cloths embroidered with gold laminates (threads). He concluded by saying he had been ordered by the

government to immediately go to the site, and then write a report on what he found (Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology Archive, Harvard University, Samuel K. Lothrop Papers, accession no. 996-20, box 6, folder 6, correspondence).

A series of articles published in Lima's *El Comercio* served to document the Lambayeque discovery and its immediate aftermath. On 9 January this Lima daily published an official decree signed by General Ernesto Montagne (minister of education; Montagne 1937).⁵² Specifically, it was stated that Dr. Carlos Muñoz Romero had petitioned the government to conduct excavations in accordance with the provisions of Supreme Decree No. 6938 dated 15 November 1930. The government had then resolved, on 7 December (1) to permit Muñoz Romero to seek hidden treasure in the zone between the Leche and Saña Valleys in the Department of Lambayeque for the purpose of forming collections; (2) to appoint an oversight commission comprised of Muñoz, the Commander of the Aviation Squadron No. 1, the curator of the Brüning Museum of Archaeology in Lambayeque and, (other) delegates designated by the Minister of Education; (3) to declare that all excavated artifacts be sent to Lima along with four copies of an inventory of the same; (4) to declare that all archaeological artifacts be sent to the National Museum except those made of metal, which were to be sent to the National Reserve Bank; (5) to declare that, if denounced, Muñoz, had a priority right to metal objects excavated under the decree and would be paid an equivalent indemnity for those artifacts taken by the state; (6) to declare that

⁵² According to an article published in the 30 October 1936 issue of *The West Coast Leader*, a new council of ministers entirely military in make-up was sworn into office on 23 October 1936. General Ernesto Montagne was not only named the minister of education, he was also named the leader of the council (Anon. 1936l). Hence, Montagne had been named Prime Minister in President Benavides' new Cabinet.

oversight and conservation of the work to be verified fell to (the commander of) Aviation Squadron No. 1; (7) to declare that the commander of Squadron No. 1 was also authorized to act as delegate of the government to discover and investigate clandestine excavations that had been made; and (8) to declare that the Ministry of Education remained in charge of dictating detailed dispositions conducted to improve compliance with the resolution.⁵³

On 12 January *El Comercio* published an official memorandum that had been issued by the National Museum. The memo reported that at 4 P.M. the previous Saturday (the 10th) the National Reserve Bank had received from the District of Illimo in the Department of Lambayeque objects made of gold, silver, and alloyed gold and copper. The head of (an investigative) commission led by Aviation Commander Ergasto Silva and Dr. Muñoz had arrived on a military airplane, and had brought with them these artifacts. Present at the opening of the boxes containing these artifacts were the minister of education, the director of the National Museum (Valcárcel), Tello, as a curator of the "Museum of Archaeology", and high-ranking employees of the Central Bank. After an inventory of the objects had been made, the objects had been placed in iron boxes for later

exhibition at the Museum of Archaeology.⁵⁴ The memo concluded with the statement that Dr. Tello, as chief of anthropological research at the National Museum, had been directed by the minister of education to fly to Chiclayo to investigate the matter in a scientific manner, after which he was to prepare an official report. Finally, it was noted that Tello had left that morning for Chiclayo aboard a Panagra flight (Anon. 1937a).⁵⁵

Also on the 12th, this newspaper published an 11 January United Press report from Chiclayo. In this report it was stated that all of the newspapers in Chiclayo had published the Supreme Resolution in question, that this resolution had given Muñoz the right to excavate a huaca on Hacienda Batán Grande that was part of the Aurich estate, and that this was where a fabulous treasure of gold artifacts of inestimable archaeological value and weighing tons had been discovered. It was also stated in this report that there were authorized versions that assured the existence of fabulous treasures in the ruins of the ancient city of Zaña that had disappeared during a terrible flood. Finally, it was reported that the owners of Batán Grande had begun action against the government for the purpose of asserting their rights to the valuable booty (Anon. 1937b).

On the night of 12 January Tello was interviewed by a representative of the United Press in his room in Chiclayo's Royal Hotel and the following day *El Comercio* printed the resultant

⁵³ It was the responsibility of the National Board of Archaeology to review requests for permits to excavate sites of an archaeological or historical nature. This board was, by law, chaired by the minister of education and consisted of sitting members including Valcárcel as director of the National Museum and Tello. Tello had returned to Peru by December 1st, 1936, but the meeting to discuss this particular request may have been held prior to his return. In any case, the fact that the Ministry of Education publicized the details of the pertinent decree, something it rarely did, is significant and suggests that an attempt was being made to justify the extraction of artifacts made of precious metal from an archaeological site by emphasizing government oversight. Tello obviously would have been outraged that the new government was effectively legalizing the looting of archaeological sites.

⁵⁴ These artifacts were never in Tello's possession either as director of the San Marcos Museum of Archaeology or the museum at Magdalena Vieja. What appears to be meant is that the artifacts were sent to the Department of Archaeology at the National Museum.

⁵⁵ The following was published in the 12 January 1937 edition of *The West Coast Leader*: "Mr. Julio Tello, well-known Peruvian archaeologist, was a passenger by Panagra plane on the 11th, inst., from Lima to Chiclayo" (Anon. 1937c).

report. According to this, Tello had arrived to verify the discovery made on property belonging to Juan J. Aurich. It was specified that Tello was the Chief of the National Museum's Institute of Anthropological Research and curator of the Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos (archaeological) Museum, and that he had been commissioned by the Supreme Government to excavate in a technical way a huaca at Batán Grande. Furthermore, Tello had said he was anxious to begin his investigations, that he would live on site, and that at the conclusion of his work he would prepare a report on his excavations. Finally, Tello had said that his assistant (Mejía) was going to arrive by airplane the following day and would bring with him all the supplies necessary to undertake the work (Anon. 1937d).

On 14 January this newspaper published an editorial applauding the effort being made by the government to protect the nation's archaeological heritage. In particular, the editor pointed out that, given the importance of what had been found, the minister of education had appointed Tello as a specialist in such matters to conduct a scientific investigation. Then, after saying that it had only been in recent years that the government had enacted laws to prevent illegal excavations and the illegal shipment of collections of artifacts outside the country and especially those related to Paracas, the editor demanded that the government tighten its security even more (Editor 1937a).

On 18 January *El Comercio* published the results of a United Press interview with Tello that had taken place the previous day. In this interview, Tello stated that, based upon an examination of the surface of the site, he had mostly seen objects made of copper and silver that he judged had been found (by looters) next to bodies. He also pointed out that excavations had been made over a long period of time in a 2,000 square-meter pre-Chimu cemetery mark-

ed by some 300 looters' pits, in the vicinity of the huacas known as (La) Cruz, La Merced, and La Ventana. He said cuts into the cemetery made by the La Leche River during past floods had allowed him to ascertain that there were three layers of burials. As he explained, the first layer was encountered at a depth of about eight meters within a thick cap of sand where a mass of ancient pottery could be seen. The tombs in the second layer were of a type he had been unable to determine, and contained human remains that were essentially pulverized, but there were metallic objects made principally of copper. As for the tombs of the top layer, they contained fresh burials corresponding to the late Chimu Period. Tello then went on to say that a long, slow, and difficult scientific process of excavation was to take place that required the digging of small holes (test pits) in order to study the trash that covered the tombs. Pottery, he said, found during this work would help determine the age and cultural type of the burials. Since he had taken over, Tello said, no excavations had taken place at the cemetery, but he planned to excavate during the week to come. This work he described as "filigree" (minutely focused) in type given its importance. He then said the pottery he had found in the lowest layer was like that which he had found at the lowest level at places like Nepeña, Huallaga (Kotosh), Chavín, and Paracas. But, he added, tombs corresponding to such pottery had never before been found, so for him the pottery sherds he had found at Batán Grande were more valuable to him than the objects of gold that had been found there (by the looters; Anon. 1937e).

Subsequently *El Comercio* published in its editions dated January 29–31 a lengthy article that Tello had written while at Illimo on 22 January (Tello 1937a). In the first part of his article Tello dealt with the history of archaeological research that had been conducted in the Department of Lambayeque. In the second part he provided the location and description of

Batán Grande as a whole, and Huaca La Ventana in particular, noting that work had been done there with the help of Mejía, a curator of the National Museum's Institute of Anthropological Research. In the third and final part, Tello provided a detailed site report including a hypothetical sketch of the Huaca La Ventana, a large mound oriented north to south and measuring 110 meters long by 96 meters wide and from which he had recovered during excavation both black and red Chavín style pottery. He then provided a review of recent discoveries he had made relative to the Chavín culture, because he had found evidence of a Chavín period occupation at La Ventana.

To summarize, the new minister of education, General Montagne, had given authorization to a private citizen to undertake excavations for the purpose of discovering treasure that resulted in excavations at the archaeological site of Batán Grande in the Department of Lambayeque. By decree, this individual had to turn over to the national government all objects made of precious metal, but he was to be fairly compensated for these objects. This private citizen, the curator of Lambayeque's Brüning Museum, and the commander of the Air Force Squadron No.1 at Chicalyo were assigned to an oversight board, while the commander was specifically charged with investigating illegal excavations. The excavations in question had led to the discovery of pre-Columbian objects extraordinary in number and in monetary value, as well as in potential scientific value. Tello had been sent by the minister of education to investigate the matter, and to prepare a report on his findings. Tello was interviewed on a number of occasions, and had subsequently published an unofficial report of the work he had done at Batán Grande's Huaca Ventana.

It should be pointed out that the publication of a decree of this type was extremely unusual, if not unprecedented. It should also be noted

that, in the past, authority to oversee and investigate matters pertaining to acts against the national patrimony in this region had been invested in civil authority, specifically the judicial office of prefect, while oversight had primarily been invested in the director of the University of Trujillo. It should also be pointed out that since its creation, it was customary that requests to excavate sites first be sent to the National Board for review. As a member of this board, Tello would have had an opportunity to express his opinion. He had returned to Lima early in December so, *if* there had been a meeting of the National Board, it is reasonable to assume he would not have been in favor of issuing the broad decree to allow for the digging for "treasure" that had then been used to illegally excavate for profit at Batán Grande. This does not mean that Tello would have been the ultimate arbiter at such a meeting, because that person was the minister of education who chaired the Board. It only means that Tello would have been given the opportunity to make his case against the request. Whether or not the recent change from a primarily civilian government to one entirely military in makeup meant a change in attitude toward the nation's archaeological heritage is unknown. But this would help to explain the issuance of a decree that seemed designed to assure profit on the part of the excavator, regardless of whether or not excavations undertaken were prohibited by existing law. This would also help to explain why it was that an air force commander had been placed in charge of matters of an archaeological nature in the Department of Lambayeque.

Late January–mid February 1937

Tozzer wrote to Lothrop on 23 February and, among other matters, told him he had heard a rumor that Tello had found gold. He also told Lothrop that Tello was under the mistaken impression that Kidder II would be coming to Peru as a fellow of the IAR, and

would be able to help him on a long dig. Instead, he went on, Kidder II would not be going as a fellow, but, instead, on behalf of the Peabody Museum, with the object of traveling throughout Peru. Tozzer also told Lothrop that apparently Tello did not want to work with Guernsey (Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology Archive, Harvard University, Alfred M. Tozzer Papers, accession no. 41-10, box 1, folder 16, correspondence).

Subsequently, on 27 January Tozzer wrote to Vaillant and said he had received a long letter from Tello (date and specific contents unknown) in which he had expressed little enthusiasm for Guernsey, but great enthusiasm for Kidder II and his wife, saying that he wanted the two of them to work with him at one site for a whole season. Tozzer went on to say that Tello had completely misunderstood why Kidder II was going to Peru, which was to allow him the opportunity to see as many sites and as much of the country as possible. As for Guernsey, Tozzer lamented that if Tello wasn't going to be working on the (Paracas) textiles, he had no one else to propose as a candidate (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

Tozzer had written back to Tello on 19 January and told him that he agreed with him that it would be great if the Kidders could help him on his proposed excavation but that this would not be possible. He explained that, for the present, the Kidders would have no connection with the IAR, but would go to Peru directly under the auspices of the Peabody Museum. This was because museum leadership wanted Kidder II to see as many collections and sites as possible, though it would be extremely helpful if he could see one of Tello's excavations. As for Guernsey, Tozzer told Tello, he had spoken with Lothrop and was under the impression that he needed someone to help him with his (Paracas) textiles. He added that it had been Bennett who had first suggested Guernsey as a candidate. He

concluded by telling Tello she could work for him alone if he wanted (Archivo Julio C. Tello, Museo de Arqueología, Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos, Packet 2, Volume 8 [02175]).

It was also on 19 January that Kroeber wrote to Bennett and said that he had spoken with Cole in Chicago. At that time, he added, Cole had asked him to tentatively ask McCown if he would be able to go to Peru, and he had done so, writing to him in England. He then told Bennett that he had suggested to McCown that if he wanted to be a candidate, he should speak with him (Bennett) in New York during his scheduled brief trip back to the States, and come up with a specific plan to help Tello (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

Bennett also wrote to Tello on the 19th and enclosed a copy of the minutes of the December committee meeting in Washington. The purpose of his letter, Bennett explained, apologizing for its tenor, was to officially inform him that he had been appointed to the position of Peruvian representative and counselor for the first year. This was, he said, an official title that was no more than another way of expressing the title of field director that had been discussed with him in New York. Bennett explained that the committee had decided in Washington to incorporate in the United States, so that the IAR could receive donations and, more to the point, so that it could avoid problems with the Department of State and with international law. As a result, it was decided that membership on the committee had to be limited to the Americans attending the meeting, because United States law required all members of corporations to be citizens of that country. He went on to say that the committee planned to appoint counselors elsewhere in the Andean region in the future, but as a sign that it considered him its most important collaborator, it had decided to begin work in Peru. Regarding this work, he told

Tello, funding for two scholarships had been received, and a subcommittee chaired by Cole was in the process of selecting two students from a list of candidates whom they temporarily planned to place under his direction and supervision in Peru—adding that they had in mind his suggestion that he have someone to help him with the Paracas collection.

Bennett then explained that the position of Peruvian counselor was official, and that it carried with it the power to represent and advise the IAR on its activities in Peru. He mentioned letters that he had seen that Tello had sent to Means (date and contents unknown) and to Kroeber (contents unknown) in which he had discussed his plans. Bennett said that he “heartily approved” of these plans, and that the committee wanted him to know that it offered him cooperation both personal and official in nature. He told Tello he wanted him to understand that the committee solicited advice from him and information that he considered important, adding that such advice was to be sent directly to him (in New York). Bennett closed by telling Tello that he would keep him informed, and that as soon as letterhead stationery was printed he would send an official letter to representatives of countries in the Andean region in order to introduce them to the IAR. But, he added, this official letter would be conservative in nature, without a guarantee of immediate interaction with the IAR (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

While Bennett wrote to Tello on 19 January, Kroeber wrote to Tello the next day. He referred to a letter he had received from Tello dated 26 December 1936 (contents unknown), and went on to discuss a number of decisions that had been made by him and the eight other members of the committee at the business meeting held in Washington late in December. Specifically, Kroeber told Tello, they had agreed to formally declare themselves the Institute of

Andean Research (IAR) and to initiate the process of incorporation to let prospective donors claim a tax deduction. In addition, they had decided to expand the geographic interest of the IAR to reflect its name. Hence, the IAR would concern itself with all Andean countries, but Peru would undoubtedly be its center of interest. As for the IAR’s organization, Kroeber wrote, it was unanimously felt that representation by all Andean governments would be unwieldy, and, for this reason, it was decided to restrict IAR membership to North Americans. As a result, Kroeber told Tello, it had been decided to name him the IAR’s Peruvian representative and councilor for 1937, and this appointment should adequately answer his question regarding an official designation in the IAR as representative of his nation.

Kroeber then went on to tell Tello that, although he could not speak for the IAR, he felt his idea of creating a branch of the IAR in Peru was a good one. Therefore, Kroeber told Tello, he should proceed with his plan to organize a committee of eight Peruvians. As for publishing his works, Kroeber then said, he had told the committee he had made two overtures, and, in each case, he had been turned down because of a lack of text, and because of the (prohibitive) cost of publishing so many illustrations for a general work. Hence, Kroeber explained to Tello, the committee agreed that he (Tello) should instead submit to it the text and illustrations for one monograph at a time, each dealing with a single culture or a particular aspect of the archaeology of Peru. Regarding this, Kroeber then told Tello, that he and Spier were particularly hopeful one of the people the IAR sent to Peru in 1937 to help him would be qualified to act as an intermediary, to create a feasible plan for publication. In addition, Kroeber passed on to Tello information from Bennett that he had received a check from Beale, as well as a promise from Bliss to send a check in the same amount. He also passed on the news that the

IAR had created a subcommittee comprised of Cole, Spier, and Bennett to select candidates. Selection from among a list of qualified candidates, Kroeber explained to Tello, would not take longer than a few months, and those selected would report directly to him in Lima. He closed by telling Tello that he anticipated Bennett would send him a copy of the minutes of the business meeting (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

On 25 January Bennett responded to Kroeber's 19 January letter that contained a copy of the letter the latter had just sent to Tello. Bennett told Kroeber he had sent a copy of the minutes to Tello. He told him donations had been received from both Beale and Bliss. After saying that candidate action was pending, he updated Kroeber on steps taken toward incorporation. He reported that he had corrected the temporary draft with help from Lothrop and Vaillant, and that he would soon have final papers sent in a chain letter to all members of the committee to be signed in the presence of a notary public. Bennett then told Kroeber that Lothrop had spoken to him about a wealthy young friend of his who was eager to take part in archaeological research in Peru and who had decided that the best course of action would be for him to go and help Tello as an honorary fellow of the IAR. Bennett also told Kroeber that Tello had written to Lothrop (date and only some specifics known) with the news that twenty kilos of gold, including a gold-covered altar, had been found at Lambayeque, and that he had been sent by the government to investigate the discovery. Finally, Bennett said that he would be glad to talk with McCown in March, that he would be in Philadelphia for at least a day, and that at that time he would make an appointment to see him (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

Kroeber responded to Bennett on 2 February and said he felt they would soon have to come

up with a policy regarding those who wanted endorsements from the IAR, either because they had money of their own, or because they wanted to use the endorsement to help them raise money. He went on to say he thought the idea that had been proposed regarding Lothrop's friend was a good one, but suggested that the IAR first have a formal letter from this person, and one or more other letters about him in hand before acting. He added that, with a view toward expediency, he authorized the fellowship sub-committee to act on all such endorsements, subject to approval of the IAR's members. Hence, he told Bennett, it would be necessary for *him* to obtain such approval (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH). Beale also wrote to Bennett on 2 February and asked if there was any news to report regarding IAR membership. She said that she occasionally met people who might be interested, having met one just the other day. She then specifically mentioned the Polish ambassadress, who was Peruvian by birth, and Templeton Crocker of San Francisco (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

It was on 3 February that Tozzer wrote to Kroeber and informed him about the letter he had sent to Tello, in which he had suggested that Guernsey might come to Peru and help him with Peruvian textiles, and in which he told him about the trip the Kidders were going to make. Tozzer explained that, while not keen on Guernsey, Tello had responded with enthusiasm about the Kidders' visit, and this was because he assumed Kidder II was going to be one of the IAR's fellows, and that he could help him on an extended excavation. Tozzer then said that he had written back to Tello to correct his mistaken assumption, and point out that Kidder II wanted see as much of the country and as many sites as possible. This, he said, had brought a response back from Tello, in which he said he would respond at a later date, and at that time give his thoughts on Guernsey working on

textiles. Finally, Tozzer said it appeared that Tello did not want to work on textiles, and that there would be no need to send her unless he was willing to work with her (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

Tello wrote to Bennett on 3 February. In his letter he said that, upon returning to Lima after a short trip to Lambayeque, he had received his 19 January letter and the enclosed copy of the minutes for the business meeting that had been held on December 28th. Tello said he was very proud to have been named by the committee as a representative and counselor for Peru for 1937, but, he went on, despite being told it was just another way of saying that he had been named field director, as was discussed in New York, he was not so sure. He asked specific questions: how much money was the committee going to give him for the 1937 work? How many research workers would be sent to help him? Shouldn't the committee know what *his* plans were before selecting the workers? Given that the IAR was now only North American in makeup, and had lost its international character, what new course had it taken? Why was there no Peruvian on the committee? Tello then said he planned to leave Lima in March or April to conduct field-work for four to six months, and he asked to be consulted as quickly as possible. He closed by telling Bennett he was mailing to him by steamship a copy of his preliminary report on his Lambayeque work. He had gone there, he explained, on an official commission to investigate a site from which a large quantity of pre-Chimu gold objects had been taken that were presently housed in the National Reserve Bank of Peru. He had sent a copy of his report, he told Bennett, because he thought he would be interested, given his recent work on the North Coast. Tello concluded by saying he planned to publish a definitive report

soon (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).⁵⁶

Lothrop also received a letter from Tello dated 3 February. Tello opened with the statement that he had just returned from Lambayeque the day before. Then, after reminding Lothrop of the reason why he had gone there, Tello provided the following details: the government had granted a permit to certain individuals to look for colonial treasure, but, instead, these individuals had dug into huacas. As a result, he had stepped in, and had demanded that the government annul the permit and publish the result of his very preliminary observations at the site, while, at the same time, announce to the public that the value of these huacas was not in the (precious) metal that had been taken from them but in the archaeological information that they offered. He then said that he would likely expand on his (January 29–31 *El Comercio*) article, a copy of which he had enclosed, and publish it as a small pamphlet. Tello told Lothrop that no other archaeologist working in Peru impressed him as he did, and that he wanted to take him to the sites where they could discuss the (general) problem of (Chavín) stratigraphy that was best represented there.

⁵⁶ Bennett later reported in *The Handbook of Latin American Studies* "In January, Julio C. Tello was sent by the Peruvian government to check the discovery of gold artifacts at Batán Grande hacienda in Lambayeque valley. He excavated a pit 4.50 by 16.50 meters to a depth of 3 meters discovering a double stratification of incised 'Chavín' style sherds below recent intrusive burials of late Chimu type (1937c:28). Bennett also reported in the *Bulletin of the Pan American Union* "In January 1937 a large collection of gold artifacts was unearthed at Batán Grande hacienda in Lambayeque valley. These pieces [are] now in the National Museum. . . . Dr. Julio C. Tello was sent to examine the site and to practice further excavations. At the huaca of La Ventana, Dr. Tello sunk [sic] a pit 4.50 by 16.50 meters in size, to a depth of over three meters. . . . In the deepest level he found sherds, incised in 'Chavín' style, and Late Chimu intrusive burials" (1938c:233).

Tello then shifted to another matter. He told Lothrop he had been very gratified to receive a letter from him (date and specific contents unknown) and that he would happily take his young friend Danielson under his charge when he came to Peru for an archaeological vacation. Hence, he would let him know sufficiently in advance where his expedition would be in July, after leaving Lima in late May for the purpose of exploring places where he had previously found traces of the Chavín culture. He went on to say that he planned to dig test pits at sites in the Departments of Piura and Lambayeque, at sites in the Marañón and Huallaga Basins, in the headwaters of the Ucayali and Apurímac Rivers, and at Pukará.⁵⁷ Furthermore, he said, he planned to limit himself to drawing up plans of the sites, photographing them, collecting surface artifacts, and conducting a reconnaissance of the area in anticipation of future work, because he felt it was critical to acquire a panoramic view of all ancient

⁵⁷ Apparently Valcárcel had just been to Pukará. In an article published in the 3 April 1937 edition of *The Illustrated London News* he wrote "A few months ago . . . we arrived at . . . Pukara. . . . After a survey, it was decided to explore, at various points, so excavations . . . were being carried out within the village in open spaces and outside the village in refuse dumps, and on the bank of the River Suches. . . . No great effort was needed to bring to light the fact that the whole of the section under investigation formed part of a large deposit of fragments of pottery emanating from the pottery furnaces which existed in those remote periods. . . . In two days we secured an abundant harvest . . . all admirably decorated with figures of men, animals, and plants, very well cut and coloured black, red, yellow, and grey in various tints and shades. . . . More light is thrown every day on the mystery of bygone civilizations. . . . The forest region, which has hitherto been considered (archaeologically speaking) as virgin soil, has today acquired a new meaning. Divested of the surface growth of centuries, it makes its appearance, like a sleeping beauty in the woods, to claim its position in the investigation into the origins of culture in America" (Valcárcel 1937a:586–587).

Peru.⁵⁸ The Chavín culture, Tello continued, was pre-Amazonian, and it appeared in the deepest and oldest strata at sites, something that was truly unique, and that would help in establishing the chronological positions and typologies of later cultures. As such, he told Lothrop, he hoped he would be able to obtain the resources needed for six months in the field. He then said to Lothrop that he was enthusiastic about the (financial) plan he had sent him regarding Danielson, in which it was indicated that Danielson and his (unnamed) friend could pay their own round trip expenses, and in which it was indicated that they could also contribute toward the general costs of the expedition.

Tello then told Lothrop that he was greatly pleased with the amount of money involved (with Danielson and friend joining his expedition). He also said he had hopes for other contributions, but that he had not yet heard how much the IAR would be contributing, nor had he yet been asked by the IAR what he planned to do for field-work, but, Tello went on, once he knew how many students were being sent by the IAR and how much (fellowship) money they had, he was going to suggest that some of the money be designated for the general expenses of the expedition, because he thought \$1,500 was a lot of money to sustain one student. Then, after saying what good young American men he had worked with in the recent past, Tello concluded by telling Lothrop that as soon as he

⁵⁸ This expeditionary plan of work consisting of only limited excavations at many sites throughout Peru is at odds with the long-term extensive excavation at a single site that Tozzer had reported, based upon a letter he had received from Tello. Whether or not Tozzer simply misunderstood what Tello had written to him is unknown. As demonstrated by his constantly changing plans during his recent visit to the United States, however, it is clear that Tello's plans were never set in stone, and were constantly being altered to meet changing circumstances. If Tello had originally planned to conduct long-term excavations in the Huallaga Basin, the question is where? Certainly one possibility is the site of Kotosh where he had found Chavín pottery in 1935.

heard from Kroeber, he would finalize his plans and would contact him so that Danielson could plan to take part in the expedition (Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology Archive, Harvard University, Samuel K. Lothrop Papers, accession no. 996-20, box 6, folder 6, correspondence).

Kroeber also received a letter from Tello that was written on 10 February. Tello told Kroeber that Bennett had sent him a letter in which he had enclosed a copy of the minutes of the December meeting. He asked Kroeber for clarification on his being named counselor, given that he did not think this was equivalent to the position of field director that had been agreed upon in New York in October. He also asked Kroeber what exactly were his (Tello's) obligations. He then stated he believed it had been agreed upon in New York that before anything else was done, the committee had to first approve a plan submitted by him (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

By this time Kroeber had written a second letter to Tello dated 20 January (specific contents unknown) that Tello answered on 17 February. Tello began by saying he now had a better understanding of things, such as the possibilities for the publication of his works. He said he now thought it best to postpone, for the time being, his plan to organize a Peruvian committee in Lima as a branch of the IAR, until the IAR itself was definitively organized. Tello then shifted to a discussion of student candidates and suggested (Frank C.) Hibben from the University of New Mexico, someone, he said, who he felt was competent in both museum work and field-work. After saying that he was sure that Spier would agree with him in this matter, Tello said he thought Hibben would come to Peru if he could be assisted by \$1,200 (presumably given by the IAR). Tello also said that, if possible, he could use someone with

technical training in preservation to help with the opening of the Paracas mummy bundles.

Next Tello thanked Kroeber for his efforts in trying to help him with his unpublished works. He added that his first priority had been to publish a manual or general treatment of Peruvian archaeology, the cost of which would have been high because he wanted it to be well illustrated. Hence, he told Kroeber, he understood why he had not been able to find someone in the United States to agree to publish it. He went on to say that he would try to interest the organizing committee of the upcoming International Congress of Americanists (in publishing it). Tello then asked Kroeber to return to him in certified postal packages the drawings he had left with him, adding he would reimburse him for his expenses. If any of the drawings were too large, he told Kroeber, he could send the appropriate photograph(s) instead.

Tello then told Kroeber that, following his suggestion, he was going to prepare a number of monographs, copies of which he would send, asking in this regard that he send him a drawing of a quipu, because he was going to write a long article on the Incas. Tello also told Kroeber he had spent a few days excavating in Lambayeque and had found remains of Chimú (Chavín) pottery in the lowest level of the cut made by flooding. He told him he had seen a *Strombus* shell (engraved) with interesting Chavín designs that one of the looters had found while digging at a small mound containing fragments of Chavín pottery. Finally, Tello said he was in the process of getting some help from San Marcos to continue his explorations in that area (of the North Coast) before going to the Marañón (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

On 13 February Tozzer wrote to M.D.C. Crawford⁵⁹ in New York City. He referred to a large exhibition of Peruvian textiles belonging to John Wise that was being installed in a museum in Hartford, Connecticut. He went on to say that Bennett and Guernsey were then in Hartford cataloging the collection, and that Guernsey was going to know a lot about Peruvian textiles. He then added that he wanted to send her down to help Tello who had a lot of mummies to unwrap, and that he did not think Tello could do so competently without expert aid (Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology Archive, Harvard University, Alfred M. Tozzer Papers, accession no. 41-10, box 1, folder 16, correspondence).⁶⁰

To summarize, a number of decisions were made at the inaugural meeting of the IAR's committee held in Washington in December 1936 that had a direct impact on Tello. Despite the fact that he had made known at the planning meeting held in New York in October his strong desire to be on the committee, it was decided to limit membership to North Americans, and, instead, appoint Tello the Peruvian representative and counselor of the Institute. That he was not even made an honorary member of this committee in recognition of his singular efforts to create the IAR may have been due in part to concerns about American tax law, but was more likely due, at least in part, to member and/or donor concern that such an

⁵⁹ Crawford was a textile expert who had previously worked with, and published on, the Peruvian collections at the AMNH (*e.g.* Crawford 1916).

⁶⁰ An exhibition of John Wise's collection of Peruvian textiles was scheduled to open at the Wadsworth Athenaeum in Hartford, Connecticut on 3 March 1937. The catalog for the exhibit contained an introduction written by Bennett in February. On page nine he wrote of the "painstaking work of cataloguing and mounting" he had done with the assistance of Guernsey and on this same page he wrote that Means had "initiated the task of analyzing technique and determining period for the pieces in this collection" (Bennett 1937d).

appointment would inspire jealousy in Peru, and thus adversely affect the functioning of the IAR there.

In any case, despite the fact it that had been decided in New York to make Tello the IAR's director of field-work in Peru, he was instead appointed the IAR's Peruvian counselor. Tello's position had changed from directing research he prioritized, with the aid of trained assistants, to counseling potentially untrained assistants in work he did not prioritize. While it had been decided in New York that the committee would await receipt of a research proposal submitted by Tello, it was instead decided in Washington to immediately begin the process of selecting from among potential candidates, based upon the needs of participant institutions. Hence, rather than wait for Tello to decide the qualifications he thought were needed to conduct the research that he proposed, it was simply assumed by the committee, based on what Tello had told Lothrop, that he prioritized the opening of the Paracas mummy bundles, and the subsequent study of the textiles they contained.

In Peru Tello was proceeding without knowledge of the changes that had been adopted in Washington, until informed of them in letters written by Bennett and Kroeber toward the end of January. These letters he would have opened after returning from inspecting, on behalf of the government, an illegally excavated site in Lambayeque. He had already initiated plans to form a Peruvian branch of the IAR and he was already planning an exploration months in duration aimed at discovering Chavín sites on the North Coast, in the North-Central Highlands, and in the South Highlands with help from possibly as many as three of Hewett's students and two others recommended by Lothrop who were willing to pay their own way. In addition, although vacation recess had delayed his plan to work toward unifying the efforts of the Harvard and San Marcos museums

of archaeology, he was looking forward to help from the Kidders in the field.

In the United States, most of the work of the new IAR fell on Bennett, who held three positions in the IAR, as secretary-treasurer of the committee and as a member of both sub-committees. As such, he became the focus of all communications exchanged between the members of these committees, and it was his responsibility to communicate with Tello, donors, and others on behalf of the IAR. In addition to Bennett, Kroeber also communicated with Tello as chairman of the IAR. This served to complicate matters, as both men advised Tello in their own way regarding the decisions made in Washington that directly affected him. Tello was naturally surprised, as well as a bit confused, and, understandably, sought clarification.

To further complicate matters, Tello was also involved in unofficial lines of communication with both those who were members of the IAR and those who were not members. Regarding the former, there was an exchange of letters between Tozzer (and Lothrop?) and Tello that included discussion of a proposed cooperative venture involving the Harvard and San Marcos archaeological museums. This, in particular, created confusion in Tello's mind, because Tozzer also proposed a Peabody Museum candidate (Guernsey) for one of the IAR's two fellowships.

Given factors of time, distance, and multiple participants, each with agendas both personal and institutional, it is not surprising that misunderstandings resulted. Clearly Hewett had been right in his assessment of Tello's plan for an inclusive institute run by professors, when he said it was not a model that would lead to efficiency. This problem had become obvious and it was one that Bennett and Vaillant tried to address.

Mid February–Late March 1937

Bennett prepared a report on the status of the IAR dated 16 February. Incorporation plans were ongoing, he wrote, and the final document would soon be circulated to all committee members for signature. He wrote that Kroeber had brought forth the question of IAR endorsements for scholars for projects involving no cost to the IAR. He had suggested, Bennett added, that the fellowship sub-committee, in the absence of objection from committee members, be empowered to investigate and endorse projects of this nature, and that scholars be chosen to take part in such projects.

Bennett then said that the IAR needed to formalize a way to encourage potential donors and to receive donations. He explained that, because organizational simplicity was a goal of the IAR, it could not become involved with an extensive general membership. By the same token, general membership could not be encouraged in the absence of publications, lectures, general meetings and the like.

At this point Bennett solicited suggestions and criticisms regarding a proposal that he and Vaillant had prepared. It was stated in this proposal that the IAR had been created to facilitate anthropological research in the Andes, and that its goal was to simplify its administration to maximize donations for scientific research. Then, in sequence, he discussed fellowships, grants, funds, and support for publication, as indicated below.

Based on an estimate of expenses for six months, Bennett calculated that fellowship(s) to send student(s) or scholar(s) into the field would be no less than \$1,500 each. He then stated that fellowship(s) would be named after the respective donor(s) or by any other person designated by the donor(s). Regarding grants to stimulate and aid research, rather than maintain

it, a minimum donation of \$250 or 1,000 Peruvian soles was suggested. Again, grants would carry the name(s) of the grantor(s). Funding was defined as any amount sufficient to provide income or support for a large-scale project. Publication assistance was defined as that given to aid in the publication of manuscripts, or to aid in the publication of adequate illustrations for prepared texts.

Bennett then stated Tello had been appointed Peruvian representative and counselor, and that he was going to submit a research plan that would specify candidate requirements for available scholarships. Bennett went on to state he had told Tello that no funding was as yet available for specific aid to field-work, and that the Institute was waiting for him to submit his plan before selecting two students for its scholarships (Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology Archive, Harvard University, Samuel K. Lothrop Papers, accession no. 996-20, box 6, folder 1, Institute of Andean Research).

On the same day that he prepared the above document, the 16th, Bennett wrote letters to Beale (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH) and to Bliss (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH) enclosing in each a copy of his status report. He asked both for feedback, saying that he was not convinced the proposed plan of organization was the best that could be devised, and that he hoped he would receive sufficient comments back from members to produce a more acceptable one. He specifically said to Beale that he was concerned because, at their first meeting, they had discussed the idea of having a category of professional associates for IAR membership, but that action upon that idea had been postponed.

Bennett also wrote to Tello on 16 February. He opened with the statement that he was hurrying to answer his 3 February letter because of his decision to leave Lima on a 4–6 month

expedition, and he wanted to respond to his questions before then. The IAR, he said, had decided that simplicity was the best policy; that is, not to expand, and then have to cut back plans for lack of funding or personnel. Though it was hoped that the IAR would grow over time, he went on, an interest in the IAR had to be created first among potential donors. Bennett told Tello that the IAR faced a basic problem that had been discussed with him in New York, specifically a lack of suitable candidates for scholarships for the first year. As for scholarships, he said, they had received two grants of \$1,500, and each stipulated that the money had to be used to send a student to conduct research in Peru. Less the cost of (round-trip) travel, Bennett said, this left little, but still enough to allow the student to work at least five months in Peru. No decisions, he added, had yet been made regarding who was to be sent to Peru.

Bennett then asked Tello to send a number of alternate ideas about requirements for the two students, his feeling on the matter being that they were not going to find any trained archaeologists among the candidates that they had. He added that the students selected would want to gather basic information for a thesis, and that this was something he felt was a reasonable request. He then reminded Tello that he had previously suggested as possible research projects those generally involving ethnology or linguistics, and those specifically involving the opening of Paracas mummy bundles and working on the Paracas textiles.

Next Bennett referred Tello to the letter Kroeber had sent to him in which he had explained the reasoning behind the decision to restrict committee membership to North Americans, adding that he hoped a second phase would permit the inclusion of professional associates, regardless of nationality. Bennett went on to say that during discussion the committee had come to no firm decision about the

creation of a cooperating Peruvian committee out of concern that to do so would open the IAR to the possibility of becoming an unwieldy international organization. Yet, despite this concern, he told Tello, he hoped he would proceed along this line with the knowledge that the committee would back him. His appointment to the position of the IAR's Peruvian representative and counselor, Bennett pointed out, was considered the ideal solution, because it conferred upon him an official and prestigious title that carried the weight of the committee, and was one which made him responsible for directing the actual field-work.

Bennett then said the IAR would open itself to various kinds of research that did not require funding, and that in 1938 it would likely endorse a number of students who were involved in Andean research in order to advance its prestige. As for 1937, he added, the IAR had no money as yet designated for actual field-work or expenses related to projects, because the money it did have was specifically designated for students, and it seemed unlikely that, after other expenses, they would have much in the way to contribute toward excavation or travel in Peru. Despite this problem, he went on, the IAR was in the process of coming up with a plan aimed at getting more funding. Grants, regardless of amount, would be named after donors, and could be used to supplement research funds from other sources, the idea being, he explained, that grant money could be used to supplement other sources of research funding, and thereby make it unnecessary for the IAR to completely rely on these other sources. In fact, he told Tello, if the idea of granting was approved, he could see no reason why his friends in Peru couldn't participate.

In his concluding remarks, Bennett told Tello that he would send him a copy of the format that was being developed for grants as soon as it was ready, that he hoped money

would soon be available, and that he would keep him informed. He stated he felt the new plan of organization adopted by the IAR was an improvement, because it avoided the need to develop an extensive membership list requiring a lot of secretarial work, and the need for some kind of bulletin just to justify membership. He then said to Tello that he hoped he would send a statement regarding projects he wanted the IAR to help him with, and asked that Tello send, as soon as possible, suggestions on how he thought it would be best to use the first two students. He concluded by telling Tello he looked forward to receiving his Lambayeque report. He wished him success on his projected trip, the results of which he looked forward to learning. He said he was sure that the IAR was going to be of great help to him (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

On the first day of March, Bennett sent a letter jointly to Cole and Spier (the other members of the fellowship sub-committee) telling them that McCown had removed himself from consideration for a fellowship. He also told them that he had heard from Tello, who had told him he wanted to submit a work plan prior to the selection of candidates, and to whom he had written in reply to ask him to do so as soon as possible. Tello had also said, he told them, that he was planning to leave for the field in April or May, for a six-month exploration that would have him going from Piura (on the North Coast) to Pukará (in the Southern Highlands), but in so saying, had made no mention of how this trip would affect candidates. Bennett also told them he was under the impression that Tello thought he was going to directly receive IAR money. Bennett then turned to a discussion of Guernsey. He told Cole and Spier she was anxious to accept a fellowship, although he had heard indirectly that Tello was not keen to have anyone work on the Paracas mummy bundles. Despite this, he told them, both he and Tozzer thought she was an important candidate. Fi-

nally, he inquired whether there were any fellowship candidates other than Collier and Guernsey (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

Collier sent letters to both Cole and Bennett on the first of March. His letter to Cole was a memorandum summarizing what he had done in Peru the previous year. In this memorandum, he said he had seen the major archaeological ruins in the Cusco region; he had gone to Pukará, on behalf of Bennett, to examine the pottery there; and he had studied archaeological collections in Cusco, Lima, and Trujillo. Then, after noting that his Spanish was adequate, he suggested two possibilities for work he could do in Peru on behalf of the IAR. On the one hand, he could work directly with Tello, and learn from him, adding that he understood that to do so he would have to be both tactful and diplomatic. On the other hand, he could spend a month or two in Lima looking at collections, and talking with archaeologists, before deciding upon a particular project. One possibility, he stated, might be summarizing and classifying the Cusco field-work done by the National Museum and Cusco's Institute of Archaeology, given that published reports on this work were general and lacked specificity. Another possibility might be to build on Bennett's classification of the Chimú material in the (Hacienda) Chiclín Museum (on the North Coast) where field notes and artifact labels were mostly absent. Finally, a third possibility would be to survey the southern Pukará drainage, with the goal of identifying cultures intermediate between those of Chavín and Tiahuanaco (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

In his letter to Bennett, Collier said he was making the assumption that he had in his possession the (above) memorandum he had written at the request of Cole. Collier admitted he was a novice when it came to Peruvian archaeology. Finally, he told Bennett that he knew he

also had in mind a survey of the Pukará region (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

Tozzer also sent a letter to Bennett dated the first of March, enclosing a letter he had received from Tello (date and contents unknown). Tozzer wrote that, as far as he could tell, Tello had accepted the idea of Guernsey being one of the IAR's fellows. Tozzer then referred to a letter Lothrop had received from Tello (date unknown and contents only generally known) in which he said he would be going into the field in mid-May. Hence, Tozzer wrote, if that were the case, he would have to send Guernsey down before then, yet he was planning on sending her down with the Kidders, and they would not be able to leave much earlier than mid-May. After saying it was possible that Tello might wait for them, he asked Bennett for his thoughts on the matter. He closed by telling Bennett he would not answer Tello until he had heard back from him (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

Bennett responded to Tozzer the following day, 2 March, saying he would inform other members of the fellowship sub-committee that Guernsey was acceptable to Tello, and would add his own recommendation, saying that he was even more impressed with her knowledge of Peruvian textiles after having worked with her in Hartford. He then told Tozzer he had heard from Tello and that he was *demanding* that he be allowed to submit a plan prior to the selection of candidates. He went on to say he had written to Tello to ask him to do so as soon as possible and had told him the IAR had no funds specifically designated for field-work. Bennett then explained to Tozzer that he had emphasized the latter point about funding because, despite the fact that both he and Kroeber had told Tello the scholarships were essentially for students, Tello appeared confused, and expected the money to be turned over to him. Bennett then stated that,

while Guernsey would be expected to help Tello, she would also be expected to help herself, possibly even publishing a report. Bennett then told Tozzer that McCown had bowed out, and asked if anyone else was interested. He closed by saying he would be in Boston, where they could talk about IAR matters, and about the possibility of a joint venture between their respective museums (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

Spier wrote to Bennett on 3 March, sending a copy of his letter to Cole. Spier said he did not have anyone else in mind to propose, and that Guernsey and Collier were the obvious choices for the two scholarships, as long as they fit into Tello's plans. Hence, he said, it would be wise to await hearing from Tello before making an official announcement. Spier then passed along something he had heard—that the University of New Mexico students Loomis and McCreery would be taking part in Tello's planned expedition, adding that he thought the latter, and perhaps former, had good academic and field experience. Spier then said he was of the opinion that Tello was wrong in assuming money would be provided for field-work, because it had not been the intent to set up the IAR to raise money,⁶¹ given that its members had their own institutional obligations (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

It was also on 3 March that Cole wrote jointly to Bennett and Spier. He told them he had letters in hand from Bennett and Kroeber (date and specific contents unknown) regarding candidates. He then told them his first choice had been McCown, with Collier as backup, but that he now backed Collier. In so saying, he wrote that, had he known of Collier's interest, he would not have so readily agreed to be on the fellowship sub-committee (to avoid the charge

of favoritism). However, he said, he felt better given that Collier had worked with Kroeber before coming to Chicago, and that he had the backing of both Kroeber and Bennett. As for Guernsey, Cole told them, he assumed all were in agreement that she should be given a scholarship, despite Tello's reluctance to accept her, and they would send her, unless he actually stated his objection. Cole then said a definite policy on grants had to be established, or else Tello would create problems, and that the three of them should meet in Philadelphia to talk about it, suggesting that they do so on 18 March. He ended by saying he approved the suggested plan of how to deal with gifts that was outlined in Bennett's 16 February status report (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

Tozzer wrote back to Bennett on 6 March. He said the IAR should emphasize in its communications with Tello that the students were being sent to *help* him and not to be *trained* by him, because this was what the two donors specifically wanted. He then went on to once again speak of the problem he had with Tello's plan to leave on his expedition in mid-May. Specifically, if Tello were to instruct Guernsey on the work he wanted her to do on the Paracas mummy bundles and textiles, she would have to arrive in Lima the end of April. However, Tozzer stressed, he wanted her to travel with the Kidders, and Kidder II couldn't leave before having his Ph.D. oral exam, and that would delay her departure. Tozzer then told Bennett he had a possible candidate in (Harry) Tschopik, a first year graduate student, who had arrived from Berkeley with a great recommendation from Kroeber. Tozzer then added a proviso, saying that he was hesitant to actually recommend Tschopik's candidacy without strong support from Kroeber (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

⁶¹ According to the document distributed after the October 1936 meeting in New York, the committee was responsible for the raising and handling of funds.

On 8 March, Bennett sent Kroeber a summary of the IAR's activities. Regarding incorporation, Bennett said it had entered its final phase, and to save time it had been decided that signatures of only five members of the committee were needed, and that everything had already been sent to the lawyers. Until incorporation was finalized, he added, he would delay writing to representatives of the various Andean countries to introduce them to the IAR. He then asked Kroeber whether or not he felt he should include the institutional affiliations of the members when he wrote his letters of introduction. As to candidates, Bennett then told Kroeber everyone had agreed upon Guernsey, but McCown had written to decline, so Collier was in the running, as was Tschopik. He then added his endorsement of the former, and reminded Kroeber that he had previously expressed his lack of enthusiasm for the latter. Bennett then quoted Kroeber a passage from a letter that Tello had sent to Tozzer in which he said it had been previously decided it was up to him to *first* come up with a plan in which he would indicate what he needed for student help, and that the students would then be sent to help *him* and not themselves.⁶² Bennett then told Kroeber he felt it was clear that a policy had to be established, and that Cole had suggested holding a fellowship committee meeting in Philadelphia (to discuss this matter). He closed by asking Kroeber if he had any comments that he could pass along (at the meeting; IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

Kroeber wrote back on the 12 March. He complimented Bennett and Vaillant for their 16 February report, said that he was glad that incorporation was proceeding, and asked for the names of the five signatories of the incorporation documents. He also said that he concurred

with Guernsey's selection, and that in his estimation Collier was a better candidate than Tschopik. He told Bennett that, as secretary of the IAR, *he* should be the one to send out letters of introduction to the international community, declaring that the IAR was an autonomous organization not tied to the institutions represented by its members. He added that as chair he would sign a document to that effect if the members so decided.

Kroeber then addressed the quote from the letter that Tello had sent to Tozzer. Kroeber said Tello was doubtless correct, because he had been the one to secure money from both Beale and Bliss. But, Kroeber continued, Tello had told him that he wanted the fellows to be chosen by an impartial group of North Americans, likely for reasons of prestige, and as such it placed the responsibility for selection squarely on the shoulders of the IAR. He went on to say that, after the fellows had been selected, frank discussions needed to be held with the donors to decide how each wanted to proceed—whether to donate directly in support of Tello, or in support of research decided upon by the members of the Institute. Kroeber then said he was enclosing copies of letters he had received from Tello dated the 10th and 17th of February, neither of which he had yet answered. He directed Bennett's attention to the longer of the two in which Tello discussed Hibben, and said that he could not recall this name coming up when he had spoken with Tello at Berkeley, and asked Bennett if Hibben was a classical archaeologist from Princeton who had since gone to Albuquerque (to the University of New Mexico). Finally, Kroeber told Bennett that, because time was getting short, he was sending his letter in duplicate to New York, and in care of an institute in Philadelphia (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

Both Bennett and Kroeber received letters from Tello written on 12 March. In his letter to

⁶² Tello was right. This was spelled out in the document that was distributed following the October 1936 meeting held at the AMNH.

Bennett, Tello began by apologizing for not responding sooner, explaining that he had been preoccupied with matters related to the Lambayeque discovery. He then proceeded to restate the IAR's position that Bennett had detailed in his letter to him, and concluded from this that the IAR was not interested in having him submit a research proposal. He went on to say that he *had* earlier suggested to some of the Institute's members that students or researchers be sent to Peru to help him with his work, *perhaps* the opening and study of the Paracas mummy bundles. He went on to remind Bennett that the process of the opening of a bundle was tedious and more delicate than that required for the opening of a tomb.

In great part, he added, this was due to the fact that some of the textiles were carbonized and could only be preserved if proper precautions were taken. He then said that if the IAR intended to send him someone to help him with this task, he asked that they send someone like Guernsey of the Peabody Museum.

Tello then elaborated. He said the opening of the bundles was urgent and if the IAR wanted to help his museum (within the old Bolivar Museum) in Lima in this, it would have the dual advantage of accelerating the opening of the bundles while, at the same time, allowing the person sent to become familiar with the enormous number of Paracas textiles (held by his two museums). Yet, he went on, his greatest need was for help with explorations leading to a better understanding of Peru's principal archaeological centers. As he had manifested previously, he said, it was still necessary to explore the regions comprising the headwaters of the Huallaga, Ucayali, and Pukará Rivers, mentioning that he had earlier found evidence for Chavín culture at Chavín, at Kotosh, at San Luis de Schuaro, and at Pukará. Tello concluded his letter to Bennett in a clearly conciliatory fashion. He asked that the committee send Guern-

sey to help him with the opening and study of the Paracas mummy bundles. He also asked that the committee send him an investigator, perhaps with an interest in ethnology or linguistics, to help him on his expedition, with the proviso that, given this expedition would not last for more than four months, some of the \$1,500 given to this investigator might be used to help with the costs of the expedition. In any case, he said, he would still consider it his responsibility as counselor for 1937 to assist whomever the IAR decided to send (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

As for his letter to Kroeber, it was also conciliatory in nature. Tello began by saying he was writing in response to the letter Kroeber had written to him on the 6th and that he thought he was going to have to postpone leaving for his Marañón expedition until about 15 June, but that, in any case, he would be setting out that month. He then said that it would be fine with him if Guernsey came with Kidder II, but that they should arrive in Lima before that date. He added he would make sure plenty of material would be made available to her, and that she would have some help from one or two assistants. He then added that the opening of the Paracas bundles was urgent, given the disastrous combination of humidity (in Lima) and the presence of marine salt in the bundles.

Tello then thanked Kroeber for explaining to him the true nature of the fellowships, that fellows would be coming to help *him* and not themselves. He believed, he went on, that it was up to him to help them in the best way that he could, so that they could acquire experiences that would be beneficial to them. Then, in light of what Bennett had told him regarding the Institute's \$3,000 in donations that would be going toward the funding of two fellowships, Tello suggested that part of the money be used to fund Guernsey's work, and part be used to

cover expenses related to his expedition. Another option for the IAR, he added, would be to put (the remaining) money into a reserve account and wait until it had sufficient funding to begin work in Peru. Having said this, Tello then stated he was really looking forward to doing research on the eastern slopes of the Andes, because he was convinced he would find antecedents there for the cultures found on the western slopes and on the coast. This was because he had found Chavín type pottery at sites in the region of the headwaters of the Marañón and Huallaga Rivers, and only just recently in the area of the headwaters of the Pukará River, where he had found such pottery under megalithic structures found deep below the surface. Because he lacked sufficient resources, he went on, he would not be doing much excavating, but would, instead, look for pottery in the cuts made by past floods. Tello then asked Kroeber to let him know as soon as possible when Kidder and Guernsey would be arriving in Lima, and whether he should continue to look for housing for her. He said that when he next wrote he would detail the Lambayeque work. He then wrote as a postscript that when he was in Havana in November he had spoken with a named individual who was doing Arawak studies, and who wanted very much to dedicate himself exclusively to these. He asked Kroeber if he could look into a getting a Guggenheim grant for this person, and if he could try to obtain a recommendation for him from Thomas Barbour⁶³ (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

Kidder, who was in the field, wrote a brief note to Bennett on 16 March, in which said he had just received his report on the doings of the IAR. He stated that he was absolutely for the recommendations contained within, and that he was glad Tello had accepted the appointment as Peruvian representative and counselor. He then

went on to say he thought more money would be coming into the IAR, and that he was trying to interest a lady from Boston who had visited him (in Guatemala). He concluded by saying when he returned in June, he could get her to donate money for a scholarship, but that she might prefer to simply give money that could be used for any purpose if the committee so preferred (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

Tozzer wrote jointly to Cole, Bennett, Kroeber, Spier, and Vaillant on 17 March, enclosing for each a copy of the letter he had just received from Tello (date and contents unknown). In his letter Tozzer proposed a plan that he and Lothrop had devised in regard to the IAR's two \$1,500 fellowships (and one that Tello had mentioned in his 12 March letter to Kroeber). They proposed that Guernsey be given one \$1,500 scholarship, given Tello's acceptance of her, and they proposed, in conformance with Kroeber's suggestion that McCown was not available, that the remaining \$1,500 be given directly to Tello for the purpose of excavation. Finally, they proposed that the IAR authorize Kidder II and his wife to go to Peru with two provisos: that the Peabody Museum pick up the tab for their expenses, and that they not be expected to do any extensive investigation, but instead observe and see as many sites as possible. Tozzer concluded with the suggestion that each of the recipients respond to the proposal by writing directly to Kroeber, saying that Kidder and Means had not been included because they were out of the country (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

Bennett wrote a joint letter to Kroeber and Tozzer on 19 March. He stated that, with Spier's (3 March) letter in hand, in which he indicated his candidate suggestions, he, Vaillant, and Cole had met in Philadelphia the day before, and had decided on Guernsey and Collier. Bennett then referred to Tello's letter dated 12 March in

⁶³ According to his daughter Mary (M. Kidder 1942:8), Barbour and his wife were old friends with Tello.

which he asked for Guernsey to work on the Paracas material, and had asked for someone to help on his expedition. Bennett continued by saying they (he and Vaillant) estimated that with the \$1,000 or 4,000 soles (remaining after round-trip expenses) Collier could undertake the five-month trip planned by Tello. Bennett added that Tello felt Collier might be able to pay some of the expedition's expenses and Bennett's advice was to pay Collier in travelers' checks, so that he could control the money and so that the IAR could request Collier to submit an account of his expenses. This way, he explained, both Tello and the donors would be satisfied. As to what the donors felt about the fellowships, Bennett then wrote it was his impression, based on his correspondence with them, that Beale had specified that her fellowship aid Tello, but, he then added, this did not mean the money was to go directly to Tello, because otherwise there would have been no reason to found the IAR. As for Bliss, Bennett said he had actually received a letter from him in which he had stated his concern that Tello was in disfavor in Peru, and that if the IAR wanted to work there, it would be wiser to deal with government officials. In light of all this, Bennett said, he was against giving money directly to Tello, adding, however, that he did want Collier to accompany Tello on his expedition. Bennett concluded with the suggestion that the committee establish rules for defining IAR opinions, because he was under the impression Tello was getting different information from each member of the committee (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

Bennett also wrote to Spier on 19 March and informed him that, the day before, he, Vaillant, and Cole had met in Philadelphia and, with his (3 March) letter of support for Collier and Guernsey in hand, they had selected these two individuals for the two fellowships and assumed this decision would stand. He went on to say he had received his copy of the 17 March

letter from Tozzer (and Lothrop) after the Philadelphia meeting, and he assumed Spier had also received his copy of their letter. Finally, he stated he was enclosing a copy of the response (date unknown) he and Vaillant had sent (to Kidder and Lothrop) and that, in view of what Tello had written to him on the 12th, he felt it advisable not to send money directly to him (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

Bennett wrote to Cole as well on 19 March, saying he had just received his copy of the Tozzer/Lothrop letter, and saying he was writing out of concern he (Cole) would not receive his copy of their letter for some time, given that he and his wife were heading to Florida. Bennett then said he was enclosing a copy of the responding letter that he and Vaillant had sent to Tozzer/Lothrop (date and specific contents unknown). He also said they had decided that Guernsey should get one scholarship for the study of the Paracas bundles and textiles and that Collier should get the other scholarship to join Tello's expedition, adding that both should arrive in Lima before 15 June. Finally, Bennett said he and Vaillant had no objection to Collier joining Tello's expedition and "judiciously" using his field money to help pay for expenses (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

Tozzer wrote a joint letter to Bennett and Vaillant on 22 March. In his letter Tozzer said he totally agreed with what they had written, and that he and Lothrop were withdrawing their proposal, especially given that Tello would have \$1,000 to cover his and Collier's expenses. After saying he wanted to know more about Collier, Tozzer said he wanted to know how Guernsey would be paid. He added that, given she would be living in Lima, he thought she probably would not need her entire scholarship, and wondered what she should do with money left over. Tozzer also stated he was operating

under the assumption that Guernsey had been selected, and had already purchased a ticket for her to leave New York on 14 May, because they had received notice from the steamship company advising them fares would be raised in two weeks. Lastly, he told Bennett that he also felt it would be unwise to give money directly to Tello, that he agreed with the suggestion of travelers' checks, and that he agreed with the notion that Tello should not be receiving conflicting views from different members of the committee (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

In Peru the Lima daily *El Comercio* was in the process of publishing reports on illegal excavations at archaeological sites resulting in the discovery of artifacts made of precious metal. In its 22 February edition, it published a report concerning illegal activity in Cajamarca (Anon. 1937f), while in its 11 March edition it published a report on illegal excavations in Cusco (Anon. 1937h). In addition on 11 March *El Comercio* published a plea by Tello that he had penned the day before for public support to protect the national patrimony.

Tello began by saying that it was the discovery of gold artifacts in Lambayeque in December that was the motivation behind the desire to find more objects of this kind in huacas which was then sweeping the nation, and that this activity seriously threatened the integrity of the remnants of the nation's pre-Columbian heritage. He mentioned lamentable past examples of a lack of due diligence on the part of the government, such as occasions when he demanded that the National Board act to stop the looting at Paracas.⁶⁴ He also mentioned a recent article he had published, in which he had included a discussion of the importance of the Lambayeque

region as an ancient center of metalworking.⁶⁵ Tello then said he could now categorically state that Peru had experienced a true Age of Gold, and that Lambayeque was one of the most important centers in the Americas.

In part, Tello wrote, this assessment was based on his excavations that allowed him to trace an essentially uninterrupted process of metallurgical development in Lambayeque, and in part it was based on his examination of the artifacts representing distinct cultures that he had discovered during this work. He then lashed out against those who had engaged in the illegal excavations he had investigated in Lambayeque. He said these excavations had taken place despite prohibitive laws and the norms of science, and concluded from his own investigations that all destructive behavior relative to the products of this past (metallurgical) industry constituted a crime against civilization.

Tello then bemoaned the fact that a few days ago he had been informed that illegal excavations were still ongoing in Lambayeque. It was because of this, and because of the arrival of the product of these excavations at the National Museum, he wrote, that he had decided to publish information he had included in his report to the government. Specifically, he told his readers that Dr. Carlos Muñoz Romero had used authorization to search for treasure granted by the Supreme Resolution dated 7 December 1936 to illegally excavate the huacas Merced and Ventana. He backed the illegality of this action with a detailed discussion of actions prohibited by the nation's laws, and then said it was for these reasons he had asked the government and the director of the National Museum to suspend the illegal excavations and allow him to investigate the matter. He had presented a report to the Minister of Education dated 6

⁶⁴ Tello is referring here to his letter to the editor that was published in the 26 May 1932 edition of *El Comercio* (Tello 1932).

⁶⁵ Tello was referring to his article on pre-Columbian gold that was published in the 1 January 1934 edition of *El Comercio* (Tello 1934a).

February in which he had denounced what had happened. Yet, he added, these illegal excavations continued unabated in Lambayeque, and he now called upon public powers and cultured individuals throughout Peru to demand that they cease (Tello 1937b).

On 13 March, a statement issued by the National Museum was published in *El Comercio*. It stated that, by government order, a large gold idol and the best-preserved gold vases found (two months earlier) in Lambayeque had been sent to the House of Welsch, a jewelry store, to be placed on display. It was noted that other objects were also to be displayed at this locale and it was further stated that it was possible that a permanent display might be set up at the National Museum (Anon. 1937i). The following day, this Lima daily published a report on the display at the House of Welsch of six gold artifacts that had been found in Lambayeque. Among these artifacts was a beautiful and sumptuous golden idol said to be an ostentatiously refined work representing a Moche deity (Anon. 1937j).

Then, on 18 March, this daily published a letter that had been written by the curator of the Brüning Museum, Rafael R. Delgado, three days previously. This was a written response to Tello's charge that the work undertaken under the auspices of the Supreme Resolution dated 7 December 1936 was both illegal and a crime against civilization.

Delgado said he was a member of the commission that had been placed in charge of the Lambayeque excavations, work that he had directed over an unspecified three-week span. He alone, he stressed, had made a detailed study of the artifacts that had been found at this time, and among these there had been but an insignificant number of gold and silver artifacts. He then added disdainfully that Tello had provided a detailed discussion of artifacts made of pre-

cious metal (purportedly found in Lambayeque) in his three-part article published in *El Comercio* at the end of January, and from this he had concluded that there had been an Age of Gold in Peru. Yet, Delgado exclaimed, Tello was guilty of overstating and sensationalizing what had been found in the Department of Lambayeque. Delgado backed up this claim with the following flimsy arguments:

He pointed out that of the 12,000 artifacts in the Brüning Museum ninety-nine percent lacked site provenience. Attacking Tello's Age of Gold claim, Delgado went on to state categorically that this was true for a collection that had been purchased years in the past on the advice of Tello. Hence, Delgado stated, Tello was guilty of ignoring the fact that without proof one could not say with certainty that artifacts made of precious metal purportedly found in Lambayeque had actually been found there. Delgado then brought up a marine shell with incised decoration which had been unearthed while foundations were being laid for housing at the Chiclayo Air Base on orders from its commander Colonel Pickman and which Tello had said was valuable only because someone had offered to buy it for 600 soles.⁶⁶ So, he added, Tello was guilty of saying artifacts had value based on how much one was willing to pay for them, rather than the scientific value they contained (Delgado 1937).

Finally, on 21 March *El Comercio* published an article authored by someone with the initials P.F., that included drawings and descriptions of three of the Lambayeque artifacts being displayed at the House of Welsch. The essence of

⁶⁶ Tello was given permission to inspect this artifact by Colonel Pickman and on 15 June 1937 Tello penned his thoughts about it that were subsequently published that year by Lima's Editorial Antena. He concluded the artifact was decorated in the Chavín style, but made no mention of an offer to purchase it, nor the price offered (Tello 1937h).

the article was that these artifacts were of great artistic value (P.F. 1937).

It would appear from this that Tello had been so upset by the illegal excavations that he had asked the minister of education and the director of the National Museum to allow him to scientifically investigate the locale where pre-Columbian artifacts had been found on the North Coast in January. It seems that he had subsequently presented a report to the minister, in which he had criticized what had happened there, and, becoming frustrated that the government was doing nothing to stop continued illegal excavations, he had turned to the court of public opinion. That the curator of the Brüning Museum subsequently attacked Tello in the press suggests that Tello's complaint about ongoing excavations in Lambayeque may have been about excavations being directed by Delgado. It is also likely that Tello was dismayed that the National Museum, under orders from the government, was allowing the public display outside the museum of some of the Lambayeque gold artifacts for reasons other than scientific ones.

In sum, Tello clearly had his hands full trying to convince Peruvian officials and non-officials alike to help him stem the surge in violence against the nation's pre-Columbian patrimony that was fueled by a lust for gold.⁶⁷ In the United States, however, members of the IAR continued the process of selecting candidates, apparently unaware of, or oblivious to, the difficulties he was experiencing.

⁶⁷ Supreme Resolution No. 575 dated 2 September 1939 authorized the reimbursement of 15,246.09 soles to Carlos Muños Romero for costs he incurred related to excavations undertaken on his behalf at Batán Grande that had been authorized by Supreme Resolution No. 429 dated 7 December 1936 (Tello and Mejía 1967:193–194). This was much more than would have been required to pay for the excavation, so it would appear that the government was indemnifying Muños for the artifacts he had found, and that had subsequently been taken by the state.

Bennett wrote to Tello on 22 March with some interesting news. He told him that he had given his name to Frederick Keppel, head of the Carnegie Corporation, when asked by him to suggest someone in Peru who could outline Peruvian archaeology for Nelson Rockefeller. He identified Nelson as the son of John D. Rockefeller Jr., and said that he had sailed the previous day, and was expected to be in Lima about the middle of May. In addition, Bennett made a point of telling Tello that in speaking with Keppel, he had recommended him as the Peruvian counselor for the IAR.

Bennett then told Tello he would soon be sending him an update on the IAR's selections, and assured him that the suggestions he had included in his 12 March letter would be taken into consideration. He added that it appeared Guernsey would be given one of the fellowships, and that the other fellowship would be given to a student who could assist Tello with his expedition, adding that he felt the student would be better served learning from Tello than doing independent research, and that he was sure the student would have sufficient funding to contribute toward the expenses of the expedition. He made two final points: the delay in leaving Lima until 15 June would make it easier for the fellows to arrive in time, and he agreed with Tello's notion that the IAR should make an effort to better plan for future field-work (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

A week later, on 29 March, Bennett wrote to Cole (in Florida presumably) saying he was enclosing a copy of his 19 March letter that he had sent to him by special delivery to Philadelphia. He told Cole that Tozzer (and Lothrop) had withdrawn their proposal, and had approved of the two candidates the subcommittee had selected. Bennett went on to say that Tello had postponed his departure until 15 June, and this was good because, if Collier was going to take part in the expedition, he would have to

arrive a week or two before then. He added that he thought Tello would be placated with the idea of some of Collier's money going toward the expedition's expenses. He said that because Collier was tactful, he should get along with Tello, he should find the expedition both enjoyable and educational, and he should be able to give the Institute a good report.

Bennett then discussed money matters. He asked Cole what he thought should be done with the \$1,500 fellowship for Collier (who was his student), specifically whether he should send Collier a check, or wait until he came (to the AMNH). He said Collier should quickly book passage, because fares were about to increase, and suggested that he convert the remainder of his money into \$50 National City Bank Travelers checks, because they were the easiest to cash (in Peru). He also pointed out that Collier would have to submit an expense account to the AMNH because the money was being drawn from one of its accounts. Finally, he told Cole that, in advance of official notification, he was going to tell both Guernsey and Tozzer that she had been selected, and that he was going to await instructions from the latter on how the money should be given to the former (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

On 29 March, the same day Bennett had written to Cole, Collier wrote to Bennett. He said Cole had told him that morning that the selection sub-committee had decided to send him to Peru, and suggested that he contact him (Bennett). He told Bennett that he would be taking his preliminary exams in May, but that he thought he could leave for Peru about the first of June. He asked Bennett to suggest reading materials he could look at in advance of his trip, and wondered if the sub-committee had discussed what they wanted to do other than furnish Tello with a field assistant (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

On the last day of March, Cole wrote to Bennett from Chicago. He was clearly catching up with accumulated correspondence. He told Bennett he had received copies of the letters that Spier and Tozzer had sent to him (Bennett) and other members of the selection sub-committee. He then said he did not agree with the Tozzer proposal, and instead felt that Guernsey and Collier should be selected. He went on to say he had written to Guernsey (date unknown) advising her of her appointment, and had told her to get in touch with him (Bennett), and he told Bennett he had spoken with Collier, who planned to write to him soon. Cole then went on to say he was against (Tozzer's) idea of giving the \$1,500 for the second fellowship to Tello for excavation. He added that he was of the opinion the IAR would be better served if someone were sent down to establish a friendly relationship with Tello, because that would result in more feedback on the work that was done than he (Tello) would provide. Cole concluded by telling Bennett that, unless he or Vaillant felt otherwise, he would consider the matter closed (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

In brief, issues regarding Tello's role in the IAR, what candidates would be sent to Peru, the reasons why selected candidates would be sent to Peru, Tello's role in the selection process, how much money would be designated for his expedition, and when the expedition was going to leave Lima all came to the fore. It became increasingly clear that Guernsey had become acceptable to both the selection subcommittee and to Tello, and that he was willing to have her work on the Paracas collection, despite the fact that his primary need was for help on his Chavín-oriented expedition. It was also becoming clear that Tello was coming around to the idea of having the IAR send him someone with non-archaeological experience to help him on his expedition. Yet there remained the issue of money for the expedition.

It was also becoming increasingly clear that Bennett was becoming more and more frustrated with Tello's perceived intransigence, that Bennett was being assisted by Vaillant in his role as secretary, and that everyone was becoming confused on a variety of matters. Not only was there a time lag in getting information to and from Tello, time lags exacerbated by a variety of factors were becoming more of a problem among members of the committee.

In Peru, Tello was finalizing plans for his expedition, including participation by non-fellows, while dealing with matters relevant to the IAR and the Peabody Museum. At the same time, he had become frustrated with the government over the issue of illegal excavations, in general, and those that were continuing to take place in Lambayeque, in particular. In part, it may have been because of this distraction that he had decided to put off leaving Lima for a month. Finally, it was during this period that Tello received some interesting news—Nelson Rockefeller was coming to see him.

Late March–Mid-May 1937

On 2 April Cole wrote to Bennett and told him he had received his 29 March letter. He also told Bennett he had spoken to Collier, and that Collier had already sent a telegram to him to tell him that he was ready and willing to go to Peru, and take part in Tello's expedition. Cole then added that Collier was a good student, and that he thought he would do a good job. Finally, Cole gave his approval to the idea of giving Kidder II and his wife honorary IAR status for their trip to Peru (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH). Collier's telegram to Bennett was dated 31 March, and in it he told him he was prepared to leave in time to join Tello before 15 June (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

In addition to his telegram, Collier sent a letter to Bennett on 31 March. He said he had spoken with Cole, and, although it would require him to postpone his anthropology prelims, he could be in Lima the first week of June, and this would give him sufficient time to make preparations for the expedition. He added that he planned to look into sailing schedules the next day, and would let him know his departure date, as well as when he needed the money. Collier then said he thought he was going to have to buy a camera, and asked Bennett if he thought it would be better to get it in Lima, and if he thought the committee would allow him to purchase it with fellowship money, adding that there remained the possibility he could borrow a camera. Collier then said he wanted to take with him on the expedition the best maps available that would show the headwaters of the Marañón, Huallaga, and Pukará Rivers. This was because Cole had shown him a copy of the letter Tello had sent to Tozzer, in which he had detailed his field plans. He asked Bennett if the American Geographical Society had maps of sufficient scale, and if he thought it would be a good idea to bring them to Peru.

Then Collier asked Bennett to explain how he thought he should handle the money matter with Tello. He said he was concerned things were not going to go smoothly. He said he thought the plan would be to make the money last as long as possible, with a priority on results, and not length of time in the field. He said, too, it was his understanding that Tello was used to working with limited funding, and hence he was not concerned with Tello being extravagant, but there was the potential for a disagreement between them about spending money on particular investigations, while acknowledging the fact that Tello was the expert, and he was the amateur. Collier then specifically asked Bennett if he should dedicate all of the expected \$1,000 available to him after round-trip expenses to field expenses, or leave some aside for a few

post-expedition weeks in Lima to work on material collected during the expedition. After saying that he wanted Bennett to clarify things for him, especially regarding his financial dealings with Tello, because he had never before been put into position of deciding how to distribute money on an expedition, he concluded with the comment that he planned to be in New York two or three days before embarking, and would see him then (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

Bennett wrote to Kroeber on 3 April to notify him that the sub-committee had selected Guernsey and Collier and that, with his permission, he would write to Tello and tell him Collier would help with the expedition's expenses, but that he would keep the money in hand. He then informed Kroeber that he and Tozzer had a pleasant talk, that they were in agreement on matters, and that the Kidders, Guernsey, and Collier would all be sailing on 14 May. He then asked Kroeber to prepare official letters for the four of them.

Bennett then turned to other matters. He said he had nothing new to report except to say that he, Lothrop, Tozzer, Spier, and Vaillant had signed the papers (of incorporation) and that the IAR had to elect the other committee members once the process was completed. He added that Kidder thought he had a donor lined up for a fall fellowship, and thought, based on his talk with McCown, that he might be ready then to accept a future fellowship. Finally, Bennett said he expected to be going to Peru around the first of January 1938, and that he had heard from Heinrich Doering,⁶⁸ who

⁶⁸ Marie Beale made an indirect mention of Doering in the book she wrote about her trip to South America at the beginning of the 1930's. Regarding a field trip taken with Tello, she wrote, "It was hard for me to detect these bits among the stones and dirt, but a young German archeologist with us, his eye accustomed to his work, amassed a sack full of treasures for his Munich museum in less than half an hour" (Beale 1932:113). In the 17 November

planned to work in Chicama that year (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

As it happened, Kroeber had just sent a letter to Bennett dated 2 April. He began by saying he was writing in response to the letters he had received dated the 19th and 22nd (specific contents unknown) of March. He then told Bennett it was *his* responsibility to write to Tello and specify what the fellowships entailed, and it was *his* responsibility to put into action the decisions made by the sub-committee—who was to receive what, when, and for what reason. He stressed that this committee had the authority to act, and it was up to him to act as he thought best, but that (as committee chairman) he would ultimately take responsibility. Having said this, Kroeber suggested to Bennett that he explicitly define for each fellow and for Tello the terms and conditions of their appointments, adding that he thought it might be a good idea to send Tello copies of what had been sent to the fellows with a polite note of explanation inclusive of good wishes on the part of the IAR.

Then Kroeber specifically addressed issues relating to Tello. He asked Bennett to clarify how the money was going to be given to Collier, and whether it was to be distributed between him and Tello. He then said that Tello was right about the donors. Kroeber pointed out that Tello had been the one to originally speak to Beale, and she had told him that the donated money was to go toward sending someone to Peru to help him. Also, Tello had been the one to first speak with Bliss, and had gotten from him an unspecified agreement to help as well. However, Kroeber continued, as he understood it, it had been Kidder who had spoken with the

1938 edition of *El Comercio* it was reported that Heinrich Doering of Munich University had given a talk at the University of San Marcos on the work he had done in Peru a few years earlier (Anon. 1938xx). After World War II this archaeologist became known as Heinrich Ubbelohde-Doering.

two of them either the night before, or the afternoon following the New York meeting, and whatever was said at that time took precedence. As such, the IAR was not bound by what had been previously agreed upon, specifically between Bliss and Tello. This being said, Kroeber told Bennett, the Institute *had* to come to a better understanding of donor expectations, suggesting that in the future donors be asked to indicate in writing if they wanted the money to go directly toward student training, for museum or field-work, specifically for Tello or some other individual, or for any other purpose. He suggested in this regard that Bennett seek advice from Kidder if he had any questions on how to proceed. He stated that, unless there was an objection, his suggested improvement in the donor process could be considered as an instruction and to proceed with the understanding that advice from other members of the committee would not be sought unless another business meeting was held that year. This he said would prevent what was sure to be confusion on the matter.

Kroeber then said he voted in favor of sponsoring Kidder II, and would be happy to sign a letter to that effect, though he did wonder what it was he was going to do in Peru. In this regard, Kroeber concluded by asking Bennett to find out from young Kidder's father what he planned to do in Peru, so he could include reference to it in the letter he was writing (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

Bennett and Collier wrote letters to one another on 3 April. Bennett wrote specifically to address the concerns Collier had expressed in his letter to him. He pointed out that, while Collier was to accompany Tello on his expedition, the specifics of the expedition were not yet certain. What was known was that Tello wanted to go to Lambayeque where the gold had been found, then go into the northern highlands, passing down to the Marañón region, and finally

down through the highlands to Pukará. The focus would be on Chavín and the expedition would take four months, with priority being given to exploring the eastern slopes of the northern highlands even if it meant not exploring areas to the south.

Bennett then told Collier that (like Tello) he also felt Chavín was very important, and it was his expectation that he would have an opportunity to gather important evidence on Tello's expedition. Bennett then told Collier that because Tello could get over-enthusiastic about what he found, he hoped he would keep his eyes open, and see if the evidence actually supported his conclusions. In particular, Bennett stressed, it was important that he keep an eye open for stratigraphic cuts, places for future work and, most critically, the kinds of pottery found both at Chavín de Huantar and in the Chavín region. As for money, Bennett told Collier it was his idea that he could help with expenses, because Tello was short on funding. He added that he (Collier) and Tello could work out the details, but that he wanted *him* to keep control of his money, advising him to reserve enough for a month in Lima at the conclusion of his work in the field. He calculated, Bennett said, that expedition costs would be less than \$200, and even if he had to pay most of this, he would have sufficient funding. Bennett then suggested to Collier that he convert his money into National City Bank of New York travelers' checks, and decide how much to take with him on the expedition after talking it over with Tello. He then told Collier that if Tello wanted money for purposes he thought were unwarranted, he could fall back on the excuse that he was responsible for turning in an expense account. Yes, he told Collier, Tello's proof might sometimes be "ridiculous sounding" but he needn't be concerned, because he was a nice man with a lot of good ideas, and he knew Peru and its (artifact) collections. Bennett concluded this discussion by telling Collier they

would talk about the money situation when he came to New York.

Bennett then turned to other matters and said that having a camera was critical. He suggested to Collier that he get one in Panama because it would be cheaper than in Lima. As for film, he told Collier he should buy it before sailing, and that it might be possible to get an AMNH discount. Bennett then told Collier he could use part of his fellowship money (to buy the camera and film), but only as a last resort because \$1,500 was not a lot of money, and he would have no more than \$1,000 to spend in Peru. As for other specifics, he said he would look into the maps. He advised Collier that if he could arrange to leave on 14 May, he would be traveling with the Kidders and Guernsey. Finally, Bennett told Collier he had recommended to the Kidders and Guernsey the Hope Morris Pensión in Lima, because it was both beautiful and clean, and because it would cost (only) \$2.50 a day for room and board (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

In his 3 April letter to Bennett, Collier said he had been told by the Grace Company that the new rates were already in effect, that no reduction would be given for a round-trip purchase, and that there was a four percent tax on tickets purchased in Lima. He then provided information regarding steamers scheduled to leave New York on the 14th, the 21st, and the 28th of May. After going through his decision process, Collier stated he had purchased a one-way ticket on the *Santa Inez*, scheduled to leave New York on the 14th and arrive at the Port of Callao on the 27th (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

Collier then wrote back to Bennett twice more, first on 6 April and then two days later. In his first letter he said he was still undecided on what ship to take. Collier told Bennett the answers he had given to his various questions

had left him unsure about other matters as well. After going into detail about the difficulties his brother had faced in getting a fare discount the year before as a government official traveling on government business, Collier asked Bennett if *he* had ever gotten a discount and how. Finally, he said he was going to buy the camera, but would like to buy the film with an AMNH discount (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH). Then, in his second letter dated 8 April, Collier said he had been misinformed and a fifteen percent discount was available, hence he would be sailing on 21 May aboard the *Santa Clara* (to arrive on 3 June). He then asked Bennett if he thought it would be possible to arrange a monthly rate of \$75 for the hotel in Lima. Finally, he asked Bennett to forward him Tello's address, so that he could write him and tell him when he would be arriving (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

Bennett responded to Collier on 9 April and said he had heard from Tello (his 12 March letter presumably) and he was satisfied with his joining his expedition that would depart Lima on 15 June. He went on to tell Collier that he had written to Tello, and had told him to expect his arrival by that date with around \$700 in hand for expedition expenses. He also told Collier he had told Tello that he would not be in control of the money, because of the need to submit an accounting of expenses, though details could be worked out. Bennett then told Collier that he didn't think he would have any problems. Finally, he basically told Collier that it was up to him to decide when to sail, and said that if he arrived in New York a day or two before departing, they would look into the museum discount for buying film (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH). This particular exchange of correspondence finally ended when Collier sent a letter to Bennett on 14 April and said he was coming to New York for the purpose of buying his ticket, and would meet with him at the museum. He closed by saying

that he had borrowed a camera, and he had his film (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

In addition to counseling Collier at length on matters relating to the Peru trip, Bennett engaged in correspondence regarding those from Harvard that were going to Peru. He received a letter of acceptance from Guernsey dated 3 April in which she informed him she had received official notice from Cole that she would be one of the IAR's fellows and in which she said she planned to sail with the Kidders on 14 May (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH). It was also on 3 April that Tozzer wrote to Kidder, and said he had read half of his son's thesis, and was pleased with it. He went on to say his son had received half his money, and that the passports for him, his wife, and for Guernsey were in the process of being prepared for their 14 May departure. Finally, he told Kidder that his son was going to have a special examination on 6 May, and that he expected him to get his degree in June (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

On 5 April Bennett wrote to Tozzer and told him he had arranged to have the \$1,500 check sent to Guernsey at any time, suggesting that she buy a round-trip ticket and convert the rest of the money into \$50 National City Bank of New York travelers' checks. He asked Tozzer to have Guernsey let him know when she wanted the check sent, and told him that he had asked Kroeber to write introductory letters for her and the Kidders. He also told Tozzer that he would send a list of suggestions for work on the Paracas material directly to Guernsey. Finally, he told him he had informed both Valcárcel and Tello about the fellows and their backgrounds (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

Tozzer wrote back on 7 April and suggested that Bennett send the \$1,500 check, because Guernsey was in the process of spending money

for the trip. He also said he would pass on to her the idea of getting the travelers' checks (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

It was on 5 April that Bennett wrote to Tello to inform him that Guernsey had been chosen by the IAR to work on the Paracas textiles under his supervision. He said she was analytically capable, and had technical experience in such things as mounting and preservation, having assisted him in putting together a large exhibit, and having worked with the Peabody Museum's collection. He then characterized her as quiet and modest, said that he was sure he'd enjoy working with her, and said she would be sailing with the Kidders on 14 May.

Next Bennett told Tello the University of Chicago student Collier had been selected to receive the second fellowship, and that he might sail from New York on 21 May, but that in any case he would arrive in Lima before the 15th of June. He went on to tell Tello that he may have already met Collier when he was in Lima the previous year when he was there with his brother, and that his father headed the Indian Bureau in Washington. He also said that Collier had worked under both Cole and Kroeber, pointing out that the latter had recommended him. As he had suggested, Bennett told Tello, Collier had been selected to act as his assistant on his expedition in order to allow him to benefit from his knowledge and experience and, as such, he would not require a permit. Bennett then told Tello that Collier was aware he was to contribute money toward the expenses of the expedition, an amount he estimated at \$700, given that the Grace Lines had increased their fares, and that he would have to pay approximately \$600 for round trip passage. Actual details, he told Tello, could be settled between him and Collier in Lima. Lastly, regarding money, Bennett said that Collier was required to account for his expenses for income tax purposes, and not because the IAR lacked confi-

dence in him. Bennett ended his letter to Tello by saying the process of incorporation was still ongoing, that Kidder thought he might have someone to donate toward a fellowship and, possibly, toward field funds for 1938, and that interest in the IAR seemed to be growing (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

Kroeber wrote to Bennett on 8 May. He enclosed the letters of introduction he had prepared for Guernsey, Collier, and the Kidders in the letter he wrote to Bennett on 8 April. In his letter, he asked Bennett if he and Vaillant could come up with something more impressive, given that his only responsibility in the matter as president had been to sign the letters. He also gave Bennett the freedom to decide how he wanted to handle dedicating some of Collier's money toward expedition expenses (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

Bennett wrote to Kroeber the next day, 9 April, and told him the Kidders planned to sail on 14 May and would undertake a general tour of archaeological sites in Peru and Bolivia. This experience, he added, would prepare Kidder II to teach a course in South American archaeology at Harvard upon his return, and, as such, his letter of introduction need only mention his connection with the Peabody Museum. He added that Kidder himself was still working in Guatemala, and it was a bit late to be contacting Tozzer on the matter. As for Tello, Bennett said he had written to him as suggested, and had received a reply from him in which he had indicated his satisfaction with matters, but, Bennett told Kroeber, Tello's letter had not been in reply to his most recent letter. Finally, Bennett said everything looked good for having Collier and Guernsey in the field by the first of June (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

Bennett received a brief letter from Tello that the latter had written on 10 April in which

he reiterated his desire that the IAR send someone to help him on his expedition, preferably someone with training in ethnology and linguistics. Otherwise, he told Bennett, he would prefer that the IAR chose a second fellow at a later time, perhaps in 1938 when, as he (Bennett) had indicated in his letter to Valcárcel, he would be returning to continue his archaeological field-work (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

The brevity of the letter, its abrupt discordant message, and its mention of Valcárcel clearly meant that Tello was not in a conciliatory mood. This reference to Valcárcel may have appeared innocent, but Tello was clearly telling Bennett that he had learned of his intention to return to work in Peru only because Valcárcel had told him so. Whether or not Tello was offended that he had not been told directly by Bennett of his plan to return to Peru is unknown. Such a scenario, however, is not out of the question, given the long-simmering dispute between Tello and Valcárcel. The latter was not only the person who had unceremoniously replaced Tello as director of the National Museum of Archaeology, but in acting as his replacement, he had consistently disagreed with Tello over the degree to which the government should use its limited resources to protect the nation's archaeological patrimony. In any case, Tello's rigid statement about the IAR postponing the selection of a second fellow and his mention of Valcárcel in the same short note must have taken Bennett by surprise.

In fact, Bennett was in the process of moving forward with plans for his 1938 return to Peru. On 10 April he wrote to McCown and informed him of the selections of Guernsey and Collier, also saying to McCown that he had written to Kroeber explaining why he had opted out of the selection process. Bennett went on to say that Kidder thought he might have a donor for the end of the year. He also said he had

written to Kroeber suggesting that the IAR and the AMNH ought to coordinate plans to work in Peru, given that the museum was sending him there in January. The reasoning, he explained, was that if the IAR was really to mean anything, it had to support *independent* research, and have Tello do work *on his own*, especially since the IAR was not tied to him (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH). It is unknown if Bennett meant that he and Valcárcel were engaged in discussions to limit the IAR's connection with Tello and his two museums and establish instead a connection between the IAR and the National Museum. It is also unknown if Tello suspected as much.

Bennett prepared an undated draft of a letter to Tello in which he told him that the committee (probably the selection sub-committee) had taken note of the information contained in his letter dated 10 April. No reference was made in subsequent IAR correspondence to such a letter having actually been sent to Tello, but this draft is uniquely instructive in helping one understand the pressure Bennett was under at the time he wrote it, given his resort to flattery and the frustration that it implied.

Bennett pointed out to Tello that during the discussions held in New York there had been an agreement that the basic problems regarding New World archaeology all centered on Peru and, as such, a group approach was needed. He went on to say that during subsequent discussions, members of the Institute had decided that the best way to attract otherwise cautious donors would be to establish a student base from which to draw upon field researchers. As a result, they had decided to create fellowship(s) designed to send North American students to Peru. Once there, he told Tello, they would assist him with his brilliant research and draw from his deep font of knowledge. Unfortunately, Bennett explained, they soon learned there were but a limited number of qualified

students from which to make selections, and from this limited pool they had selected Guernsey and Collier, the former one of the most brilliant young textile analysts, and the latter someone whose interests made him a good candidate to be trained as an ethno-archaeologist.

During its first year of existence, Bennett continued, it was the opinion of all involved that the IAR needed to work to increase scholarly interest in Peru. By the same token, it was felt that during this time it was essential that there develop a mutual appreciation for the problems relating to financial and social support that were being experienced in both the United States and in Peru. In this regard, the committee felt that the first year was going to be critical, and that potential donors would become scarce if the selected fellows proved unsuccessful. It was the consensus of the committee, Bennett told Tello, that the two students who had been selected for the fellowships offered great possibilities, possibilities that could be developed under a "first-rank" scholar like him, despite the fact that Collier was not a trained linguist. Though it was unfortunate, he added, that the committee had insufficient funding to support more than the two chosen fellows, it was possible that some of Collier's money could be applied to help with his proposed expedition. Bennett essentially concluded with more flattery, the statement that the committee knew he would do a good job with the students, and that they knew he would adapt to changes from their original ideal that had resulted from (unforeseen) circumstances (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH). Again, this letter was apparently never sent.

On 15 April Bennett sent a \$1,500 check to Guernsey, indicating in the accompanying letter that it represented the IAR's Beale Fellowship, and that it was to be used to cover expenses for a trip to Peru to generally study the Paracas

textiles under Tello's guidance. He told her that she needed to keep an expense account to be submitted later to the AMNH, along with any unspent money. He also wrote that he was enclosing a general letter of introduction from the IAR and a list of suggestions for her research. In part, he suggested that she read Tello's 1929 publication on Paracas and (Lila) O'Neal's work on the Paracas textiles.⁶⁹ He closed with the comment that he was sure she would be able to handle the other 10,000 problems she would face in Lima without any advice from him (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH). Guernsey formerly replied two days later on the 17th (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

Tello wrote to Bennett on 16 April. He began by telling him that he was responding to his 5 April letter in which he had been informed of the selection of Guernsey and Collier. He stated that, given her experience, Guernsey would be of great help to his museum. As for Collier, however, he thought it would be better that he come at another time if it was the IAR's intention not to send him money to help him meet the costs of his expedition, money, he stressed that would be exclusively *his* responsibility. He again said he wanted a student with both an ethnological and a linguistic back-

⁶⁹ Lila O'Neale "went to Berkeley in August 1926 with the idea of doing a Master of Arts thesis on lace, but her arrival coincided with Dr. A.L. Kroeber's return from Peru with textiles excavated for Field Museum and his need for someone with her training and interest to analyze them. . . . A year's study in Lima in 1931-32 . . . further enhanced Miss O'Neale's position as an authority on early Peruvian weavings. This investigation of 375 specimens from the Paracas Caverns and Grand Necropolis amplified the survey made in 1927. . . . Since 1932 [she was]. . . a member of the Department of Household (later Decorative) Art in the University of California" (Harrison 1948:658-662). In 1931 she accompanied Tello on an exploration of the Central to South Central Peruvian Highlands (Kroeber 1944:99). Her publications on Peruvian needle knitting (1934) and on small Paracas garments (1935) should have been of interest to Guernsey.

ground, principally the latter, for which, he again stressed, *he* would be technically and economically responsible. Finally, Tello reiterated that he would absolutely be leaving on 15 June, and that he would write later in greater detail about future work with the Institute (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

It was on 18 April that *El Comercio* published a talk that Tello had recently given dealing with the gold artifacts that had been found at Batán Grande.⁷⁰ The tenor of his talk appears conciliatory toward the government, suggesting he had calmed down, the situation had ameliorated, and/or he had decided not to antagonize authorities any further.

Tello began by saying it had been in mid-December that he had (first) learned that the known *huaquero* Teofilio Granados of the Department of Lambayeque was in the process of conducting large-scale excavations in huacas on the Hacienda Batán Grande under the protection of certain local authorities. Given that nearly all the gold artifacts held in foreign museums had come from this locale, his response had been to ask authorities charged with the protection of the national patrimony to allow him to inspect the site and to prepare a report regarding the authorization that had been used to allow this to happen. What he knew before leaving for Lambayeque, Tello continued, was that the *huaqueros* had been aided by a government resolution authorizing treasure seeking on land that did *not* contain national monuments, and for this reason the holder of the authorization had been ordered by the minister of education to hand over to the director of the National Museum the first part of the

⁷⁰ While the date of this talk is unknown, given what was reported in the San Marcos organ *Letras*, Tello appears to have presented it before a large audience at San Marcos with the use numerous slides to illustrate what he was describing (Anon. 1937kk:178).

precious artifacts that had been found. Then, he said, he learned a lot more.

Tello said he learned that the gold artifacts had been found in an old cemetery called La Ventana situated next to Huaca La Cruz and on the right side of the La Leche River in the District of Illimo. He said he saw at the site deep excavations that had been made by the looters and other cuts made by past floods. The site was not simply a cemetery, he explained, because it also showed evidence of a long and continuous occupation in the form of house remains and trash that covered tombs. Three layers of burials were to be seen representing distinct cultures, and representing the three great epochs or horizons of Peruvian prehistory as well. From pottery and other associated remains found with them, he added, he determined that the gold artifacts had been found on the floor of the middle layer of burials.

Tello then provided the following chronicle of the discoveries made by the looters. Excavations had begun on 15 December and between then and 25 December they had extracted a number of bodies, but no artifacts made of precious metal. It was on the following day that they found gold vases, beads, and masks as well as *timbrels* (drums). They continued digging at the same spot, and on 29 December they found a gold idol encrusted with precious stones, as well as broaches, spoons (or ladles), *echapados* [?], *crejeras* [?], etc. Digging further, on the final day of the month, they found another gold idol, two gold vases encrusted with precious stones, six gold *echapados*, lots of gold sheets and plates, as well as *echapados* made of gold and silver. It was on 5 January, still digging at the same spot, that they found a third gold idol encrusted with precious stones and three large gold vases. It was these last four objects and the two vases encrusted with precious stones that had been found on the 31st that had been put on display at the House of Welsch.

Having provided his audience with a detailed history of looting of the site that certainly had come from interviews he had with one or more of the participating looters and/or overseers, Tello then entered into a discussion of the artifacts on display in Lima. He first focused on the vases, dividing them into two morphological types, and then providing some details. He then shifted to a discussion of the three gold idols, first speaking about them generally, and then providing a long and very detailed discussion of the best preserved of the three.

Following this, Tello provided a review of what was known about pre-Columbian metallurgy in both Peru and in the Americas. Much of this, he said, he had discussed in detail in his *El Comercio* article published on 1 January 1934 (Tello 1934a). He did, however, add some new details based upon studies that he (and his team) had made of the gold artifacts that had been illegally excavated in Lambayeque. This led him into a discussion of the mythological figures represented on these artifacts. He spoke about how religious beliefs had developed over time and space in Peru leading to the creation of local hierarchical ranges of fantastic beings, or gods and demons representative of the natural world. On the North Coast, Tello pointed out, there were three principal deities aided by a whole retinue of lower deities. The first, likely the supreme deity that ruled over war and hunting, was always to be found decorating pyramidal temples, and was represented in the form of an almost human bird. The second deity was also anthropomorphic, although of snake origin, and it ruled over agriculture and fishing. As for the third, it was the deity portrayed on the gold idol(s) found at Batán Grande, clearly bird-like in appearance, at times taking the form of a harpy, or a falcon/hawk, or even the polyborus. This deity, Tello proclaimed, was the great sacrificer.

At this point, Tello became emotional and appealed to what must have been a pro-Indian audience. He railed against the Spanish conquerors, while praising the ancestors of native Peruvians who had conquered nature and built a high civilization. It was the mission of the science of archaeology, he told his audience, to bring to light this civilization. The Spanish history of Peru, he pointed out, was based on four hundred years of written records, but the history of Peru was known to extend much further back in time, and it was the mission of archaeology to provide a much more complete history of Peru. Tello then ended his talk by essentially saying that this expanded history could not be based on the study of the few spectacular artifacts that had been found by looters, because there was so much more that could be learned through patient scientific labor and the study of even the most mundane data recovered (Tello 1937c).

El Comercio also published in its 18 April edition an official announcement issued by the directorate of the National Museum. Specifically it was stated that the government had decreed that the museum would be taking part in both the Paris International Exposition and the Dallas Pan American Exposition.⁷¹ It was then said, in part, that the museum would establish exhibits at both events, and that these would serve to highlight the nation's archaeological and historical patrimony. However, given that the Paracas collection was still being studied, and given that the collection of artifacts made of precious metals recently found at Batán Grande were then being exhibited in Lima, artifacts from neither of these collections would be included in the exhibits (Anon. 1937k).

⁷¹ *El Comercio* had earlier reported in its 5 March 1937 edition the arrival of two American officials who had come to invite Peru to take part in the Dallas Pan American Exhibition that was scheduled to run from 12 June to 31 October (Anon. 1937g).

It might also have been pointed out that the journal of the National Museum had published, or was about to publish, a short article written by Valcárcel dealing with the Lambayeque gold artifacts. In addition to a brief history of the discovery, and a general inventory of what had been found, Valcárcel provided in this article detailed descriptions of six gold artifacts, presumably the ones on exhibit at the House of Welsch. Valcárcel illustrated his article with one photograph each of the five gold vases and two other photographs providing front and back views of the gold idol (sacrificial knife). These, he pointed out, were the first such photographs to be published (Valcárcel 1937c). Finally, it should be noted that in 1937 Valcárcel also published a two-paragraph note on the same six artifacts in the *Journal of the Society of Americanists* (Paris) that was illustrated by all the same photographs with the exception of the reverse shot of the idol/knife (Valcárcel 1937b).

As head of the National Museum, Valcárcel had control of what he had described in these two publications as artifacts of great beauty and perfection, and he was using them to promote an interest in Peruvian prehistory at home and abroad, tourism if you will. Tello, however, was using the illegal *discovery* of these artifacts to push for a greater commitment on the part of the government to preserve the national patrimony, and to promote the use of the science of archaeology to advance the knowledge of Peruvian prehistory. He was using the *technical advances* represented by these artifacts as a way to create a sense of pride among native Peruvians. Once again, Tello and Valcárcel had different perspectives and different agendas.

Bennett next wrote to Tello on 21 April and began by saying he had discussed with as many committee members as possible the idea of postponing Collier's trip, and all sympathized with the difficulties being faced by Tello in Peru. He went on to tell Tello that he and the other

members were well aware that things had changed from what had initially been agreed upon in New York, but that he had tried to explain (in his previous correspondence) why this was so. He then essentially said he now felt that the IAR had to focus on demonstrating to potential donors that it was a viable entity, and that it was helping students conduct research under competent direction. Still, he said, both he and Vaillant felt that this was not enough, and so they had prepared a financial plan for the IAR. Bennett then said the plan, a copy of which he enclosed, called for money to be designated specifically for both field-work and for publication.

Bennett then pointed out three things: the plan had been approved by most of the members of the committee, Kidder thought he had someone who would contribute specifically for the purpose of field research, and that possibly other funding could be so designated. Bennett then explained that delays in getting the IAR organized had been a problem, but that incorporation had (finally) been realized. Then, making subtle reference to delays at Tello's end, he said he understood why he had not submitted a detailed plan of field-work, but would appreciate getting one in the future to avoid similar difficulties. In other words, he pointed out to Tello, having a solid plan in hand would facilitate the IAR's ability to cooperate in a new project under his direction, either next year, or some other time in the future. Regarding the present year, Bennett continued, everyone at his end had agreed on Guernsey, and he personally thought she would prove useful in working on the Paracas material. As for Collier, Bennett said he doubted he had sufficient training in linguistics, and he admitted that he was not yet an archaeologist, but he pointed out that he had studied ethnology under such notables as Kroeber and Cole. Hence, he did fill the ethnology requirement, and he could also read maps and take photographs. As such, Bennett told Tello,

he thought Collier would prove to be a useful assistant, and someone who could benefit considerably from his knowledge and experience.

Next Bennett discussed finances. Kroeber, he said, had suggested that Collier's \$1,500 be divided equally into amounts dedicated to his round trip travel, his stay in Lima, and his contribution to the expenses incurred by the expedition. Bennett then referred to his previous letter, in which he had suggested that \$700 would be available for expedition expenses. Bennett told Tello that he felt things could be worked out between him and Collier in Lima as to the method of payment, but that, in any case, as director of the expedition he would be in charge of expenditures (but not the money). Put another way, he said, the committee felt that Collier should give him his available funds, and serve as his assistant.

Bennett then said he had heard from Lothrop that his friend Danielson⁷² would likely agree to the plan about which he (Lothrop) had written to him (Tello). Bennett added that it was Lothrop's opinion that Danielson should go under the aegis of the IAR for tax purposes. He added that if Danielson did go to Peru, this would be a boon, because he would likely make a hefty contribution to the IAR that would be designated specifically for expenses incurred by the expedition. After pointing out that it looked like the IAR was going to be able to contribute in large measure to the expedition's expenses because of the expected Danielson money, Bennett returned to a discussion of Collier. He told Tello that he understood why he hesitated to take him on as an assistant, both because the money he would contribute was not substantial,

⁷² This likely refers to James Deering Danielson who was the great grandson of William Deering who, according to an obituary of Danielson published in the 1 September 1991 edition of the *Chicago Sun Times*, founded the Deering Manufacturing Company in Chicago that later became part of the International Harvester Company (Anon. 1991).

and because his lack of training and experience could make things that much harder for him. Hence, he and the committee would understand if he continued to feel Collier was unsuitable to join his expedition, but, Bennett told Tello, if he so decided, he should understand that it might not sit well with the donor (Bliss) if Collier's trip to Peru were to be postponed, and it might be better to have him work on some museum project in Lima under his general direction. Bennett then asked Tello to suggest one or two such projects.

At this point Bennett changed tack and told Tello that based on his study of the material he had collected on the North Coast in 1936, he had become increasingly convinced of his (Tello's) theory of a highland origin for coastal civilizations (Chavín). He then told Tello that he now had a great interest in seeing that his (Chavín) work continue, and that he had a number of questions that he would send in his next letter. He closed by telling Tello that he considered him his highly esteemed friend (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

On 21 April, Bennett wrote to Kroeber, enclosing his last letter (16 April) from Tello along with his (21 April) reply. Bennett began by saying he was confused, that he wasn't sure if Tello was really upset, or if he was being sincerely logical when he said the IAR's program was not important to him personally. Bennett then told Kroeber that he had responded to Tello in a humble way, not only because the IAR was reliant on Tello's cooperation, but also because it was possible that the work he planned to do in Peru in 1938 might be placed in jeopardy.

Bennett then drew Kroeber's attention to what he had written in his letter to Tello about Danielson, saying that he thought he knew him. He explained that Lothrop had been talking with Danielson, and the latter appeared eager to

contribute \$1,500 to \$2000 toward Tello's expedition simply for the privilege of taking part. Bennett added that Lothrop and Tello had been corresponding on the matter, and the latter seemed quite willing to accept Danielson. In light of this, he explained, if Danielson were to participate, the IAR would only be partly responsible and, hence, would be given only partial credit, but this he thought would be satisfactory. Finally, Bennett said that, after talking it over with Lothrop and Vaillant, he had tried to make it clear to Tello that the IAR *had* to send Collier, giving him the graceful option of having Collier do research in Lima. Bennett closed by saying that he was a little concerned about the situation (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

Tello responded to Bennett a week later, on 30 April, and said he had received his letter two days before, hence, a week later. He thanked Bennett for enclosing a copy of the IAR's financial plan, and for his optimistic view of the IAR's future. He then said, given Collier's ethnographic and topographic background, he thought he would be an excellent addition to the expedition, and that he hoped he could be in Lima a week or so before 15 June. He concluded with two comments. He thanked Bennett for having answered the questions he had about both Collier and Guernsey, and he said that in his next letter, that he would send by airmail, he would enclose his research plan (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

The previous day, 29 April, Tello had submitted a formal request to the rector of San Marcos to undertake archaeological research in the laboratory and in the field on behalf of the school. In part, he pointed out that there was a need to stimulate interest among Peruvian youths in the prehistory of Peru, and, in part, he noted that, at his initiative, the IAR had recently been formed in the United States in order to promote international interest in the prehis-

tory of Peru. He named Kroeber, Bennett, Kidder, Lothrop, Spier, Vaillant, and Means as members of the committee giving for each the positions they held both within and outside the IAR, neglecting as he did so to include the names and positions of Cole and Tozzer. Tello then told the rector that at the inaugural meeting of the IAR in December, he had been named in his absence as Peru's representative and counselor, and he pointed out that he had also been named honorary curator of the Peabody Museum. He made a point of stating that the members of the IAR acted as individuals, and not as representatives of the institutions with which they were affiliated. He then stated that throughout the process of forming the IAR, he had promoted the idea that its members insist upon cooperation from Peruvian universities, preferably San Marcos, when working in Peru, and that members had agreed that such cooperation was a necessity. Finally, Tello told the rector that, in a recent letter he had received from Bennett, he had been informed that the IAR was prepared to send three anthropology graduates (Kidder II, Guernsey, and Collier) from the United States to work under his guidance once they arrived in the first week of June.

Tello then formally asked the rector for permission to conduct a study of the school's textiles and its (South Coast) Nazca pottery collections, as well as equip a team to conduct a four to five month expedition. This expedition, he explained, would focus on the Upper Marañón, Huallaga, Mantaro, and Apurímac Basins. He went on to say that the IAR would be paying for the costs of its participants both in the laboratory and in the field. Then Tello stated that he would be leading the expedition in an honorary capacity as director of the university's museum of archaeology, and requested that the university provide 6,000 soles to be applied toward the general expenses of the expedition, specifically naming costs related to travel, transport of materials, topographic and photo-

graphic equipment, food, and payment for the services of a few workers. He requested that, if convenient, the university agree to supply the expedition with some teachers or students that would, effectively, add to the costs. In his concluding remarks, Tello stated that the expedition would function as an archaeological school in which modern methods of investigation would be employed, and that this school would serve to promote an interest among the participating students in making archaeology their vocation. Finally, he emphasized the transcendental nature of Peruvian prehistory and the prestige that the university would accrue with its association with the investigations (Tello 1956:3-6).

Beale sent a letter to Bennett dated 7 May. She began by telling Bennett she had just come across his letter dated 16 February and apologized for not having responded sooner. After saying she had nothing to say regarding his plan for the IAR, she then inquired whether anyone had been appointed to the two fellowships. She closed by asking about Tello and how the IAR was being received in Peru (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

Kroeber wrote to Tello on 7 May and apologized for not having written sooner. In part he said he had gone east and, with the exception of Bennett to whom he had he spoken briefly on the telephone, he had not made contact with any of the members of the IAR. Bennett, Kroeber told Tello, had mentioned their correspondence, including the letter he had received from him dated 30 April. He then told Tello that he was pleased he had accepted Collier, adding in defense of Bennett that he had been put in the position of having to speak for the IAR regarding decisions made in December in Washington. Then, after repeating that he was very pleased that he had accepted Collier, Kroeber told Tello what he knew about this young man. He wrote that Collier was the son of the United States

commissioner of Indian affairs and, as such, it would have been hard to withdraw his appointment after the fact. Kroeber then added that having Collier as an assistant could be of significant value to him given his connections. He went on to tell Tello where Collier had studied and the anthropology courses he had taken. He concluded by vouching for him and saying that he was sure he would account for himself well in Peru in general and on the expedition in particular (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

Kroeber also wrote back to Bennett on 7 May, referring to a letter the latter had sent him dated 3 May (contents unknown). He told Bennett that he was enclosing a copy of the letter he had just written to Tello, and said that he was fine with the arrangements being made for Danielson. He said, too, that, now that the mess (with Tello) had likely subsided, he agreed with Bennett that it was time to think of his replacement as the IAR's secretary. He suggested (William Duncan) Strong⁷³ (Figures 19, 26) because he had published on Peru, and because he had worked in Latin America. He added, if Strong was agreeable, that they might look into the possibility of sending out election ballots during the summer, and have him assume the position when he settled in at Columbia University in the autumn. Kroeber then brought up the matter of expanding the membership of the IAR (given the addition of

Strong) and said both (Ronald L.) Olson⁷⁴ and (Lila M.) O' Neale, each of whom had worked in Peru, should be given consideration. He added that Olson would not be a good choice for secretary for the same reason *he* had not been a good choice for chairman—that is, being situated on the West Coast. He then said he felt the position of secretary was more important than that of chairman and, that, as such, someone living on the East Coast should be named to the position.

Kroeber then returned to a discussion of Tello, and told Bennett that his letter to Tello had just the right sense of firmness. He said he had meant to write to Tello earlier and present a hard line, but that fortunately the matter had been resolved with his acceptance of Collier. Instead, he had just written Tello a different kind of letter, in which he had complimented him on getting the kind of assistant he had wanted. He added that Tello could get excited, and knew from past experience that he could push as far as he could to get what he wanted. By the same token, however, given time, Tello could be reasonable. He closed by attributing Tello's seeming suspicious and autocratic traits to the fact that he was operating within a competitive atmosphere full of intrigue (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

⁷³ "Strong entered the University of California at Berkeley, graduating with an A.B. in 1923. . . . While he was still a graduate student, he collaborated with Kroeber in the study of . . . Peruvian archaeological collections . . . the last year of his Smithsonian career, 1936–37, Strong was loaned by the Bureau of American Ethnology to the United States Indian Service. This was during the Roosevelt administration's drastic reorganization of the Indian Service under John Collier. . . . It also must have been at about this time, if not earlier, that Strong was approached by Columbia University with an offer to join their anthropology faculty" (Willey 1988:76–81).

⁷⁴ "Leslie Spier saw promise in Olson and sent him to Berkeley, where he became a teaching fellow, and took his doctorate in 1929. . . . Olson spent two years with the American Museum of Natural History, part of the time in . . . Peru" (Kroeber 1957:2). "In 1931 he came to Berkeley as associate professor in the Department of Anthropology" (Drucker 1981:605–606). In 1931 Bennett "went to the American Museum of Natural History to succeed Ronald L. Olson as Assistant Curator of Anthropology and to continue the program of research in Andean archaeology which Olson had inaugurated" (Rouse 1954:266).

Kidder II's wife Mary had written to Strong⁷⁵ on Monday (3 May) and had told him her husband would be having his (doctoral) exam three days later. She predicted he would pass without a problem, even if Lothrop pulled some surprises as he had threatened to do. She congratulated Strong on his new position at Columbia (National Anthropological Archive, Smithsonian Institution, William D. Strong Papers, correspondence). Lothrop also wrote on Monday (3 May), this being a short undated note to Tozzer in which he said he would be in Cambridge on Thursday (6 May). He mentioned a letter that Tozzer had received from Tello (date and contents unknown), adding that Bennett had also received a letter from Tello that was of the same tenor. He then said that it was best not to offend Tello and that (Collier's) money was going to be turned over to him (Tello) directly (Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology Archive, Harvard University, Alfred M. Tozzer Papers, accession no. 41-10, box 1, folder 16, correspondence).

Kidder II wrote to Strong on 7 May and, among other things, told him he had passed his exam the previous day, despite Lothrop making things difficult for him. He also told Strong in confidence that, though Guernsey was a very competent expert on textiles, she was also "very shy and childish" which was problematic (National Anthropological Archive, Smithsonian Institution, William D. Strong file, correspondence).

On 11 May Tello prepared a document in which he provided details regarding his upcoming archaeological expedition. He stated, that as director of the University of San Marcos Museum of Archaeology, he would be director and

would be aided by one assistant, one artist, one topographer, and three North Americans who were specialists in ethnology and in the making of molds and casts. He also stated that the 6,000 soles (about \$1,500) he had requested from the rector on 29 April would cover the costs of subsistence in the field, the acquisition of photographic and topographic equipment, supplies for molds, drawing and painting supplies, excavation costs, and the transport of discovered materials back to the university. The purpose of the expedition, Tello stated, would be to collect information. This would entail recording (excavation) details in daily logs, plotting sites on maps, drawing up plans of archaeological (architectural) remains, taking photographs, creating detailed drawings (of artifacts), and creating molds of the principal objects found, like statues and steles. Surface collections would be emphasized, with the object of increasing the university's collections. Finally, Tello apparently provided a detailed listing of sites by type and locale, whether on the coast or in the highlands (Tello 1956:6-9).

Bennett replied to Beale on 11 May and apologized for not keeping her informed. He said in explanation that it had come as a surprise to him how much time the duties of secretary consumed. He told her things were going well, and that the IAR had been incorporated in the State of New York. He also told her that Guernsey and Collier had been selected as the two fellows, and provided pertinent biographical data on each. He also told her that the Kidders would be going to Peru as honorary fellows. As for Tello, he told her he was very happy with how things were going, and that Tello thought the IAR would achieve great results. He mentioned that Valcárcel, the director of Peru's National Museum, had written to him (date and specific contents unknown), and was enthusiastic about the IAR. He concluded by saying that he had been concerned about the problem of keeping everyone informed, given that the

⁷⁵ Alfred "and Mary Kidder spent January to June of 1936 in northwestern Honduras. They participated in a joint Smithsonian Institution-Harvard University archaeological expedition led by William Duncan Strong" (Mohr Chavéz 2005: 261).

IAR's members were so scattered, and asked if she thought an occasional mimeographed report would be desirable (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

Bennett also wrote to Bliss on 11 May and essentially provided the same information contained in his letter to Beale. However, he did make two additional comments. First, he told Bliss that Collier's fellowship had been named after him and his wife, and, second, he told Bliss that he had been in touch with Valcárcel and could report that, for the moment, he and Tello were cooperating with one another (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

Finally, Bennett wrote to Tello on 11 May. He began by saying how pleased he was that things were working out. He then said the Kidders and Guernsey would be sailing on the *Santa Inez* in three days, and that Collier, because of exams, would be leaving four days later aboard the *Santa Clara*. Hence, all of them would be in Lima by the first week of June. As for Danielson, he told Tello that Lothrop had been out of town, and, as a result, he had nothing new to report. Business aside, Bennett then turned to research matters of common interest. He asked Tello if he had already thanked him for sending the article on the Batán Grande discovery, adding that it was important, and his report on it was very gratifying. He went on to say he had not found Chavín type pottery when he had worked in Lambayeque, although he felt he should have, adding the Chongoyape (gold artifacts) that had been found (on the North Coast) couldn't be unique.⁷⁶ Hence, he told Tello, his discovery of Chavín pottery in the lowest levels at La Ventana was of great significance to him, and he asked Tello if he could cite him in his own report.

⁷⁶ See Lothrop's 1941 discussion of the Chavín style gold ornaments found at Chongoyape, fifty kilometers up the Lambayeque Valley on the North Coast of Peru.

After saying he looked forward to seeing a description of the gold artifacts that had been found in Lambayeque, Bennett then told Tello that he and Lothrop had been discussing matters and leaned toward his Amazon hypothesis (regarding the origin of Chavín). Bennett then said to Tello that he both hoped and expected his trip to the eastern slopes of the Andes would provide additional evidence to support his hypothesis. He added that he hoped to be in Peru in January and stay through the meeting of the International Congress of Americanists, but that things were not yet certain. In any event, he continued, his work would be independent of that of the IAR, adding that he thought the two of them shared the opinion that the IAR should go beyond simply sponsoring existing institutions and develop a program of its own. Bennett then told Tello how impressed he was with his conclusion that the artifacts found at Ancón and at Supe (on the Central Coast) represented a variant of the Chavín style, and that he agreed with this conclusion based on his own reexamination of the artifacts.⁷⁷ He went on to say that

⁷⁷ In 1935 Tello published a review of a work co-authored by O'Neale and Kroeber dealing with periods based on textiles. In part Tello wrote, "In Paracas there are two textile periods corresponding to two cultures: that of the 'Cavernas', the older, and that of the 'Necropolis,' which springs immediately from the former. The first should be included in the first horizon, and the second, in the beginning of the second horizon. Painted textiles, needle-knitted without assistance of the loom, predominate in the first period. The painted cloths, in their technic [*sic*] and ornamentation, are almost identical with those discovered in Supe, close to the deposits where Uhle discovered fragments of pottery recognized by me as the 'Chavin' type. The textiles of the 'Cavernas' type are associated with a type of pottery similar to the 'Chavin' type, but very distinct from the 'Necropolis' and 'Nasca' types of pottery. The big funeral bales of the 'Necropolis' type discovered by me in 1927, were found above the ruins of dwellings and in rubbish heaps containing fragments of pottery of the 'Cavernas' type. . . . In the 'Necropolis' no pottery of the 'Nasca' style has been found, not even in fragments, but that of the 'Cavernas' has been found. In Cayangos, Ica, rubbish containing fragments of the 'Cavernas' style is found underneath the graves of the 'Nasca' type. In the 'Nasca' region no pottery of the two

in the future he wanted to discuss with him Kroeber's classification of Chavín artifacts into two separate types.⁷⁸ Too, he specified various other questions about later ceramic styles that he hoped to discuss with him. After deferring to Tello's experience in such matters, Bennett ended by saying he was envious of the opportunity being given to Collier (to take part in the expedition; IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

periods of the 'Paracas' type has been found. Therefore, the culture of the 'Cavernas' must be considered in the first horizon and that of the 'Necropolis' in the beginning of the second" (Tello 1935:346–347).

⁷⁸ Bennett appears to be referring to Kroeber's division of Chavín artifacts into styles N and M. "The first Chavin style is that of the famous relief monolith of Raimondi, [Tello 1923: figure 25] long ago brought to Lima . . . Uhle and others have recognized the style of this distinctive carving, although distinctive, bears definite relationship to the (Proto-) Nazca style of pottery painting especially of its more flamboyant phase,—Tello's pre-Nazca. On account of this resemblance to Nazca, the present style may be tentatively designated Chavín N. The second style is the discovery of Tello, and is represented by a number of original stelae and reliefs, or rubbings and facsimile drawings, in the museum of the Universidad Mayor de San Marcos in Lima. . . . Dr. Tello has analyzed many of the motifs of Chavin M sculpture and shows them to gravitate around the concept of a feline god, probably the jaguar. This concept reappears, with much the same handling of the motifs, in the Chavin style pottery vessels from Chicama. These, however, are all stirrup-mouths . . . restricted to the northern coast region until a relatively late time. Furthermore, vessels of this Chicama style have not yet been reported from Chavin or elsewhere in the Sierra area. . . . I hesitate to derive the stirrup-mouth, which is abundant in all periods on the coast, from a source in the interior, where stirrup-mouths are scarce or lacking. . . . The age of this Chavin style coast pottery, however, can be approximately fixed. Grave associations with Proto-Chimu show it to be early . . . the contemporaneity of the Proto-Chimu and Chavin styles, or to be more exact, at least their chronological overlapping, is certain. This time association . . . makes it clear that there existed intimate formative relations or interrelations between the Proto-Chimu and Chavin styles" (Kroeber 1926b:37–38).

Tello wrote to Bennett on 13 May and said he was enclosing a schematic plan for his expedition, rather than the detailed one he had hoped to send. This plan, he explained to Bennett, would let him know what sites he wanted to visit, and give him a feel for what he wanted to accomplish. However, he added, how much he would actually be able to do was dependent on how much money he would be able to raise before leaving on 15 June. He was still hoping that he would get support from San Marcos, and, if this proved insufficient, he would insist that the Catholic University (in Lima where he also taught) give him money. It was also possible, he added, that he might (still) interest private individuals in helping. He then said he had learned from Tozzer that Danielson was going to provide \$750 and, if this were true, he thought he would be all right financially, and he would be able to explore as far (south) as Vilkas Waman.⁷⁹ He believed, he added, that at the end of his exploration he would be able to provide the IAR with a detailed report in which he would indicate what he had found, as well as discuss the relative value of known archaeological centers (provide a roadmap) in order to ensure the success of well-funded future work. He closed by signing off to Bennett and his wife as their friend (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

On 15 May Tello sent to the IAR details of his proposed field-work via airmail. Tello stated that on the coast he planned to stop at Lachay and Paramonga in the Huaura Valley, explore the region from the Nepeña Valley to the Santa Valley, and explore as well the region from the Chicama Valley to the Zaña Valley. More specifically, he expected to spend time at the ruins of Choke-Ispana in the region of the Chancay Valley, the ruins of Ipuna also known as the Temple of Apo Katekill in the Santa

⁷⁹ Vilcashuaman [Vilcachuaman] is an Inca period ruin situated more than 200 kilometers northwest of the city of Cusco (Kauffmann 1978:703).

Valley, the great wall in this same valley, and the site of Singan in the Jequetepeque Valley. He also wanted to explore sections of the Inca road network north of Lima. As for the highlands, he said he planned to study remnants of the Inca road network from Huamachuco to Mollepata, from Piscobamba to Pomachaka, and from Pomachaka to Huánuco Viejo, while also studying the Santa wall from Pallasca to Marka Huamachuco. Finally, he stated he planned to visit the highland sites of Kollor or Pila del Inca near Cajamarca, Poma Wilka near Piscobamba, both Yayno and Yauya near Pomabamba, and Ruku-Chavín in the province of Marañón (Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology Archive, Harvard University, Samuel K. Lothrop Papers, accession no. 996-20, box 6, folder 1, Institute of Andean Research).

Finally, Bennett published in the "Notes and News" section of *American Antiquity* the following:

Mr. and Mrs. Alfred Kidder, II, of the Peabody Museum of Harvard University are sailing in May for an extensive survey of the Peruvian archaeological region. They plan to visit the principal collections and sites in preparation for teaching and further research. Dr. Julio C. Tello of the University of San Marcos, Lima, leaves in June for an archaeological survey of the little-known region of the eastern slope of the Andes. He plans to visit the headwaters of the Huallaga, the Ucayali, and the Pucara Rivers in seeking the possible distributions of highland ceramics. Miss Isabel Guernsey of the Peabody Museum of Harvard University leaves in May for Peru where she plans to study the famous Paracas mummy bundles and textiles. Miss Guernsey has been appointed by the Institute of Andean Research as its candidate for the Mrs. Truxton Beale fellowship. Mr. Donald Collier of the University of Chi-

cago has received the Mr. and Mrs. Robert Bliss fellowship from the Institute of Andean Research for conducting research in the Peruvian archaeological field. He plans to leave in May for Peru where his work will be conducted under the general supervision of Dr. Julio C. Tello (Bennett 1937b: 87).

To summarize: Tello continued to insist that he have a say in what individuals the IAR should send based upon *his* needs. He continued to say that he wanted someone with specific qualifications for his expedition, and finally agreed to accept Collier. This happened after Bennett, concerned that continued insistence on his part might affect his plan to go to Peru in 1938, backed off and resorted to flattery. The problem concerning Collier and the earlier one concerning Guernsey, however, led to some soul-searching on the part of Kroeber and Bennett as to what the members of the IAR wanted, as opposed to what Tello and perhaps the donors wanted.

Collier was clearly a highly motivated individual, and one who understood the need for diplomacy and tact, and this boded well. Not so for Guernsey. There were red flags, despite the fact that both Tozzer and Bennett aggressively promoted her. Tozzer had characterized her as timid, and Bennett had told Tello she was shy and modest, while Kidder II had stated in confidence that he was concerned because of her lack of maturity. As for the issue of Collier's money, by having him keep it in his possession while conceding to Tello how it was to be spent was thought to be a reasonable solution.

Everything was set. The fellows and the Kidders were going to arrive in Lima before Tello's departure date, and this would give all of them time to get accustomed to Lima's social and natural environments. As for Tello, in the absence of the unexpected, he would have time

to finalize his plans for the expedition, and still leave himself sufficient time to instruct Guernsey so she could work on the Paracas collection in his absence. At least that was the plan.

IN LIMA

Mid-May–June 1937

On 17 May it was reported in *El Comercio* that Nelson Rockefeller and his party had arrived in Lima the previous day by special plane via Huancayo (Anon. 1937l). The following day it was reported in *The West Coast Leader*:

Mr. and Mrs. Nelson Rockefeller, Miss Eleanore Clarke, and Mr. Winthrop Rockefeller arrived in Lima by Panagra plane this week from the south, on a round South American tour, after visiting Cuzco, Machu Picchu and other points in southern Peru. Following a visit to points of interest in Lima and vicinity they will leave for the north by Panagra plane on Friday this week (Anon. 1937m).⁸⁰

Subsequently, Nelson Rockefeller was quoted on page 10 in the 24 May edition of the *The New York Times* as saying “Our trip into South America was partly a pleasure trip for the purpose of studying business, economic and social conditions in the countries through which we traveled” (Anon. 1937o)⁸¹

⁸⁰ The following was published on page 18 in the 18 May 1937 edition of *The West Coast Leader*: “Messrs. Nelson and Winthrop are sons of Mr. John D. Rockefeller, Jr., of Standard Oil. The former is an executive of Radio City, New York and the latter has recently completed an apprenticeship in the oilfields of the southern United States, preparatory to following a career in the petroleum industry. Miss Clarke is a sister of Mrs. Nelson Rockefeller” (Anon. 1937m).

⁸¹ Two years after having been given a trust fund, “Nelson chose to put part of it into the stock of Creole Petroleum, the Venezuelan subsidiary of Standard Oil of New Jersey. It was a shrewd investment. . . . He arranged his election

Upon arrival, the first thing Rockefeller did was to contact the American ambassador, Fred Morris Dearing, and tell him he wanted to do something to advance archaeological research in Peru. Dearing introduced him to a member of his embassy staff, who was familiar with the nation’s archaeology, Albert Giesecke (Mason 1963:412).⁸² Rockefeller told Giesecke that he wanted to meet Tello (*ibid.*:413). On 18 May Rockefeller visited Tello at the Bolivar Museum and saw the Paracas mummy bundles. Subsequently they spoke at length regarding their importance and the need to promote archaeological research in Peru, and to establish cooperation with foreign scientific institutions (Tello and Mejía 1967:214).⁸³

A formal meeting was held that was attended by Rockefeller, Tello, Dearing, and Giesecke. As a result, Rockefeller wrote a letter

to the Creole board of directors and enrolled himself in a Berlitz course in Spanish. He dreamed of making a grand tour of Creole properties . . . in the spring of 1937 . . . he could finally indulge his fantasy . . . via chartered aircraft, from Venezuela to Brazil, then on to Argentina and across the Andes to Chile and Peru, on up the west coast to the Panama canal. . . . In the ancient city of Cuzco . . . Nelson walked away with vast armloads of woolen blankets and serapes” (Reich 1996:167).

⁸² The American educator Giesecke had been appointed by then President Leguía as rector of the University of Cusco in 1909 (Mason 1963:105–107) and had been one of Valcárcel’s teachers at that school (Matos *et al.* 1981:154). Subsequently, he had been appointed by then President Leguía as minister of education in the early 1920’s, during which time he had facilitated the government’s purchase of a private museum (Mason 1963:256–262) that was then transformed into the Museum of Peruvian Archaeology directed by Tello (Tello and Mejía 1967:128–129). With the fall of the Leguía government in 1930, Valcárcel was summoned to Lima to be appointed director of the Bolivar Museum, and it was Giesecke who helped him with his move into the capital city (Matos *et al.* 1981:260–261).

⁸³ In Peru Rockefeller “was shocked to learn that the government refused to provide money to preserve priceless Indian mummies because the Spanish-descended rulers looked down on the Indians” (Desmond 1964:53–54).

to Tello dated the 21st in which he stated that his interest in Peruvian archaeology had been greatly stimulated, and he had become aware of the unlimited possibilities for scientific research in Peru. He stated he understood that such research required cooperation with the most notable South American and North American archaeologists. He then asked if he could help to stimulate cooperation, because nothing would please him more. He followed this by stating that when he returned to New York (City) he would be able to do so as one of the trustees of the Metropolitan Museum. Rockefeller then turned to specifics. He wrote that he was particularly anxious about saving the 400 or so Paracas mummy bundles that were rapidly deteriorating due to the lack of proper facilities required for their conservation resulting from insufficient funding. Hence, he continued, he had left with Dearing the equivalent of \$3,000 to be used to preserve and exhibit the Paracas material, an amount he understood was only a quarter of what was needed.⁸⁴ He then stated that when he returned to New York he would try to interest the Metropolitan Museum of Art (hereafter the Met) in cooperating in archaeological ventures in Peru. In order to do so, he added, he felt it would be useful if four or five of the Paracas mummy bundles were sent to the museum. This, he concluded, would, in his mind, be the best way to demonstrate the true urgency in preserving this great collection of bundles (*ibid.*:213–214).

On 22 May it was reported in *The New York Times* that the previous day Rockefeller and his party had:

escaped injury . . . when a Pan-American Grace plane crashed into a fence. . . . The plane made a forced landing a few minutes after taking off. One motor apparently had failed, and the pilot returned to the field, landing at high speed and crashing against a wire fence (Anon. 1937n).

It was subsequently reported in the 24 May edition of this newspaper “Nelson Rockefeller and his wife, now in Colon, received the news of the death of John D. Rockefeller Sr. today” (Anon. 1937o).

Tello wrote to Bennett on 22 May and provided his thoughts about Chavín, and about Kroeber’s division of Chavín into two categories or styles. In essence, Tello stated his conviction that Chavín was ancient, and was the basis of early styles found on both the coast and in the highlands of Peru. He then said when he next wrote he would provide details about Rockefeller’s recent visit (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

Tello wrote to the director of the National Museum on 24 May and officially notified him of Rockefeller’s offer to help preserve the archaeological collection at the Anthropological Institute (in the Bolivar Museum). He stated that, due to the lack of appropriate facilities, the climate and the lack of materials to preserve the Paracas bundles, the collection was rapidly deteriorating. As such, he asked the director to come to a frank accord with the government (Tello and Mejía 1967:214). Supreme Resolution Number 433, dated 5 June, and signed by Minister of Education Montagne on behalf of President Benavides, was issued in response to the Rockefeller offer. It was resolved to accept this generous offer to preserve and exhibit the Paracas material, to authorize the director of the National Museum to select four mummy bundles representative of the Paracas collection,

⁸⁴ The reason why the money was given to Dearing and not directly to Tello was out of genuine concern that politics would enter into the matter, and Tello would be forced to turn the money over to the government. Apparently, an attempt on the part of the government to take control of the money was foiled only because Tello’s signature was required, and he had already departed from Lima to begin his expedition (Mason 1963:417–420).

and to send them to the Met for the purpose of exhibition (*ibid.*:215–216).

Two days later, on 26 May, Tello wrote to Lothrop. He referred to the latter's letter dated 18 May (contents unknown) and thanked Lothrop for all that he had done on his behalf to have Blair and Danielson take part in his upcoming expedition to the Marañón. After saying he would do whatever he could to spark their interest in Peruvian archaeology, he said he planned to leave Lima on 15 June accompanied by Mejía who, he said, was proficient in both Aymara and Quechua dialects and who he characterized as a "true virtuoso" in field archaeology. He then told Lothrop that Hernán Ponce would serve as the team's artist, that Collier would take part, and that he would probably have two students from San Marcos. He went on to explain that his plan was to be in Chiclayo on 30 June and that it was possible he would pass through Chiclayo when Blair and Danielson arrived and, as such, he would take them to see the principal ruins in the Lambayeque Valley. If they did not connect, he would send Mejía to get them and bring them to him somewhere between Chilate and Cajamarca. However, he stressed, it would be best if the young Americans met up with the expedition in Chiclayo, and from there they could all leave for Cajamarca on 5 July. Tello also advised Lothrop to have Blair and Danielson minimize their luggage, but maximize their photographic equipment. He asked Lothrop for suggestions about what to feed Blair and Danielson and what he should bring to see to their comfort so that he could make arrangements before leaving Lima. He also told Lothrop that Rockefeller had recently been in Lima, and had made a financial contribution toward the costs of the expedition's personnel, which meant he would not only be able to go to the Upper Marañón but would also be able to undertake test pitting at sites. Finally, Tello enclosed a map of Northern Peru on which he had identified and enumerated 67 sites

(Figure 20) he wanted to explore during the course of his expedition (Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology Archive, Harvard University, Samuel K. Lothrop Papers, accession no. 996-20, box 6, folder 6, correspondence). Looking at this map it is clear he no longer planned to explore south of Lima.

On 14 June Fortunato L. Herrera, serving as interim director of the National Museum in the absence of Luis E. Valcárcel,⁸⁵ officially wrote to Tello and stated he had been told by the minister of education to authorize the shipment of four of the Paracas mummy bundles to Rockefeller. Herrera then specified that Tello select bundles that were similar (more or less duplicates) and relatively small in size. Tello wrote back to Herrera that same day, and stated that, in accordance with instructions he had received from the latter, he had selected Paracas mummy bundles numbered 6, 113, 114, and 188, and that he would send them to Juan J. Delgado at the National Museum (Tello and Mejía 1967:215).

Going back in time, on 27 May the Kidders and Guernsey arrived at the port of Callao, and the following day they first interacted with Tello

⁸⁵ Valcárcel left Peru for Europe in April 1937 to set up an exhibit in the Peruvian Pavilion at the Paris International Exposition. Subsequently, he traveled to the United States to set up artifact exhibits in New York, Dallas, and San Francisco (Matos *et al.* 1981:303). Regarding this matter, the following was reported on page 7 in the 29 June 1937 edition of *The West Coast Leader*: "Under the direction of the Organizing Committee appointed by the Ministry of Public Works, Peru's contribution to the Panamerican Exhibition of Dallas, Texas, falls into two main divisions: archaeological and historical; industrial and commercial. The aim of the first section is to tell the story of Peru through the well-defined stages of pre-Incaic, Incaic, colonial and republican civilization. To this end a valuable collection of archaeological specimens revealing the different periods of pre-Spanish development has been prepared, together with a number of photographs of the archaeological and historical treasures of Cuzco and Puno" (Anon. 1937p).

in Lima. According to Mary Kidder's published diary:

At four we took another car and all three went in town to the Universidad de San Marcos to see Dr. Tello. There we saw the really fine collection of pottery, skulls and textiles from all over Peru; Nazca, Paracas, Cajamarquilla, and all the great sites were represented. I was amazed to see how well preserved everything was, and how carefully and skillfully the broken pieces had been mended and restored. Dr. Tello talked—either in Spanish or English—for hours about what he'd done and seen and was fascinating. He greatly bewailed the complete lack of interest among local youths and on the part of the government and the University itself in the antiquities of this historic country. Presently we were introduced to Miss Rebecca Carrion, Dr. Tello's charming and intelligent assistant. She showed us around and was most pleasant and obliging" (M. Kidder 1942:8).

The next day, the three Americans went to Tello's other museum. In her journal entry for 29 May Mary Kidder wrote:

This morning at nine found us on our way to meet Dr. Tello and Miss Carrion at the Museo Boliviano in Magdalena Vieja. The museum is in rack and ruin—and occupies half of the once magnificent old colonial house where Bolivar stayed during his three years in Lima. The wonderful collection of textiles, mostly from Paracas, was carefully and lovingly pored over by all of us, as was the fine pottery. Then Miss Carrion kindly took us through Bolivar's house (*ibid.*:8–9).⁸⁶

⁸⁶ In 1935 Tello received another American at the Bolivar Museum, Blair Niles. She later wrote, "The Magdalena stands on the square of a little suburb of Lima, not far from the sea. . . . You enter the Magdalena from a quietly

On the 30th Mary Kidder wrote:

Dr. Tello came for us, and together we drove out to the site of Cajamarquilla—near the Hacienda Nieveria—about 15 kilometres from town. The ruined "city" was indeed impressive. We climbed round several huge mounds, full of holes and scattered fragments of human bones and textiles, each giving mute and tragic evidence of profitable looting by "huaqueros". . . . The site is very extensive. . . . Apparently the mounds grew—as Dr. Tello demonstrated in the dust, using a human arm

dreaming little square set about with pink and blue and yellow one-story houses with the 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 under foliage, a fountain trickles gently. . . . There are of course hummingbirds . . . and butterflies . . . and somewhere, unseen, endlessly cooing doves. This might be any patio of a deserted mansion in the tropics. What makes it unique is that in the arched corridors of Doctor Tello's section of the building and in the rooms which open off them, there are stacked on the floor great bundles wrapped in sacking, many of them like huge lopsided cones. And the bundles give forth the peculiar acrid odor of guano. These are the mummies. Of these rooms which open from the corridors, one is a big rotunda lined with shelves, on which stand rows of human skulls, ashy-white against the dull terra-cotta red of the walls. In other rooms there are pottery and boxes of textiles. Under one of the arches there hang side by side a male and female skeleton. Everywhere there is death and the work of dead hands, with Doctor Tello curiously alive in the midst of it. And as he took me from room to room I understood that to him none of it was dead. He spoke rapidly and in a very soft voice, and while he talked his eyes shone behind his spectacles with the light of a spirit that lives outside self. . . . As we moved through the rooms we paused before boxes of hundreds of scraps of pottery. When there was money Doctor Tello used to employ children to fit together these fragments; six pieces for half a cent . . . As I listened I saw Doctor Tello's assistants . . . pretty Señorita Carreón [*sic*], a slender figure with a dark bobbed head, and an earnest-eyed young man whom Doctor Tello called 'Mejia'" (Niles 1937:78–80).

bone for a pointer—when house walls fell in, were used as burial grounds, and subsequently rebuilt. . . . The site has never been systematically excavated, nor has an adequate or accurate map ever been made of it. Looters have peppered the principal mounds with pot holes, and pitiful human remains lie scattered everywhere with potsherds, bits of cloth, or cord, gathering dust. There really should be a strict law against such vandalism, and a stern policeman stationed there to prevent such wanton destruction” (*ibid.*:9–10).

On 31 May, she wrote:

This morning we went to the University of San Marcos somewhat before the time of our rendezvous with Dr. Tello. We studied the contents of the various cases, hoping to be able to straighten out the styles—decorations, shapes, etc.—but not being very successful. . . . Finally Isabel could stand it no longer and we went into “her office” and began to unwrap a mummy. Dr. Tello appeared but regrettably had only time for a very brief outline of action. The mummy— which took all day to unwrap— contained nothing spectacular or especially pretty, save for a nicely woven red band with bird figures on it” (*ibid.*:10).

The next day, she wrote that she:

Spent the morning with Teddy [her husband] and Isabel clearing up the story of the mummy we opened yesterday. Dr. Tello breezed in and out again, busy and rushed as ever. Miss Carrion helped us finish up our work, aided by another señorita who answered by the name of Gloria” (*ibid.*).

Then, on 2 June she wrote that they:

Went with Dr. Tello to the Museo Incaico [National Museum] where we met Dr. Herrera and Mr. José Ricardo Respaldiza.⁸⁷ Dr. Tello left us on our own devices there and the three of us spent the morning examining the pottery and textile collections. . . . The Museum itself is built of blocks of cement carved after the fashion of Cuzco masonry. Material in the cases was badly crowded for lack of adequate space, some of the finest Nazca textiles I’ve ever seen being spread out in cases level with the floor and so poorly lighted as to make identification of techniques and colours almost impossible” (*ibid.*:11).

The next day, 3 June she wrote: “Went back to the University with Teddy and Isabel this morning, to look around a bit, and— incidentally—to translate Isabel’s requests to Miss Carrion” (*ibid.*:11).

Then, on Saturday 6 June, it was off to visit another ruin in the vicinity of Lima. According to Mary Kidder:

Accompanied by Dr. and Mrs. Tello, Miss Carrion, and various others, we started off in two cars for Pachacamac early this morning. The drive of about sixteen miles took us over a fine concrete road through desert country. . . . Cajamarquilla was impressive, but Pachacamac was even more wonderful. First we visited the Mamacona, now in ruins . . . a once extensive “convent”. The massive walls on their firm stone foundations still stand, and some of the niches, once used for sacred images or

⁸⁷ “Dr. Fortunato Herrera was acting director of the National Museum (Museo Incaico) during the absence of Dr. Valcárcel. Mr. José R. Respaldiza was formerly a member of the Museum staff and is now in the Ministry of Education” (M. Kidder 1942, Note 4, p. 11).

mummies of the dead chieftains, still remain. . . . From the Mamacona we drove up the hill to the temple mound. . . . The great cemetery is peppered with holes. . . . Mr. Mejia [Xesspe] and I found bits of pottery. . . . Unfortunately, one of the cars broke down, so part of the group had to be left behind. The rest of us drove on another eight miles or so . . . to Pucusana. This little fishing village is situated on a crescent-shaped bay. . . . Near the town a natural cave had been cut by the sea. . . . We had lunch in this pretty spot. . . . After lunch, Teddy and Dr. Tello disappeared for some minutes, and later it transpired that they had been to see a vault—underground—said to have been of Inca workmanship (*ibid.*:13–15).

On 7 June, after Mary and her husband made an unsuccessful attempt (because of fiesta crowds) to return to the National Museum, she spent the following morning “helping Teddy draw designs of vegetables from the pottery collections in the National Museum” (*ibid.*: 16). Then in her entry for 9 June she wrote:

Isabel and I went to the Museo Incaico to see the storage collections of textiles, and, incidentally, to see what the Museum used to preserve them and store them in. The storage room contained many marvelous pieces, neatly sewn on cotton backing and stretched on frames. We spent some time handling and admiring them, chatting the while with Mr. Respaldiza (*ibid.*:16–17).

On the morning of 10 June the Kidders, Guernsey, and a friend made the drive to Magdalena Vieja to visit the Bolivar Museum. According to Mary:

There Dr. Tello had summoned some Indians to dance for us in the huge flower-filled patio. Dr. Fisher, of the Hayden

Planetarium, and his fascinating Cherokee Indian wife, Princess Te Ata, Dr. Tello, Mr. Mejia, Miss Carrion, Mr. Collier (who’s going with Tello), and several others.⁸⁸ There were four dancers. The women wore brightly edged skirts, cotton blouses, also gaudily coloured and numerous necklaces; and the men brightly coloured tunics and woven head bands. They were accompanied by four musicians. Two played crude flutes, one a violin, another an instrument resembling a harp. The music was plaintive, rather monotonous, but none the less tuneful, and some of the time the four dancers sang as they dipped and turned in their age-old tribal rhythms (*ibid.*:17).

Bennett received a letter from Collier written in Lima on 5 June. He began by telling Bennett he had spoken with Tello at length the previous day. Collier said he told Tello that, according to him (Bennett), he was to give him \$600 and that this included funds to cover all his expenses. Tello had responded, Collier told Bennett, by saying that his most recent agreement with him (Bennett) was that he would receive \$500 for expedition expenses and that personal expenses would be over and above that amount. Collier then told Bennett that Tello had said he would show him the letter he had received from him but never did. Tello, he went on, then told him he estimated his personal expenses would be 780–800 soles or \$200 for the trip, thus making the total \$700, which was more than he had intended to hand over to Tello. He decided, Collier continued, not to press the issue and had agreed to give Tello \$500 outright which he could spend as he thought necessary. He also had agreed that he would give Tello 110 soles to cover his travel expenses from Lima to Pacasmayo (on the North Coast) and had agreed that he would

⁸⁸ Whether Loomis and McCreery were included in Mary Kidder’s “and others” category is unknown.

then give him more expense money as needed. Though, according to this arrangement, Tello would not be assuming responsibility for all expenses, Collier explained, he would handle, presumably in a more efficient way, though doubtful, the actual disbursement of expense money. Collier concluded this discussion of financial matters by saying he preferred the original idea of giving Tello \$600 dollars outright, but decided it was best to establish a cordial and cooperative relationship with him.

Collier then turned to other matters. He referred to a map he had drawn on the next page of his letter that showed the route Tello planned to follow. Tello, he said, planned to visit 25 sites or so between Lima and Pacasmayo during a trip by car that would take 15–20 days. At that point, the expedition would travel up to the highland city of Cajamarca in the region of which another 20–25 sites would be investigated. They would then travel southward by mule and visit about 20 sites between the Santa and Marañon Rivers, with a possible side trip to the east of the Marañon. A number of other sites would be visited around Huánuco. Then, if funding allowed, they would continue traveling in the highlands southward to Huancavelica and Andahuaylas, and perhaps even further to the southeast. (No mention was made of going to the ruins of Tiahuanaco in Bolivia). It had been agreed between him and Tello, Collier went on, that he would do all the photography, while Tello would purchase film sufficient for 300 photographs. This meant, Collier said, that, added to the film he had brought with him, he could take 900 pictures. Tello, he went on, would pay for any prints taken with his film, while he would keep the negatives. Collier then said he had agreed to Tello's condition not to publish anything on the trip without his permission, which he felt was a reasonable request. Tello had told him, Collier continued, that he had received assurances money would be made available to fund publication, and he had talked

about early publication of results of the expedition with due credit being given to all participants.

Collier then turned to the topic of the expedition participants. Specifically he told Bennett that Hewett's students (Barbara Loomis and Honour McCreery), of whom he thought little, were apparently taking part. He knew this because a friend of his had told him that the girls said they were going, even though Tello had made no mention of them to him. He went on to say that he had deliberately not brought up the subject of their possible participation during his conversation with Tello, in order to see if Tello brought the matter up. He concluded from this that either Tello had misled the girls, or that he was not comfortable bringing up the matter with him. In any case, he wrote, he would know for sure the following Monday (7 June) when all participants were to meet at Tello's house. Collier then went on to make a number of disparaging statements about having Hewett's students on the expedition. Collier continued by saying that the \$2,000 being provided by the Yale students (Edward Blair and Deering Danielson) was going to allow for a full-fledged expedition, because Tello was planning on bringing along two or three of his museum employees. One of them was a cartographer, and another was a folklore specialist fluent in both Aymara and Quechua, whose name he had forgotten (Mejía). He had asked Tello, he went on, how many participants there would be, and had been told ten, including the students from Yale. Being very casual about it, Collier added skeptically, Tello had said they would keep expenses down by living off the country. Yet, Collier went on, he knew he had a great opportunity, and would come away with a valuable experience. He ended by telling Bennett that Tello had said they would be leaving Lima on the 15th of June (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

On 10 June, the rector of San Marcos issued Resolution Number 914. In this document it was resolved, given support from the Institute of Andean Research and from Nelson Rockefeller, to authorize Tello, as director of the school's museum of archaeology, to conduct an exploration of the upper Marañón, Upper Huallaga, and Upper Ucayali River basins. Furthermore, Tello was authorized to bring on the expedition two unspecified employees from this museum (Tello 1956:9).

Upon receipt of Collier's 5 June letter, Bennett wrote letters on the 14th to Kroeber and to Blair. He told Kroeber he had been informed by both Collier and an unnamed girl at the AMNH that the two University of California students⁸⁹ were to take part in the expedition, and, that as a result, the two students from Yale were having second thoughts about participating. He went on to say Tello had unfortunately misinterpreted his most recent letter to him, and that as a result, the unfortunate Collier had to give Tello \$500 and would have to pay for his own field expenses estimated to be another \$200, though he (Bennett) doubted anyone could travel in Peru for four months on so little money. Finally, Bennett told Kroeber that he had told Tello about Rockefeller's plan to come to Lima, and that Tello had been successful in obtaining from Rockefeller funding for his expedition, as well as some publication money (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).⁹⁰

⁸⁹ It will be recalled that Hewett taught at both the University of New Mexico and the University of Southern California. It would appear from this statement by Bennett that both of the University of New Mexico students, Loomis and McCreery, were continuing their studies with him in California.

⁹⁰ It is not known who told Bennett about the Rockefeller donation to help fund the Tello expedition, nor when he learned of this donation, but a Rockefeller to Tello letter to this effect dated 21 May 1937 did end up in the AMNH Division of Anthropology Archive, Accession file no. 1946-14, envelope 2, correspondence. There is, however,

In his letter to Blair, Bennett wrote that he had spoken with Danielson the previous Friday and had told him about the complication that had arisen due to the apparent participation by the University of Southern California students. He had told Danielson, he wrote, that this was not a certainty, and that Lothrop had written to Tello seeking confirmation. Danielson, he continued, was of the opinion that this changed things, and, as a result, the IAR had decided to postpone financial arrangements until word had been received from Tello. This, he told Blair, would allow him and Danielson to make new arrangements if they were unhappy with participation by the girls. Hence, he added, he was returning Blair's check for \$510 that was intended for his passage, and suggested that if he did decide to go to Peru after discussing the matter with Danielson, that he pay for his passage directly if he wanted to hold it, and that later they could discuss arrangements for income tax deductions. He closed by saying he would be happy to see him on Wednesday the 23rd, at which time everything would be settled regarding tax matters (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

On 14 June Bennett also responded to Collier and said he was stunned by what had happened, and was unsure what to do regarding Tello's changing the distribution of his funds. He assured Collier that he had not written to Tello and changed things, and advised standing pat and soaking up the experience. After offering some advice on his thesis, Bennett told Collier that the Yale boys still planned to come, that he was sure he would like them, and that it was worth encouraging them as budding archaeologists (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

no specific mention in this letter of money to assist in publication, just a general acknowledgment by Rockefeller that he understood Tello's expedition would allow him to collect new data that in turn would allow him to publish on this data.

Lothrop received a letter from Tello dated 11 June. He began by telling Lothrop he was responding to the letter he had sent to him on the 7th (contents unknown). He then told Lothrop he was rushing to reply to his request for information regarding Blair and Danielson. He then stated it was certain that Loomis and McCreery would be taking part in the expedition. He went on to explain that the two had worked for him at the San Marcos University's museum for a period of two weeks in 1935, at which time they had worked with the ceramic and textile collections, and that subsequently they had asked to take part in his planned expedition. He indicated that he was confident that Spier would agree with him that the young women were sincere, competent, and of the right character. Tello then pointed out to Lothrop that, as he was sure he would understand, he could not at the last minute refuse to allow Hewett's students to take part in the expedition. He indicated that they would be paying their own transportation costs, and they would add little to the general expenses given they would only be taking part in the coastal portion of the expedition. After apologizing for the delay in Blair and Danielson's taking part in the expedition, that had been caused by the young women taking part, Tello then asked Lothrop to write to him in Lima as soon as possible and let him know if he should wait for the two young men in Chiclayo. He added that he thought he would be in the Lambayeque region for less than fifteen days (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

On 14 June Kidder wrote to Bennett and said he had received a letter from his son and namesake. His son had reported, Kidder said, that he was having a "grand time", his *pensión* was both comfortable and inexpensive, and Tello was both cooperative and friendly. However, Kidder wrote, his son had also said that Tello was not a scientist, and that his work seemed hampered by a total absence of atten-

tion to even the most fundamental methodological details. Kidder then provided a discouraging quote from his son's letter that dealt with the Paracas mummy bundles.

His son had written that insects and mold seriously compromised the Paracas collection that was stored in what he described as the barn-like Magdalena Vieja museum, and that as a result, there was no point in having Guernsey open any more of the Paracas bundles. Kidder then told Bennett that he concluded from this statement that his son felt dry storage space and proper disinfection was what was most urgently needed. Kidder then floated the idea of making an effort to get emergency funding from the Carnegie Corporation (Institute) or some other source in order to salvage the Paracas collection (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

Bennett responded to Kidder on 17 June and confirmed that the mummy situation at the Magdalena Vieja museum was indeed bad. This was so, he said, because most of the bundles were being stored in the open patio, while others were being stored in rooms that had leaky roofs. He added, the climate in Lima was damp, and clothes quickly mildewed. Bennett then explained that the situation in Lima was complicated because, although the mummy collection belonged to the government, Tello had control of the keys to the archaeological collection in the Bolivar Museum and, as a result, National Museum staff were being prevented from seeing the Paracas material. As such, he went on, negotiations would have to be conducted with the government regarding any change of venue, and Tello could be expected to put up a fight. If the collection were to be moved out of Lima, arrangements would have to be made to maintain a new building in which to house it. But, he added, then Tello would probably take charge of the situation, and from his experience in dealing with him on IAR matters, he did not feel he was

trustworthy. Hence, he concluded, any decision to try to salvage the collection had to be carefully investigated, despite the urgency of the situation. In his estimation, Bennett went on, it would be necessary to invest \$25,000 once discussions with Valcárcel, the government, and especially Tello, had resulted in approval for such a move. He ended by apologizing for his pessimism, and by telling Kidder that his own concern about the collection was such that at one time he had proposed to both Tello and Valcárcel that they donate ten of the Paracas bundles to museums worldwide as propaganda, and both had agreed with him in theory (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

Kidder wrote back on the 18th and began, in essence, with an apology for getting into something about which he knew little. He added that it would be impossible for him to go to Peru, indicating that he felt Bennett was suggesting that he do so. He then told Bennett that, in any case, *he* would be the “better negotiator” when he went to Peru in January (1938). Of course, he went on, there was the question of the \$25,000, and whether the money might best be used for other purposes. He closed by saying once his son returned from Peru they might have a better understanding of the problem (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

While this exchange of letters was taking place between Bennett and Kidder, Collier and Tello were writing letters to Bennett. Collier's letter was dated the 13th, and he confirmed that Loomis and McCreery were going to take part in the expedition. He went on to say that McCreery had told him that she and Tello had come to an understanding in 1936 when she had driven him from New Mexico to California, and that Tello's plans were so far advanced at that time he had told her what equipment to bring. As for Loomis, he said he did not know when she had become involved, but that she

had already been in Lima for a month. Collier then said that Tello had the perfect right to bring along on his expedition whomever he wanted, but he felt he should have been open about it. As for Blair and Danielson, Collier urged that they limit their baggage to an absolute minimum, and suggested that they bring along their compasses as planned, because he was unsure, due to his characteristic vagueness, if Tello was going to be properly outfitted to conduct mapping. Collier also suggested that they bring mosquito netting, as well as some concentrated foods. Then Collier said Tello planned to bring a friend of his by the name of Vega who was a physician with an interest in archaeology on the expedition, adding here that he was very glad that there would be a doctor on the trip.⁹¹ In closing, he said he met with Tello daily, that he had seen Guernsey and the Kidders, and that, given the latter two were planning a trip to Trujillo, he would probably see them there (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH). In fact, the Kidders did fly to Trujillo on 16 June, after having visited various ruins up valley from Lima, including Wachinga on the 12th, and then the ruins of Maranga on the coast north of Lima on the 14th (M. Kidder 1942:18–19).⁹²

⁹¹ The young physician Pedro Vega Gamarra took part in Tello's 1934 exploration of the North Central Highlands including the ruins of Chavín. Vega was the nephew of the head of the Archaeological Society of Ancash based in the city of Huaraz (Daggett 2016:127).

⁹² According to Mary Kidder (1942:19–21) “The flight couldn't have been more comfortable or more fun. I sat just behind the pilot and Teddy in the corresponding seat on the aisle. . . . The famous ruins of Paramonga were clearly outlined from the air, their terraces and walls standing out so much better than we expected. . . . That afternoon we drove out to the Hacienda Chiclin to see Mr. Larco. We found him very attractive and cordial. He welcomed us warmly and then led us through the famous Larco Museum. I have never in my born days seen such a marvelous collection of pottery, stone, bone, gold and silver, bronze and copper. We spent hours wandering from room to room. . . . He allowed us to handle his material, and explained the designs, motifs, etc., to us in a most

As for Tello, Bennett received a letter from him written on 14 June. After providing some thoughts on specific archaeological matters, Tello told Bennett that the government had authorized him to revisit sites in the Lambayeque region on the North Coast prior to moving into the highlands. He then said Guernsey and the Kidders had been in Lima since 30 May and that Collier had arrived on 5 June.⁹³ Next Tello turned to the makeup of the team he would be taking into the field. He named Mejía, Dr. Vega, who was affiliated with a small museum in Huaraz, and who had accompanied him on his 1934 trip to the Marañón, Pedro Rojas and Hernán Ponce (Sánchez) who were two young men who worked for him at the San Marcos Museum of Archaeology, Carlos Paz (de Novoa) who had a Bachelor of Natural Sciences degree and who was affiliated with a museum recently created in Arequipa, as well as Collier, Loomis, and McCreery. Regarding the latter two, he stated they would pay all of their own personal expenses, but would not be contributing to the general costs of the expedition. Tello then added that the government had offered him a topographer, but that he had little confidence this would materialize.

Tello continued by saying that, given the absence of San Marcos economic support, he had been given permission to use money designated for his teaching and museum director positions to fund participation by Mejía and Rojas. As for Collier, he had received from him

interesting manner. We had a most enjoyable visit with him—both there and at his house, to which we repaired before returning to town. Chiclin must be nearly fifty kilometres from Trujillo, a large and most attractive hacienda. . . . The Larco Museum is a model of neatness, excellence of exhibits and completeness of notes and photographs.”

⁹³ As already indicated, Collier said in his 5 June letter to Bennett that he had met with Tello the previous day, and in her diary Mary Kidder states that she and her companions arrived in Lima on 27 May.

\$500 for the general expenses of the expedition, and another \$100 for his personal expenses for the first part of the expedition up to Cajamarca. He then said he had received \$2,000 from Rockefeller⁹⁴ and that he had set aside 1,000 soles of his own money to be used only if needed. Next Tello told Bennett he had established two conditions for the members of his team: that each was to assume a specific task, and be required to write a report on what they had observed and learned. Two copies would be made of all the photographs taken on the expedition, one for his archive and one to be included in his official report to the IAR, none of which could be published without his prior consent. These conditions, he told Bennett, he hoped met his approval. In conclusion, he said his final report to the IAR would provide all the details of the expedition (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

Some thoughts seem appropriate before proceeding. Tello, who for years had tried to get the National Museum and the Peruvian government to provide necessary funding to protect and preserve the Paracas mummy bundles at the Bolivar Museum, finally succeeded in getting outside help when he convinced Rockefeller to donate \$3,000 for this purpose. This was on 21 May, and Rockefeller and his party flew north that same day. It was not until 29 May that the Kidders went to this museum. When Kidder II wrote to his father to complain about the conditions at the museum, in general, and the mummy bundles, in particular, he was totally unaware of Tello's long attempt to rectify the situation and the Rockefeller donation to help him.

⁹⁴ A copy of a letter Rockefeller wrote to Tello dated 21 May 1937 may be found in the AMNH Division of Anthropology Archives, Accession file No. 1946-14, envelope 2, correspondence. In this letter, witnessed by Albert Giesecke, Rockefeller stated that he was giving Tello the equivalent in soles of \$2,000 to help finance his expedition.

The correspondence to follow between Kidder and Bennett over what should and could be done to protect the Paracas mummy bundles provides insight. Both clearly demonstrated extraordinary concern for these artifacts and Bennett's statements about the difficulty in separating the collection from Tello's control, and his lack of trust in Tello, are certainly illuminating. In any case, Bennett confirmed that there had long been an issue regarding the safeguarding of the Paracas collection, and that his own concern had prompted him to suggest the donation of ten of the bundles to institutions worldwide to promote interest in the face of government indifference—a suggestion that both Tello and Valcárcel had agreed upon in principle.

As for Collier, it is interesting that after all the correspondence between Bennett and IAR members, between him and Collier, and between him and Tello on the matter of how Collier's money was to be designated and who would control it, it turned out that Tello got his way. He not only managed to get the IAR to designate funds for the general expenses of the expedition, he also managed to take possession of this funding, and this was something that Bennett in particular was strongly against. Tello not only separated this general expense funding from money Collier intended for personal expenses, he also took control of this latter expense money, saying that he was the one best qualified to keep such expenses to a minimum, something that both Collier and Bennett seriously doubted.

Next it is interesting to note that Bennett had insisted that Tello could not be trusted with money. It should be pointed out that Collier and the Yale students had a negative attitude toward Hewett's students. It seems likely that this was a reflection of Bennett's own attitude. It is also interesting to note Mary Kidder's observation that she was very impressed with the technical

expertise reflected in the treatment of the ceramic and textile collections at Tello's San Marcos archaeological museum—a notable observation given the apparent prevalent attitude among some of the members of the IAR that Tello and his assistants lacked textile expertise, and needed help from Guernsey.

Regarding Guernsey and the Kidders (as well as Collier), it would seem that Tello went out of his way to be accommodating, and Kidder II reported his satisfaction with Tello in his letter to his father. While we do not have anything written by Guernsey for this period, it is known that she had her own office at the San Marcos museum, and that she had already begun opening mummy bundles. We also know that she had Tello, Carrión, and an assistant named Gloria, as well as the Kidders, to help her become settled. In the latter regard, it should be noted that she needed the help of the Kidders to translate her communications with Carrión.

Finally, it appears that Tello was very busy during the period leading up to the departure date. This is reflected in entries made by Mary in her journal, and is implied as well in the official pronouncements that resulted in the selection of four Paracas mummy bundles on the 14th to be sent to the Met via the National Museum. Apparently this last minute rush of activity caused Tello to postpone leaving Lima one more day.

LIMA TO CASMA

June–September 1937

According to Mejía, the expeditionary team gathered together at eight o'clock on the morning of 16 June,⁹⁵ finally getting under way in two

⁹⁵ In his 8 August 1937 letter to Bennett, Collier said the team left Lima on the 15th (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH). In any case, Mejía's account provides a daily record for the activities of the expedition,

cars, a Packard driven by Enrique Morelli, and a Ford driven by Juan Cavero. They made it to the Chancay Valley by eleven o'clock, where they stopped to explore the ruins of Lauri on the slopes of Cerro Makatan or Chancaillo. Subsequently, they explored the ruins of Cerro Trinidad and Puerto de Chancay. On 17 June⁹⁶ they

and there appears to be no reason to suspect he made a mistake or that the incorrect date was published.

⁹⁶ Mary Kidder, who had flown north to Trujillo with Kidder II on 14 June (note 88), wrote from the Hotel Jacobs, on 17 June "We spent the morning changing hotels. The Americano was adequate, but we shall be much more comfortable here. At 11:30 our obliging chauffeur met us and drove us out to the Hacienda Chiclin for lunch. There we met another Larco who was also very agreeable. We spent the afternoon 'hunting' with our two new friends. The first mound we went to (across the desert by car, there being no road) produced three fine graves. At least we thought they were fine as the pieces which came out were all whole and quite handsome, though Mr. Larco assured us that they weren't anything at all. The second mound was about a mile from the first across the 'pampa' (the Huaca Kidder!) and it produced a rich burial that contained thirteen vessels, the usual bits of copper tied with cotton string, a fine bone needle and a well carved bone pendant, besides a handful of small bone and shell beads. Altogether the afternoon was most agreeable and profitable and we returned here very enthusiastic if somewhat dusty" (Kidder 1942:21). On 18 June she wrote, "This morning . . . went again to the Hacienda for lunch. This time we met a Mrs. Jacobs. . . . Again this afternoon we went with Mr. Javier Larco on another collecting expedition. Also we drove down the road and across the desert for several miles to reach the Huaca Mina. Today's graves produced quite fine pottery . . . whole pieces for the most part. We opened several graves, Mr. Larco taking photographs and notes as the things were removed" (*ibid.*:21–22). In her entry for the 19th she wrote, "We drove out to Chan-Chan this morning in company with a pleasant Mr. Garrido, a friend of Wendell Bennett's. Chan-Chan, though it is the largest ruin in Peru, covering over eleven square miles in area, is just like any other. . . . For the most part the walls are crumbling away, though in several places they stand almost 30 feet high and 200 meters long. There are still a few arabesques in places. . . . We climbed around the ruins all morning, only coming in to leave Mr. Garrido and to have lunch, and again all afternoon. The sun came out, and we took masses of photographs. We also visited the vast cemetery outside the wall on the ocean side. Here we

drove to kilometer 96 on the Pan American Highway where they explored the extensive cemeteries of Doña María. There they camped and made detailed plans of nearby ruins. Three days later, on the 21st, they continued their journey northward via the Lachay road and explored the ruins of Wishkira at the margin of the Huaura Valley. Then they went to Sayan, where they learned about, and then visited, ruins in the Wanangui Quebrada. This site was twenty kilometers to the east at a place called Akway.⁹⁷

saw evidences of sacking that sickened us both. There is not a single inch of ground that hasn't been looted. Pottery which the Museum at home would be proud of was everywhere—pots shattered, pieces strewn to the four winds. Human bones in all stages of decay are all over the place, and tattered mummy cloths are everywhere. Both Teddy and I were sorely disappointed by Chan-Chan" (*ibid.*:22). Finally she wrote regarding what they had done on the 20th, "We had lunch in the Bar, and afterwards took 'our car' and drove out to the 'Castillo Chiquitoy.' This, also, is an adobe ruin—a huge outer wall surrounds the inner central structure. The wall is really quite high, built of big adobe bricks. . . . The central structure . . . is also entirely of adobe. It must once have been reached by a ramp or stairway, and have had buildings on top and on either side. These last are badly crumbled. . . . We took notes and photographs of the place all afternoon. I also gathered some pot-sherds and a nice piece of textile for our 'collection.' We drove back without incident except for having a tire go down, and dined at the Americano" (*ibid.*:23).

⁹⁷ According to Mary Kidder, on the morning of the 21st, "we went to the Quinta Esmeralda, about three kms. outside of town, to see the famous 'huaca' there. . . . The Hoyle family, owners . . . have carefully excavated the temple, and have built roofed shacks over the walls to preserve the fine arabesques . . . Lunch in the hotel bar was very good, and after it we went out to Moche . . . to see the Huaca del Sol and the Huaca de la Luna. The Huaca del Sol is the larger of the two high adobe structures. It is built up in terraces (six of them), each about fifteen feet high, and has a pyramid, now in ruins but still discernible, covering the whole eastern end. . . . We literally crunched pottery at every step between the two mounds—also human bones! The Huaca de la Luna is also terraced and huge. . . . We took numerous photographs. . . . We dined at the Americano very happily . . . (1942: 23–24). (On the 22nd she wrote they had) spent the

On 23 June the team drove toward Huacho and explored the famous ruins of Wilka-wauru on the right side of the valley, later driving to Huacho and making arrangements to spend the night at the Hotel Italia. The next day they drove north and visited the Hacienda El Ingenio, where they saw the archaeological collection belonging to the Fumagalli family, later exploring the pre-Columbian Mazo adobe wall that still evidenced parapets, and that stretched between Vegueta and Cerro Rondoy. Following this, they drove to the shore and explored the ruins of Chokeispana that had been described in detail by the early Spanish. They then drove to the Supe Valley where they stayed at Hacienda San Nicolas.⁹⁸

On the 25th they investigated the three-ring fortress of Chimu Kapak that encompassed a place of worship above.⁹⁹ Later they explored the ruins of Cenizal on Mount Aspero and the (pre-Columbian) trash heaps at the Port of Supe. In the trash heaps, they dug their first test

afternoon in the Larco Museum at Chiclin, where we had a chance to talk with Don Rafael Larco" (*ibid.*:25).

⁹⁸ According to Mary Kidder, on 23 June "We spent the whole morning climbing around Chan-Chan. . . . This afternoon we met Mr. Garrido and went to the house of an old Señora to see her collection of huacos" (1942:25–26). As for the following day, 24 June, she wrote that they had spent "the morning in the Larco Museum in the company of . . . Dr. Giesecke. . . . After lunch we set out in the car for the ruins of El Brujo. . . . situated right on the sea-coast. They consist of various mounds—one made of square adobe bricks cut through by Larco's grandfather, called Huaca Cortida, another a huge pile of earth, ashes, and shells, the Huaca Negra. Nearby there are. . . . cemeteries, littered with mummy cloths, bits of pottery, bones, etc. . . . We dined happily at the Hacienda" (*ibid.*:25–26).

⁹⁹ For her entry dated 25 June Mary Kidder wrote "Spent the morning in the Museum again. . . . This afternoon we took Maximo Diaz, Javier's assistant, and drove up the Chicama valley to see the Huaca Pucuche, the Observatorio Facala and the enormous Indian aqueduct, which extends literally for miles. . . . The Huaca and the Observatorio were typical adobe ruins. The aqueduct, however, was built of earth" (1942:26).

pit, and found Chavín style incised pottery. The pottery they collected they left in the care of Marcelino Chávez Villaverde, a teacher at the local school, to be sent to back to San Marcos in Lima. They spent the night at (Hacienda?) Paramonga (in the Patavilca Valley). At Paramonga they prepared a plan of the ruins of La Horca. They continued northward toward the Huarmey Valley, but then what had been an essentially uneventful trip changed.

At around six P.M. they passed through the Las Zorras Quebrada, and an hour later in the Matacaballos Quebrada the Packard being driven by Morelli had a breakdown, and they were forced to spend an uncomfortable night there. So, while Morelli and Vega traveled to Huarmey in search of a replacement for the radiator,¹⁰⁰ the remainder of the team was forced to stay where they were, at a place without archaeological sites, until two in the afternoon of the next day. They managed to get a ride to Huarmey in a truck, and in that city Tello cancelled Morelli's contract, and purchased bus fares as far as Casma for Collier, Vega, Rojas, (Ponce), and Paz de Novoa while Tello had Cavaro drive him, Mejía, Loomis, and McCreery there in the Ford. Unfortunately, at dusk, while driving along the beach, the Ford carrying Tello and others had a breakdown. Hours later, after making their way in the darkness, they finally arrived in Casma at about four in the morning on the 28th of June (Mejía 1956:321–323).¹⁰¹

¹⁰⁰ As Ponce remembered it (1957:87), the car needed a tire-rod replacement.

¹⁰¹ According to Mary Kidder (1942:27–28) on Saturday 26 June she stayed in the hotel while her husband first went to the University of Trujillo, and then spent the afternoon at the Larco Museum. She also mentions having received a letter from Isabel Guernsey. Then, on Sunday the 27th, she and her husband spent "the morning with our friend, Mr. Garrido, at the Huaca de la Luna. We gathered masses of pot-sherds from the nearby cemetery. They will be valuable, for we haven't a single painted Muchik sherd in the whole collection in Cambridge. . . . He took us to see the remains of a once-painted wall. The frescoed

Ponce later recalled that he and his companions arrived by bus in Casma at 10:15 P.M. and were surprised not to find Tello and the others waiting for them. This was a problem. The bus driver was impatient to leave for Trujillo, and he demanded that they pay for the rest of their passage to that city. They did not have the money to do so, and so they went to all the hotels in Casma, but could not find the rest of the team. This they found inexplicable, because they thought they had traveled the same route. Left with no other alternative, they told the driver to continue northward without them and at midnight they checked themselves into the Hotel Estrasburgo. This hotel was the best in town, and they were accepted as guests only after saying they were members of Tello's expeditionary team.

They arose before six in the morning, and, without delay, went out in search of the others, though this was problematic, because Collier did not speak Spanish, and none of his three Peruvian companions could speak English.¹⁰² Finally they saw Mejía, who chastised them for having checked into such a luxurious place. Mejía then brought them to Tello, who had the same reaction. They went back to the hotel and there the owner, Miguel San Román, welcomed Tello with open arms, because he had known him from high school. As it turned out, the bus driver had not yet left Casma, and his passengers were furious. Apparently the driver had remained because he felt he was still owed money, and he and Mejía argued over the matter. Mejía would not budge. Tello had placed him in charge of the expedition's funds

fragment that is now visible is only about four feet long by two and one half high and the design has been so scratched and cracked as to be indistinguishable. . . . At Mr. Garrido's house we saw his fine collection of huacos as well as his folio of drawings. . . . This evening we dined at the Las Tumbas restaurant."

¹⁰² This likely meant that Collier was not especially fluent in Spanish and/or his accent was hard to understand.

and he simply refused to pay any more (Ponce 1957:87–91).

Despite having slept little, the team began their exploration of the Casma Valley (Figure 21) that morning, the 28th. They first visited the cemeteries of San Diego (near the shore) and investigated Cerro de La Virgin. Then, later in the day, they went to the Port of Casma and looked at Juan I. Reyna's archaeological collection. At this time, Tello saw in the corner of Reyna's house a small monolith engraved with a figure in the Chavín style, and he began to think that the valley contained vestiges of this megalithic culture.¹⁰³ After classifying the collection, the team went to the ruins of Sechín Bajo and then to the ruins of Sechín Alto and at this latter site they saw evidence for megalithic construction.

On 29 June Tello spoke with Timoteo Reyes of the Hacienda San Diego, and was told that there was a stone tortoise on the side of a mountain near the town of Casma. Tello organized a search, and arranged with Timoteo to supply him with five horses the next morning. He was supposed to be there at eight, but arrived an hour later with halter in hand saying that the contracted animals were not available. An angry Tello told Timoteo to guide them to the site, and at one in the afternoon they reached their destination. It turned out to be a small natural terrace upon which was a circle of small stones that gave the appearance of a tortoise shell from the distance, but in any case it was *not* pre-Columbian in date. Needless to say, Tello was not happy.

Lack of success in finding carved stones like the one he had seen at Reyna's home at this place, or at either Sechín Bajo or Sechín Alto

¹⁰³ In his letter to Bennett dated 8 August 1937 Collier described the stone as prismatic in form, measuring one by one and a half meters, with a carving of a human head (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

obliged Tello to continue his trek northward to Trujillo. He decided to send Collier, Loomis, McCreery, Rojas, and Vega ahead by bus with the plan of conducting preliminary explorations at the sites of Moche and at Chan Chan. Meanwhile he, Mejía, and Ponce would remain for two days to finish studying Sechín Alto and the ruins of Chanquillo. On the night of 30 June Paza de Novoa feigned illness and returned to Lima the following day.¹⁰⁴ On 1 July, while the others prepared for the trip to Trujillo, Tello, Collier, Loomis, Ponce, and Mejía returned to Sechín Alto very early in the morning to finish the cross section and descriptive study of the ruins. Mejía was told to take measurements and he had 15 year old Victor Dueñas to help him. While working, Mejía asked Dueñas if he had seen an engraved stone anywhere, and the boy answered that he had seen one, but was afraid of taking the team on another wild goose chase. Then Mejía had the boy draw the “Indian bravo” that he had seen. Mejía brought the drawing to Tello, who was in the process of dictating to Ponce. Tello interrogated the boy, who stuck to his story, and offered to take the team to Cerro Corales or Sechín where he had seen the stone. It was ten in the morning when they started toward the site, first by car and then by foot. There they indeed saw the engraved stone or monolith—the first such monolith that had been found *in situ* on the coast of Peru (Mejía 1956:323–326).

¹⁰⁴ In her entry for 28 June Mary Kidder wrote, “We spent the morning finishing up on the packing of our pot-sherds, writing up, and figuring up accounts. This afternoon we drove out to Chiclin again and continued notes on the pottery collection. Don Constante was most agreeable and we sat with him over at the house when the Museum got too dark for work. . . . Evening uneventful, for me at least, while Teddy went alone with Mr. Garrido to see Dr. Velez’s collection.” As for the next two days, she wrote that her husband went alone to the Chiclin Museum on the 29th and that on the 30th her husband went alone with Garrido to the Virú Valley (1942:28).

As the result of reconnaissance, they initially discovered evidence for three other engraved stones that, along with the first, appeared to be set in a line situated on the left side of the site that had the appearance of a large mound. Tello decided to start digging, and, with the help of two workers, Grimaldo Hajar and Ventura Jaramillo, the team exposed eleven more engraved stones making a total of fifteen (Figures 23–24). The team also found lots of pieces of broken pottery that had been left by *huaqueros* (Tello 1956:110). They climbed Cerro Sechín to get a better view, and were able to see the ruins of Chanquillo and the fields of Cerro Sechín and Moxeke, after which Tello sought out and spoke with the Cerro Sechín landowner, Sr. Morante, to get permission to excavate the site. The team then returned to Casma at three in the afternoon, and made new plans. That night the designated group traveled to Trujillo with orders that they would be told to return to Casma if the work at Cerro Sechín proved profitable.¹⁰⁵

On 2 July those who remained in Casma began to work at the ruins of Cerro Sechín, with the assistance of the two workers who had helped the day before, as well as two new workers, Evangelista Torres and Humberto Palma. Two more engraved monoliths were discovered, along with numerous engraved stones that had been part of a wall on the left side of the site (Figures 24, 25). During the afternoon, the ruins of Moxeke and others between this site and Cerro Sechín were visited. As a result, it was decided to stay in Casma for an indefinite period, and the team made arrangements to extend their stay at the Hotel Estrasburgo. On Sunday 4 July, the team visited the ruins of Pampa Colorado near the community of Buena Vista, and there they discovered a gigantic semi-

¹⁰⁵ In his letter to Bennett written on 8 August 1937 Collier said the bus trip to Trujillo took twelve hours and he described it as being hell-like (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

engraved monolith known locally as Kushwanka or Piedra Candela. They also went to the Inca site of Puerto Pobre in the vicinity of Hacienda Tabon, and to the artificial mounds of Huaca Tierra and Huaca de Tajo in the Sechín branch of the valley (Mejía 1956:326–327).

On 7 July Bennett wrote to Blair's father in Chicago. He began by saying he assumed his son had told him that the plans for his trip to Peru had not gone as expected, and that this was due to Tello's changing things. He then explained that this had caused him to send both his son and Deering to Peru as free agents, so as not to commit them to any part of the expedition that they did not find agreeable. He and they, he went on, had agreed that they would connect with Tello as planned, and stay only as long as they chose, and that any money they contributed to Tello's expedition would be acknowledged by him, and hence eligible for a tax deduction. Bennett then added the caveat that he was unsure about transportation expenses if they decided to leave the expedition early. Next Bennett discussed alternatives to participation in Tello's expedition that he had suggested. Specifically he had suggested that the two young men could join up with Kidder II and take part in his general survey of Peru. Alternatively, they could spend a month or so excavating with the Larco brothers at the Hacienda Chiclín, adding that all three brothers were good archaeologists, had a fine museum, had studied at Cornell University, and operated one of the best managed sugar plantations in Peru. Bennett then said that he had written to the Larcos, and had arranged a reception for the two, and that he was sure they would learn as much at Chiclín as on Tello's expedition. He concluded by saying that he hoped the trip to Peru would stimulate in the two young men an interest in archaeology, that the field of Peruvian archaeology was good and had plenty of opportunities, and that he was sure the two would have a very interest-

ing time (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

Bennett also wrote to Cole on 7 July. Bennett began by saying to Cole he assumed he had heard from Collier regarding what he referred to as a minor tragedy. He went on to explain that, following Kroeber's suggestion, he had written to Tello to say \$500 of Collier's field money could be applied toward the expedition's field expenses, and that Tello had misinterpreted this to mean that Collier would give him the money, and then have to pay his own field expenses, estimated at \$200, as needed. Though this left Collier with less money, he added, Collier had decided for diplomatic reasons to agree to this change. All this happened once Collier had arrived in Lima, and there had been (for him) no time to enter into a discussion on the matter. He then told Cole that he had debated writing to Tello, but had decided not to do so, because he did not want to cause ill will, given that the IAR wanted to continue its relationship with Tello for another year. Bennett then said Collier still had his return ticket, and it seemed unlikely that Tello would allow him to leave the expedition before the end of the trip, regardless of whether or not he had money. Bennett added that Tello had his own problems, because he already had an eight-member team, two being Hewett's University of Southern California students (Loomis and McCreery), and two more students (Blair and Deering) were on the way.

Next Bennett said he had written to Collier and had suggested that he collect data on Peruvian architecture for a possible thesis subject, given that he already had photographs of sites in Bolivia and Cusco, and would be adding photographs of more sites on the Peruvian North Coast and North Highlands. However, he went on, Collier would then need a month or two in Lima before returning, in order to work with a number of local artifact collections, many of which had not been described or published. In

closing, regarding matters of relevance to the IAR, Bennett wondered if the University of Chicago had \$200 it could designate for Collier's work in Lima, given that the IAR had spent all of its funding. This, he explained, was merely a suggestion, and not a request, and he had only brought it up, he explained, because he felt it was unfortunate that Tello had changed the money situation, and he did not want Collier to suffer the consequences, given it was no fault of his own (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

Subsequently, Bennett received a long letter from Guernsey dated 15 July.¹⁰⁶ She began by stating she was very much in the need of advice because, though she had been able to resolve many of what he had previously said would be the thousand and one problems she would face, she was now at a loss as to what to do. She said that when she had first arrived in Lima, she had unwrapped a mummy bundle at the San Marcos museum that was in very poor condition, and that had contained textiles of very little consequence. Yet, she stated (though not a Paracas bundle), it had been good to practice on this mummy bundle and Kidder II had shown special interest in it, and had assisted her with the skeletal material contained within. She added, Tello had said he was very anxious to focus on the preservation of textiles that had already been removed from mummy bundles, and that she could see his point and had tried to work up a plan to address all contingencies as she saw them, because she wanted to know exactly what she was going to be doing before she started. Unfortunately, she stated, she had not had much time to discuss the matter with Tello, and before he had left Lima the two of them had

simply come to the understanding that she could do whatever she wanted with the textiles at San Marcos. They had agreed that she could later work with some of the smaller Paracas mummy bundles at Magdalena Vieja, and later still could work on other Paracas bundles once he had returned from the field.

Guernsey then provided Bennett with details explaining the dilemma she had found herself in immediately before, and subsequent to, Tello's departure. She said that before Tello left Lima, the University of San Marcos had been in a state of chaos, with many workers putting up exhibition halls and, as a result, the museum's textiles had been scattered, and put away, so that it had been very difficult for her to come to an understanding of just how many textiles she potentially had to work with, and what actually needed to be done about their preservation. Then, Guernsey added, after Tello had departed, Carrión, whom she described as charming and dynamic, had been left in charge, and she had quickly rearranged the entire museum. In addition, Guernsey explained, adding to her mounting anxiety was that she learned that the best textiles in the museum's collection were already in fair condition and mounted. Now, she continued, she had been quite willing to undertake what she categorized as house keeping, but when she came to realize that museum staff were themselves quite capable of undertaking the care of the textiles, even more so than she, then she had concluded that it was not worth her time to do so herself. So, she explained, she had instead studied several groups of textiles, yet she had run into a problem with unlabeled ones, and Carrión had been unable to locate necessary information for her. Guernsey complained that she had found some of the Paracas textiles incorrectly stored with a group of non-Paracas textiles. As a result of all this, she told Bennett, she felt her project had ended before it had even begun.

¹⁰⁶ The following was published on page 19 in the 13 July 1937 edition of *The West Coast Leader*: "Among passengers leaving on the 15th inst. per the s.s. Santa Clara for Mollendo are: Mr. and Mrs. Alfred Kidder" (Anon. 1937q). Hence, Guernsey wrote to Bennett the same day the Kidders left for the south coast port of Mollendo.

Guernsey then asked Bennett if it hadn't been the understanding that she would be working on the Paracas collection. She said she had hoped to quickly finish her work on the non-Paracas material before moving on to the Paracas material, but that she now thought Carrión was of the opinion that *her* paper (thesis)¹⁰⁷ was the final statement on Paracas textiles, especially given that around 250 of the Paracas mummy bundles had been opened to date. Guernsey then said she was now skeptical, and was afraid she might find nothing (of importance) in the bundles that still remained to be unwrapped. Then Guernsey asked Bennett, apparently in frustration, if Carrión's sister Rosa wasn't the person who was supposed to work with her. Guernsey followed this by remarking frankly that she had been disappointed with the textiles at San Marcos, because there were few fine ones. In contrast, she then described many of the textiles at the National Museum as being superb, though adding that she had discovered that a number of fine non-Paracas ones at this museum had been mislabeled. She told Bennett there appeared to be chronological gaps in the textile collection (whether at the San Marcos or National Museum she did not say) and opined that the two of them had been spoiled by the collection (they had been opened in Connecticut).

Having unburdened herself, Guernsey then told Bennett that she had loved Tello from the start, and that he had taken her and the Kidders to all the museums in Lima. He had also taken them to Pachacamac and Pucana, as well as to Cajamarquilla. Because the three of them had only really known the archaeology of the American Southwest, she said, they had been overwhelmed by the size of the ruins. She added here that it looked as though Tello had done for them everything he had done for the American

Blair Niles, except open in their presence a Paracas mummy bundle.¹⁰⁸ Guernsey then told Bennett that she and the Kidders had had a wonderful voyage down to Lima, and that the Kidders were nice and a lot of fun. She said that the three of them were of the opinion that, with the exception of Boston, there was not a finer city than Lima. As for the *pensión* (that Tello had arranged for them), she told Bennett it was all that he had said it would be, and that is one reason why they had become so enamored with Lima. As friends of his, they had been made to feel very welcome, and felt as if at home. Then she described Lima as being too good to be true, and said that after a day at the San Marcos museum she had been given a nice, albeit cold, office.

Next Guernsey told Bennett that the Kidders were to depart that very day for Arequipa, La Paz, and Cusco after having previously flown to Trujillo and spent several weeks there. Kidder II, she said, had made a nice collection of photographs everywhere he went and, while he and his wife did not stay with the Larco's at Chiclín, they had spent a lot of time with them. She then said that (the younger) Rafael Larco (Hoyle; Figure 19) had been in Lima the previous week, and the four of them had dined together. She said, Larco's textile collection sounded very interesting, and that he had promised to write it up soon.¹⁰⁹ Guernsey con

¹⁰⁷ Carrión's thesis, entitled *La indumentaria en la antigua Perú*, was published in the first issue of the journal *Wirakocha* (Carrión 1931:36–86).

¹⁰⁸ Blair Niles visited Lima late in 1935 and witnessed Tello, with the help of Carrión and Mejía, open Paracas mummy bundle no. 94 (Daggett 2016:151). She later published a book in which she described what she saw (Niles 1937:82).

¹⁰⁹ The Kidders returned to Lima on 1 July and in her journal entry for 5 July Mary Kidder wrote "I grow fonder of Isabel every day" (1942:29). Her husband then came down with a bad cold that delayed their departure, and this apparently made it necessary for her to talk with Carrión prior to leaving. She wrote in her journal for 9 July "Teddy has a nasty cold today. He feels so badly that he cancelled our special plane for Paramonga tomorrow. I went to San Marcos this morning and had a long talk

cluded her letter to Bennett by saying she was sorry her report was an appeal for help, rather than one in which she told him things were progressing well. She went on to say that she felt she was wasting her valuable time, but that she hoped her money would last much longer than they had anticipated, and hence she would have more time to work on her project once Tello returned from the field. After telling Bennett that she was very anxious to do a good job, she ended by telling him that she really appreciated all that he had done for her (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

Most of the expeditionary team that had traveled north to Trujillo returned to Casma on 6 July. Collier, however, waited for the arrival of Blair and Danielson, and returned with them on the 8th,¹¹⁰ while Vega decided to return only as far as Chimbote, on the pretext of attending to family business in Huaraz. He never rejoined the expedition (Mejía 1956:326). So things evened

out: the team lost two of its members while gaining two others.

From the 5th to the 10th of July excavations continued at Cerro Sechín with twelve workmen being brought in to help on the 9th (Tello 1956:110–121). Then, on Sunday the 11th, an exploration and study of the ruins of Chankillo in the area of Hacienda San Rafael was undertaken (Mejía 1956:327). Work began anew at Cerro Sechín the following day, and continued through the 17th (Tello 1956:121–132). During the afternoon of the 15th, Tello and Rojas went to the ruins of La Laguna (*ibid.*: 299). On Sunday the 18th inquiries were made regarding work that had been done in the past in the valley, and it was learned that excavations had been conducted in 1890 in the Moxeke area, principally at a site where treasure had been sought, but had only resulted in the discovery of llama bones, and that henceforth the site had become known as Huaca de las Llamas. Vestiges of walls painted with figures of the sun, moon, and other astral figures that had been exposed at that time still remained to be seen (Mejía 1956:327).

Work continued at Cerro Sechín through 27 July (Tello 1956:128) and a cemetery was discovered on the 18th (*ibid.*:255). This work was continuous except for Sunday the 25th, when a trip was made up the Moxeke branch of the valley to the District of Yautan where Lt. Governor Julio Ortega guided them to the ruins of Pallka. McCreery was the first to find a piece of pottery decorated in the Chavín style at this site, while Mejía found a bone carved with a Chavín design. Based on these discoveries, Tello decided to return to the site, and they did so on the 29th, leaving Casma at 5:30 A.M., and arriving two hours later. The previous day, the 28th (a national holiday), another inspection was made of the ruins of Moxeke. There, on the north side, vestiges of an idol were found that reminded Tello of the idol in the round he'd seen at the (Chavín) site of Punkurí in the

with Señorita Carrion apropos of Isabel's work on the Paracas textiles" (*ibid.*). One final mention of Guernsey was made in Kidder's entry for the 15th. She wrote, "This afternoon we went with Isabel to San Marcos to explain a few things for her and to say 'Adios' to Miss Carrion. When dinner time came we had a round of farewell drinks and then had to leave almost as soon as the meal was over" (*ibid.*:30). Exactly how much the Kidders knew of the various problems Guernsey had experienced while they were on the North Coast and other problems she was experiencing in Lima once they returned is unknown. But, given that she wrote to Bennett the same day they departed Lima, it would seem that they must have been more or less fully apprised. That Mary Kidder only infers, but makes no special mention of Guernsey's problems, suggests that both she and her husband either felt the situation would be resolved without any further delay on their part, or that regardless they simply chose not to delay their departure.

¹¹⁰ Collier noted in his letter to Bennett dated 8 August 1937 that, because no word had been received from them, he sent a wire to the airline Panagra in Lima, presumably from Trujillo, and was told in response that Blair and Danielson would be arriving in Chicalyo on 5 July. Collier then said the three of them flew back (to Casma?; IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

Nepeña valley immediately north of Casma (Mejía 1956:328–329). As it happened, and as reported in the 28 July edition of *El Comercio*, Tello had just come back from a brief trip to the ruins of Chavín de Huantar, accompanied by Blair and Danielson (Anon. 1937r). Work was subsequently begun at Moxeke (Mejía 1956:329). Finally, beginning July 25th, molds were made of the decorated stones and monoliths found at Cerro Sechín, and these molds were then packaged into large crates and sent back to the San Marcos Museum of Archaeology to be exhibited (Tello 1956:140–141).

To summarize, the expeditionary team departed Lima on 16 June, and made their way northward, exploring coastal sites along the way. Many of the sites visited were both large and well-known, suggesting that Tello was giving his three American students a guided tour of this part of the coast. However, Tello was also interested in learning more about coastal ceramic styles, and it was for this reason that the team conducted limited excavations, and studied local collections.

Tello had arranged for the group to be driven in two cars, and he arranged for them to stay at haciendas when possible, and at hotels when not, probably in an attempt to reduce costs. Things proceeded smoothly until one of the cars broke down, and forced them to spend the night outdoors. This caused Tello to cancel the contract for one of the vehicles, and to buy bus tickets for half the team. Trouble with the second vehicle further complicated matters, but they all finally got back together in Casma the morning of 28 June.

Tello then began a preliminary study of the archaeology of this valley, visiting some sites and studying a private collection. The fact that this collector also had a small stone carved in the Chavín style led him to expand his research. He finally decided to send part of the team on to

Trujillo by bus when his search for Chavín sites did not prove successful. Subsequently, however, an informant led Tello and the remainder of the team to Cerro Sechín where surface survey and limited excavation led to the discovery of what Tello felt was a Chavín temple. Tello then recalled the members from Trujillo, and, aided by local laborers and the two Yale students, he expanded his excavations at Cerro Sechín. He also instituted the practice of using Sundays to visit other sites in the valley, and this led to the discovery of the Chavín sites of Moxeke and Pallka (Figure 24).

Meanwhile, Bennett was engaged in correspondence on behalf of the Institute. Tello's decision to take control of Collier's money, and his decision to allow Hewett's students to take part in his expedition had created problems for him. He exchanged letters with the father of one of the disappointed Yale students, and offered to arrange for them to work with the Larcos. He also received a discouraging letter from Guernsey, a letter in which she praised Tello, but complained that Carrión was not letting her work with the Paracas collection.

It was on 8 August that the Lima daily *El Comercio* published an account of what was happening in Casma.¹¹¹ The account was dated the previous day, and was written by a special United Press correspondent. This reporter began with a fairly detailed discussion of what he said was Tello's famous sense of smell that had not only led him to discover the ruins of Cerro Sechín, but had also allowed him to understand how important they were. To date, the reporter wrote, as yet unconcluded excavations had led to the discovery of fifty stone idols, and the cost to reconstruct the ruins was estimated at no less than 20,000 soles.

¹¹¹ Until then the work being done by Tello and his team had escaped outside attention (Mejía 1956:329).

The reporter went on to say that work was being limited to the easiest exploratory excavations at the conclusion of which a detailed report would be presented to the government in which the importance of the site would be made known. Having said all this, the reporter went on, Tello had been close-mouthed, and had refused to make a declaration to the press. Instead he had simply said he was preparing his report to public authorities, and that these authorities would make a public announcement. Nevertheless, the reporter added, other (unidentified) sources had indicated that the stones were decorated in the Chavín style, and this supported the notion that the site had either been destroyed during colonial times, or that it was a pre-Incan quarry. Tello, unfortunately, refused to comment on these notions, and would only say that he could not give an opinion until after he had conducted a prolonged investigation, and would only say that the stones that had been discovered were very valuable, and would contribute to tourism in the valley. Finally, the reporter stated that neither the workmen, nor the members of the expedition, or even the administrator of the land on which the ruins were located, had spoken (to him) about the discovery of metal objects, pottery, or mummies.

At this point the reporter appears to shift, at least in part, to what he had learned from Tello. Tello, he reported, was of the opinion that the absence of tombs in the zone was the result of treasure seeking and looting. It was Tello's belief that during Spanish colonial times deep excavations had been made employing a large number of workers, especially Indians who were forced to participate. Excavations of this nature had undoubtedly caused the disturbance of the monoliths at the site, and this was supported by the fact that some of them exhibited fractures. Tello supposed that the work had been inspired by members of the clergy, who were determined to stamp out idolatry in Peru, and, because the

exposed part of the structure had been violated, this suggested that treasure had been found. The reporter then noted that (as Tello had said), for the archaeologist the decorated stones that had been unearthed were more valuable than gold. In particular, Tello was of the opinion that the immediate use of the stones would be to provide information relevant to what tools had been available to Native Americans to cut stone, given that they had neither iron nor steel. Had what he specified as a black diamond been used, vestiges of which had been found, the reporter asked? Or, as mentioned in certain fables, had a mysterious vegetal acid been employed with which the Indians heated the stones? Because no one knew the answers to these and other like questions, the reporter went on, all sorts of legends and fantastic ideas had been put forth. But as for Tello, he continued, this was of no interest, because he only hoped to learn something about how the Sechín stones had been cut.

The reporter then vented a bit. He stated that Tello would not permit access to the ruins of Cerro Sechín, despite the fact that, due to the magnitude of what had been found, many had tried to see the site, including teachers and their students. Tello had refused them entry, even telling the director of the schools that each of his workers was being paid two soles daily and disruption would mean an economic loss for him. This, Tello had explained, was because he had limited funding, and his costs were higher than anticipated. Then, adding his own take on things, the reporter wrote that Tello, being a man of science, was enamored with his monoliths, for which he professed paternal feelings, and he was ashamed of presenting his denuded and recently unearthed ruins to the public before first presenting them to members of the provincial council and educational authorities. Then, in a less accusatory tone, the reporter did note that Tello thought that before leaving Casma within a week, he would invite authori-

ties, as well as teachers and students, to hear him speak about the ruins. At this point the reporter explained how he and others had been able to gather information about Cerro Sechín. They had been allowed access to the site of the ongoing excavations, as members of the press who wanted to inform their readers. There they had briefly spoken with Tello, who was in his car, and who, in their eyes, took on the appearance of an American scholar. At the site they saw a young American (Collier?) who they (incorrectly) recognized as a nephew of ex-President Coolidge. They also went to (the ruins of Pallka) in the District of Yautan where investigations were being conducted, though as yet not with the help of the students taking part in the expedition. They had also visited an enormous huaca (Sechín Alto) that, although man-made, gave the appearance of a mountain, and was, surely, the grandest in Peru. In the lower valley they saw evidence of pre-Columbian aqueducts. After considerable speculation, the reporter ended his report by saying that as soon as the many photographs and drawings that they had made of the sites were published, the public would come to admire what had been found in Casma (Anon. 1937s). Whether this press report was immediately followed up outside Lima is unknown, but in Lima it would be many weeks before anything else was published on the Casma discoveries.

Meanwhile, Bennett received a letter from Collier dated 8 August. Collier began by apologizing for not having written sooner, but said that this day had been the first full one he had had off since leaving Lima. Collier then said he expected it would come as a surprise that the expeditionary team was still on the coast, though it was possible, he added, that Danielson had written to Lothrop, and hence he was aware of things. After saying that the trip had proven very successful, he gave Bennett a brief account of what had happened on their way up to Casma, excluding any mention of vehicular

difficulties. He explained how the discovery of Cerro Sechín had come about, and the subsequent alteration of plans both before and after he and others had been sent to Trujillo. Next Collier told Bennett about the work being done at Cerro Sechín. He wrote that during the period 3 July to 31 July, when they were assisted by fifteen workmen, a trench measuring 55 meters long by three meters wide across the face of Cerro Sechín had been cut, exposing the front and sides of a platform faced with a wall of carved stones and an entrance marked on either side by monoliths roughly three and a half meters in size. The facing stones and the monoliths, he explained, were made of granite and carved with images that were Chavín in style. Collier noted that excavations had stopped, and that the front of the platform and only about fifteen monoliths on either side of the structure upon it had been exposed. He noted that they were in the process of making casts of the ninety carved stones that had been recovered, a job that was expected to be finished in another week. Then the plan was to sail directly to Pacasmayo, and from there travel up to Cajamarca, and begin their investigations in the highlands. Collier told Bennett about another stone-faced ruin that had been found (Moxeke), measuring about two hundred square meters with rounded corners and adobes atop. At one corner, he continued, an adobe-sculpted and classical Chavín-style puma painted red, white, and green had been discovered, the face measuring about a meter, and the body about three meters. Tello, he added, felt this structure, and another larger one (Sechín Alto) was similar architecturally to the ruins of Chavín de Huantar; something that Collier then said he hoped to determine for himself when he went to the latter highland site.

The ruins of Pallka, five kilometers up the Casma Valley near the town of Yautan, was the third and final site for which Collier provided information. He said this ruin was also a stone-

faced structure. He told Bennett that two gunnysacks of classical Chavín sherds had been retrieved from the site, as well as a llama bone carved in the Chavín style. He then added that, although no undoubted Chavín style sherds had yet been found at Cerro Sechín, the site had clearly been reoccupied in later times, and this absence of sherds was likely because they had not yet dug deep enough. According to Tello, he wrote, it would take six months of intensive work to resolve problems at the site, and that the valley as a whole offered several seasons of profitable research.

Collier then raved about his experiences to date. He characterized Tello as both considerate and helpful, and a man with whom he had gotten along with without a hitch. He then said that, far from being reluctant to share his knowledge, Tello had been very open, and, as such, he was doing everything he could to make his Peruvian experience a productive one. Collier then turned to others on the team. He said the two young Peruvians were very good artists, took dictation, and did a good job of keeping field notes in order. As for the two girls (Loomis and McCreery), he said they had turned out to be more than okay. They had been well trained by Hewett, he explained, were hard and careful workers, and had not complained. In his opinion, he went on, they were sufficiently hardy, and not at all in the way. In fact, he added, they had proven to be a real help, and were very good at extracting burials, and then cleaning and labeling all the artifacts and skeletal remains, some three to four hundred pounds of which had already been sent back to Lima. As for Tello's field-work, Collier told Bennett, he didn't know about what had transpired in the past, but that on this trip he had been making notes both numerous and careful. So far, Collier said, about 500 pages of field notes, as well as about a hundred drawings, and about twenty-five maps and plans had been made. He then said to date he had taken thirty photographs. In

ending his letter, Collier said Tello had done a remarkable job of keeping his (Collier's) personal expenses to a minimum. Taking out the money he spent on cigarettes and an occasional movie, he explained, he was spending just under forty dollars a month. Tello, he said, *really did* know how to travel and live economically. Providing some insight on what it was like to work under Tello, Collier said he served them all Pisco and they each had a couple of shots a night—something they needed after working from six in the morning until six at night (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

It was on 3 August that Rockefeller wrote to Bennett. He began by saying that his letter served to confirm a conversation they had had that afternoon at the AMNH. He went on to say he had accordingly authorized the head of the Rockefeller Center Bonded Warehouse to release (to the museum) the (four Paracas) mummy bundles, and he provided instructions as to where exactly the mummy bundles could be retrieved. Rockefeller next told Bennett that it was his understanding the bundles would be opened under his supervision, that records, including photographs, would be carefully made, and that it would be up to him (Rockefeller) to pick up the cost of any materials used during this process, though they would discuss the matter if costs exceeded \$100. Rockefeller then said he would be leaving with the museum some of what he described as the ethnographic material contained within the bundles, but that he would also keep some himself, as well as material of particular artistic merit that he intended to use to develop the interest of the Met. Rockefeller closed by thanking Bennett for having made it possible for him to meet Tello (Division of Anthropology Archive, AMNH, Wendell C. Bennett file, correspondence).

Rockefeller received a telegram dated 10 August from Ambassador Dearing in Peru in which it was suggested that credit for the

mummy bundles be given first to (President) Benavides, then to (Minister of Education) Montagne, then to Tello, and finally to (Peruvian Ambassador to the United States) Manuel de Freyere (Division of Anthropology Archive, AMNH, accession file 1946–14). Rockefeller then wrote to Bennett on 12 August and enclosed copies of his agreements with Tello and copies of letters received from Ambassador Dearing. The latter, Rockefeller wrote, had told him that he had met with President Benavides who, after a lengthy discussion, had indicated his enthusiasm for the Paracas project because he felt it would serve to promote tourism in his country (Division of Anthropology Archive, AMNH, accession file 1946–14).

On 27 August. Bennett wrote to Rockefeller to report on (the unwrapping of) a mummy bundle. He stated that, though still not mounted, most of the cloth that had been recovered had been cleaned, save the plain wrappings, turbans, a complete shawl, and a complete poncho. As for publicity, he said, the position of the AMNH was that an announcement would not be made until work had started on the unwrapping of a second bundle, at which time news photographers could take shots of interest, but that in any case, autumn would be a better time than late summer. Bennett went on to say he had been in contact with the head of the Textile Division of the Met, who had suggested that pieces such as the yet uncleaned shawl and poncho be sent to this museum for the purpose of exhibition. Bennett told Rockefeller that he expected to finish his story on the opening of the bundle in about two weeks, at which time he would send it to the (Peruvian) ambassador. Then, assuming it met his approval, he would publish some or all of it as an article in *Natural History*,¹¹² as a series in *Life* magazine that had already drawn interest from a reporter, as well as

¹¹² This was published in the February 1938 issue of *Natural History* on pages 119–125 with nine photographs and one drawing (Bennett 1938e).

in some news articles. In closing Bennett told Rockefeller that he had recently heard from a student (Collier) who was working with Tello, and who had reported that Tello was doing excellent work, and had made sensational discoveries, including a stone-faced temple with ninety carved pillars at the front. Bennett added that he was very pleased with this report, and that it served to renew his complete confidence in the work that Tello was doing. The fact that Tello was proving his abilities to work in the field, he went on, made the idea of his (Rockefeller's) joint museum expedition indeed bright. Finally, Bennett said such a joint venture could have art and architecture as its objective (Division of Anthropology Archive, AMNH, Wendell C. Bennett Papers, correspondence).

On 21 August work was stopped at Cerro Sechín where a total of 98 carved monoliths had been found.¹¹³ Beginning 22 August work shifted to sites elsewhere such as El Purgatorio, El Pacae, La Cantina, the Huaca de las Llamas, and Moxeke. The next day work began at Moxeke with six workers and, after a week, a total of six idols had been found.¹¹⁴ On 31

¹¹³ The following was published in the 17 August 1937 edition of *The West Coast Leader*: "To the strains of the Peruvian National Anthem, Peru's contribution to the Dallas, Texas, International Exhibition was inaugurated on July 28th. . . . The Peruvian display is divided into two main sections. One is devoted to the art of the past, with many rare specimens of ancient Inca workmanship loaned by the Government. . . . One of the features of the Peruvian exhibit will be a series of musical entertainments featuring the primitive music of Peru by means of a band of Indian musicians. By this means visitors will be able to see typical native dances . . . and listen to the plaintive songs of the past in their original quecchua [*sic*] wording and sung to the music of the quena and the harp" (Anon. 1937t).

¹¹⁴ As Hernán Ponce Sánchez remembered it, Tello had assigned him to make lots of drawings of what was being unearthed at Moxeke and Pedro Rojas Ponce had been assigned to oversee excavations there. They were left on their own, and Ponce took advantage of this, and lazed about. That is, until he heard the distant horn of a car

August Loomis and McCreery left for Lima (Mejía 1956:329).¹¹⁵ Before doing so, McCreery would have submitted a report to Tello on her excavations at Cerro Sechín (Tello 1956: 259–263) and Loomis would have done the same for her work there (*ibid.*:263–268). Tello expanded his research in Casma on 22 August, and the students that had studied under Hewett left Casma on the 31st. It was also on this latter day that the Kidders returned to Lima, and on 3 September they had lunch with Guernsey and discussed her work and the problems she was having (M. Kidder 1942:78–79).

Kidder received a letter from his son dated 5 September. Part of this letter Kidder copied and distributed to other members of the IAR because he found what his son had written quite disturbing. In his letter to his father Kidder II reported that Guernsey appeared quite full of cheer but that Carrión was giving her a hard time. He went on to say that Carrión chose to understand English only when it suited her, and that Guernsey was getting nowhere with her project, despite the fact that she and Tello had agreed that she could work with the Paracas collection at the Magdalena Vieja museum whenever she so chose. However, Guernsey had experienced difficulty getting to see Carrión in order to talk with her, something, he explained, that he too had experienced, though he was

carrying Tello, Mejía, and Collier toward the ruins nearly three weeks later, and this caused him to jump up and furiously begin drawing. After arriving, Tello was impressed with what had been unearthed by Pedro and his team at Moxeke but angry at the single drawing Ponce had made, especially given that his one-day record at Cerro Sechín had been seventy-two drawings (Ponce 1957:100–105).

¹¹⁵ On 31 August 1937 the Kidders returned to Lima and during the afternoon of 2 September Mary Kidder shopped with Guernsey. The following day she had lunch with her husband and Guernsey “and discussed Isabel’s work and problems” (M. Kidder 1942:78–79). Mary and her husband then left Peru for the United States on 15 September (*ibid.*:83).

determined to see her before leaving the country. Kidder II then turned to a discussion of Tello. He told his father that as far as he knew, Tello was still in the Casma Valley south of Trujillo, and that he had reportedly made some spectacular discoveries there. But, he added, as usual his work was kept secret. Then Kidder II made it abundantly clear that he was disappointed with Tello, because he had made no attempt to contact him and invite him to come see the Casma discoveries. Because of this, he said, Tello was useless to any of the Americans, and as such had abrogated his responsibilities as the IAR’s Peruvian counselor. He did add, however, that he had not heard from Collier, and therefore could not speak for him.

Then, returning to his discussion of Guernsey, Kidder II said Tello had done nothing to help her, except be pleasant before leaving Lima, and, thereafter, essentially become unreachable. Guernsey, he pointed out, had been sent by the IAR to help Tello with the Paracas textile collection, something that he said was sorely needed, but that she had been given the run-around by Carrión who had only allowed her to work with some Central Coast textiles of little importance. So, he said, in lieu of working with the Paracas collection at Magdalena Vieja, where she could be opening bundles and learning, she was doing very little of importance. This he found very unsatisfactory, especially given the fact that Tello had taken two of *Hewett’s* students on his expedition and, because they had impressed him, he was seeing to *their* needs. Now, Kidder added, he was convinced this was the case because the girls were (essentially) untrained and, as such, fawned over Tello and accepted without question whatever he told them. So, he concluded, when Tello said he needed help, what he really meant was that he needed help only from those who were willing to subordinate themselves to him.

Finally, Kidder II provided some details about the anti-Tello faction in Lima. He told his father that, while he had found the staff at the National Museum both good and decent, he added that he could not comment on Valcárcel, who was out of the country, but, in any case, he said, Valcárcel was the person to connect with. He concluded with an upbeat assessment of research opportunities in Peru, given the warm reception both he and Bennett had received from Valcárcel and his staff at the National Museum (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).¹¹⁶

In brief, the Lima press broke the news about Tello's discoveries in Casma on 8 August, in so doing making the complaint that Tello was not only reluctant to provide details about his work, but that he was also preventing everyone from going to the archaeological sites undergoing excavation. It was on this same day that Collier wrote to Bennett and told him about Tello's great discoveries at Cerro Sechín, Moxeke, and Pallka. Collier praised both Tello and Hewett's students. In turn, Bennett wrote to Rockefeller, and passed on the news of Tello's discoveries, while, at the same time, telling Rockefeller that he shared his enthusiasm for a joint AMNH-Met expedition to Peru. Bennett benefitted from the Rockefeller-Tello relationship when, on 27 August, he unwrapped one of Paracas mummy bundles.

It was on 31 August that Kidder II and his wife returned to Lima, and discovered that things were not going well for Guernsey. This caused him to write a letter to his father, part of which was then distributed to other members of the IAR. It was also in this part of his letter that

Kidder II complained bitterly that Tello had done little for Guernsey, while at the same time was doing everything he could for Hewett's students. It was in this part of his letter that he made a point of blaming Tello, and not Carrión, for Guernsey's problems, expressing also his poor opinion of Tello, and his high opinion of Valcárcel.

The focus on Moxeke began anew on 19 September with the intent of preserving the idols that had been exposed. Then, on the 20th, work on the central and upper part of the Cerro Sechín mound became the focus, and both conical adobes and superimposed structures were unearthed.¹¹⁷ Collier left for Trujillo the following day, and excavations ended on the 24th (Mejía 1956:329). Before leaving, Collier would have submitted to Tello a report on his work at Cerro Sechín (Tello 1956:269–275). At this point, artifacts that had been recovered were sent to San Marcos and responses were made to inquiries made by authorities (Mejía 1956:329).

It may have been at this time that Tello penned in Casma his thoughts on the object and proposition of his expedition to the Marañon that was published in *El Comercio* on 31 October.¹¹⁸ Tello began his article by saying that during the past, his archaeological investigations had led him to recognize the existence of a very old and prominent civilization. He went on to say that at various times he had proven the existence of marked relationships between integral elements of distant and apparently unbound cultures such as those of the Pacific region and the mountainous region contiguous to the tropical forest. The object of his expedi-

¹¹⁶ The following was published in the 14 September 1937 issue of *The West Coast Leader*: "Among passengers leaving on the 14th inst. per the s.s. Santa Clara for Guayaquil were . . . Mr. Alfred Kidder, connected with the Peabody Museum of Cambridge, Mass., accompanied by Mrs. Kidder" (Anon. 1937u).

¹¹⁷ During his excavations at two Chavín period temples in the neighboring Nepeña Valley in 1933, Tello and his team discovered conical adobes had been used as a construction material (e.g. Daggett 2016:45, 54).

¹¹⁸ This same report was published, presumably later that year, in the *Boletín de la Sociedad Geográfica de Lima* (see Tello 1937e).

tion, then, was to come to a better understanding of the problem of national identity, by way of conducting explorations and excavations leading to the recovery of evidence in these regions. Therefore, Tello, wrote, it was his intention to preferentially study the most ancient civilizations from the coast to the Amazonian frontier. This he would do by way of an expedition organized under the auspices of San Marcos, the IAR, and Nelson A. Rockefeller.

Tello then provided a history of his investigations into this early civilization, a history of which only selected details will be given here. In 1919, he wrote, he had discovered at Chavín de Huantar testaments of a culture until then little known. His work there had led him to identify a well-defined megalithic and artistic Chavín culture that he had then understood to be limited to the Provinces of Huari and Pomabamba (in the North Central Highlands). This Chavín culture, he wrote, was characterized by monolithic statues representing serpent heads in human form, by felines, and by stars (celestial bodies). There were obelisks as well, and utensils, and other objects adorned with figures of felines, serpents, fish, lizards, and fantastic birds that were incised and cut in high or low relief [e.g. title page]. He explained it was only later that he found examples of artifacts decorated with Chavín art motifs in collections held both inside and outside Peru. He then went on to name specific collectors, identify specific artifact(s) and, if known, provide provenience. Among the places listed were Morropon in the Piura Valley, Chongoyape and Chiclayo in the Lambayeque Valley, and the Huaca de la Luna in the Moche Valley, all on Peru's North Coast. He specifically mentioned the collections belonging to the brothers Rafael and Victor Larco Herrera.

Tello wrote that in 1925 he had found a new kind of pottery at Cerro Colorado on the Paracas Peninsula, pottery that was decorated with

some motifs and worked with the same techniques as Chavín pottery, but that also presented new typological elements that connected it with later Nazca pottery. This had led him during the years 1926–1927 to revise Max Uhle's studies to evaluate the fundamentals of his ideas about the origin and development of Peruvian civilization.¹¹⁹ As a result, Tello confessed, he was surprised to learn that decorated pottery found by Uhle at Ancón and at Supe (on the Central Coast) was, in fact, classic Chavín in type. Uhle, Tello went on, believed that what he had found at these places were the remains of a primitive fishing culture that populated the littoral before the appearance of later peoples influenced by the Proto Chimu and Proto Nazca cultures (of the North and South Coasts, respectively). It was, Tello went on, this discovery by him that Uhle had unknowingly found classic Chavín pottery at Ancón and Supe that allowed him to separate the Chavín culture from the (highland) Tiahuanaco and (coastal) Nasca cultures (to the south).

Tello then provided a discussion of the pertinent discoveries he had made in the Nepeña Valley in 1933. Specifically, what he called the magnificent temples of Cerro Blanco and Punkurí gave evidence for the existence of Chavín civilization that had spread from the highlands to the coast. Excavations at these two

¹¹⁹ An editorial tribute to Max Uhle was published in 1936 in the *Revista del Museo Nacional* (Volume 5[1]:3–14). Although unsigned, there was included among others a tribute by then Minister of Education Ernesto Montagne dated 25 March 1936, an undated tribute by A. Solf y Muro, the rector of San Marcos, and a tribute by Enrique Goytizolo B., then Minister of Foreign Relations, which was dated 17 January 1936. This latter tribute was made in conjunction with Uhle being presented with the Order of the Sun. It was also noted on page seven that Tello, as Technical Chief of the Institute of Anthropological Studies, had written a work entitled "Max Uhle and his work" that the museum would be publishing as a special pamphlet. For whatever reason(s), this work appears not to have ever been published (see Daggett and Burger 2009).

temples had provided definitive evidence for a sequence over time with two distinct Chavín occupations preceding later cultural occupations. The earliest temple at Cerro Blanco, he explained, was made of stone with its walls covered with clay, and then decorated in relief with polychrome designs that imitated the stone art at Chavín de Huantar. In the fill were found fragments of black incised pottery of classic Chavín type. A second Chavín temple was built upon the remains of this first, using both stone and small conical adobes, but no pottery was recovered. Subsequently, people who made polychrome pottery and who were contemporary with the Chimú had lived at Cerro Blanco.

As for Punkurí, Tello went on, its earliest temple was also made of stone with clay-covered walls decorated with incised designs Chavín in style. As at Cerro Blanco, a new temple was built atop this first, using both stone and conical adobes. However, at Punkurí there was also an idol made of stone and clay representing in the round a feline painted in various colors. At Punkurí the body of a sacrificed female was unearthed that was interred with a number of ritual objects, including a polished diorite mortar and pestle, both exhibiting classic Chavín style incised decoration. Finally, at Punkurí, there was evidence, too, of a post-Chavín occupation. Hence, Tello said, in Nepeña he had found clear evidence that Chavín culture had spread down to the coast and had remained faithful to the characteristics of the original culture, but that over time modifications had been made. Finally, Tello went on to discuss the other kinds of sites that had been found in the valley, most notably a number of megalithic ruins like those found in the (northern) highlands.

Yet, despite the discoveries made in the Nepeña Valley, Tello continued, there was still the problem that classic Chavín pottery had not been found at Chavín de Huantar. This was a

problem that he solved, however, when he returned to this site in 1934 and discovered such pottery beneath thick layers of earth that had periodically come down from the surrounding slopes. In fact, it was in cuts made by the adjoining river that had flooded during rainy seasons since his last visit, he said, that he had seen exposed distinct levels of occupation at the site. As a result of this discovery, Tello stated, he was able to say with assurance that the carved stones at the site *were* early in date, and did not pertain to any of the later periods represented by surface ceramics. It was also in 1934, Tello then said, that Mejía conducted research on his behalf in the Chicama Valley, and had found remains of pottery decorated in the classic Chavín style at the foot of Cerro Colorado, fifteen kilometers north of the Hacienda Mocan. This site was a stopping off point for those passing between the highlands and the coast, hence suggesting this locale represented one route by which Chavín colonists had passed from the highlands to the coast.¹²⁰

Tello next wrote that in 1935, following receipt of reports from Franciscan missionaries, he had investigated the ruins of Kotosh in the Huánuco region (of the Central Highlands) and had found still more classic Chavín pottery at this site. It was later, in October of that same year, that he found even more classic Chavín pottery at the ruins of Pukará (in the southern highlands). It was at this latter place that he found, just as he had at Chavín de Huantar, that the river next to the site had exposed layers of occupation, and that it was in the lowest of these that the distinctive pottery could be seen. Finally, regarding the history of his Chavín research, Tello stated that at the beginning of 1937 he had also found classic Chavín pottery in a level beneath distinct pre-Chimú and Chimú

¹²⁰ Tello made no mention of the fact that Mejía's discovery had been preceded by discoveries of Chavín-like pottery that were made by Rafael Larco Hoyle, particularly in the Cupisnique Quebrada.

levels of occupation in a cemetery at the site of La Ventana in the Lambayeque Valley (on the North Coast).

Tello then turned to a discussion of Max Uhle. He pointed out that Uhle had put forth the idea that Mayan civilization had spread down from Central America to South America, and that for him both Ecuadorian and Peruvian civilizations were in their earliest phases peripheral branches of an ancient Central American cultural expansion. However, Tello then said, the Ecuadorian civilization that Uhle had identified as Mayan was in fact Chavín. Hence, based on his discoveries about Chavín civilization, he was sure the discussion would be changed from one seeking an understanding of the particulars of the spread of Mayan civilization to one seeking an understanding of the particulars of the spread of Chavín civilization.¹²¹

In his concluding remarks, Tello emphasized points he had made earlier, while casting research in a positive light. He wrote that investigations conducted on the megalithic Chavín culture then being undertaken by the archaeological expedition to the Marañón would allow for a better understanding of its principal characteristics, as well as a better understanding of its regional scope, both on the coast and in the highlands. He pointed out that in parts of the latter region there was still scant evidence, with few tombs or permanent structures having been found. Despite this, however, he asserted that one could affirm the existence of this megalithic culture. He then declared that, despite the absence of reference to such a civilization in the early histories or chronicles of Peru, one could affirm this, because there were rare examples of artifacts representative of this all but forgotten

civilization in collections held both inside and outside Peru. The existence of a Chavín megalithic culture, Tello insisted, was real. Chavín ruins and temples were buried beneath flood-ravaged lands, or were so eroded that they were confused with mounds or natural formations. But, he added, investigation abetted by nature and/or by labor could expose what was deeply buried, and this would lead to a great admiration for this megalithic culture, an admiration that would invite both study and reflection. Tello ended by saying that he and his expeditionary team intended to conduct a thorough exploration of places that had not yet been studied. This they would do in order to obtain evidence that would lead them to the most complete knowledge of this old South American culture (Tello 1937e).

On 24 September *El Comercio* published an unsigned official pronouncement regarding the expedition that it had received from San Marcos. It was stated that in June the rector had authorized Tello, as director of the university's museum of archaeology, to undertake a study of the most important archaeological centers in northern Peru, for the purpose of increasing the museum's collections. It was further stated that Tello had organized the expedition under the auspices of the IAR and Nelson Rockefeller, and that expedition participants consisted of Mejía, Rojas, and Ponce from the museum's staff, and the North Americans Collier, Loomis, and McCreery. Then it was stated that the expedition had left Lima on 16 June, and had since conducted an exploration of the coast up to Casma, and that this would be followed by an exploration of the Upper Marañón, Upper Huallaga, and Upper Ucayali drainages.¹²² Archaeological specimens received by the expedition, the statement continued, had been received by the university's museum including molds of 73 monolithic sculptures consisting of

¹²¹ It is of interest to note here Jorge Muelle's article in the *Revista del Museo Nacional* in which he concluded that he would not be surprised if Uhle's theory of Mayan influence became accepted (1937:150).

¹²² This indicates that Tello still planned to travel to the southern highlands.

steles, obelisks, and tablets covered by hieroglyphic inscriptions. This was followed by the observation that in Casma one of the most notable monuments of the art of ancient Peru had been found. Finally, it was stated that Tello had sent to the rector a preliminary report that was rich in observations, and that was illustrated by plans, drawings, and photographs (Anon. 1937v).

Two days later, 26 September, *El Comercio* published a United Press report that had been sent from Casma the previous day. It was reported that at seven o'clock the night of the 24th Tello had given a talk in Casma on his work in that valley. Tello, it was stated, had been greatly applauded for having said that the archaeological monuments he had encountered in the Sechín and Mojoquehua (Moxeke) Valleys were very old and the grandest and most important of Central and South America. He also said there were indications that the monuments had been built by an advanced civilization, and that they could be converted into a great field museum like those that had been established in Mexico. Following his talk, the report continued, Tello had been hosted at a banquet held at the Hotel Royal and that later a board charged with caring for and protecting the monuments had been established that was presided over by Juan Reina, and that also included the mayor, the sub-prefect, the engineer Cesar Burga, as well as Miguel de los Rios, and Marcos San Román (Anon. 1937w).

Two reports were then published in Lima on 28 September. One was published in *El Comercio*, and it was illustrated by a reconstruction of the Cerro Sechín monument¹²³ and by two photographs, one showing a team of excavators

working at extracting monoliths, and the other showing some of the monoliths that had been recovered. The writer began with a review of how the site of Cerro Sechín had been found. Then some as yet undisclosed details were provided. Ten monoliths were set on either side of the front entrance of the structure with smaller ones superimposed and inserted between the larger. With the exception of two that had the same figurative character, all of the figures carved on the stones reproduced the human form either completely or partially, and with certain feline features. These figures could be classified into types: complete or naked human figures, (the former) provided with a ceremonial weapon; and figures of parts of the human anatomy such as heads, eyes, vertebrae, and extremities. The reporter repeated comments that had recently been published by Tello: that the discoveries made in Casma undermined Max Uhle's idea that the Maya had expanded into and colonized South America and, as such, existing cultures there were no more than detached branches of the great Central American trunk. Hence, according to Uhle, Ecuadorian and Peruvian cultures in their highest phases of development were just peripheral phases of this ancient Mayan expansion. However, Tello's recent discoveries in Casma showed that the fine incised and painted pottery that had been found by Uhle in Ecuador was not Mayan, but instead Chavín, and, therefore, provided evidence of the continental sphere of influence of this megalithic culture (Anon. 1937x).

The second report was published in *El Universal* and, like the report published in *El Comercio* it, too, was accompanied by three illustrations. One was the same artist's reconstruction of the ruins of Cerro Sechín published by its competitor, one was a snapshot taken in the field of some of the carved stones that had been unearthed and that had not yet been removed, and one was of Carrión showing the mold that had been made of one of the smaller

¹²³ The drawing of Cerro Sechín was done by Rojas Ponce and it was later included in Tello's 1956 report on the work conducted in the Casma Valley (figure 130, facing page 288).

carved stones. In fact, the reporter made a point of saying that the editor of the newspaper had been invited by curator Carrión to see what Tello had sent to the university's archaeological museum (Anon. 1937y).

Finally, on 1 October, *El Comercio* published a report based on what was said to have been an interview with Collier, but instead gives the appearance of having been Collier's written response to a series of questions that had been asked of him. In any case, Collier said he was a student of anthropology and archaeology at the University of Chicago, and said he had been sent by the IAR to work at Tello's side in order to deepen his understanding of Peruvian archaeology. He then went on to say that the expedition also included the archaeological students Loomis and McCreery from the University of New Mexico, as well as Mejía, Ponce, and Rojas (from San Marcos). He also said the Yale students Blair and Danielson had joined the expedition in Casma.

Collier then demonstrated diplomatic flair by exalting the discoveries made at Cerro Sechín. He said a marvelous and important monument had been found there, and that as soon as word spread to America, the site would receive attention both great and justified, so much so that both scientists and tourists would make pilgrimage to it. Then, after listing the contributors to the expedition that was directed by Tello, Collier wrote that the work had as its objective an understanding of the archaeology of northern Peru, with special attention to be given to finding evidence relative to the distribution of the Chavín culture. Next he wrote that the expeditionary team had left Lima on 16 June, and that various sites had been visited along the coast before arriving in Casma.¹²⁴ He

specifically mentioned Wilahuara (Wilka-Wauru) where examples of a very high development in the textile arts were in evidence.

As for the finds made in Casma, Collier said that a magnificent Chavín temple composed of a series of platforms had been found at Cerro Sechín, the lowest platform of which had been built of stone, and the highest of which had been built using conical adobes. The front of the first platform, he noted, appeared to have been constructed of monoliths of worked granite weighing from two to eight tons, with smaller worked stones placed in the spaces between the monoliths. Each of the monoliths was engraved with an anthropomorphic figure, and smaller stones were engraved with a head, all of these latter engravings being different, except for a pair that were identical. The stones, he went on, were set in such a way as to form an identical and symmetrical series of ten monoliths, and some thirty smaller ones on each side of the entrance. As for the second platform at Cerro Sechín, he continued, it was set in the center of the first, and there they had uncovered a temple with a gracefully curving wall and a central entrance that was bordered on either side by a conventionalized jaguar twice its natural size that was painted in fresco. Then, showing an artistic flair, Collier stated that the engraved stones found at Cerro Sechín had been created with great surety and care. The temple as a whole, he went on, with its perfect symmetry, its gracefully curving walls, its principal entrances, and the grand aspect provided by its monoliths, demonstrated, apart from its construction, a delicate sense for architectural forms and masses that he likened to mechanical genius. This, he said, was further evidence for a highly developed Chavín culture.

Collier next said that the expeditionary team had also visited and studied more than fifty other sites in the Casma Valley, the most notable being the Chavín site of Huaca Sechín

¹²⁴ So, unlike his 8 August 1937 letter to Bennett in which he wrote that the team had left Lima on the 15th, here he writes in accordance with official records that the expeditionary team left Lima on the 16th.

Alto, consisting of a great pyramidal temple constructed of about two million cubic meters of stone, hence making it undoubtedly the largest huaca in Peru. In addition, there was the Chavín site called Huaca Moxeke, also a stone temple, the front of which was decorated with anthropomorphic and zoomorphic figures sculpted from adobe, and then painted. There was also the very important Chavín site of Pallka, situated near the town of Yautan, some fifty kilometers east of the town of Casma. There, unlike the other sites in Casma where Chavín occupations had been buried under thick caps of earth, the surface of this upper valley site was profusely littered with classic Chavín pottery.

Collier continued by saying that a preliminary report on the work that was being done in Casma was being prepared by Tello, and that it would soon be made known. For the moment, however, the most that could be said was that the expeditionary team had unquestionably found in Casma evidence of great importance. This evidence proved without a doubt that, as had previously been hypothesized by Tello, Chavín Culture had a coastal distribution. As such, it was to be expected that more careful investigations on the coast would reveal remains of the Chavín culture in other valleys on the Peruvian North coast. Collier said what had been found in Casma provided additional and convincing proof of the power, complexity, sophistication, and antiquity of Chavín culture, the latter being evidenced by the fact that Chavín remains had been found in a layer beneath the remains of other cultures.

At the moment, Collier went on, Tello, Mejía, Ponce, and Rojas were continuing their northern research, and were expected to do so for a number of months. As for himself, he had only recently been exposed to the archaeology of Peru, and he was impressed by the abundance and richness, not only demonstrated by its

museums, but especially by the many sites as yet to be studied. He wrote that, he was impressed with the great number and complexity of questions pertinent to Peruvian archaeology that needed to be resolved. He had the impression that Peruvian, or better said, Andean archaeology, was the most interesting and difficult in the Americas. Peru, he added, had the great fortune of having such a rich cultural heritage augmented by archaeological, ethnological, and linguistic discoveries, a heritage that extended back more than two thousand years.

Collier ended, once again with diplomatic flair, by saying Peru's heritage was drawing more and more interest in the United States, because it offered solutions to many of the problems pertinent to the history of the New World. This was true especially for American anthropologists and this, in turn, had been reflected eight months before in New York with the formation of the IAR. He then pointed out that members of the IAR included many of the nation's principal anthropologists like Kroeber, Kidder, Bennett, and Lothrop, all of whom were well known in Peru. With the formation of the IAR, he concluded, there was the hope that many others would become interested in Peru, a place that he had learned had a very rich and interesting heritage that needed to be both understood and preserved (Anon. 1937z).

Bennett received a letter from Collier written in Lima on 3 October. Collier began by apologizing for not having written sooner, or even more for that matter, adding that he wondered if his first letter had been received because letters he had sent to others in the United States had not arrived, leaving him to suspect the stamps had been removed. He then said the expedition had only just left Casma, and that he had returned to Lima in order to attend to some business. Collier then told Bennett about his plans once he left Lima. It was his intention to travel to the highlands in a

few days. He was going to the Callejón de Huaylas and to Chavín de Huantar and then join up with the expedition as it moved down from Cajamarca, a place he was sorry to miss seeing. However, he added, given that nothing was certain about Tello's plans, he was unsure where, or when this would take place. In any case, he really wanted to explore the Callejón and Chavín, and expected to be in the mountainous region until at least the first of December.

Next Collier briefly told Bennett about what had transpired in Casma. The work there, he said, had proven fruitful, pleasant, and very important. As for Hewett's students, they had left the valley on the first of September, and had already returned home. Tello, he then said, had prepared a preliminary report consisting of 115 typewritten pages, and the university had agreed to publish it, something Tello thought would happen before he left the country. He added that a copy of the manuscript was being sent to the IAR. Then, after saying that the university was really excited about what had been found in Casma, and, as a result, the university was, at that time, enthusiastic about archaeology, Collier said such feelings never lasted long. In concluding, Collier told Bennett that he was enclosing a copy of a newspaper interview that he had deliberately requested at Tello's suggestion. He added that the reporter had done a good job, and had twisted only a few of his comments. He ended by saying he was thinking of sailing home on 20 December, but that, in any event, he would not be leaving before then (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

Arrangements for the expeditionary team to leave Casma for Trujillo were made on 27 September. At two thirty in the afternoon the next day, Tello, Mejía, Ponce, and Rojas left in a truck and arrived at Chimbote that same day. Along the way they visited the ruins of Tambo

Warapo on the right margin of the Nepeña Valley near the Hacienda Huacatambo. Then, on 29 September, they made for the town of Santa in the valley of that name, exploring the Lacramarca Quebrada along the way. They saw pre-Columbian aqueducts, irrigation canals, and ancient agricultural fields near the shore. In the afternoon they arrived at the Hacienda (Santa Clara de) Guadalupito in the Santa Valley that was run by Manuel Carmona and his family. The team spent the next three days in the valley exploring ruins (Mejía 1956:329–331) in the lower valley.

Three kilometers north of the Port of Chimbote, essentially at the foot of a mountain covered by sand, they saw the figure of a snake, Moche in design, the body, the neck, as well as a rectangular head and rectangular snout all being clearly visible. At this place, called Peñón de León, they also saw evidence of rectangular structures, and saw evidence of more structures at nearby Koshko. They visited the large post-Chavín sites of Calaveras and Alto Peru in the vicinity of the hacienda Tambo Real, investigated the great wall of Santa, explored extensive cemeteries surrounding Cerro Ipuna, and excavated a cemetery on the Pampa del Inka-Santa Clara (Cabanillas 2004:19–29).

They then continued northward toward Trujillo on 2 October and reached the city at six P.M. The next day they explored the ruins of Chan Chan and Moche, but Rafael Larco Herrera denied them permission to visit the Chiclín Museum (in the Chicama Valley to the north), something they could not understand, so they instead headed toward Pacasmayo.¹²⁵

¹²⁵ The following was published on page iv of the 17 May 1938 edition of *The West Coast Leader*: "The port of Pacasmayo was formerly the main link between the coast and Cajamarca. . . . It still remains, however, the principal distributing centre for one of the richest rice-producing districts of Peru. . . . The town of Pacasmayo is small, but attracts a large number of visitors from the interior during the bathing season. Hotel accommodation is fairly good"

During 4 October they explored the ruins of Faclo Grande, Faclo Chico, Pacatnamu, and Huaca dos Cabezas in the lower Jequetepeque Valley, as well as the ruins of Cerro Chepen. They also visited Sixto Balarezo in Guadalupe and saw his collection of artifacts (Mejía 1956: 331).¹²⁶

In brief, during their last days in the Casma Valley, the team focused their attention on Cerro Sechín and Moxeke, with Collier leaving for Lima on 21 September. It was likely during these last few days that Tello wrote an article that was later published in Lima's *El Comercio*. In this article Tello discussed discoveries made in the Casma Valley within the context of his long-standing research on Chavín culture. He included mention of the fact that, while looking at Max Uhle's collection of artifacts from Supe, he had been surprised to discover it included classic Chavín pottery, thereby indicating that his own recent discovery of Chavín pottery in Supe had not been unexpected.

(Anon. 1938q).

¹²⁶ "Geographically, the north coast archeological region extends for over four hundred miles along the coast and includes twelve important valleys. From south to north these are Huarmey, Casma, Nepeña, Santa, Viru, Moche, Chicama, Jequetepeque, Saña, Lambayeque, Piura, and Chira. In general, the northernmost valleys are larger and better supplied with water. . . . Although rivers of seven of the . . . valleys originate in the continental watershed, the supply of water is not constant. In the mountain rainy season, which lasts from January to April, the rivers are apt to be torrential. . . . Between river valleys, and in parts of the unirrigated sections of the valleys themselves, desert conditions prevail. A rough average of 25 to 30 miles of desert separates each valley from its neighbor, and the greatest single stretch of about 100 miles is the desert of Sechura, between Lambayeque and Piura. . . . The country surrounding the valleys is rugged. The coastal valleys are not only separated by desert stretches but by mountain ridges as well" (Bennett 1937e:35). From this general statement by Bennett, we can extrapolate that the 1937 expedition explored the roughly 300 miles of the north coast extending northward from the Huarmey Valley to that of Lambayeque.

Finally, as for the expedition's activities, after departing Casma on 28 September, it had gradually traveled up to Trujillo, while exploring various post-Chavín sites in valleys along the way, before reaching that city on the second of October. There they visited the principal post-Chavín sites in the Moche Valley, before moving north to the Chicama Valley, where they were unexpectedly denied access to the Larco Museum. From there they continued to explore post-Chavín sites in the Jequetepeque Valley. The team never did travel to Chiclayo.

CASMA TO CAJAMARCA AND BEYOND

October–December 1937

On 5 October Tello and his companions took the train from Pacasmayo to Chilete, arriving at this latter locale in the afternoon.¹²⁷ A half hour later they were on the road to Cajamarca.¹²⁸ They arrived the same day and secured accommodations at the Hotel Amazonas. The following day they explored the ruins of Kasha-marka-Orqo to the north of the city. Then, on 7 October, they explored the ruins of Otushko or Ventanillas (niches) situated near

¹²⁷ The following was published on page iv of the 17 May 1938 edition of *The West Coast Leader*: "Pacasmayo is connected with Chilete by 105 kilometres of rail over the Pacasmayo Railway. From Chilete, Cajamarca is reached over an excellent road which at one point reaches an altitude of nearly 13,000 feet before descending to the Cajamarca valley" (Anon. 1938q).

¹²⁸ The following was published on page ii of the 17 May 1938 edition of *The West Coast Leader*: "Cajamarca has an historic appeal second only to that of Cuzco. . . . It was here that Atahualpa, the last of the Inca sovereigns, was treacherously done to death by Pizarro. . . . Cajamarca today preserves almost unspoiled its old colonial aspect. It is a city of some 25,000 inhabitants, mainly of Indian blood. . . . Another singular aspect of Cajamarca is the serious aspect of the streets. Women are rarely seen abroad. . . . In a word Cajamarca remains to this day an Indian city. . . . The climate, owing to the altitude (9,000 feet) is very bracing" (Anon. 1938q).

the Inca baths (Mejía 1956:331–332).¹²⁹ In the home of Pedro Mendoza they saw a fragment of a stele with ornamentation similar to that seen at Chavín. As such, they removed the stone from the wall of the structure with the help of two others, for the purpose of moving it to the San Román National College (high school) in Cajamarca. Mendoza showed them another carved stone that appeared to have been the cover of a niche (Cabanillas 2004:37–38). This was at the home of Rosario Llanos and the stone was cleaned and a drawing was made of it (*ibid.*: 301). This second stone was sculpted with the figure of a divinity holding arrows in its left hand, a club in its right hand, and what may have been a pendant human head. Intense rains forced the team to return to Cajamarca. On the morning of the 8th they returned to Otushco, but this time they traveled by car, and studied many of the niches, discovering many human remains and artifacts in so doing. Then on the 9th they were driven from Cajamarca to the town of Pariamarka, and from there were guided to the stone walled ruins of Kollpoa (*ibid.*:39–42). After having once again returned to their hotel in Cajamarca, the team then made an excursion on 10 October to see ruins in the upper Cumbe region, to the west of the city. The Cumbe is

¹²⁹ The following was published on page ii of the 17 May 1938 edition of *The West Coast Leader*: “At a short distance from Cajamarca, and connected with it by a beautiful eucalyptus-lined avenue, lie the famous Baths of the Inca. These thermal springs have a reputation far and wide throughout Peru. The bathing establishment has undergone a complete revision in recent years, and all the buildings are constructed on the most modern lines, and subject to every requirement of health and sanitation. In consequence, the Baths are attracting an increasing number of visitors every year. In spite of these innovations, the surroundings have undergone little change. The original bath which, according to tradition, was reserved for the sole use of the Incas, still exists much as it was four hundred years ago. Of this bath, an old historian states that it was fed by two water pipes, one conveying naturally hot water and the other cold, the temperature being correspondingly tempered to suit the sovereign. Both pipes led from two natural springs which maintain the same properties to this day” (Anon. 1938q).

one of the tributaries of the Jequetepeque that flows to the Pacific. On the 10th the team explored the ruins atop Cerro Concejo, and then on the 11th they began an exploration of land being worked by José Tanta and José Mantilla on either side of a hillock. The land these men worked was separated by a thick stone border running east to west and measuring two and a half meters wide by two meters high. On the surface were lots of pottery fragments and stone tools. Pedro Mendoza was put in charge of digging a series of test pits at this site (*ibid.*: 45–46).

It was on 11 October that the Lima daily *El Comercio* began publishing on Tello’s activities in the highlands. This was a United Press report from Cajamarca dated the 10th. It was stated that Tello had come to the city, and planned to spend eight days exploring and studying its archaeological sites (Anon. 1937aa). Then, on the 12th, this daily published a second such report from Cajamarca dated the 11th. It was reported that Tello had visited the ruins of Otisco (Otushco), Pariamarka, and Cumbre, and that he had expressed enthusiasm for what he had seen. It was reported that he had said what he had seen had incalculable scientific value, and that pottery he had found would make it possible to determine the age of the ruins. Finally, it was reported that Tello was going to Yanacancha, and that upon his return local institutions planned to honor him (Anon. 1937bb).

On the 13th, Tello and his team traveled to the Yanacancha region about ten leagues north of Cajamarca and within the confines of the Province of Hualgayoc (Cabanillas 2004:46).¹³⁰

¹³⁰ The following was published on page ii of the 17 May 1938 edition of *The West Coast Leader*: “The capital of the province of the same name, Hualgayoc stands at a level of 11,870 feet. It is 44 miles to the north of Cajamarca. . . . There are six ore plants in the immediate vicinity where lixiviation and smelting processes are carried out for the silver mines of Santa Lucia, Santo Cristo and Consulado.

The muleteer Alcibiades Pita guided the team to the Hacienda Yanacancha. Then, over a period of four days, they explored twenty gigantic mausoleums in Qori-orquosh or Sombrero de Oro at about 4,000 meters above sea level, numerous niches in Kuchak, and numerous other niches in Yanacancha. In addition, with permission from N. Collantes, they studied a quadrangular idol with Chavín-like mythological images that sat in the patio of the hacienda (Mejía 1956: 332). What was especially interesting about this obelisk was that on opposite sides were carved male and feline images, just as an obelisk that Tello had found years earlier at Chavín (Cabanillas 2004:15).

More specifically, about 400 meters south of Yanacancha, they found a looted megalithic tomb or mausoleum consisting of a large semi-hemispherical stone covering a rectangular stone box, the lid of which had been removed and placed to the side. The site was worked with the help of two men, and led to the discovery of the remains of four bodies and lots of pottery, all of which were removed and sent to the university's museum (in Lima). On the 14th fifteen more tombs of this type were found at this locale. To expedite matters, Tello sent Mejía and Rojas to a vantage point to make a schematic plan of the site, while he and Ponce studied broken monoliths at the hacienda. One of these monoliths was a prismatic column set in the principal patio of the hacienda. It was cut in high relief with the figure of a seated human figure with hands raised to the chin. On the reverse side was carved the figure of a seated feline with hands clasped in front. The other monolith was found at the threshold of the main house of the hacienda, and it consisted of the remains of what had been a larger rectangular stele, the remaining portion decorated with two carved human faces. Both monoliths were measured and photographed (*ibid.*:48–60).

Coal is also obtained from the Yanacancha field a few miles to the south of Hualgayoc" (Anon. 1938q).

On 15 October *El Comercio* published details about the discovery of a megalithic aqueduct in the Cumbe-mayo Quebrada. This was in the form of a United Press report from Cajamarca dated the previous day, in which it was stated that the aqueduct, bordering Haciendas Secsenmayo and San Cristóbal, had been cut into stone for a distance of about 400 meters. Other specifics were provided. The aqueduct was perfectly rectangular, and measured from 0.40 to 0.80 centimeters wide, and from a half a meter to a meter high, and in its vicinity there were stones decorated in relief with mythological figures. According to Tello, the report went on, this megalithic monument was one of the marvels of ancient American art, and it needed to be intensely studied, and for this purpose he would be establishing a camp on Hacienda San Cristóbal, the owner of which had offered to cooperate in this venture. Tello was then quoted as having said with enthusiasm that the megalithic structure was stupendous, and the best of its kind he had ever seen. Finally, it was stated that the work of this eminent archaeologist had gotten the general attention of the local population (Anon. 1937cc).¹³¹

El Comercio's breaking news about the discovery of the megalithic canal was followed the next day by a lengthy editorial which essentially repeated what had just been reported, but also stated that many other ancient canals were known in Peru, and from a study of these much could be learned about agricultural practices in ancient times. Finally, the editorial said the megalithic canal would be attractive to tourists, that its study would help to reestablish the cultivable lands of Paríamarca and Acopama,

¹³¹ Tello worked at Cumbe 10–11 October, left Mendoza in charge, and then went to Yanacancha on the 13th (Cabanillas 2004:45-46). The report published in *El Comercio* on the 15th about the discovery of the megalithic canal was dated the 14th, and included a Tello quote regarding his excitement about what had been found (1937cc). Hence, Tello knew what Mendoza had found before leaving for Yanacancha.

and that, hence, the local economy would experience improvement (Editor 1937b).

On 16 October, the team returned to Cajamarca, encountering a rainstorm toward the end of their journey. During the next three days, the team explored and studied the ruins of the Inca baths, Santa Apolonia,¹³² and the place where the Spanish had held the Inca Atahualpa for ransom (Mejía 1956:332).

The following day, the 17th, *El Comercio* published a letter to the editor it had received from Nicolas Augusto Puga Arroyo that had been penned in Cajamarca on the 11th. This letter provided chronological details about discoveries made at Cumbe-mayo. Puga wrote that Ernesto Puente Velezmoro, a driver for the Hacienda San Cristóbal, had been the one to first see the aqueduct, and that he had then told others in Cajamarca about it. One of these individuals was Alejandro Cacho who decided to verify Puente's claim. He went to the site, took photographs, and resolved to make a plan of the place, and then send what he had to Tello. As for his part, Puga wrote that, in May 1937, he had gone to the site, situated about 8 kilometers from Cajamarca, and at about 3600 meters above sea level, and had discovered an oval artificial cave decorated with carved designs. This cave was cut into three meters of solid rock, had a floor that formed a perfect circle three meters and two centimeters in diameter, and had a ceiling that reached from two to two and a half meters high. When Tello came to Cajamarca, Puga continued, he and Cacho had told him about the site, and early on Sunday 11 October they had guided Tello,

¹³² The following was published on page ii of the 17 May edition of *The West Coast Leader*: "On one of the spurs of the Cerro Santa Apolonia may still be seen what is called the Throne of the Incas. From it lead a number of subterranean tunnels which are said to extend to the centre of Cajamarca. Close by are traces of the old Inca road, paved with stone, which united Cajamarca with Cuzco" (Anon. 1938q).

Mejía, and Rojas to the site situated atop Cumbe-mayo. There Puente and some boys were waiting to help with anticipated excavations. Tello, Puga wrote, was very impressed, and photos, including some panoramas, were taken. The group then undertook a reconnaissance of the site where a canal about half a meter wide had been cut into hard stone a distance of some 700–800 meters, or nearly a kilometer. They saw carvings in relief at three places. Tello decided, Puga went on, that the site needed to be cleaned and studied over a period of days, so they then looked for a suitable place to set up a camp. In the process, they went to the ruins of the Acropolis or El Consejo, and to the site called El Subteraneo del Cumbe. Finally, Puga wrote, he, Tello, Mejía, Rojas, Puente, and Cancho returned to Cajamarca early in the evening (Puga 1937).

On 19 October it was reported in *El Comercio* that Tello had returned to Cajamarca the previous day from Yanacancha where he had discovered interesting tombs and vestiges of a city. The report went on to say that Tello, before establishing a camp at San Cristóbal, for the purpose of studying the ruins of Cumbe-mayo, would first go to the Marañón to look for other ruins (Anon. 1937dd). On the 23rd it was reported in this daily that Tello was in Celendin, that he had spoken the previous evening with the head and teachers of the National College (high school), and that he would return to the city after going to Chuquibamba. Tello, the report went on, had left Cajamarca, with his team and the muleteer Acibiades Pita, on the 20th, and had traveled to Celendin by way of the Celendin-Balsas road, with the intent of exploring the megalithic ruins of Cochabamba, in the Province of Chuquibamba and District of Chachapoyas (Anon. 1937ee). Finally, a report sent from Cajamarca dated the 24th was published on the 25th in *El Comercio*. It was reported that Tello had left Celendin for Chuquibamba and other places on the other side of the

Marañón, where he hoped to find new archaeological evidence. It was reported that Tello would return in six to eight days to establish himself at Cumbe (Anon. 1937ff).

Tello had sent a cable to San Marcos dated 20 October that was subsequently published on the 25th in *El Comercio*. He had written that Cajamarca had proven to be the most important archaeological center in the northern Andes and that he had discovered the megalithic civilization of Cumbe-mayo and twenty-six Yanacancha mausoleums. He had found Amazonian pottery and, as such, he was obligated to conduct excavations, and to undertake an exploration of Chuquibamba on the right bank of the Marañón¹³³ (Tello 1937d).

The muleteer Pita guided Tello and his team through the humid tropical region.¹³⁴ They worked at the megalithic ruins of Cochabamba during the period 23–25 October and then began their way back to Celendin on the 26th.

¹³³ A presidential decree of great interest to Tello was published in *El Comercio* on 28 October 1937 while he was his way to the Cochabamba ruins. The decree was dated 25 October, and was signed by Recavarren C. This decree stated that, given the presence of many important and high value pre-Inca sites in the District of Illimo in the Department of Lambayeque, the government was obligated to conserve them in the best way possible, so that they could be studied relative to the Chimu civilization. Hence, while this study was being done, private excavations for minerals would be prohibited, so as to prevent the government from being defrauded both economically and archaeologically. The decree then went on to say that, in conformance with the opinion of the director of mines and petroleum, sites located in the District of Illimo were not to be considered available for mining exploration, and that nonconformity with this decree was subject to the Code of Mining and pertinent laws numbered 4452 and 7601. Finally, it was stated that the minister of public works would be cancelling all existing petitions that had been presented before the Lambayeque Mining Delegation and that it would not accept new petitions (Recavarren 1937).

¹³⁴ The team never saw the sun during their time in this region, nor were their shoes ever dry (Ponce 1957:136).

They arrived on the 27th, and were invited to explore Cerro Tolon outside the city. The following day, Tello and his team, accompanied by the various officials, the head of the college,¹³⁵ and students began their excursion, staying overnight in Totorilla. Though tradition had it that an archaeological site of great importance was atop Tolon, this proved not to be the case. Instead they found that ancient vestiges were both scant and poor. The next day Tello and his team studied the artifact collection of the engineer Pedro Tejada that had been taken from the tombs of Catanjito. With what they had learned from their study of this collection, along with information they had received from a number of individuals, and especially Juan Araujo, they decided to study next the *chullpas* at the site of Chokta, two leagues from Oxamarca in the Miriles Quebrada, and still in the Province of Celendin. They left the morning of 31 October, in the company of Juan Araujo, Penonoas Silva, and the teacher-in-training Jehonias Silva. They arrived at the site the following morning and established a camp (Mejía 1956:333–334).

Meanwhile, Kroeber wrote to Kidder on 26 October and began by thanking the latter for having written to him (date and contents unknown). He went on to say he had left the hospital, and was at home convalescing for what would be a month or more. Kroeber then told Kidder that he had just been feeling sick, when he had received the forwarded extract of his son's letter. He then said what Kidder II had reported from Lima was like many other reports that had been received, although this was not the case for the enthusiastic report Cole had received from Collier (date and contents unknown). Hence, Kroeber said, while not arguing either way, he would go along with the majority view on the Tello matter, but that felt a decision

¹³⁵ According to Hernán Ponce Sánchez (1957:128), the school was named "Javier Prado" and its director was a friend of Tello's named Dr. Aladino Escalante.

on the matter should wait until as much as possible could be learned about what had occurred before any changes were made. Kroeber then turned to other IAR matters. He wrote that he assumed that the annual meeting would take place around Christmas, and, given his health, he would likely not attend. As such, he asked Kidder to tell other members of the IAR that he felt someone else should assume the mantle of the presidency, because he was on the West Coast. He told Kidder that, given his attitude the previous spring, he thought Bennett was keen on being replaced as secretary, because he was planning to go to Peru, and the role of the office tended to put him in a difficult position with the Peruvians. Having said this, he suggested that Strong replace Bennett, even though he had actually never been to Peru, though pointing out that he had published on the Uhle collection (at Berkeley). Finally, Kroeber said it was time for the IAR to take on new members, and he felt Ronald Olson and Lila O'Neale should be considered, though the former should not be considered as a replacement for Bennett as secretary, because he lived on the West Coast (Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology Archive, Harvard University, Alfred V. Kidder Papers, accession no. 989-13, box 1, folder 9, correspondence).

Bennett wrote to Tello on the 27th saying first that, although he had not kept up his correspondence with him, he had received great reports from Blair, Danielson, and Collier, all of whom had expressed enthusiasm for their experiences in Peru. Hence, he told Tello, he had told all of the members of the IAR that he enthusiastically endorsed him, adding that what he had discovered in Casma was both sensational and important. Having thus complimented Tello, Bennett then told him that Rockefeller also continued to be enthusiastic about him, and that he was keeping Rockefeller informed about the discoveries being made. He wrote that Rockefeller had allowed him to open

one of the mummy bundles that had been sent to New York, and thanked both of them for the opportunity to do so. Rockefeller, he went on, had decided to keep and mount the unwrapped textiles, for the purpose of exhibiting them around the country, and he said that Rockefeller was still talking about the Met and other museums taking part in a large scale excavation in Peru. Complimenting Tello once again, Bennett then said he had recommended him to head such an excavation, given that he was the only one with sufficient knowledge to undertake such a venture, adding that he hoped something came of it.

Bennett then shifted to a discussion of his plan to go to Peru in January, to conduct research. This research, he pointed out, would not be done under the auspices of the IAR, but rather under those of the AMNH. Hence, he said, he would be resigning the role of the IAR's secretary, but thought Strong, who was at Columbia University, would be replacing him. Regarding future work to be undertaken by the IAR, he then told Tello, he hoped that it would continue to be funded, especially given the report he expected to receive from him regarding his current work. As for his specific plans, Bennett told Tello that he had applied for a permit to undertake survey and test pitting in the North Highlands, because he was also convinced it was an important region. His work, Bennett told Tello, would not compete with his own, but would rather supplement what he had done in the highlands, and thereby serve to add to what he had learned. Bennett then once again complimented Tello, by telling him he would be asking for his advice, given that he was Peru's most outstanding archaeologist, and the only one who knew the region. In his concluding remarks, Bennett told Tello that he was anxious to talk with him about long-term programs, and that he also hoped to hear from him before January, though he understood how difficult it was to find time to write letters in the

field (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

Bennett also wrote to Tozzer on 27 October. He began by saying that the problems involving Guernsey were unfortunate, and that he was unable to think of any way to resolve them. He then asked Tozzer for advice, before he wrote to her. Specifically he asked Tozzer how he felt about him telling her to return to the United States on the next ship. Bennett went on to point out that, despite her complaints, Guernsey had probably learned more than she thought, and that her experiences in Peru would serve her well as she continued her work with textiles at home. In his view, Bennett said, she should be told the IAR was satisfied with her, and that she should be told she had not failed. He then added the comment that there might even be a Paracas mummy bundle for her to open once she returned.

Next Bennett turned to a discussion of Collier, saying his work with Tello had proven very successful. He told Tozzer that Collier and Tello had worked for a time in the Casma Valley, and that a temple faced with ninety carved stone pillars in a pre-Chavín style¹³⁶ had been found, a discovery that was one of the most important ever to have been made in Peru. He had received word from Collier, Bennett continued, that Tello had taken lots of notes and photographs, and had made many drawings, all of which would result in a 115-page preliminary report that would be published by San Marcos in the near future. As for Blair and Danielson, he said, they had already come home, after having turned over to Tello what spare money they had, and that they were enthusiastically endorsing their time with him. Bennett concluded by giving Tozzer his assessment of the 1937 field season for the Institute's

fellows. It was one hundred percent successful, he said, seventy-five percent for Collier and twenty-five percent for Guernsey, a result he admitted that was more than he had expected. He closed by telling Tozzer that he would put off writing to Guernsey until he had heard back from him (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

Kroeber wrote a brief letter to Tello on the 29th. He began by apologizing for not having responded to the interesting reports on his fieldwork that he had sent to him (dates and contents unknown). He explained that this had been due to the fact that he had been hospitalized for the removal of his gall bladder three weeks past (Bancroft Library Archive, University of California, Berkeley, Alfred L. Kroeber Collection—correspondence).

Kroeber then received a 1 November response from Kidder, who filled him in on the Guernsey situation. Kidder wrote that his son had told him after returning home that when he had written to him from Lima complaining about Tello's treatment of Guernsey, he had been unaware that Tello was doing everything he could for Collier, and that, as a result, the latter's work in Peru had proven completely satisfactory. Kidder then said he did not think it advisable to make any "radical" changes in their dealings with Tello, and that they needed to wait until receiving reports from both Collier and Guernsey, but that he felt the other members of the IAR should know how things had appeared (to his son and his wife). Next Kidder turned to others matters. He told Kroeber that he was concerned that his leaving the post of president, and Bennett's resigning from the post of secretary, would gut the IAR. He added that he wasn't sure it could accomplish anything anyway, but that, in their absence, it would have no chance at all. In any case, he told Kroeber, he would share his 26 October letter to him with Tozzer, and get his opinion on the matter.

¹³⁶ Bennett did not explain why he thought the carved stones Tello found at Cerro Sechín were pre-Chavín in style.

Finally, Kidder said he concurred with the idea of expanding the Institute's membership, and agreed that O'Neale should be considered (Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology Archive, Harvard University, Alfred V. Kidder Papers, accession no. 989-13, box 1, folder 9, correspondence).

Bennett finally wrote to Guernsey on the first of November. He gave two explanations for his delay: because he had been away a lot, and because he had simply not known what to say to her, but, after having consulted with other members of the IAR, he was in a position to tell her what they had decided. First of all, Bennett wrote, the IAR's members did not blame her at all for what had happened, and that he personally believed she had gained much from her time in Lima. This was because, since most of the good work on textiles was being done in the United States, her work in Peru should be thought of as a way of gaining a background for a better understanding of her field, an understanding that could not have been gained just by reading books. Then, after saying he did not know all the circumstances involving the Paracas situation, Bennett advised Guernsey to book passage on a ship home, to leave in six or eight weeks, as she so chose and to write to Tello and tell him she was doing so because her money was running out. Bennett then advised her to tell Tello what she had accomplished, and to tell him what she still wanted to do, adding that he was sending along a sample letter of a general type as a guide. Bennett then told her to wait until she heard back from Tello, who must either tell her he had nothing else for her to do, or tell her what he wanted her to do. In either case, Bennett then told Guernsey, she should then feel free to leave Peru without any concern about how much work she had actually done. Bennett concluded by trying to cheer Guernsey up, saying that she should not let matters get her down. He told her that he had also experienced great frustrations and bouts of depression

while struggling to get permits and the like. And, he added, this happened to everyone, the point being not to admit it after returning home. After asking her how her Spanish was coming along, he ended by saying that ten years down the road she would have her own set of troubling experiences to share with others who had worked in Latin America (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

Bennett received a letter from Collier written in Lima on the second of November. Collier began by telling Bennett he had just received his letter dated 27 October (contents unknown). Collier went on to say he was leaving Lima the next morning on a trip that would take him to the Callejón de Huaylas via Huarney and Aija, and that he also planned to go to Chavín, Huánuco Viejo, and possibly down into the Huallaga Valley from Huánuco, if he had time. This he was planning to do prior to seeing Tello (in Lima), who was working in the Cajamarca region, adding that he was especially pleased to be able to photograph some sites for which no pictures yet existed. Then Collier told Bennett he really wanted to attend the (Washington, D.C.) anthropology meetings and that of the IAR, but doubted he would be able to do so, given the first ship he would be able to catch would be the (*Santa*) *Rita* scheduled to depart on 20 December, and arrive on 3 January. He said, he still had more than 1,000 soles, and this would be sufficient to cover his trip to the highlands with money to spare. So, despite having to miss the meetings, he did not want to waste the opportunity at hand.

Next Collier spoke about Tello. He shared his view that Tello had interesting ideas, and thoughts about the future of Peruvian archaeology, all of which would be of interest to the IAR. As for Tello's preliminary report, Collier said he felt there was little hope that it would be published soon, because Tello had not been in Lima when the Casma discoveries had been

made known, that San Marcos had already lost interest in archaeology, and that he doubted the university would help to finance publication. Collier said he felt the university, despite (publicly) supporting Tello, was not willing to help him financially and that, in any case, moral support from the university could not be counted upon.¹³⁷ Of course, he went on, there was the

¹³⁷ To be fair, it should be pointed out that the University of San Marcos was then experiencing a major expansion of its curriculum, student body, and facilities as shown in the following two quotes. The first was published in *The New York Times* on 23 October 1938: "The doyen of all the universities in the Three Americas, the University of San Marcos at Lima, Peru, is enlarging its plant as an aid to a recently widened curriculum. . . . The most recent reform was the new university statute, one of the results of which has been an increased number of students from all parts of the country. The total last year was nearly 2,000, as against 1,531 in 1929. . . . In addition to widening the scope of the curricula, the university has enlarged its plant. A new reading room has been constructed. For the faculty of medicine, a new laboratory has been built and two others, anthropology and organic chemistry, are under construction. Other additions in process of completion are a biological laboratory and a drawing room for the course in physical geography. The archaeological museum has also been enlarged. Existing buildings have been completely overhauled. The electric and sanitary installations have been renewed and filtered water has been laid on" (Anon. 1938uu). The second was published on pages 11–12 of the 23 August 1938 edition of Lima's *The West Coast Leader*. It read, "The doyen of all universities in the Three Americas is the University of San Marcos. It was founded by Viceregal Decree in 1553. . . its present buildings facing the Parque Universitario . . . The most recent reform was the new University Statute which was drawn up by the present Administration and inspired by President Benavides. One of the immediate results was an increased number of students from all parts of the country, the total on the role last year being nearly 2,000. . . . Even more striking is the improvement in the morale of the students. Whereas too often in recent years the University had been a hotbed of politics and even of sedition, today a spirit of seriousness and devotion to study marks the majority of the students. This is due in large part to the good influence of the actual Faculty, headed by the Rector, Dr. Alfredo Solf y Muro. In addition to the widening of the scope of the curricula, many internal reforms have been carried out by the present Faculty. Among other things . . . For the Faculty of Medicine, a new laboratory has been built and two others (Anthropol-

possibility that Rockefeller might help, given that he had expressed interest in seeing a report on the expedition, but this would still mean a delay. In any event, Collier told Bennett, he would try to send a copy of Tello's report, so that it would arrive prior to the meeting of the IAR, but that he could do nothing until Tello came back to Lima, a time that he speculated would be around the same time he himself planned to return from the highlands. Now, Collier told Bennett, with regard to his plans to work in the northern highlands, he was convinced Tello would not consider it a matter of interference with his own work, and, instead, would be pleased to work with him. He explained that he had come to this conclusion because he had every confidence in Tello as a scholar, and believed his heart-felt interest was in furthering an understanding of the archaeology of Peru. Collier then said he had initially allowed himself to become a member of Tello's support team in order to be successful, and reminded Bennett that he had told him to do so when he had advised "we" was the operative word when doing field-work. But, Collier added, though he might be underestimating his faults, Tello had proven to be a good friend who had been very generous in helping him in any way that he could.

Having made his pitch for Tello, Collier then directed Bennett's attention to the copy of the newspaper article (date and source unknown) he had enclosed. He explained the references to Chavín, and briefly explained Tello's views on the subject, saying it was otherwise a complicated matter. Tello's grand hypothesis regarding Chavín, he added, when supported by sufficient data, would go far toward resolving some of the biggest problems in Peruvian archaeology. As for whether Tello was overreaching, Collier admitted he was still too

ogy and Organic Chemistry) are under construction. . . . The Archaeological Museum has also been enlarged" (Anon. 1938ff).

much of a novice to say, but given what had been found in Casma, he was convinced Tello was right about the antiquity of Chavín. Collier ended his letter to Bennett with a number of comments relative to the latter's planned arrival in Lima. He said that Valcárcel was still in Europe, and was not expected to arrive back until December, but exactly when he could not say. After telling Bennett he would be happy to help him in any way, he suggested that he write to him in Lima around the first of December, so that his letter would be there when he returned from the field. He then asked Bennett to let him know his travel plans, because if he was going to sail on 7 January, they would need to meet in New York (City) assuming, that is, he left on 20 December aboard the (steamship *Santa Rita*). But, he told Bennett, there was the possibility he might still be in Lima when he arrived. Finally, Collier asked Bennett if (his wife) Hope's Spanish was coming along, adding in jest that his Spanish was becoming worse by the day, probably from eating too much in Lima (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

It was on 15 November that Bennett next wrote to Kroeber. After passing on to him information that he had recently received from Collier, Bennett then moved into a discussion of the problems Guernsey was experiencing. He stated that she was not faring as well as Collier, partly because of neglect on the part of Tello, and partly due to the fact that she and Carrión were not getting along. He then told Kroeber that he, Kidder, Lothrop, and Tozzer had decided that he should write to Guernsey and tell her what to do. He added that Lothrop planned to write to Tello (date and specific contents unknown) to congratulate him on his discoveries, and subtly ask about Guernsey's level of success relative to that of Collier. Next Bennett informed Kroeber that he would be leaving for Peru around the first of January, and wondered if it would be appropriate to hold a meeting of the members of the IAR to discuss

matters like the appointment of Strong as his replacement as secretary, and the general health of the organization. He closed by telling Kroeber that he hoped that he was recovering his health (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

Kroeber responded to Bennett on the 29th. He wrote that, in August, Cole had sent him a letter (date and contents unknown) that he had received from Collier, in which he had expressed his enthusiasm for his time with Tello. But, Kroeber continued, the excerpts taken from the letter Kidder had received from his son about Guernsey told another story. This, Kroeber said, was not something new, and that it once again demonstrated the fact that you were either for Tello or against him. He then compared what Guernsey was experiencing with what O'Neale had experienced years before when she was in Peru. O'Neale, he said, had been older and much more capable of handling different personalities, and, besides, she had arrived in Peru as a Guggenheim scholar, which was of a higher status than that of an IAR fellow. Hence, she had been able to speak for herself, and not be denied, while Guernsey might be more timid and of lesser stature. In any case, had Guernsey been more assertive, and had she given an ultimatum, he was certain everything would have been resolved in her favor.

Kroeber then discussed what had been learned from the unfortunate Guernsey situation. If fellows were appointed in 1938 to work in Peru, he said, they must have a defined status, and then be offered to Tello on a take it or leave it basis, because it was not the intent of the IAR to merely send him helpers. It was definitely Tello's prerogative, he added, to have Guernsey work on textiles other than Paracas, or even not to have anyone work on textiles, but he had the responsibility to clearly make his desires known to the IAR. Kroeber then went

on to say that he felt it desirable to continue to work with Tello, because it was he who had begun the process of creating the IAR, but that he had to be reined in, or else he would try to take control, and ruin the organization. As such, Kroeber indicated that he was of a mind that whoever interacted with Beale and the Blissés in the months ahead had to speak frankly with them about what had transpired during the current year, and how IAR members felt about this. He suggested that, with the approval of these donors, it might be wise, as well as fair, to allot to both Tello and Valcárcel one fellow each in the upcoming year. As he drew to a close, Kroeber commented on Bennett's idea of a meeting of the IAR at Yale in December. By all means consider it formally authorized, he said, adding that the middle of the day would probably be best. He then asked Bennett to tender his resignation as head of the IAR in the event of his absence, because he could not guarantee he could attend. He explained that he felt geographical distance had proven to be a problem in terms of his making decisions as the leader of the IAR, but that he would certainly be agreeable to serving in any other way. Finally, he brought up Bennett's stated desire to leave the post of secretary, and told him that he was glad that he had spoken to Strong about succeeding him (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

On the first of November Tello sent a wire from Celendin to the San Marcos archaeological museum, the contents of which were published in *El Comercio* on the 9th. He began by reporting that during the previous half month they had explored the right margin of the Marañón River to its origins at Utcubamba. In Cochabamba, in the District of Chiquibamba, they had found a ruin, similar in style and magnitude to that of Huánuco Viejo, with megalithic citadels, cisterns, and aqueducts. He ended his message by saying that they would next explore the left margin of Tolon and Oxamarca situated to the

north and south of the Province of Celendin, respectively (Tello 1937f).

Tello and his team stayed at Chokta for two weeks, during which time they cleaned the ruins with the help of six workers. In the process, they uncovered the remains of a temple, a walled cemetery, and twenty-five quadrangular *chullpas*. They left the site on 15 November, and began their journey back to Cajamarca, stopping along the way to study the *chullpas* of Pauka. After spending the night at the Hacienda Polloc, they completed their journey. Three days later, with the help of fifteen workers provided by Puente from the Hacienda San Cristóbal, Tello and his team initiated a cleaning of the Kumbe-mayo aqueduct, a process that began on 18 November (Mejía 1956:334).

The results of an interview with Tello that had taken place at the Hotel Amazonas, where he was staying, were published in the 22 November issue of *El Comercio*. The report on this interview had been sent the previous day, and it began with the statement that Tello had returned to Cajamarca, after having conducted investigations at certain places on the right margin of the Marañón River in the Province of Celendin. Tello, the report continued, had allowed the reporter (s?) to see his field notes that were full of drawings of the numerous archaeological remains he had found during his patient investigations. Tello had stated that the megalithic ruins in the north, and those of Cusco in the south, were different, the former being much more ancient, mentioning specifically the sites found in the Chuquibamba and Celendin regions, and the site of Chocta in the District of Oxamarca.

Tello, the report explained, had shown drawings that had been made of vestiges of constructions with admirably cut and polished blocks of stone, drawings of pottery, and drawings of *chullpas* with stone roofs, the last having

been found at a place where cisterns had been excavated, suggesting the possibility that a city might be found beneath the soil. After having spoken enthusiastically about the archaeological possibilities of the region, the report continued, Tello had then said he was going to return to the site of Cumbe-mayo to further explore and study the megalithic aqueduct there, and upon completion, would next go to the Province of Pataz. Readers were then told that Tello had greatly praised the citizens of Celendin and their magnificent youth, that he had said many of the artifacts discovered during investigations had already been sent to San Marcos, and that he had promised to speak later about what he had found at Cumbe-mayo (Anon. 1937gg).

On 25 November *El Comercio* published an edict signed by “Boza” on behalf of President Benavides that would have been of great interest to Tello. This document was dated 20 November, and it stated that an engineering report on the ruins of Chavín had been received from the inspector of the North Zone. It was also stated that an inspector had been authorized to proceed to the site by Supreme Resolution No. 63 that had been issued on 4 September. The edict went on to state that, in accordance with the inspector’s recommendation to proceed immediately with the cutting of a channel to avert the threat to the ruins caused by the Mosna River, the amount of 8,430 soles was being authorized immediately to fund this work.

On the afternoon of 25 November the expeditionary team returned to Cajamarca, and three days later Tello was feted by the Rotary Club at Baños de Inca (Mejía 1956:335).

A few days later, in its 28 November edition, *El Comercio* published a report filed by a United Press correspondent the previous day. In this report, it was stated that Collier was at Chavín. Collier, the report went on, had said that these ruins were truly marvelous and important, and

that (Chavín) constituted the mother of American culture (Anon. 1937hh).

To recap, Tello and his team traveled to Cajamarca where they established themselves at a hotel. From this city, they first explored sites in the immediate vicinity, and then made forays to the north, east, and west. Making use of local informants, they focused on megalithic sites, especially those with burial chambers. They documented, and, at times, transported back to Lima, steles decorated or carved in the form of images that were seen as Chavín in type. They traveled by vehicle when possible, and by animal when not, often experiencing unfavorable weather. They more often than not found shelter and sustenance at local haciendas of various kinds, some of the owners of which were known to Tello, some of these so-called haciendas offering bare necessities. Along the way, the team studied private collections of artifacts, and, with what they were told by the owners and other locals, they were able to learn of important sites of a megalithic nature. Perhaps the most exciting discovery of all for Tello was the megalithic canal at Cumbe-mayo, to the west of the City of Cajamarca.

While all this was happening in the field, members and representatives of the IAR corresponded. Collier wrote to Bennett about Tello’s many successes, and made it clear that he was a fan of Tello’s. He told Bennett about Tello’s written report on the work in Casma, and said he would be sending a copy. He let Bennett know that he was planning to explore the Northern Highlands before reuniting with the expeditionary team, and he offered Bennett help on his upcoming trip to Peru. Bennett also heard positive things about Tello from Blair and Danielson, and he passed all this good news on to Rockefeller. The latter was still excited about the prospects for a joint Peruvian venture that included the AMNH. Tello allowed the Paracas mummy bundles to be sent to this museum, one

of which was subsequently opened by Bennett.

Bennett also wrote to Tello, and told him about the good reports he had received, and told him about his planned non-competitive work in the Northern Highlands. He made no mention of Guernsey in his letter, but it was at this time that he corresponded with both her and Tozzer, and planned how she could exit Peru without offending Tello. Bennett kept Kroeber abreast of happenings, and he let him know that he felt Strong would be the one to succeed as the IAR's secretary. Kroeber responded that he agreed with this suggestion, that he felt IAR membership should be expanded, and offered the names of two candidates. Kroeber also liked Bennett's idea of a membership meeting at Yale, and asked him to tender his resignation as president at that time, in the event of his absence.

Kroeber, in addition to corresponding with Bennett, also exchanged letters with Kidder. They discussed Guernsey's difficulties that Kroeber felt were at least in part self-inflicted, caused by her weak personality. For his part, Kidder wrote that, given that his son's was the only negative report, he would not press for any changes in the way the IAR dealt with Tello. He told Kroeber that he was concerned that his resignation as president, and Bennett's resignation as secretary would gut the IAR.

On 29 November, Tello and his team left Cajamarca for the community of San Marcos, on the right margin of the Kaskasen River, a tributary of the Crisnerjas. Tello had previously been told in Lima, by an intermediary of Juan Pesantes Ganoza, that subterranean galleries were to be found at this locale (Mejía 1956: 335). They traveled in a car owned by the Centurion Agency, and they arrived at San Marcos just before noon. After lunch, they then went to a store owned by a man named Maradiegue, and saw his collection of copper objects

said to have come from a tomb on Mount Pila del Inca, situated near Hacienda Cochamarca (Cabanillas 2004:329). At six thirty in the morning of 30 November, they traveled to the hacienda run by Manuel Cacho Souza. Then, on foot, they were guided to a conical mound atop the mountain by Abraham Noriega (*ibid.*:281), and subsequently spent time making a careful examination of a gallery that had earlier been studied by Ganoza. After lunching at the home of the Noriega brothers at Hacienda La Laguna, they went back on foot to Hacienda Cochamarca, got back into their car, and returned to San Marcos (*ibid.*:329), where they acquired copper objects belonging to Maradiegue and another person named Valera (*ibid.*:284).

During the afternoon of 30 November the team left for Ichocan (by car) and there arranged to stay at the home of Sara Vallera, later being guided to the ruins of an Inca tambo situated near a modern cemetery. On 1 December they went to Mount Pauri-kushma where, with the help of four local workmen, they conducted excavations that resulted in the discovery of an abundance of Marañón style pottery (Mejía 1956:335). On the surface, this site appeared to be Inca in date, but recent work there had exposed evidence for an earlier Archaic Period occupation, and it was because of this that Tello decided to excavate (Cabanillas 2004:285). The next day, the 2nd, the team traveled to Cajabamba¹³⁸ and arrived at four thirty in the afternoon (Mejía 1956: 335). They made arrangements to stay at the home of the Llave family, after first studying the collection of

¹³⁸ The following was published on page ii in the 17 May 1938 edition of *The West Coast Leader*: "Cajabamba, capital of the province of that name, lies at a distance of 62 miles to the south of Cajamarca, at an altitude of 9,250 feet above sea-level. The population approximates 6,000. The outward aspect of the town is extremely pleasing, and the people are noted for their hospitality and genial customs. The local market is supplied from Cajamarca and Trujillo. The Cajabamba mines lie in the immediate vicinity" (Anon. 1938q).

skulls belonging to Máximo Barrento, who was the director of the local school (*ibid.*:288). At Cajabamba, Tello was told by two informants named Barrueto and Rossell that there were ruins at Jojos, Chichir, and elsewhere, but, unfortunately, he did not have time to follow up on this information. It was also at this time that Alcibiades Pita, who had guided the team to Yanacancha, to Kochabamba, and to Cajabamba, left the expedition (*ibid.*).

On 3 December the team began traveling by truck toward Huamachuco, the road being in a poor condition, given the heavy rains that had fallen during the previous two days. They finally reached La Conga at one in the afternoon, and from this place the road improved markedly, and they were able to reach Huamachuco shortly after five. Along the way they stopped at a place called La Capilla near Chikilbamba, where they discovered a cist tomb that measured eighty centimeters in diameter. Subsequently they visited the Sausa-kocha lagoon and explored the ruins of Wirakocha-pampa, Markawamachuko, and Amaru before finally arriving at the home of Alberto Flores.¹³⁹ In the city of Huamachuco they found out that the church of San José had been constructed on the foundations of an older (pre-Columbian) structure, and they learned from local informants that there had also been an (old) aqueduct. After making arrangements with their host for a guide and transport, the team left on the 6th, and headed toward Chilia in the Province of Pataz.

They first stopped at the Hacienda Cochabamba in the Chusgon Valley, where they were hosted by Celso Urquiza and his family. It was at this time they interacted with Dr. Manuel Donet, whom Tello had first met in 1919, while undertaking an exploration of the Callejón de Huaylas. The team subsequently made a stop at

the Hacienda Sukcha, before moving on to the Hacienda La Deliciana, on the right margin of the Marañón River. It was during this time that the team explored the stone and adobe ruins of an Inca tambo at La Viña, and, in its vicinity, they also saw remains of terraced fields and aqueducts. They then crossed the Marañón in a rope basket owned by the mining company Parcoy, after which they headed for the Hacienda La Deliciana, where they lunched at the home of the Goicochea family. Here they saw three stone sculptures carved with feline images that had been taken from the ruins of Wallan situated on heights overlooking the home. Next the team traveled five leagues, and finally arrived at Chilia (also spelled Chillia) at two in the afternoon on 9 December. There they lunched at the home of Wilfredo Honores before making a reconnaissance of the town, and saw in its plazas, streets, and private dwellings numerous stones carved with human and feline figures that served as construction material, stones that Tello had been told about in 1936 by Alcides Spelucion (*ibid.*:335–336).

On the morning of 10 December the team went to the stone walled ruins of Nuna-marka above the town, accompanied by Honores, Rogelio Cueva, Romulo Reyes, and Juan Acevedo Arce, the director of the local school. They found both at the site, and on the slopes, a number of fragments of monoliths that had been carved in relief on one side with anthropomorphic images. They then returned to Chilia and made a more complete search for carved stones that had been taken from Nuna-marka, and extracted those found in the patios of the houses in the plaza, a task made difficult by the fact that they had been found on private property (Cabanillas 2004:289–290). After collecting twenty-four small stones with carved designs, and making tracings of others, they began their trek back to Huamachuco on 13 December (Mejía 1956:337). Along the way, the team first explored the stone walled ruins of Wampu and

¹³⁹ All three of these sites are discussed in an article that was published in 1937 in part one of volume six of the *Revista del Museo Nacional* (Anon. 1937ll: 23–24).

then, near Hacienda La Deliciana, where they stayed for a day, they explored the ruins of Wayán, two and a half leagues to the south of it. At the hacienda they saw three cut stones, one sculpted into a cylindrical form, one side of which was a human figure, and on the opposite side a cadaver. The other two stones had been carved into figures representing felines facing in opposite directions (Cabanillas 2004:294–296).

On 12 December *El Comercio* published a report sent from Trujillo the previous day to the effect that the newspaper *La Industria* had published a report about Tello's activities in the highlands. It was reported that he was then in the city of Huamachuco, and that from there he planned to go by way of Santiago de Chuco to Pallasca, Pomabamba, Huari, and Huánuco (Anon. 1937ii). Then, on 17 December, *El Comercio* published a telegram that Tello had sent from Tayabamba on the 14th to San Marcos. He wrote that an exploration of the right margin of the Marañón River in the Province of Pataz had proved the existence of a notable archaeological center at Unamarca (Nunamarca) in the District of Chilla. There, he wrote, a temple adorned with monoliths sculpted in a pre-Chimu style had been found, adding that he considered it imperative to send these sculptures to the university by way of Huamachuco (Tello 1937g). According to Mejía (1956:337), the team finally returned to Huamachuco the afternoon of 15 December and, at this city, Tello received a message from Lima informing him that his eldest daughter had died. The following day, the team left for Lima by way of Trujillo, arriving at the capital city at eight on the evening of the eighteenth of December.

Bennett received a lengthy letter from Collier written in Lima on 12 December. Collier began by saying he had returned to the city the previous day, after five weeks in the sierra, an experience that pleased him despite having endured thunderstorms, hailstorms, snow, and

ice. He explained that he had traveled to Huaramey by bus, and from there had gone up the valley to Aija by horse. He then stayed at this place for eight days, exploring and photographing the many monoliths in the region. Then he had spent another eight days in the Callejón de Huaylas and, while storms had limited his ability to explore, he had been able to photograph the pottery in the Huaraz museum and take pictures of two private artifact collections, one each in Caraz and Carhuaz. Collier then told Bennett he had next gone to Chavín (to see the ruins) via Huaraz where he stayed for two days, before making a hard three-day trip across the high sierra to the Huánuco Viejo (ruins) during which time he had eaten and slept like a native, while constantly being very cold. After saying he visited these ruins that merited a much longer investigation, he then told Bennett that he had next gone to the city of Huánuco where he had spent a number of days visiting sites and photographing pottery collections.

Collier then turned to a discussion of his travel plans. He said he would be sailing for New York on 20 December and would arrive there on the third of January. He then told Bennett that if he were sailing to Lima on the *Santa Rita* on the seventh of January, they would have time to talk. Then, after saying he was sorry to miss the annual meeting of the IAR, he said he simply could not leave Peru on an earlier ship. Next Collier told Bennett that, as yet, he had not sent him a copy of Tello's preliminary report, because the latter had not returned from the highlands, and was still somewhere to the east of Huamachuco. As a result, given that he was out of touch, Carrión simply refused to release to him a copy of the report without his permission. But, he then said, there might still be time for him to get in touch with Tello and send the report via airmail.

Regarding Tello's post-Casma work, Collier told Bennett he knew little, but could say that

he had made important discoveries in the Cajamarca, Celendin, and Huamachuco regions, with much of this being Chavín, but he could offer no details. Though he was able to report that twenty crates of artifacts had been sent to the university's museum, these had not yet been opened. Regarding his own time with Tello, from Lima, to and including Casma, Collier provided a brief summary, adding that, although his field notes were not detailed, those of Tello and Mejía were.

Collier next told Bennett he had left Casma for Lima on the first of October because the developer of the pictures he had taken for himself and for the expedition had been careless, and had mixed some of the negatives of the films and had lost others. Then, in lieu of rejoining the expedition in the North, he had instead decided to meet up with it further to the south, after having explored the Callejón de Huaylas and the ruins of Chavín. However, Collier said, this did not work out, because Tello ended up staying in the North longer than expected, adding that he thought Tello would not be in the field much longer than the first of January.

Then Collier provided his thoughts about Tello. He told Bennett that the \$500 he had turned over to him had been spent wisely on the excavations at Cerro Sechín. He told Bennett that his time with Tello had been both pleasant and profitable, because he had proven generous in helping him, and in giving him advice. As such, Collier went on, he hoped that the IAR would treat Tello with courtesy and cooperate with him in the next and future years, because he could really be a help to it. Tello, he went on, was a real scholar, who was anxious to cooperate with the IAR, or with anyone seriously interested in Peruvian archaeology, this despite the contrary view of some, both inside and outside Peru, that he was someone who would not share his knowledge, and suffered from professional jealousy. This negative opin-

ion, he told Bennett, was because he had a checkered publication history. However, Collier went on, when one took into account his race, the fact that he had received little financial backing, and the fact that scientific archaeology had little support in Peru, one could understand the petty nature of his critics.¹⁴⁰

Continuing with his positive discussion of Tello, Collier then told Bennett a number of ideas Tello had about how Peruvian archaeology could be advanced. Tello, he said, felt it incumbent to increase the number of trained archaeologists in his country, doing this either by setting up an international school of archaeology, or by having an exchange of students internationally, and bringing in visiting professors. In particular, Collier pointed out, Tello thought it would be good if a prestigious organization such as the IAR or the Carnegie undertook a five year program in Peru that would serve to move his country away from a treasure hunting mentality, to one scientific in nature. Then, before closing his letter, Collier told Bennett that Tello also thought it would be good if what he described as a clearinghouse for Peruvian archaeology could be established (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

Carrión also wrote to Bennett, this being on 15 December, three days before Tello's return to Lima. She began by telling Bennett she was responding to the letter he had written to Tello on 27 October. She told Bennett that Tello was unable to write back, because he was still in the

¹⁴⁰ Samuel Lothrop (1948:53) later wrote this about Tello: "It was not easy to discuss archaeological theory and problems with Tello because he clung to his own ideas tenaciously and was always able to provide a fantastic fund of facts. On the other hand, if asked for fact or opinion, he gave it with great generosity. His Indian background and strong personality often aroused opposition but he was always ready to fight to gain his ends. He used to say that his success in life was due to his enemies. . . . On a field trip there could be no more considerate companion. In general conversation he was amusing and well informed."

field, though she did expect him to return to Lima by the end of the year. After saying that she was enclosing a copy of Tello's work entitled "El strombus in el arte Chavín", she began an account of the work of the expedition. She told Bennett that Tello had made important discoveries at Sechín in Casma and that, to judge by the photographs she had seen, he had discovered an important megalithic aqueduct at Cajamarca. She went on to state that he had discovered important sites at Celendin and at Cajabamba, while at Chocta on the right margin of the Marañón River, he had found the remains of a large settlement with perfectly preserved megalithic constructions with roofs, windows, etc. Tello, Mejía, and the former's students, the artists Ponce and Rojas, she then added, were currently in the rugged Huamachuco region.

Next Carrión told Bennett that the expeditionary team had collected a wealth of information including artifacts, photographs, cinematic films, plans, and drawings, an archive that would make an immediate publication of all that had been found possible, and which would form the basis for future investigations. She then told Bennett that Collier had accredited himself well, that upon returning from Casma he had undertaken a trip to the Callejón de Huaylas and Chavín, and that he would be sailing back to the United States on 20 December. Then, certainly referring to what she had heard from Collier, she made mention of the annual meeting of the IAR to be held on 28 December, at which plans would be made for future work in Peru. She told Bennett that the members of the IAR should be made aware at this meeting that Tello had written a hundred page report on the archaeological work undertaken by the expedition, and that she had this report, but that she could not send it without Tello's authorization. However, she added, it was possible that he would write to the IAR from the field. In closing she apologized for not having written sooner, explaining that she had suffered a serious acci-

dent (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

Two articles published by *El Comercio* in its 22 December edition would have been of particular interest to Tello. The first article was an editorial that promoted emergency actions at Chavín to prevent any further damage to the ruins caused by the overflowing Mosna River (Editor 1937c). The second article concerned protecting the ruins of (Cerro) Sechín in the Casma Valley, and reported the arrival in Lima of Juan I. Reyna, whom Tello had named curator of the Sechín Archaeological Monuments.

This article, based on an interview with Reyna, listed the members comprising a committee created to protect sites in the Casma Valley: the engineer César Burga, who was tasked with overseeing site reconstruction efforts and providing site security; Max Canales Delgado, who was the first secretary, and the person responsible for overseeing tourism; Jenaro Fernández who was the committee's second secretary and the person in charge of receipts; Miguel de los Ríos who was responsible for dealing with the press and with overseeing advertisements; Marcos A. San Román who performed the duties of treasurer, and who was also the head of propaganda and tourist contacts; Alfonso Higuera whose job it was to oversee tourist contacts and collect funds; and Luis Morante who was responsible for overseeing traffic and vigilance. The article went on to report that Reyna had said the committee wanted to construct galleries at appropriate places in the valley so that visitors (tourists) could see what had been found at sites. He had said that the committee wanted to set up a pavilion where his collection of artifacts that had been seen by Tello could be exhibited. Finally, it was reported that Reyna had come to Lima to secure funding for these endeavors (Anon. 1937jj).

The official record of the 29 December 1937 meeting of the IAR held at New Haven, Connecticut would have been distributed to all members, and was made a permanent part of the IAR's archive held at the AMNH. Kidder was apparently initially voted to succeed Kroeber as president, but for reason(s) unknown, it was Lothrop who agreed to assume this position. As expected, Strong was voted a member of the IAR, and he agreed to replace Bennett as secretary/treasurer. The new fellowship committee was composed of Lothrop, Cole, and Strong, while a new steering committee was created consisting of Lothrop, Vaillant, and Strong. Unfortunately it is unknown who attended the meeting, but those who did heard Bennett's report on the financial health of the IAR (a bank balance of \$28.06), and probably his recap of its 1937 activities. There followed a discussion of membership expansion and funding sources, with Kidder specifically speaking about current donors. Whether or not the IAR should allow donations to accumulate, and not be immediately spent, was also discussed, as was apparently, the issue of inactive membership.

Likely the liveliest discussion centered on letters received from Kidder's son, from Collier, and from Kroeber regarding Tello's performance as the IAR's representative in Peru during the current year. At this time, Tozzer specifically addressed Guernsey's problems. A general discussion followed that dealt with fellowship types, including questions as to whether Tello should be sent assistants, and whether or not students should be sent to him. Attention was given as to whether or not financial aid should be provided to research workers in the field, and to whether (before being sent) they needed to be qualified in the fields of archaeology, ethnology, and/or linguistics, etc. Finally, members talked about continuing field research in Peru, whether research should be done in other South American countries, and whether research should even be expanded to include Central

America. With regard to the possibility of expanding outside South America, Vaillant spoke about the International School in Mexico (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

This is a good place to summarize and assess activities to date. In Peru, the expeditionary team had gradually moved southward from Cajamarca, and explored sites along the way. They next established themselves in the city of Huamachuco, and from there they traveled to investigate the regions to the east and southeast. More megalithic sites, as well as more carved or decorated steles were found and studied. As before, travel was often into barely accessible hinterlands, where the team had to rely upon locals to provide them with food and lodging. It was after their return to Huamachuco that the team learned of the death of a member of Tello's immediate family. Though they had planned to continue their explorations southward at least as far as Huánuco, they instead abruptly ended their work and left for Lima.

Meanwhile, both Collier and Carrión had written to Bennett. Collier told him about his highland trip and informed him of his plans to sail for home. He told Bennett that Carrión would not give him a copy of Tello's report without first receiving permission from Tello to do so, and that Tello was not expected to return to Lima until the first day of 1938. Finally, he reiterated his support for Tello, and told Bennett of Tello's ideas about promoting both national and international interest in the archaeology of Peru. As for Carrión, she told Bennett she was writing on behalf of Tello, who was not expected to return to Lima until the end of the year, and that, as such, she could not send him a copy of his report before then. Carrión then brought up the matter of the impending meeting of the IAR, and provided details about the discoveries that had been made during the course of the expedition.

Finally, a report on the December meeting indicates that, despite the many successes of the IAR's inaugural field season in Peru, it had been decided changes had to be made. In addition to Lothrop and Strong replacing Kroeber and Bennett in the key positions of president and secretary/treasurer, respectively, it seems evident that much of the discussion at the meeting centered on the perception that the IAR's relationship with Tello needed altering.

From Tello's perspective, 1937 had clearly proven to be highly successful, given that he had received funding to preserve the Paracas collection, and given that he had received support to advance his Chavín research. The latter had resulted in the discovery of Chavín sites in the Casma Valley, and in the discovery of a megalithic Chavín canal near Cajamarca. Yet, from the perspective of some members of the IAR, Tello's performance as its representative was uneven at best. As Kroeber had mused, you were either for Tello or you were against him, and by the end of this year members were beginning to choose sides. What had happened and why?

At the very beginning of the year, Tello had tried to make it clear that his priority was Chavín-related field research, and not working with the Paracas collection. Yet, from the onset, Bennett and Tozzer had insisted that Guernsey be sent by the IAR to help him with the Paracas textiles, despite the fact that both of them were aware of her lack of maturity. Bennett had insisted that she did not need proficiency in Spanish, as long as she was either working with Tello, or was working in Lima. Then there was the attitude expressed by Tozzer that Tello and his assistants needed the benefit of Guernsey's expertise. In addition, there was the strong opinion of Kidder's son that Tello was scientifically behind the times, an opinion that seems to have been shared by Bennett. Finally, there was the generally held bias against Hewett, and

young Kidder's expectation that, as the IAR's representative in Peru, Tello was obligated to cater to those individuals sent by the IAR in an official or unofficial capacity.

Predictably there were problems. Tello initially gave Guernsey, Collier, and the Kidders due attention, but he soon left Lima on his expedition, and not long after that the Kidders also left the city for the North Coast. They briefly returned to Lima and found it necessary to intercede on Guernsey's behalf with Carrión. This should have been a wake-up call, but Kidder II had his own work to do, and he and his wife soon traveled south and left Guernsey to fend on her own. Guernsey immediately wrote to Bennett for help. When Kidder II and his wife next returned to Lima, many weeks later, he was outraged when Guernsey told him about the problems she had experienced in dealing with Carrión. He immediately wrote to his father, who then shared his son's complaints with other members of the IAR.

What did Kidder II say to his father? Rather than blame Guernsey's problems on her, on Carrión, or on both of them, he placed blame squarely on the shoulders of Tello, who had been hard at work in Casma. Kidder II also complained that Tello was going out of his way to help Hewett's students, and he made the petty complaint that Tello had not invited him to come see what he had found in Casma. Why did Kidder II so completely ignore the fact that Tello had his own field-work to do? Why blame him for everything? Was it because of an attack of conscience? Unlike Tello, Kidder II had known about Guernsey's lack of maturity, but it was *he* who had left her at the mercy of Carrión. Who was really to blame?

Of course, one might ask why others like Bennett and Tozzer, who had also been aware of Guernsey's shyness and lack of maturity, had not written directly to Tello to complain if they

were so worried about the situation. Shouldn't they also share some of the blame for what had happened? Was it simply out of fear of offending Tello that they had not done so, or had they also experienced an attack of conscience? Kroeber, at least, had come to the honest conclusion that Guernsey was at least partly at fault, but this fact appears to have been ignored in the rush to defend her and to lay all the blame on Tello.

Then there is the issue of the contradictory reports that had been received about Tello. It is certainly interesting that, in their assessment of the success of the IAR's Peruvian venture, members seem to have given more credence to the complaints made by Kidder II, who spent the least amount of time with Tello, rather than to the glowing testaments about Tello that had been received from Collier, Blair, and Danielson, all of whom had worked directly with him in Casma. Was this because the latter three were mere students, or that it was easier to believe bad things about people rather than good? Then again, perhaps it was because it was felt that Kidder II had a better pedigree than these others, and because he had proudly proclaimed his independence from Tello.

How much did Bennett's biases play a role in all this? He had made it clear in various letters that he did not trust Tello. He had insisted that he did not want Collier to turn his money over to him, he had told Collier he doubted Tello's claim that he could live so cheaply in the field, and he had told Collier to keep an eye on how Tello conducted his research in the field. Then there was Bennett's statement that Valcárcel and his assistants had done well by him when he last conducted field-work in Peru, and his statement that Tello and his assistants had kept them from working with the Paracas textiles, two statements that together suggest a clear bias toward Valcárcel and his people. Bennett did write to Tello to ask for his advice on matters

relevant to Chavín, and he did tell Tello that his planned work in the northern highlands would be cooperative and not competitive in nature, but it is clear that he wrote this only to appease Tello. This is because, in statements written to others, he left no doubt that he expected to interact more with Valcárcel than with Tello, that he had his own ideas about Chavín, and that he wanted to retrace Tello's footsteps in the highlands and decide matters for himself.

Finally, it should be recalled that one of the internal reasons for giving Tello a one-year appointment as the IAR's Peruvian counselor was that there was concern that jealousy in Peru over a more formal appointment might have led to a backlash, and thereby undermine the IAR's (and Bennett's) work in that country. With this in mind, consider the likelihood of Bennett's influence on Kroeber's suggestion that in 1938 the IAR contemplate providing equal funding for one student each to work with Tello and with Valcárcel.

PUBLIC PRONOUNCEMENTS

January 1938

Collier was the first to publish a report on the accomplishments of the expedition. This was in the form of an interview that was in the 6 January 1938 edition of *The New York Times*. In part he was quoted as having said:

We came upon this old temple at Casma. . . . When we excavated, we discovered a façade of monoliths, ten feet high and four feet wide, and elaborately carved. . . . We believe it was pre-Inca in origin. . . . Previous structures discovered in that section were made of adobe and I think this is the first one of stone. It shows, I think, a connection between the ancient culture of the coast and that of the mountains believed

to be separate and distinct. In the burial grounds, the bodies were wrapped in cloth and many of them were buried with great pots, in flexed positions, with knees drawn up to the chest and arms folded over the knees. We found llamas and dogs in family plots . . . only the dogs had offerings placed over them. We found necklaces of stone and shell in the graves, among ornaments, some examples of which I have brought back with me . . . at Cajamarca. . . . We found the entrance to this aqueduct about four feet wide and four high, and traced it through one valley to another. Much of it was decayed and fallen in. The walls were carved with figures of people and animals. How they were able to cut through so much rock and get inside to carve their decorations, I don't know (Anon. 1938a)

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¹⁴¹ The following, originally published in *Science Service*, date unknown, was republished on pages 106–107 in *El Palacio*. “Additional evidence of religious head-hunting in ancient Peru is reported by Donald Collier, young archaeologist, who has returned to the United States after making some remarkable discoveries in company with Peru’s most noted archaeologist, Dr. Julio C. Tello, who was in Santa Fe a year or so ago. Mr. Collier, son of Commissioner of Indian Affairs, John Collier, also well known in Santa Fe, is preparing his report here for the Institute of Andean Research, which he represented. The expedition unearthed a ceremonial terrace of stone on the coast of northern Peru. On some stones, they found carvings of warriors making vigorous gestures. Other portraits had no bodies at all, but were mere cadaverous-looking faces all cut off obviously under the chin. ‘The supposition is that they had human sacrifice’ he explained, ‘and one form was to take human heads— whether heads of their own people or those of enemies, we don’t know.’ Mr. Collier describes the stone temple, its art, and the cemetery nearby as all revealing a new kind of culture, unlike that of other Indians who lived in Peru before the great Incan Empire was formed. These ancient Indians who built the stone temple lived perhaps 600 A.D., or around 900 A.D.—dating them is more guesswork, Mr. Collier says. Aside from three kinds of pottery buried in strata of earth, there is nothing to suggest passage of time, or any particular era. This is the first discovery of a temple built of giant stones on the coast land of Peru. Such temples were built of giant stones in Peru’s mountains, but

On 9 January *The Brooklyn Daily Eagle* reported on a special exhibit of Paracas mummy bundles at the AMNH. In part it was reported:

A temporary display of ancient Peruvian mummies from Paracas will be on view in the American Museum of Natural History’s Education Hall, beginning the week of Jan. 9, under the auspices of the Peruvian Government. Doctor Wendell C. Bennett, assistant curator of the Department of Anthropology . . . was given the opportunity of opening the mummy bundles. The largest has been completely unwrapped, revealing a series of beautifully woven and embroidered textiles, some of which are in an excellent state of preservation. . . . Dr. Bennett’s report . . . and a resume of the contents of the first bundle is as follows: “. . . the excavations of Dr. Julio C. Tello in 1925 uncovered a cemetery filled with wrapped mummy bundles . . . demonstrating that Paracas was a civilization of great importance. . . . Some claim that the bodies were in part artificially prepared with preservatives, but whether or not this be true certainly no preservatives were used on the wrappings. The burial chambers, especially in the Necropolis group were not sealed in any way. In other words, the hot dry sands which covered the subterranean chambers and the lack of moisture in the ground are responsible for the preservation. . . .” The mummy bundle

coast tribes used adobe architecture, Mr. Collier explained. This is the best indication yet found that some of the highland people came to the coast to live and built a temple, because it must have taken several years to construct the terraced pyramid with these blocks ten feet high and several feet thick, he reported. The stone workers had a highland background. But where they got their art ideas, and their plain style of pottery making, and their simple ideas of burial—very different from the elaborate mummy-wrappings of some Peruvian graves—is still to be traced, so that science may fit these Indians into the picture of Peru’s prehistory (Anon. 1938bbb).

unwrapped . . . is number 114. . . . The whole bundle has been placed in a large palm fiber basket, which at one time covered the base and curled part way up the sides, having a shape like a shallow bowl. Four stages in the preparation of the mummy bundle were clearly noted in the unwrapping and were quite probably part of the ceremonial pattern of the ancient inhabitants of Paracas. It is not possible to ascertain the amount of time elapsed between these stages, but they may well indicate four distinct ceremonies. . . . It is also possible that the mummy bundle itself was carried in processions or used in ceremonies. . . . In opening the bundle. . . . sixty layers were removed, each representing a separate piece of cloth. Some of these pieces were composed of several segments sewn together, however, many were folded several times and consequently the actual number of layers in a cross section of the bundle would be over 60 (Anon. 1938b:32).

Not to be outdone, *The New York Times* published an even more detailed report also on 9 January. In part this report stated:

The skeletal and cultural remains of an ancient mysterious race of pre-Inca inhabitants of Peru, that had been buried for 1,500 years on the peninsula of Paracas south of Lima on the coast not far from the Pisco Valley, will be placed on exhibit in the Maxwell Education Hall, first floor of the main museum building until Feb. 23. The unique collection of ancient bundles contains the skeletons of four of the mysterious pre-Inca Indians, and a variety of embroidered textiles and ornaments with which these early inhabitants of Peru buried their dead. Originally discovered in the dry desert sands of Paracas in 1925 by Dr. Julio C. Tello of the University of San

Marcos in Lima, they represent the first intact specimens to arrive in this country, sent here by the Peruvian Government for the purpose of creating interest in Peruvian antiquities . . . Dr. Wendell C. Bennett . . . was permitted to open the burial bundles. The largest has been completely unwrapped revealing a series of beautifully woven and embroidered textiles, some of which are in an excellent state of preservation. Assisting Dr. Bennett in the unwrapping was Paul Richards of the museum's department of anthropology. Two of the "mummies" have so far been unwrapped (Anon. 1938c).

The same day, 9 January 1938 *El Comercio* published a lengthy report that Tello had penned in 1937 while working at Cerro Sechín. Whether or not this was a report he had submitted to San Marcos or to the minister of education is unknown. Neither is it known if this published report was based on what had been officially submitted by him.

After providing a lengthy introduction that included what had been previously known about the Chavín culture, the setting of the Casma Valley, particulars about the Sechín and Moxeke branches of the Casma River, evidence for the use of various parts of the valley for agricultural production, and evidence for ancient reservoirs, Tello began a discussion of the sites that had been investigated in the valley by the expedition. First he generally discussed Late Horizon sites. Structures at these sites, he said, were constructed in their lower parts with rectangular adobes, and in their upper parts with stones or cane set in mud. Tombs were found between nearby hills, and these tombs evidenced walls of rectangular adobe above, stone or cane set in mud at the lower level, or even simply sand. The bodies were wrapped in rustic cloth outside, and were protected with cotton cloth or even pacay leaves. Bodies were

set in fetal position or stretched out on their sides.

Next Tello wrote about some of the sites in the valley that he dated to the Late Horizon. First he wrote about the ruins of Puerto Pobre, about a kilometer to the north of the Casma River. Structures there, he said, had all the characteristics of relatively recent construction, and were nearly all built on a platform of rectangular mold-made adobes. In evidence were large habitations, patios, and corrals that were covered with deep layers of trash. Pottery found on the surface of the site was Chimú type black utilitarian ware. Looter or *huaquero* pits exposed bodies and utilitarian ware. In addition to a Chimú or pre-Inca occupation, the site of Puerto Pobre evidenced a post-Spanish conquest occupation. As for the ruins of San Diego, that Tello said was one of the most important centers in the lower valley, there were lots of small rectangular habitations grouped into barrios, all of which were constructed of rectangular adobes over cemented stone. Heavy *huaquero* activity had exposed human remains and artifacts demonstrating a late period occupation of the site. The same, he said, was true for the site of Machas (Manchan?) that was situated more inland, following the Moxeke branch, and that was as large as San Diego. The ruins of El Pacae were situated along this branch, about twenty kilometers from the town of Casma. The ruins there were extensive, and were built on scaled terraces and there were some small circular plazas. This site was about a square kilometer in size, and lots of Casma type pottery was found on the surface.

After having provided these details about a number of Late Horizon sites in the Moxeke drainage, Tello then offered a detailed discussion of the site of El Olivar, on the right side of the Sechín River and about thirty kilometers from the town of Casma. This site, he said, was larger than El Pacae, and both principal struc-

tures and houses there were built on a slope of a mountain, while a cemetery was found nearby. Among the principal structures there were some constructed of rectangular adobes, while others were built of stone. In addition, there was a truncated pyramid, plazas, and patios. Stone terraces apparently formed the base of the settlement, and buildings were constructed as high as two hundred meters up slope. A heavy layer of trash covered the site, and torrential rains in recent years had cut deep trenches, allowing an examination to a depth of four meters. The trash was rich in pottery fragments illustrative of the last Casma (style) period.

Having discussed the above five Late Horizon sites, Tello then said it was very hard to study such sites, because so little had been reported for this late period. The absence of Inca pottery in the valley was a problem, and in private local collections such pottery was rare. He went on to discuss what he had found in Casma within the context of what had been found elsewhere on the North to North-Central Coast. He ended this discussion by saying that the Casma type pottery was probably a late derivative of the Chavín type, while the Chimú type pottery was probably late pre-Conquest in date.

Tello then shifted to a discussion of the Middle Horizon in Casma. He listed the following sixteen characteristics: (1) structures built of rectangular adobe over stone situated on slopes and in the hollows of mountains contiguous to the valley; (2) pyramids built with prismatic walls of adobes and stones forming superimposed platforms with chambers, and with walls adorned with figures in high relief formed by rows of projecting adobes; (3) cemeteries enclosed by rectangular adobe or stone walls within which bodies were buried in superimposed layers; (4) pit or circular tombs protected by adobe or stone walls to maintain the seated position of the body; (5) cadavers seated or

stretched out on their sides and uncovered or else wrapped in fine cotton or wool cloths; (6) decapitated cadavers; (7) mesocephalic Andean skulls that were neither deformed, nor showed evidence of frontal depression similar to the Nazca type; (8) frequency of tombs disturbed by people of the same culture, or by later peoples resulting in the disordered disposition of body parts or fragments of the same; (9) placement of copper in the mouth of cadavers; (10) frequency of llama skulls as burial offerings; (11) placement of a plate or a pedestal cup over the face of the cadaver; (12) Moche-like mold-made ceremonial burial pottery of various monochrome styles and decorated with figures in relief; (13) utilitarian burial pottery decorated in the Santa style; (14) fine cotton and wool cloths with polychrome tapestries; (15) wooden burial objects; (16) an abundance of sewing and weaving instruments interred with cadavers.

Having thus listed distinguishing features of Middle Horizon sites and burials, Tello then stated that Huaca Partida de Sechín Bajo and the tombs of the Santa type found on the slopes of Cerro Sechín best exemplified this period. Huaca Partida de Sechín Bajo, he went on, is near the bed of the Sechín River, and about five kilometers east of the town of Casma. He went on to say that it was in 1925 that the site was given this name, because, at that time, heavy rains had exposed the interior of the mound. This mound measured about two hundred meters at its base, and about twenty meters high, and the rains had dug into its northern side, thereby exposing the superposition of large prismatic blocks of rectangular adobes that formed small platforms and chambers at different heights. Within the mound Santa type utilitarian pottery was to be seen, and the walls were polished and painted, as well as ornamented in arabesque style.

Then Tello turned his attention to the Lower Horizon sites that had been found in the

Casma Valley. He listed the Sechín Alto mound, the ruins of Taucachi (also spelled Taukachi), La Cantina, El Castillo de Santa Rafael, the ruins of Pallka, and the temples of Cerro Sechín and Moxeke. Tello compared Sechín Alto to the mound-like highland sites of Tumshucayo and Pumacayo in the Callejón de Huaylas to the east, and said it was five kilometers from the town of Casma. The mound, which he explained had a staircase and entrance measuring sixteen meters across, measured 300 meters long by 250 meters wide by thirty-five meters high, and had a volume of a million and a half cubic meters. It was constructed of (faced with) approximately parallel rows of large stones surrounded by smaller stones, all hung at about the same level like a mosaic. After saying that the mound's façade on the north side was especially beautiful, he then stated that the mound was as important as the highland temple mounds of Inca Wain in Caras, Yayno in Pomabamba, as well as Kiske (Quisque), Pincha Marka, and Huaca Partida in the Nepeña Valley.

Next Tello explained what could be seen in the cardinal directions from atop this giant mound. To the east there was an extensive plaza on both sides of which were rows of rectangular platforms that served as substructures of great buildings. To the west, about fifty meters away, one could see a group of small rectangular structures built upon an extensive platform. To the south, as part of a small branch connected to the main mound, there were three rectangular mounds that appear as stepped terraces with small structures atop. To the north, one could see an extensive corridor measuring more than seventy meters wide. The perimeter of Sechín Alto measured in excess of a kilometer, and there was evidence for extensive looting at the site. At the center of the principal mound could be seen a great hole measuring twenty-meters deep, with radiating lateral cuts, while at the bottom of this hole were the remains of conical

adobe structures with polished walls. Tello continued by saying that atop the mound there could be seen rows of small structures in a ruined state, while pottery recovered from the central plaza and around the principal mound was utilitarian, Santa in style. The Sechín Alto temple, he concluded, was the largest of its type in Peru; larger than that found at Chavín, larger than the conjunction of mounds making up Cerro del Purgatorio (Túcume ?) in the Department of Lambayeque, and three times larger than the temple of the sun in the Moche Valley.

Having so proclaimed the immensity of the Sechín Alto mound, Tello said that the plan of the site as a whole was like that of Chavín de Huantar. The substructure, he explained, consisted of superimposed platforms within the center of which were intercommunicating compartments and galleries. There was a large principal plaza bordered by platforms, a central staircase providing access to the interior of the mound, and the façade of the principal mound consisted of rows of large stones alternating with smaller ones. However, he added, classic Chavín pottery had not been found at the Casma Valley site, and work both extensive and intensive would be required to investigate further. Still, Tello said, he had already proven the existence of such pottery elsewhere on the coast and particularly in the neighboring Nepeña Valley.

Tello then turned his attention to the ruins of Pallka. They were typically Chavín in type, he said, built atop an old natural platform near the river at the foot of a mountain. The ruins of the temple covered a rectangular area measuring 250 meters by 100 meters, and from the slope above one could see its principal structure, its platforms, plazas, and patios, as well as its stairs and entrances. The temple was constructed on three scaled terraces, and was oriented east to west, with small staircases providing access from one terrace to another. On the east, south, and west sides were to be seen various corridors,

plazas, and the remains of large habitations. An abundance of pottery sherds was recovered from the surface of the temple, nearly all classic Chavín in type, while lots of llama bones decorated with incised designs identical to those that appeared on the monoliths at Chavín were found in the trash. Unfortunately, Tello lamented, these bones were partly carbonized, and, as such, were fragile. Finally, he said, south of the temple could be seen an ancient road, while two mounds to the extreme east of the temple, possibly predating the Middle Horizon, were constructed of small, thin rectangular adobes, and to the extreme northwest there was a cemetery with tombs dating to the Santa (post-Chavín) period.

Tello provided no details for the sites of Cerro Sechín, Moxeke, La Cantina, Taucachi, Castillo de San Rafael nor, for that matter, Chankillo. Finally, it should be noted that Tello illustrated his article with a photograph of himself and Japanese professor Uyuso Torii posing in front of one of the sculpted figures uncovered at Moxeke. He also provided a drawing of one of the carved and engraved stelae uncovered at Cerro Sechín, and a drawing of another such stele said to have been found "in the vicinity of Casma" but that had actually been found by him at Yanacancha (Tello 1938a; also see Cabanillas 2004:337).

Not surprisingly, an editorial was published in *El Comercio* the next day, the 10th in which Tello was praised for his contributions to the science of archaeology. Somewhat surprising, however, was the fact that the great part of this lengthy editorial was directed toward the government and its need to protect the national patrimony by overseeing excavations in the country and preventing the export of artifacts. The editor, while promoting scientific research, also promoted tourism, especially in the vicinity of Lima and specifically at Pachacamac. At least 25,000 soles, the editor wrote, should be in-

vested in the preparation of these ruins to make them suitable for tourists who, after visiting them, would then go to Cusco and benefit that city and region (Editor 1938a).

The government was already making plans to host an international gathering in Lima as attested by the following that was published in the 11 January 1938 issue of *The West Coast Leader*:

Washington advices [sic] this week reported that the Peruvian Ambassador there had advised the United States Government that December 9th of this year had been set by the Peruvian Government as the date for inauguration of the Eighth Pan American Conference, which is to be held in Lima. Among the preparations being made in Lima in connection with the forthcoming Conference (and for later requirements) is an addition to the existing hotel facilities in the form of two additional floors to be added to the Hotel Bolivar in the Plaza San Martin, making it a five storey structure. . . . This will give an additional 200 rooms, with baths, to the Hotel. Cost . . . will be in the neighborhood of S. 1,000,000 (\$25,000). Construction will commence within the next week or two and the work will be completed prior to the opening of the Conference (Anon. 1938d).

Before traveling to Peru, Bennett submitted reports on South American archaeology for the year 1937 that were published in the *Handbook of Latin American Studies* (Bennett 1938d) and in the *Bulletin of the Pan American Union* (Bennett 1938c). Regarding the IAR's activities he wrote in the *Handbook*:

The most important Peruvian expedition was under the leadership of Julio C. Tello, director of the Museum of San Marcos and

Counselor of the Institute of Andean Research. Other members of the expedition were Donald Collier, fellow of the Institute of Andean Research; Barbara Loomis and Honour McCreery of the University of Southern California; T.M. Mejía, Pedro Rojas and Hernán Ponce of the San Marcos Museum; J. Deering Danielson and Edward Blair, field associates of the Institute of Andean Research. Leaving Lima in June, some time was spent in survey at Lachay, Huaura, and Pativilca. Three months in Casma discovered the temple of Cerro Sechín which has a lower terrace faced with carved stone uprights and blocks. Not only is stone carving rare on the coast of Peru, but the style of these pieces makes them of basic importance and may perhaps change existing concepts of Peruvian chronology. The second terrace of this temple was made of conical adobes with painted frescoes. Two other sites were excavated in Casma which pertain to the same civilization which is in turn related to two sites previously discovered by Tello in Nepeña valley. At the close of the Casma work Donald Collier left to explore the Callejón de Huaylas, Chavín and Huánuco Viejo. Tello and his Peruvian assistants continued exploration in the northern mountains, in the Marañón and other valleys, discovering sites and objects hitherto unknown. The importance of this expedition can not [sic] be fully appreciated until fuller accounts are published. Isabel Guernsey, textile expert, spent six months in Peru studying the Paracas and other textile collections in the various museums. She was sent as a fellow of the Institute of Andean Research. A.V. Kidder, II, made a survey of coast and highland sites of Peru and Bolivia for the Museum of Harvard University (1938d: 28).

Bennett wrote, in part, in the *Bulletin of the Pan American Union*:

In 1933, Dr. Julio C. Tello discovered the Chavín-designed ruins at Nepeña which Mr. Philip A. Means has described. . . . In 1937, Dr. Tello had even greater success in the Casma Valley. . . . Over fifty sites were visited . . . including three of importance in the Chavín coast problem— Huaca Sechín, Huaca Moxeke, and Castillo de Pallka. Excavations at the Huaca Sechín uncovered a terrace entered by a central stone staircase, on each side of which was a facing wall composed of ten carved stone uprights and over thirty small carved blocks. A second terrace of conical adobes had a curved wall entrance decorated with painted frescoes representing stylized jaguar figures of large size. Not only is this find of great importance because of the unprecedented quantity of stone sculpturing at a coast site, but also because the designs are apparently in a “proto-Chavín” style. The carving represents complete human figures with headdresses, waist bands, and other details; trunks and heads of human figures; and figure parts such as eyes, vertebrae, and limbs. More details of this sensational find cannot be given at this time because Dr. Tello and his party are still in the field, and because the only available accounts are the preliminary newspaper stories (Bennett 1938c: 231).

Probably before leaving for Peru, Bennett wrote up his report on his opening of Paracas mummy bundle numbered 114. He included the following:

A temporary display of ancient Peruvian mummies from Paracas was on view in the American Museum of Natural History’s Education Hall, beginning the week of January 9th 1938, under the auspices of the

Peruvian government. Sent to this country by the Peruvian government for the purpose of creating interest in Peruvian antiquities, the display is sponsored by the Hon. Manuel de Freyre y Santander, Peruvian Ambassador to Washington, through the courtesy of Hon. General Oscar R. Benavides, President of Peru; Hon. Ernesto Montagne, Minister of Public Instruction, and Dr. Julio C. Tello of the University of San Marcos in Lima (Sotelo *et al.* 2012: 316).

Regarding Bennett’s opening of the bundle and subsequent exhibit, the following was published in the 1 February edition of Lima’s *The West Coast Leader*:

The skeletal and cultural remains of an ancient race of pre-Inca inhabitants . . . of Paracas . . . was placed on exhibit recently at the American Museum of Natural History, New York. The unique collection of ancient bundles contains the skeletons of four of the mysterious pre-Inca Indians. . . . Originally discovered in the dry desert sands of Paracas in 1925 by Dr. Julio C. Tello . . . they represent the first intact specimens to arrive in the United States, sent by the Peruvian Government for the purpose of creating interest in Peruvian antiquities. The display is sponsored by Manuel de Freyre y Santander, Peruvian Ambassador in Washington, through the courtesy of President Oscar R. Benavides of Peru; Ernesto Montagne, Minister of Public Instruction; and Dr. Tello. Dr. Wendell C. Bennett, assistant curator of Anthropology in the museum, was permitted to open the burial bundles. The largest has been completely unwrapped, revealing a series of beautifully woven and embroidered textiles, some of which are in an excellent state of preservation.

The article went on to quote Bennett's thoughts about what he had learned during the process of unwrapping this mummy bundle and provided details about what had been found inside.

Four stages in the preparation of the bundle were clearly noted . . . and were quite probably part of the ceremonial pattern of the ancient inhabitants of Paracas, Dr. Bennett stated. The four stages, he added, "may well indicate four distinct ceremonies, each ceremony having been considered a new stage in the journey of the dead." In opening the first mummy bundle Dr. Bennett peeled off layer after layer of cloth, noting the position, the type of cloth, and the manner in which it was placed in the bundle. "Sixty layers were removed, each representing a separate piece of cloth. Some of these pieces were composed of several segments sewed together. The first of the four stages . . . consisted primarily in the preparation of the natural body. The bones, hair, teeth, fingernails and sections of the dried up skin are preserved. Traces of the skin suggest body painting. . . . Each arm . . . has a blue band running down its length and over the fingers . . . Food evidently placed with the body . . . was represented by small ears of corn, peanuts, Chili peppers and a root plant" said Dr. Bennett. "Two small skin bags were filled with colored dye powders and two small decorated bags . . . had perhaps contained food. To one side of the neck was attached a . . . net bag holding a small calabash container . . . stopped up with cotton and contained a congealed substance inside . . . [likely] chicha beer. . . . The fourth and final stage . . . consisted of two shawls and a turban wrapped around the false head formed by the preceding coarse wrapping. This turban is different from all the others and is formed

by one long band, 21 feet 4 inches in length and 7 ½ inches wide. Only the center five feet of the turban is woven, the rest, approximately 8 feet on each side, is plain fringe. This long band is wrapped around and around, being bound together into a solid coil by the fringe and by two additional unwoven strands about 8 feet long and ending in feathered tassels. A tuft of feathers attached to a stick is pinned into the finished turban. The final shawl enwrapping the mummy bundle is the best preserved and the most elaborately decorated. . . . It is 9 feet by 5 feet 8 inches in size with a wide embroidered border along both sides and partly along the ends edged with a fringe. A secondary strip of embroidery outlines the inner edge of this border and the center of the shawl has thirty-eight rectangular panels of embroidered designs of a styled cat figure in red, yellow, blue and green arranged in diagonal rows upon the blue background" (Anon. 1938e).

To recap, a number of reports were published in the press on the recently ended Marañón expedition, all of which focused on the discoveries that had been made in the Casma Valley. In New York, a report based on an interview with Collier was published, Bennett published a pair of reports in American journals, and Tello published a report in Lima. Both the reports by Collier and by Bennett focused almost entirely on what had been found in Casma, and only briefly mentioned the fact that discoveries had subsequently been made in the highlands. Notably one of Bennett's two articles was essentially a report on the activities of the IAR, while the other linked Tello's discovery of Chavín sites in Casma with those he had earlier discovered in Nepeña. As for Tello, his published report provided not only details about some of the sites that had been excavated in the Casma Valley by the expedition, but also presented the

information on these sites chronologically, having assigned each to his late, middle, or lower horizons. However, in so doing he made it very clear that his primary interest was the valley's lower horizon or Chavín Period of occupation. Finally, results of Bennett's opening of one of the four Paracas mummy bundles shipped to New York in 1937 by the Peruvian government were published in Lima, and notification was given of the opening of a Paracas exhibit at the AMNH.

FINAL IN-HOUSE ACCOUNTINGS

January–April 1938

Kroeber, who had not attended the December annual meeting of the IAR, received a letter from Tello that had been written in Lima on 12 January. After commenting on Kroeber's health, Tello wrote that two weeks previously he had been forced to end his expedition due to the death of his daughter Rosa. He then went on to say that the expedition had lasted six months, and the team had been able to explore the larger part of northern Peru, albeit superficially.

The most important discoveries, Tello told Kroeber, included (1) a temple in Casma constructed of large granite stones decorated in both high and low relief with mythological and symbolic figures; (2) the cemetery of Lachay near the City of Chancay in which superimposed burials with distinct artifacts could be seen; (3) the megalithic aqueduct of Cumbe-mayo in the vicinity of Cajamarca. Tello explained that upon clearing the site, which also included rocks carved with designs in the Chavín style, it was determined that this aqueduct had been cut into live rock for approximately a kilometer, and that in all it had been ascertained it extended a distance of about four kilometers; (4) twenty-six megalithic tombs, first seen by (Antonio) Raimondi more than half a century earlier, at Yanacancha eight leagues north of Cajamarca, and within the confines of

the Province of Hualgayoc; these tombs, he added, consisted of boxes cut into live rock with a stone slab roof, and then covered by a semi-hemispherical or conical rock. One of these tombs, though dynamited by treasure seekers, still contained both artifacts and human remains; (5) the remains of a megalithic center in the Province of Amazonas, at the headwaters of the Utacamba on the right side of the Marañón River, similar to the ruins of Huánuco Viejo, Huaytara, and Wilka Waman; (6) a large site about 500 meters square with groups of *chullpas*, some very well preserved, and containing pottery of the Amazon type, this being found on the left side of the Marañón River almost where it met one of its tributaries called Meriles; (7) the ruins of Pila del Inca, a small Chavín-style temple situated between Cajamarca and San Marcos in the galleries of which had been found objects made of copper; (8) the extensive site of Ichocan, a little more to the south of San Marcos, with lots of Inca pottery on the surface and other pottery below the surface representing an as yet not well defined Archaic type¹⁴² exposed

¹⁴² According to Kroeber (1927:631-632), "The credit of being the first to take into active account the great blank in our knowledge of the interior, and to correct it, belongs to Tello. Himself a highlander, he absorbed, from childhood on, impressions of native life, many of them persistences from pre-Spanish times, which he was able to put to archaeological use. He traveled widely over the country; and he conducted [in 1919] at least one careful expedition into the interior which is among the most important in Peruvian archaeology. Starting from Huarmey on the north central coast, he went up the river to Aija, crossed the Black Sierra into the Callejón de Huaylas of the upper Santa, the one longitudinal valley of Peru draining into the Pacific; then crossed the White Sierra, and from Chavín de Huantar, above the Marañón, a site previously visited and cursorily described but never studied, brought back precious sculptures and data. Tello's general scheme of interpretation, which is the one serious attempt not founded essentially on Uhle's, is based on the concept of a highland origin of Peruvian culture so far as Peru is concerned. This early form he calls Archaic Andean, which might be translated Early Highland, and tends to focus on the north, in the region of Chavín and the Callejón. As to how far it originated there or in regions north of Peru, he leaves open, being concerned

by a cut; (9) carved stones decorated with figures in high relief in the ruins of Nunamarka at Chilca in the District of Pataz, on the right margin of the Marañón and to the east of Huamachuco and Trujillo.

Tello then told Kroeber that time had been scarce, that he had stayed in Casma for three months, and that, through reconnaissance and test pitting, he had discovered parts of the great temples of Cerro Sechín and Moxeke. He then said his principal goals (for the expedition) had been to get a panoramic view of Peru that would allow him to identify different styles (of pre-Columbian cultures) and that, in turn, would allow him to resolve the problem of how the Chavín culture had spread. The result of his work, he said, had proven highly satisfactory. Tello went on to say that it was his belief the abundant information and material that had been recovered during the expedition would be of interest to future investigations. He closed his letter by telling Kroeber that he was actively working on a long report that contained all the details and discoveries of the expedition, (a copy of which) he would send to him (Bancroft Library Archive, University of California, Berkeley, Alfred L. Kroeber Collection, correspondence).

Vaillant wrote to Donald Scott at the Peabody Museum on 15 January. He opened by telling Scott that Bennett had asked him to pass along word that Rockefeller was quite pleased with his suggestion that the museum oversee the opening of two of the Paracas mummy bundles. Vaillant went on to say that conditions for unwrapping had been set by Dr. Andrews (director of the AMNH) in his letter to the Peruvian ambassador, making it clear to Scott that the latter would oversee publicity, etc. He ended

with developments on Peruvian soil. This Early Highland culture spread over the whole Sierra and ultimately Coast, developing into higher forms first at Chavín”.

by saying (the AMNH) had assumed the costs of mounting the textiles that had been found (by Bennett when he had unwrapped one of the mummy bundles; Division of Anthropology Archive, AMNH, accession file 1946-14).

Kroeber sent a letter to Strong on 21 January. He began by saying he had not yet heard anything about the IAR's New Haven meeting, except that McCown had told him that he thought Lothrop had been elected chairman, and that he (Strong) had been elected secretary. It was because of this, and because it was his understanding that Bennett was going to Peru, he told Strong, that he was writing to him. Specifically, Kroeber continued, he wanted to know whether the 1937 donors had received their gifts for the fellowships.¹⁴³ He wanted to know if candidates for 1938 had been discussed at the meeting, or whether the matter, as in 1937, had been referred to a selection committee. Next Kroeber told Strong that he had recently received a long letter from Tello in which he had outlined the results of his expedition. The letter, he said, was enthusiastic and, in combination with reports he had received about Collier's enthusiasm, he was sure Tello had made important finds. He then went on to speculate that the IAR would probably have to urge Tello to provide a suitable and appropriately illustrated report on the expedition. Toward this end Kroeber suggested the IAR provide Tello with a source in which to publish. He essentially closed with the statement that if he had the time, he planned to translate the letter he had received from Tello, and would send the translation to either the *American Anthropologist* or *American Antiquity* (for publication; IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

Strong also received a letter from Collier, this being dated 22 January. Collier wrote that

¹⁴³ By gift Kroeber was likely referring to a small publication by the IAR that provided an account of the IAR's first season in Peru.

he was delaying the submission of his financial statement to the IAR because he was under the impression that there was no need to do so right away. He then said Bennett had told him that any money he had remaining he could apply toward the cost of film and development of the pictures he had taken. The negatives, he went on, belonged to the IAR and would be made available to anyone who wanted to make prints. Some pictures, he continued, he was all set to send to *Life* magazine and to *The New York Times*, but that he would not do so until he received permission from Tello, something he was sure Tello would grant, though, he added, Tello *was* sensitive about the matter, and he thought it best to wait. Apparently regarding this, he told Strong that he had not yet received a reply to the letter he had sent to Tello from New York (date and specific contents unknown). Collier concluded by asking Strong for Lothrop's address, because he wanted to write to him directly about the report that the two of them (Collier and Strong?) had talked about at Lothrop's home in New York (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

Collier enclosed two copies of his expense report in the letter that he sent to Strong on 6 February. He also enclosed a copy of the receipt Tello had given him for \$500, and he enclosed a check for the balance due to the IAR as well. He went on to say he had sent Tello copies of the prints of the photos he had taken, in exchange for the three hundred expedition pictures Tello had given him, including those that were to be handed over to the IAR. He concluded this brief letter by advising Strong of his plan to drive to Boston the next day, passing near New York along the way. He then added that he planned to call Lothrop, but if that proved unsuccessful, he would instead contact him about making arrangements to see both him

(Strong) and Lothrop upon his return (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).¹⁴⁴

Lothrop wrote to Tozzer (date unknown but probably sometime toward the end January or in early February). Lothrop was clearly upset that Guernsey had not yet turned in the report on her work in Peru, and he wanted Tozzer to pass his displeasure on to her. He said he had written to Danielson, and had asked him to send to the Peabody Museum negatives of the pictures he had taken in Peru, so that prints could be made, adding that he planned to use two of these negatives and the picture of a large stele that Tello had published as illustrations. Finally, Lothrop told Kidder that Means had returned (from Europe; Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology Archive, Harvard University, Alfred M. Tozzer Papers, accession no. 41-10, box 1, folder 16, correspondence). In the first case, he was referring to Guernsey's report on the IAR's 1937 field season, and in the second case he was referring to the drawing of the Yanacancha monolith Tello had used to illustrate the article he had published in *El Comercio* early in January. This latter point strongly suggests Tello had written to Lothrop, and had enclosed a copy of his article.

Clark Wissler, head of the Department of Anthropology at the AMNH, received a letter from Bennett written on 9 February. Bennett essentially reported that he and his wife (Hope) had become established in Lima, and were encountering difficulties in obtaining a permit, given the absence of Valcárcel. Bennett complained that the permit should have been issued well before this time. He then went on to speak

¹⁴⁴ In the archive of IAR is Collier's 5 February 1938 expense statement. In this statement Collier reported he had sent 180 prints to Tello, and that it had cost him (only!) \$92.75 for his month-long solo trip to the highlands. The balance of \$27.36 Collier reported as due the IAR was crossed out, and changed to read incidental expenses (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

of José de la Riva Agüero, the ex-minister of state who was head of Peru's committee for the Congress of Americanists. He said Riva Agüero had given him a number of reasons why the congress should not be held in Peru in 1938: the lack of government funding, the poor condition of the country's museums, the poor condition of the nation's archaeological sites, the civil war in Spain that might prevent Spaniards from attending, and the fact that Mexican communists and Peruvian conservatives were at odds with one another (Division of Anthropology Archive, AMNH, Wendell C. Bennett file, correspondence).

On 11 February Tozzer wrote to Lothrop in New York City, and said he was enclosing Guernsey's report.¹⁴⁵ He made it clear he was somewhat disappointed with what she had written, but said it was probably the best she could do given the circumstances. He suggested to Lothrop that he cut the length of the report considerably, and rewrite it in a way to stress what she had done for Tello, for example placing an emphasis on what she had done with his assistants, even to the point of stretching the truth. He closed by apologizing for not having worked with her on the report, and sending it without editing, but, he told Lothrop, it was probably for the best, because this would give him the opportunity to make appropriate changes, and, in any case, further delay in sending the report along was not really an option (Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology Archive, Harvard University, Alfred M. Tozzer Papers, accession no. 41-10, box 1, folder 16, correspondence).

Strong wrote to Kroeber on 19 February and apologized for not having answered sooner. He informed Kroeber that Lothrop had been elected chairman, and that he (Strong) had agreed to assume the joint secretary-treasurer position,

but reluctantly so, because he could not be depended upon to maintain correspondence. He went on to tell Kroeber that he would be receiving, in about week, a report on the IAR's fellows. He said the IAR had no funds, and that it had been decided in New Haven that any new funding would be directed toward field expeditions (by Peruvians) rather than fellowships (for Americans). Next, Strong told Kroeber that he agreed with his assessment that Tello's work was interesting, and that Collier had good reason to be enthusiastic (about him). He added that, while (Tello) had not made any specific pottery correlations (with Chavín), the type of coastal (Chavín) stone carving he had found (in Casma) was interesting. As for his idea about translating Tello's letter (and submitting it for publication), Strong told Kroeber that Lothrop wanted him to know he had a copy of a long newspaper article with good illustrations that Tello had (recently) published, and that it could also be translated. If he could use this material along with a number of very good photographs, Strong told Kroeber, they could send it out within a couple of weeks (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH). This was likely the article that Tello had published in *El Comercio* on 9 January 1938 (Tello 1938a).

Strong also wrote to Beale on 19 February. He told her that Bennett had gone to Peru, and he had succeeded Bennett as the IAR's secretary. He also acknowledged the receipt of her check for \$100 (a donation that was \$1,400 less than she had given in 1937). He then went on to inform her that she would be receiving within a week or so a report on the IAR's activities for the preceding year, adding that Tello had made discoveries both important and interesting, and that the work of the fellows had proven completely satisfactory (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

Kroeber wrote to Lothrop on the 24th and congratulated him on being elected chairman,

¹⁴⁵ A copy of this report can be found in the IAR Archive in the Division of Anthropology at the AMNH.

especially noting to Lothrop that he would not be as disadvantaged as he had been while acting in this capacity at a distance. He then went on to the matter of translating Tello's letter, saying he had suggested to Strong the possibility of getting it published in either of two journals. He then complained to Lothrop that Strong had not specifically addressed this suggestion when he had responded to him, but also made clear he was glad to have been told by him about the article that Tello had sent. He wondered if this was the article Tello had published in *El Comercio*, something that he had already had translated (suggesting that Tello had sent him a copy as well). In any case, he asked Lothrop if he thought the IAR should make use of it, because he felt Tello could not be relied upon to otherwise make the information available to the scientific community. He then referred Lothrop to the copy of the translation of Tello's letter he had enclosed, and said he would (try to) get it published, unless there was an objection, adding that he was concerned it might conflict with the IAR's report that Strong had mentioned. He concluded by complaining that he was out of the loop, saying he had not even received minutes of the New Haven meeting, and wondering when he would be receive a copy of the IAR's report (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

Meanwhile, a number of articles of interest had been published in *El Comercio*. On 11 February, it was reported that 450 North American tourists had arrived aboard the liner *Gripsholm*, and that 290 of them had gone to see the ruins of Pachacamac (Anon. 1938f). Then on the 16th, it was reported that the vessel *Columbus* had arrived, and that 150 tourists aboard had also visited Pachacamac (Anon. 1938g).¹⁴⁶

¹⁴⁶ Means was doing his part to promote archaeological tourism in Peru. In the February 1938 issue of the *Bulletin of the Pan American Union*, he published an article entitled, "Archaeology as a Reason for Visiting the America's". On page 65 he included a photograph of a Paracas

On the 20th it was reported in this daily that the previous day, work had begun at the ruins of Chavín, aimed at protecting them from the Mosna River, and that this work was scheduled to be done sometime during the first half of March. The article went on to report that an unnamed representative of the National Museum had arrived, and had told the mayor of Chavín to solicit the aid of a professional (Anon. 1938h).

On the 27th, readers of *El Comercio* were told the delegate of the National Museum had solicited help from an engineer and that a request (for funding) had been made to the Minister of Public Works (Anon. 1938i). Finally, on the 28th two other reports of interest were published in *El Comercio*. First it was reported that the steamship *Reina del Pacifico* had arrived with 297 British tourists, and that many of them had visited the ruins of Cajamarquilla and Pachacamac (Anon. 1938k). Second, it was reported that Bennett was exploring the region of Huaraz in the company of the director of the Huaraz Museum, and that he expected to remain in the Department of Ancash for six months (Anon. 1938j).

Bennett wrote to Strong from the Hotel Geneva in Huaraz on 3 March. He suggested that the IAR give \$100 grants-in-aid to both

textile accompanied by a caption that read: "In weaving and design some of the Peruvian textiles made more than a thousand years ago have never been surpassed." He included two photographs of the ruins of Machu Picchu. The first, on page 62, was captioned, "Austerity, massiveness, and a lavish use of stairways characterize Incaic architecture as, for example, in this view of Machu Picchu." The second, on page 64, was captioned, "Few human settlements have a setting even remotely approaching in natural grandeur that of Machu Picchu, the celebrated frontier citadel begun by the great Inca Pachacutec, who ruled in the first half of the fifteenth century. This unique and beautiful place, on a peak rising almost sheer 2,000 feet above the Urubamba River, is now easily visited from Cuzco, the former capital of the Incas" (Means 1938).

Augusto Soriano Infante¹⁴⁷ and Eugenio Garro of the Huaraz Museum. He went on to say that because there were so many sites to look at (in the Callejón de Huaylas), he had been forced to focus on survey, and had not yet done any digging. He characterized the region as completely unknown archaeologically (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).¹⁴⁸

On 19 March Tozzer wrote to Lothrop and informed him the Rockefeller mummy bundle had arrived (Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology Archive, Harvard University, Alfred M. Tozzer Papers, accession no. 41-10, box 1, folder 16, correspondence). A few days later, on the 25th, he again wrote to Lothrop and told him the week had been spent unwrapping the mummy bundle, and inside they had found three shawls in less than good condition, but with interesting borders. He also said one of the shawls was so badly preserved that only the border remained. Then, he continued, between the second and third wrappings they had found nothing except masses of disintegrated brown cloth, but, under the third wrapping, they had found between the body and the edge of the basket (in which the body had been placed), seven small shoulder pieces with an opening for the head, at least one or two of which were in excellent condition. Lastly he reported that, while no metal objects had been found, the bundle had contained a fan, some shell beads,

and two well-preserved head fillets (bands; Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology Archive, Harvard University, Alfred M. Tozzer Papers, accession no. 41-10, box 1, folder 16, correspondence).

At the Institute of Anthropological Research on 21 March Tello, with the assistance of Carrión, Mejía, Ponce, Rojas, Raquel Insua, Victoria López, and Abelardo Santisteban, opened Paracas mummy bundle numbered 451. Witnesses to this event were, in addition to Tello's daughters Grace and Elena, Giesecke, the American Ambassador Laurence A. Steinhardt and his wife and daughter, Mrs. A. Bixby, a Mrs. Harris, and a Mr. Sutphen (Sotelo *et al.* 2012:440).

It was on 25 March that Bennett wrote to Bliss and said copies (a copy) of the IAR's annual report had recently been sent to him, and that he and the other members of the committee hoped he approved of the work that had been done by the IAR in 1937. He then told Bliss it was his hope he would renew his support for the current year, and that he would again do so in the amount of \$1,500. Plans for the money, he said, depended in great part on Bennett, who was then in Peru. In any case, he wrote, there were no plans to send fellows to Peru, but that instead the IAR had decided to provide support for Peruvians actually in the field. This, he added, would presumably include publication funding for Tello, as well as support for Jorge Muelle¹⁴⁹ and others. Strong closed by telling Bliss he would keep him informed (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

¹⁴⁷ According to an account published in the 7 August 1934 edition of *The West Coast Leader*, when Tello explored the highlands of the Department of Ancash in 1934 he did so, in part, with Soriano Infante, who was then affiliated with the Institute of Archaeology of Ancash (Anon. 1934).

¹⁴⁸ In 1928 Tello attended the meeting of the International Congress of Americanists that was held at the AMNH. At this meeting he presented a paper that dealt with his research in the Callejón de Huaylas, at Chavín de Huantar, and at other sites in the Department of Ancash in 1919. That paper was subsequently published by Tello in the acts of the congress, with numerous illustrations (Tello 1930).

¹⁴⁹ The artist Muelle began working for Valcárcel at the National Museum in 1931 (Buse 1974a). That same year Muelle published in *El Comercio* on 4 October his first article of an archaeological nature. It dealt with research that he had done alongside Valcárcel and others at Paracas that year. Significantly, he included in his report both criticism of how Tello had earlier conducted work at this site, as well as criticism of his interpretation of what he had found (See Daggett 2016:22).

On 29 March Kroeber wrote to Lothrop in New York and said he had received his copy of the IAR's report, and that, in his opinion, it was impressive both in content and appearance. Apparently referring to a letter he had received from Lothrop (date and specific contents unknown), Kroeber said he was in agreement that they should hold off publishing the translation of Tello's newspaper article. In closing his short note, Kroeber asked Lothrop if he planned to attend the upcoming Lima and/or the Mexico (International Congress of Americanists) meetings, or even if he had heard whether they were actually going to take place, because he had heard a rumor to the effect that both sessions might be cancelled (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

Kidder II wrote to Strong on the 30th and, among other things, said they had had a grand time opening the Paracas mummy bundle the previous week. He went on to say that, though it had been difficult to do so, it had been well worth the effort, because dozens of students had been given the opportunity to observe the procedure, and many interesting artifacts had been found (National Anthropological Archive, Smithsonian Institution, William D. Strong file, correspondence).

Then on 31 March, Bliss wrote back to Strong. He thanked him for a copy of the annual report, and said what the IAR had accomplished during the past year was just what he had hoped for. He then said he hoped the IAR would succeed in fund-raising for the current year, but that he would be able to pledge only \$1,000, a check in the amount of which he would send whenever desired (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

Copies of the reports submitted by Tello, Guernsey, and Collier provide a number of insights. Tello's brief report begins with the statement that it had been sent to Kroeber and,

as such, it seems clear it was the translated version (summary) of the Tello letter that Kroeber refers to in his correspondence with both Strong and Lothrop. This report is succinct, and contains nothing new (Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology Archive, Harvard University, Samuel K. Lothrop Papers, accession no. 996-20, box 6, folder 1, Institute of Andean Research). The Guernsey report is somewhat longer, and contains information not reported heretofore in the sources utilized. Guernsey stated she had taken a number of trips with Rosa Carrión, the first and longest of which had been to the South Coast and to Nazca. On this trip they had visited Huaca La Centinella in the Chincha Valley, they had seen a collection of Paracas artifacts at a hacienda near Pisco, they had gone to the baths of Huachachina near the city of Ica, and they had seen a private collection of artifacts at Minas Sol de Oro near the city of Nazca (Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology Archive, Harvard University, Samuel K. Lothrop Papers, accession no. 996-20, box 6, folder 1, Institute of Andean Research).

The Collier report is by far the longest and most detailed. As expected, the bulk of his report dealt with the work done by the expedition in the Casma Valley, and in one way or another, none of this information is new. However, Collier did provide new information regarding his post-Casma activities. He explained that he had gone to Lima in part to deal with problems that had arisen with immigration authorities. His plan, he wrote, had been to rejoin the expedition in the highlands south of Cajamarca via the Callejón de Huaylas, and it had been at Tello's suggestion that he traveled to this intermontane valley by way of Aija in the upper the Huarmey Valley.¹⁵⁰ But, because of

¹⁵⁰ This was the route Tello had taken to the Callejón de Huaylas during his 1919 expedition, and along the way he discovered a number of Recuay sites, inclusive of figures in the round.

map and photographic work, as well as illness, he hadn't been able to leave Lima until the first of November, and because of this, his plans had changed, and he had hoped instead to re-connect with Tello at Chavín. He spent a week at Aija visiting sites and photographing monoliths, and then worked in the Callejón, but there he had been prevented from undertaking extensive excursions due to the onset of the rainy season. He had, however, photographed artifact collections in the Huaraz Museum, as well as a number of private ones. He next went to Chavín, where he stayed for two days, and apparently, while there, he received a message from Tello telling him that he had been delayed and was still north of Pomabamba. To rejoin the expedition, then, would have meant a ten-day trip by horse in the middle of the rainy season so, Collier wrote, he decided instead to make for Huánuco Viejo to the south. He then spent two days at this site and, subsequently, five days in and around the City of Huánuco. Overall, he said, he took 180 photographs and made collections of pottery fragments whenever he could. Finally, Collier reported that Tello did not actually return to Lima until the day before he was to sail for home (Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology Archive, Harvard University, Samuel K. Lothrop Papers, accession no. 996-20, box 6, folder 1, Institute of Andean Research).

On 10 April Means wrote to Lothrop¹⁵¹ and requested six to ten more copies of the IAR's report that he could distribute to potential donors. He then reported he had spoken with both Beale and Bliss in Washington, and had come away with the clear impression they were becoming tired of being the sole donors. As

¹⁵¹ It is interesting to note that Means addressed this letter to "Samuel Kirkland Lothrop, Esq." at 430 East 5th Street, in New York. Means was not one to use a title lightly and, given that Esquire is the designation given to those holding a law degree, this suggests that Lothrop may at this time have been a practicing attorney.

such, he suggested the IAR create a graduated plan of three classes of patrons, annual, who donated \$10 a year, sustaining, who contributed \$25 to \$99 a year, and patrons who gave at least \$100 a year. Means then went to say he was willing to do his part to create expanded lists of donors, and he thought Bennett was on board with such a plan, given their discussion before he left for Peru (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

Beginning in the end of March, a number of pertinent articles were published in *El Comercio*. On 26 March it was reported that ruins in the Departments of Cajamarca and Ancash remained abandoned and virtually unknown, despite the recent work done in these places by Tello. In the Huaraz area, the author identified as abandoned the ruins of Shankaiyan, Patay-Katak, Kekemarca, Ayapampa, and Wilka-wain, as well as more monoliths than those known to exist in Cusco or at Tiahuanaco. The author of this article gave Valcárcel credit for work then being done in the Callejón de Huaylas, because work then being done (by Bennett) was (technically) taking place under his direction as director of the National Museum. Next the author reported that Bennett had spoken to the press, and in doing so had made mention of the work then being conducted on the North Coast in the Pacasmayo area by Heinrich Doering of Munich.¹⁵² Finally, the author made reference to what Tello had apparently recently told him about the need to establish a program of conservation and restoration of the nation's archaeological heritage. Specifically Tello had told him that the government would be issuing a directive toward this end, and that, for example, the ruins of Pachacamac would be conserved for the benefit of science and future tourism. This, Tello had said, was in complete contrast to the

¹⁵² "Heinrich U. Doering of the Museum für Völkerkunde, Munich, returned again to Peru with plans of excavating in Chicama valley. He was accompanied by Hans Diesselhoff of the Berlin Museum" (Bennett 1938d:28).

way steamship lines currently operated, in which tourists were offered an absurd tour of these ruins, where the excesses of the looters had exposed only some poor stone walls (Anon. 1938l).¹⁵³

On 19 April it was reported in *El Comercio* that, spurred by Tello's discoveries, Cajamarca's municipal government was going to establish a museum of history (Anon. 1938m). This report was followed on the 20th by an editorial applauding this action (Editor 1938b). Then, on 21 April, an announcement issued by the National Museum was published in this Lima daily. Dated the 20th, this official statement, in part, announced the government's plans to undertake repairs at the Bolivar Museum (the historical part of the museum) and to create new exhibition salons. As for the Institute of Anthropological Research (directed by Tello) at this locale, it was announced it had been increased in size, and had undergone important improvements (Anon. 1938n). Finally, on 29 April, *El Comercio* published a letter to the editor that had been sent by the Mayor of Chavín, Felix F. Rotta, dated 29 March. Specifically Rotta thanked the newspaper for its efforts in preserving the ruins of Chavín (Rotta 1938).

To sum up, correspondence between members of the IAR, as well as between members and non-members written during the period January through April covered a number of interrelated topics. It is clear that Strong was struggling in his role as the IAR's secretary, and that Kroeber, who felt isolated and uninformed, was particularly unhappy with his performance. Little in the way of funding remained in the IAR's coffers, and Lothrop, who had succeeded

Kroeber as president, oversaw the production of a report that was circulated among members, and among existing and potential donors in the hope of generating funding for 1938. The finished report did not reflect Lothrop and Tozzer's shared displeasure with Guernsey, but it did satisfy Bliss, who agreed to continue his financial support for the IAR, albeit in an amount a third less than what he had given the previous year. This reflected his concern, shared by Beale, that the IAR had not expanded its donor base. Means, newly returned from Europe, had decided to focus on this problem.

Bennett still played an important role in the IAR's affairs, despite the fact he was working in the Callejón de Huaylas on behalf of the AMNH. It does seem likely that Bennett had at least been in favor of (if not having actually been the person who had originated) the idea put forth at the annual meeting to give Peruvians money to conduct field-work in lieu of sending fellows. In any case, he wrote from Peru and suggested that his field assistants in the Callejón de Huaylas be provided small amounts to conduct independent research. It is interesting in this regard that Strong told Bliss, as well as Kroeber, that it had been decided at the annual meeting not to fund new fellows in 1938, as a cost-saving measure, despite the fact that a fellowship committee consisting of Lothrop, Cole, and himself had been formed at that time.

During this period, Tello wrote both to Lothrop and to Kroeber, apparently sending each a copy of his recent article published in *El Comercio* on his work in Casma, while summarizing only in his letter to outgoing president Kroeber what he felt were the most important discoveries recently made by him and his team, both on the coast and in the highlands. Kroeber had both the letter and the article translated, and volunteered to try to get Tello's summary published in an American scientific journal. This idea was tabled, and instead this summary

¹⁵³ This suggests that at one or meetings of the National Board of Archaeology the interrelated subjects of tourism, conservation, preservation, and scientific study with regard to the ruins of Pachacamac had been discussed. As a member of this Board, Tello would have been privy to its plans for the site.

was more or less included as Tello's contribution to the IAR's overall report on the work done in 1937. Regardless, Kroeber, as he had in the past, continued to lobby to have money set aside to help Tello publish a detailed account of his work.

It was during this four-month period that Kidder II happily opened one of the gifted Paracas mummy bundles for his students at Harvard, while Tello and his assistants opened one of the Paracas bundles at the Institute of Anthropological Research housed within the Bolivar Museum. Pertinent to Tello, the Lima press had announced that work was being done at this locale, including the expansion of Tello's part of the museum.

Concerns were also expressed in the Lima press about the need to protect archaeological sites in the Departments of Cajamarca and Ancash; there were reports on Bennett's work in the Callejón, as well as his interest in German work being done on the North Coast; and there was a report that included mention of Tello's (and apparently of the Board of Archaeology's) desire to see Pachacamac protected for the benefit of science. In addition to growing mentions of these ruins in the press, mention was being made of the upcoming Eighth Pan American Conference to be hosted in Lima; this while Kroeber and Lothrop wondered if the proposed Lima session of the upcoming International Congress of Americanists would actually take place.

MOVING FORWARD

April–July 1938

Tello wrote a note to Lothrop on 11 April. He began by referencing short letters he had written to him (date and contents unknown), to Tozzer (date and contents unknown), and to Kroeber, upon returning to Lima from the field.

He went on to say he did not know if any of these letters had been received, because he had not yet received any responses. Then he got down to business. In the past, he said, Bennett had told him his standing with the IAR had only changed in a slight way, but now he wanted Lothrop as the IAR's new chairman to explain to him exactly what his role was. He then added he would soon have his general report on the 1937 expedition ready, suggesting this was the report he had agreed to submit to the IAR as a condition of financial support. In closing, Tello wrote that for the time being he was not in need of IAR support, because he had money from both Rockefeller and the government to allow him to work with the Paracas collection (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

Bennett wrote to Lothrop from the Genoa Hotel in Huaraz on 17 April. He said he had been excavating at one or more post-Chavín sites, and would be leaving for Chavín the following month, where he planned to sink a number of test pits. As for Tello, Bennett said he was currently working on the Paracas collections at both the university and Magdalena (Bolivar) museums with a number of assistants, and that the government had plans to remodel the latter museum (as a whole). He then went on to say Tello had been actively visiting sites in the Lima region, and that he planned to make a short trip into the highlands in July. He told Lothrop that Tello had recently undertaken a trip to the headwaters of the Huaura River (on the Central Coast) where he had found rubbish heaps he expected to excavate on his next vacation. Next Bennett brought up IAR business. He suggested Tello be given \$150 of the amount donated by Beale¹⁵⁴ to be used for discretionary work, with the condition that he send to the IAR a brief report on what he had done. Bennett also identified his "guards" as

¹⁵⁴ In his letter to Beale dated 19 February 1938, Bennett acknowledged his receipt of \$100 and not \$150. The reason for this \$50 difference is unknown.

Soriano Infante and Garro, and suggested the former be given IAR support for his work in the Callejón de Huaylas (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).¹⁵⁵

Bennett provided more details about his field-work in a letter he sent to Wissler at the AMNH, also on 17 April. He stated he had been fruitfully excavating at the ruins of Wilkawain¹⁵⁶ and had worked at twenty other sites with limited results. He said he now had a photographic and artistic record of over 150 monoliths in the region, none of which had yet been published, and that he planned to go that week to the site of Katák¹⁵⁷ to work for a week or two before heading to Chavín in May for another month's work. His current plan, he wrote, was to go to Lima around the middle of June, and return to New York about the first of August, well in advance of his original sailing date of 25 August. This rush, he explained, was because he needed at least a month to work in New York before heading to the University of Wisconsin. He ended by saying he was at peace with his decision to go to this school and try his hand at teaching, and was hopeful the AMNH would allow him a year's leave of absence (Division of Anthropology Archive, AMNH, Wendell C. Bennett file, correspondence, 1938–69).

Strong wrote to Kroeber on 21 April with bad news regarding IAR funding. Beale, he said, had only donated \$150 (or \$100?), while Bliss had only given \$1,000, a total substantially less

¹⁵⁵ J. Eugenio Garro published an archaeological guide for the Department of Ancash in the journal of the Geographic Society of Lima (Garro 1939).

¹⁵⁶ Tello included in the paper that he presented at the 1928 meeting of the International Congress of Americanists held at the AMNH a discussion of his visit to the ruins of Wilkawain in 1919 (Tello 1930:272).

¹⁵⁷ Tello worked at Katák in 1919 and included a discussion of his work there in the paper he presented at the 1928 meeting of the International Congress of Americanists held at the AMNH (Tello 1930:271).

than the year before. Though he had not yet spoken with Lothrop, he went on, he thought the plan was to give out small amounts to Peruvian archaeologists working with Bennett in the field. He then added he didn't know how Bennett's going to Wisconsin would affect this plan (National Anthropological Archive, Smithsonian Institution, William D. Strong Papers, correspondence).

A meeting of the IAR's administrative committee was held on 1 May and a subsequent report dated the 27th signed by Lothrop, Strong, and Vaillant was sent out on IAR stationery that still showed Kroeber as chairman and Bennett as secretary-treasurer. The report stated Beale and Bliss had together donated \$1,150 for the current year, an amount considerably less than they had given the year before. Of this total, 1000 soles had been designated for independent field-work to be conducted by Soriano Infante, who was then acting as the government inspector for Bennett's work at Chavín.

As for Tello, the administrative committee's report indicated it had received a letter from him in which he had said he was still working on a detailed report of his 1937 expedition. In this letter he had said he was working with the Paracas collection, and had 5000 soles from Rockefeller with which to undertake this task of preservation and study. Under these circumstances, the committee had decided to send him just \$100 to be applied toward related photographic, drawing, typing, and other like expenses. The committee's report then stated Tello had promised to send this preliminary report for the 1937 field season in the near future, and that it was the committee's hope it could be published in whole, or as an abstract, in an American journal. Given that Tello next planned to return to the field in July, the report went on, the committee had decided to provide him with \$400 to aid him in this endeavor, that is, unless it was later deemed advisable to use

this money to publish his report. The committee then solicited suggestions on this matter.

Beyond information regarding Tello, it was announced in the administrative committee's report that Julian Steward of the Bureau of Ethnology of the Smithsonian Institution had been made an honorary fellow of the IAR for the years 1938 and 1939 to undertake ethnographic work in Ecuador, Peru, and Chile. Finally, it was stated in the report that the committee had decided to hold in reserve 1000 soles as a prospective grant to an unnamed government inspector to accompany Kidder II, who would be undertaking field-work in Peru in the fall (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

On 3 May, Bennett's wife, Hope, wrote to Mrs. Whittington at the AMNH Division of Anthropology. She reported her husband had left for Chavín, and then went on to outline their future plans. They expected to leave Huaraz during the first week of June, she said, and spend a few days with the Larco family at Hacienda Chiclín near Trujillo. Then they would be in Lima around 15 June, and would sail home about the middle of July. She closed saying it had not rained for three days, and hoped it hadn't snowed higher up during her husband's twelve-hour horseback ride up and over the mountains to Chavín (Division of Anthropology Archive, AMNH, Wendell C. Bennett file, correspondence, 1938–69).

During May *El Comercio* published a series of United Press reports on Bennett's work at Chavín. On 6 May it was reported that Bennett and Soriano were working at the ruins of Chavín (Anon. 1938o). On the 11th it was stated that Bennett had discovered a new kind of architecture at Chavín. Specifically, Bennett had reported that this consisted of walls built of fired mold-made adobe, cement-like in appearance, and that this adobe reminded him of the

pre-historic walls he had seen at Guanqui on the shores of Lake Titicaca in (far northern) Bolivia (Anon. 1938p). Then, on the 18th, it was reported that Sub-Prefect Artola, presumably of the Department of Ancash, was on his way to Chavín to organize repairs to be done at the ruins, and to inspect Bennett's work there (Anon. 1938r). The following day it was reported that Bennett had found fragments of Chavín type pottery in seven cells (rooms) between the ruin's amphitheater and the Mosna River, and that this discovery confirmed Tello's hypothesis that Chavín was the mother of prehistoric civilizations (Anon. 1938s).

On 20 May *El Comercio* published a United Press report sent from Pacasmayo the day before. The report dealt with work being conducted in the Chicama and Jequetepeque Valleys by Heinrich Doering and H. D. Disselhoff on behalf of the Munich Ethnological Museum. According to Doering, the report stated, he had been authorized by the Peruvian government to undertake excavations in these valleys, and that in the ruins of Pacatnamu he had found cavern-like tombs dating to proto-Chimu times (Anon. 1938t). Finally, on 27 May, readers of this Lima daily learned that a strange monolithic head had been found two days before in the principal mound at Chavín. Specifically, this surprise discovery had been made in the mound's cyclopean walls, and the monolithic head was decorated with feline eyes in high relief, a nose with a wide base, a large mouth, and large thick lips (Anon. 1938u).¹⁵⁸

Strong wrote to Bliss on 20 May to inform him the IAR had just heard from both Tello and Bennett. Tello, he reported, had said he needed some money to help him with his report, and Bennett had recommended giving a small excavation grant to one or both of his Peruvian

¹⁵⁸ The ruins of Chavín had been subjected to periodic mudslides. Accumulation of earth would have buried parts of the ruin's walls, hence the appearance of a mound.

assistants. Hence, Strong continued, Lothrop would appreciate receiving his check in the amount of \$1,000 when convenient. Finally, before saying how nice it had been to meet with him in April, Strong told Bliss that he would be leaving the end of the following week to begin summer field research (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH). Bliss's secretary, Ellis Russell, responded to Strong on the 23rd and said he had been authorized by Bliss to send the check he had enclosed in the amount of \$1,000, made payable to the IAR. He requested a receipt (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH) and Strong sent one in his responding note to Russell dated the 25th (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

On the 25th Strong also wrote to Tello, to Lothrop, and to Soriano. Strong enclosed in his letter to Tello the latter's official letter of reappointment as the IAR's Peruvian counselor. He apologized for not having sent the reappointment letter sooner, and explained that his notes had indicated that Bennett was going to do so before he left for Peru (but obviously had not).¹⁵⁹ Strong then apologized to Tello for his shortcomings as the IAR's secretary, blaming it on the many complicated duties that had been placed upon him at (Columbia) University. He then told Tello he would be going into the field in two days, and said he had arranged to have Lothrop take over the role of secretary during his absence. He ended by telling Tello he fervently hoped to go to Peru in 1939 and see for himself what he had discovered (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

In his letter to Lothrop, Strong officially notified him that he (Lothrop) had been appointed the IAR's official delegate to the International Congress of Anthropological and

Ethnological Sciences, to be held in Copenhagen that summer (leaving open the question whether Lothrop would actually be around to act as secretary; IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH). Finally, Strong wrote to Soriano to inform him that, at the request of Bennett, he had been appointed an honorary fellow of the IAR for 1938, and that he had been awarded 1000 soles to undertake independent field research. In return for this assistance, Strong asked Soriano to submit a short report on his work to arrive before the IAR's annual meeting in December (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

Lothrop received a letter from Tello written in Lima on 27 May. Tello began by referencing Lothrop's most recent letter to him (date and specific contents unknown). In essence, Tello then said it seemed the right time to consider how the IAR could help him with his archaeological endeavors. When he had come to the United States and had advocated for the creation of what had become the IAR, he said, he had made the point that he needed help with the material he had collected on the South Coast since the mid 1920's. Since that time, the study and preservation of this material, and principally the Paracas collection, had been his highest priority. Toward this end, he had fought against both ignorance and indifference on the part of those alien to the science of archaeology, and especially so since he had been replaced as director of the nation's museum of archaeology. Yet, he went on, those who had replaced him (Valcárcel and his assistants) tended to forget that *he* was the one who had actual control of this material and not they. Still, he had faced many problems, such as too few assistants, and especially an absolute lack of government funding, which was needed to conserve and restore all the precious artifacts contained within the more than four hundred Paracas mummy bundles that were being destroyed by Lima's humidity.

¹⁵⁹ The Tello reappointment document included a statement to the effect that members of the IAR had great interest in Tello's recent finds, and greatly looked forward to reading his report.

It was for this reason, Tello went on, that he had sought help in the United States in 1936, and he had succeeded in doing so by getting donations from both Beale and Bliss, and by getting the support of men like Spier and Kroeber. Since the creation of the IAR, however, changes had been made in his absence, and he had sought clarification regarding his obligations as the IAR's Peruvian counselor. It had been his understanding, he went on, that the IAR was going to either annually, or as needed, appoint a director to oversee the IAR's activities in Peru, including both field-work and work on the Paracas collection. There remained so much to do in the field, he opined, that it would require the lifetimes of three such directors. He was convinced, he continued, that it was possible to conduct effective collaborative work in his country that would promote an interest in archaeological investigations—work of a more practical and efficient nature that was “free of the empiricism and the terribly destructive actions of dilettantes and looters”. He then essentially blamed the government for allowing looting and other illegal activities that threatened the national patrimony.

Tello then briefly discussed the decision by Rockefeller to donate \$2,000 to help him with his 1937 expedition and another \$3,000 to help him to preserve, conserve, and study the Paracas collection. He explained that Rockefeller had asked that Peru agree to send four of the smaller Paracas mummy bundles to the United States to be exhibited, in the hope that this would serve to create wider interest and support for Peruvian archaeology. As a result, Tello said, he had solicited government authorization to do so. He next told Lothrop that he would (soon) send to him a detailed report on the 1937 expedition, as well as a copy of a report on the work done on the Paracas collection during the period from January to May 1938 that he would also be sending to Rockefeller.

Next Tello provided Lothrop with a summary of his thoughts about the IAR. First, the organization should undertake collaborative work in Peru, and should name a *director* to act for a time as deemed convenient, and that this person would assume complete responsibility for the IAR's activities in that country. This, he added, would have the immediate consequence of both training students, and promoting archaeological studies. Second, given that he had served as the IAR's representative for 1937, another person could be named as its field director for 1938. Third, he wanted a clear explanation of the changes that had been made in the IAR's charter since the original meeting (at the AMNH) on 13 October 1936. Tello closed by apologizing for the tone of his letter and by telling Lothrop (cryptically) he knew he (Tello) still had much to say to him (Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology Archive, Harvard University, Samuel K. Lothrop Papers, accession no. 996-20, box 6, folder 1, Institute of Andean Research).

On 2 June Means responded to what he said was a 27 May memorandum Strong had distributed to members of the IAR. He was referring to the 1 May administrative committee document that Strong had sent out on the 27th. Means specifically directed Strong's attention to paragraph six, in which was stated the intent of the committee to give Tello \$400, to either support his upcoming field-work, or be applied toward the publication of his 1937 field report. Means stated that (alternatively) \$400 or more should be set aside to fund what he characterized as a really impressive report on the IAR's 1937 field season. Such a report, he went on, would serve to both increase membership and the number of donors that were then limited to Beale and Bliss. He then referred Strong to his 10 April letter to Lothrop, in which he had discussed this matter. Finally, Means stated he had recently received letters from Tello (dates and specific contents unknown) in which he had told him he was not

in immediate need of funding. Hence, Means said, more of the IAR's funds could be used to create a more varied and larger list of subscribers (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

Kroeber also wrote a letter on 2 June in response to his receipt of a copy of the 1 May report on the meeting of the IAR's administrative committee, but unlike Means, he wrote directly to Lothrop rather than to Strong. Kroeber began by saying he felt the decisions that had been made by the committee had been wise, particularly the decision to provide small grants to help Peruvians conduct field research. He then turned his attention to Tello, and in the strongest terms said he felt the IAR should ask him to send it a manuscript before encouraging him to do any more field-work. Specifically, he would prefer that Tello produce an illustrated report on his findings that included a discussion of what he had found in each grave, and the associations of the artifacts contained within. Though, he went on, he felt all they could do at the present was to urge Tello in this direction, it was his opinion that at some point Tello should be told future funding would be contingent upon receipt of reports containing specific details. He ended this part of his letter by saying to Lothrop that he hoped he agreed with him that the committee had to retain control of the IAR's activities (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

On 3 June *El Comercio* published a report on the founding ceremony of the Peruvian-North American Cultural Institute that had taken place in the American Salon of the Bolivar Hotel at 6:30 the previous afternoon. Present had been the American ambassador, Laurence Steinhardt; the minister of education and head of the cabinet of ministers, General Ernesto Montagne; the minister of foreign relations, Carlos Concha; the rector of San Marcos, Alfredo Solf y Muro; and the mayor of Lima,

Eduardo Dibos D. Also present were the members of the Cultural Institute's organizing commission, Manuel Beltroy, Luis H. Bouroncle, Luis C. Infante, Julio C. Tello, and Luis E. Valcárcel.

According to this report, Steinhardt spoke first, followed by Dibos and Beltroy. Next there followed an election in which all of the above individuals, as well as Peru's American ambassador, Manuel de Freyre Santander, were named honorary members. A board of directors composed of active members was elected and consisted of Alfredo Álvarez Calderón as president, Fernando Wiese and Carlos Monge as vice presidents, Beltroy as secretary, Fernando Fuchs as treasurer, and C. G. Bilwiller as assistant treasurer. Voting members included Tello, Valcárcel, and Alberto A. Giesecke (Anon. 1938w).

A United Press report sent from the city of Huaraz on the first of June was published the following day in *El Comercio*. The report stated that Bennett and his wife had just departed the city the day before (31 May). Bennett, the report continued, had previously returned to Huaraz, accompanied by Soriano, after having completed twenty days of work at Chavín (and elsewhere). Finally, the report stated that Bennett had told reporters in Huaraz that he and Soriano had been the first to find the complete variety of styles of Chavín pottery at the ruins of Chavín, and that excavations had been undertaken at sixteen (other?) sites (Anon. 1938v).

It will be recalled that in the letter she sent to the AMNH on 3 May, Hope Bennett had said she and her husband planned to visit the Chiclín Museum the first week of June (Division of Anthropology Archive, AMNH, Wendell C. Bennett file, correspondence, 1938–1969). Subsequently that year, Valcárcel published an article (as editor) in volume seven of the National Museum's journal, in which he stated that

he, Bennett, Doering, and Disselhoff had been invited by Rafael Larco Hoyle to visit the Chiclín Museum (Figure 19). There they exchanged ideas and decided to accelerate publishing on their respective work they had conducted in the field during recent years (Editor 1938d:323).

On 9 June Tello wrote a note to Lothrop to say he had received his letter (date and contents unknown) and the enclosed check in the amount of \$100 to be used to help him write his report. He told Lothrop he was actively working on the report, and would send it to him soon (Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology Archive, Harvard University, Samuel K. Lothrop Papers, accession no. 996-20, box 6, folder 6, correspondence).

Bennett wrote to Wissler on 23 June. He said his Chavín excavations had proven interesting, given that he had found there pottery fragments identical to those that Max Uhle had found at Ancón on the Central Coast, pottery that the latter had said was the oldest in Peru. He went on to say he was in Lima, and experiencing typical struggles with government officials, and that he expected Tello to cooperate in typical fashion by providing some resistance. He went on to say he and his wife planned to set sail on the (steamship) *Santa Barbara* on 12 July, to arrive in New York on the 25th (Division of Anthropology Archive, AMNH, Wendell C. Bennett file, correspondence, 1938–1969).

On 2 July Soriano wrote to both Bennett and Lothrop. To the latter he expressed his gratitude for receipt of the \$100 to help him with his field-work, and he promised to send to the IAR a copy of his report soon (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology AMNH). His letter to Bennett contained specifics. After saying that he had received his letter dated 14 June (contents unknown), he thanked Bennett for his role in securing IAR funding so that he could undertake research in the Callejón de Huaylas and

at Chavín. He then said that, with regards to the Callejón, in the District of Malvas in the Province of Aija, he had explored the ruins of Marka, Llacsha, Carhuaz, and Huallancoto, while in the District of Cochapetí, in the same province, he had discovered the three-storied ruins of Tockpa built in a style different than that of Wilkawain. As for the Districts of Cochaparaco and Tapacocha, in the same province, he had worked at the ruins of Jariajirca, Marca y Cuyush, Pucahuai, Huanrish, Ckotu, and Huasita-jirca. He indicated that he would send a report to the IAR in December, and that it would include photographs, drawings, and the like (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

On 5 July the following was reported in Lima's *The West Coast Leader*: "Dr. Edgar L. Hewett, president of the American Research Archaeological Institute of Santa Fe, New Mexico, arrived in Lima by Panagra plane on July 8th, and is remaining here for several weeks" (Anon. 1938x). Presumably he and Tello interacted at his time. It was reported on the 12th in this weekly that "Among the passengers leaving per the s.s. *Santa Barbara* for New York on the 12th inst., were Mr. Wendell J. [sic] Bennett, of the American Museum of Natural History, New York, accompanied by Mrs. Bennett" (Anon. 1938y).

Tello wrote to Rockefeller on 11 July. This served as his report on the money he had spent to date that the latter had donated toward the preservation, upkeep, and study of the Paracas mummy bundles and their contents. Tello reminded Rockefeller he had donated \$3,000 toward this end in May 1937, and he told him from 10 January to 30 June much work had been done. The bundles had been placed on wooden scaffolds at the museum to protect them from the effects of humidity. The work of cleaning and preservation had consisted principally in saving the most delicate pieces, as well as those

that were charred or impregnated with marine salts. The majority of the textiles had been repaired and reinforced with a backing cloth. Each of the textiles had been affixed to special frames, and hung within cedar cases that could be exhibited in glass cases. The preserved pieces had been catalogued and studied with respect to their technique and decoration. The figures decorating the textiles had first been traced, and then reproduced as watercolors, so that they could later be studied. Tello then referenced photographic copies he had enclosed of the 346 textiles that, as of then, had been saved, 181 of which had been placed on exhibit. Finally, Tello provided an account of money spent to date. Of the \$3,000 or 11,870.51 soles donated, 6,920.65 soles had thus far been spent, and this left 4,949.86 soles that should last for three months, or until the end of September that year (Tello and Mejía 1967:216).

El Comercio published a United Press report on Bennett's field-work on 14 July. This report had been sent out from Chavín the previous day. Much of what was included had been noted in earlier press reports that had been published by this newspaper in mid-May. However, there were some interesting personal details. Apparently the United Press reporter (and others) had spoken with Bennett at the Inca Hotel a few days prior to his major architectural and ceramic discoveries, and, at that time, he had been taciturn and disillusioned, so much so that he had expressed his doubts about Tello's (Chavín) theory. However, the day before his departure he was smiling and full of satisfaction (having by then discovered Chavín pottery at the ruins) and that night he had spoken in glowing terms about the Chavín ruins and civilization at a dinner hosted by the municipal council of Chavín. At this dinner, he was declared an illustrious guest of the Archaeological Villa, and he spoke with great emotion, saying that the ruins were more important than he had previously believed, and that quite possibly his work

there would open a new horizon for this grand ancient civilization that was little known and studied. Finally, the anonymous author of the article reported that a great tomb cut into granite measuring five meters long by three meters wide, and a meter in height had been found recently at Chavín, albeit without any ceramic artifacts (Anon. 1938z).

Writing from Huaraz, Soriano sent a letter dated 18 July to Bennett in New York. This consisted of a brief report on his field-work. He began by saying he had returned from working in the Aija and Huaraz regions, and wanted to quickly send him a thank you for the money Lothrop had sent him on behalf of the IAR. He went on to say he was heading out the next day to Carhuaz and Yungay, for the purpose of putting together a guidebook for the Callejón that he thought the IAR might find of interest. Finally, he said he would be sending his report to the IAR before December, and asked Bennett to suggest what else he could do that would be of interest to the IAR (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

On 19 July *The West Coast Leader* republished an article by Bennett that had previously been published in the 1938 *Bulletin of the Pan American Union*. Bennett had penned this article sometime in 1937, prior to returning to Peru in 1938. In part he wrote:

Sr. Rafael Larco Hoyle, aided by his two brothers, continues his work in Chicama Valley. The museum at Chiclín has been enlarged, not only by the addition of two rooms, but also by the acquisition of the Roa collection from Santa. Excavation has been carried out in the Early Chimú cemeteries at Salamanca Playa and Pampa de Chicama. In the dry quebrada of Cupisnique Sr. Larco has found many surface sherds of well-fired black and brown ware decorated with incised designs. Fragments

of heavy spouts, type ware, and design elements identify these sherds with “Chavín style” stirrup-spout vessels commonly found in Chicama collections, but heretofore without any record of precise locality. Consequently, although it is only a surface find, Sr. Larco considers the Cupisnique site as a source for the vessels of this type, which he now designates by the term “Cupisnique style” (Bennett 1938a).¹⁶⁰

To sum up the months of May through July, at the very beginning of this period, the IAR administrative committee consisting of Lothrop, Strong, and Vaillant had met, and Strong had subsequently sent out a report on the meeting that detailed 1938 donations and the financial decisions that had been made. Specifically, members were told only \$1,150 had been donated, 1,000 soles had been designated for Bennett’s assistant Soriano, \$100 had been designated to help Tello with minor expenses connected with his work on the Paracas collection, another \$400 had been set aside to help Tello either conduct field-work in 1938 or publish his report on the 1937 expedition, and 1,000 soles had been set aside to give to a Peru-

vian who would be assisting Kidder II in the field in the fall. In response, Means had suggested that the \$400 given to Tello be alternatively used to create an impressive report on the IAR’s 1937 field season, to be distributed to potential donors, while Kroeber had insisted that Tello not be given any funding for future field-work until he had submitted his final 1937 field report.

Bennett’s wife wrote to the AMNH to say her husband had just left for Chavín, that they planned to leave Huaraz late in June, and to say they planned to go to Lima after first spending a few days at the Chiclín Museum at the invitation of the Larcos. In Lima, the press reported on Bennett’s work at Chavín, including his initial doubts about Tello’s Chavín hypothesis, and then his embrace of it once he found Chavín pottery at this site. Subsequently, it was reported that Valcárcel, Doering, and Disselhoff had also been invited to the Hacienda Chiclín, and that there, as a group, they had discussed matters pertinent to Peruvian archaeology. Bennett later reported from Lima that he was experiencing typical difficulties with officials, and that he anticipated the same from Tello.

Strong wrote to Tello with official notification that he had been reappointed Peruvian counselor. He apologized for not having done so earlier, laying the blame on his shortcomings as the IAR’s point man, and his misunderstanding that Bennett was to have done so prior to his departure for Peru. He told Tello that he would be leaving very soon for the field, and that Lothrop would assume the role of interim secretary. Strong also wrote to Lothrop to tell him he had been made the IAR’s official delegate to attend an upcoming international conference to be held in Europe, making one wonder who would be in charge in his absence. In any case, Tello wrote twice to Lothrop, and each time asked him to explain the changes to the IAR’s charter that had been made since the original

¹⁶⁰ In 1938 Larco published a book about what he had learned from his research on the North Coast Moche culture, but in which he also discussed his ideas about coastal Chavín. He provided cross-section and profile views for both the ceremonial site of Queneto in the Cupisnique Quebrada that he had found, and of the Punkurí temple in the Nepeña Valley where Tello had worked. Larco presented a number of photographs taken at Punkurí, including two of the feline idol that had been found at this site. Based on a stylistic analysis of this idol and felines depicted on Cupisnique pottery, Larco proposed a three-phase development of coastal Chavín. According to him, during phase one it manifested itself at Queneto on the North Coast, at Ancón on the Central Coast, and in the Arica Valley in Chile, sites at the latter two places having first been identified as being early in date by Uhle. It was during the second period, Larco said, that coastal Chavín spread to the Nepeña Valley and to the Paracas Peninsula, and it was only later, during its third phase, that coastal Chavín reached its highest level of development (Larco 1938:12–50).

meeting in 1936 held at the AMNH. Specifically, he wanted to have explained to him what his responsibilities were as the IAR's Peruvian counselor. He told Lothrop he saw numerous opportunities for collaboration between Peruvians and the IAR, and he strongly suggested that, rather than a counselor, a field director should be appointed, who would be responsible for all the IAR's activities in Lima. In this regard, he indicated that he was fine with the idea of the appointment of someone other than him, as he had already served in that capacity.

In fact, Tello was quite busy as usual. He had become a voting member of the new Peruvian-North American Cultural Institute, and he had submitted a report to Rockefeller in which he detailed how donated money had thus far been spent on preserving, conserving, and studying the Paracas collection. Finally, it appears the IAR's published report had been distributed, much to the delight of Means and Kroeber, while Soriano expressed his pleasure at receiving IAR support by providing updates on his research to both Bennett and Lothrop.

OPPORTUNITY KNOCKS

August–October 1938

On 2 August the following was published in *The West Coast Leader*: "Mr. Edgar L. Hewett, president of the Schools of American Research Archaeological Institute of America [sic], Santa Fe, N. M., who has been touring Peru, returned from Arequipa on the 1st inst., via Panagra plane" (Anon. 1938aa). It is unknown if Hewett and Tello interacted at this time, but presumably they did.

Four days later, on the 6th, as director of the Institute of Anthropological Research, Tello penned an official memorandum regarding a proposed special exhibition of Indian art that was to be offered in conjunction with the Pan

American Conference and International Congress of Americanists meetings to be held soon in Lima.

Tello began by saying he had prepared this document for the minister of foreign relations (Carlos Concha) who had proposed the idea of setting up this special exhibit. He then said he was presenting to this minister a plan that, in his view, would satisfy the desires of the government, and would reaffirm, before representatives of foreign nations and the public in general, the high prestige Peru enjoyed with regard to its historic and artistic heritage. He then went on to list and detail eight points.

First, he said, it would be a good idea to reorganize the Institute of Anthropological Research both in its administrative and scientific aspects. That is, it should be placed directly under the General Direction of Education, and it should have as its goal the conservation, investigation, and adequate exhibition of the historic and artistic relics of Peru's most ancient pre-Columbian civilizations; specifically those of the Chavín and Paracas civilizations, artifacts of which made up the majority of the Institute's collections.

Second, the reorganization of the Institute should be by way of the issuance of a decree-law that clearly defined its purposes, and assured its regular functioning. This would facilitate preparatory work for the special exhibition. For this reason, a permanent exhibit would be set up by the Institute in the Magdalena building or Bolívar Museum, recently repaired by the government.

Third, the installation of the special exhibit meant the government needed to provide special funding to meet the extra costs for materials and personnel that the immediate set-up of the exhibition required.

Fourth, the special exhibit would be set up in four salons, three large and one small. To do so would require the acquisition of cedar glass cases, and the setting up of specimen bottles, pedestals, and supports, as well as other materials. Specifically, central and lateral glass cases would be needed for three large salons and a smaller one that measured 200 linear meters, and these cases would cost a total of 10,000 soles. Special glass cases for the exhibition of mannequins wearing ceremonial Paracas garments would be needed at a cost of 2,800 soles. One thousand soles would be needed for the purchase of the glass display cases. Five hundred cedar boxes for the display of delicate (Paracas textile) pieces were needed at a cost of 2,500 soles. Jars with emery [?] covers in which to exhibit foods at a cost of 600 soles were needed. Preservation and mounting materials had to be purchased at a cost of 1,200 soles. The printing of exhibit captions, photostatic copies, enlargements, and drawings would cost 1,000 soles and another 2,000 soles would be needed to cover the costs of the printing of exhibition guides and unforeseen expenses. Finally, extraordinary personnel costs for artists and preparers for a three-month period would require another 5,000 soles for a grand total of 26,100 soles.

Fifth, the exhibit would preferentially display pieces of art that were the most selective and representative of Peru's aboriginals. In addition, ample illustrative information would be offered by captions, replicas of selected pieces, models, graphs, maps, and photo enlargements.

Sixth, about twenty large Paracas mummy bundles that had been opened and studied would be exhibited along with their enormous contents of both fine and ordinary cloths, ceremonial staffs, and pottery.

Seventh, it would obviously be desirable to unite in the locale of the Magdalena institute all of the Paracas objects now found in the Archae-

ological Section of the National Museum that pertained to the twenty funerary bundles to be exhibited.

Eighth, the work of installing the special exhibit would be completed the last week of November. Tello then added that as the director of the Institute of Anthropological Research he would, with the government's permission, give a presentation at the inaugural ceremony of the meetings, in which he would attempt to provide a synthesis of the actual state of knowledge of Peru's aboriginal civilizations and, in so doing, indicate how it contributed to a major spiritual connection with the continent's nations (Tello and Mejía 1967:217–219).

A formal invitation to attend the Eighth International Congress of American States dated 2 August sent by President Benavides to the U.S. secretary of state was later published the *Bulletin of the Pan American Union*. In part it read:

The city of Lima having been designated in December 1933 as the seat of the VIII International Conference of American States, and the program of its sessions having been approved on June first of this year, I have the honor to invite Your Excellency's Government to send delegates to the meetings that will begin in this capital on December 9 next (Concha and Hull 1938:617).

An article detailing Bennett's recent work at Wilkawain, Katák, and presumably elsewhere in the Callejón de Huaylas, was published in the 7 August issue of *The New York Times*. It read, in part:

Dr. Bennett recently returned from a six-month archeological expedition into Northern Peru . . . accompanied by Mrs. Bennett. The site of the [Wilkawain] . . .

ruins he uncovered is near the town of Huaraz. . . . From the evidence of the tombs . . . this people of the Recuay civilization predate one branch of the Tiahuanaco civilization. . . . Dr. Bennett found whole villages containing as many as fifty subterranean houses, roofed with tremendous slabs of rock. . . . The Recuays also built tombs of rock slabs, fashioned into boxes. . . . Many of the sunken houses [at Katák] extended two stories below the surface and contained five or six rooms on each floor with narrow passageways leading from one floor to another and from room to room. Two temples, each having three stories above the ground and rising to thirty feet in height, were discovered. Stone puma heads and statues representing human figures were found. In the ancient village ten subterranean passageways with single openings were unearthed. Pottery found at the ends of the tunnels showed they were used as dwelling places. Dr. and Mrs. Bennett also visited the famous ruins of Chavín. Collections made by Dr. Bennett at Huaraz will be classified and later placed on exhibition in the museum's foreign hall¹⁶¹ (Anon. 1938bb).

¹⁶¹ The following account was published on page 21 in the 1 November 1938 edition of Lima's *The West Coast Leader*. "Dr. Wendell C. Bennett, assistant curator in the Department of Anthropology of the American Museum of Natural History has recently returned from six months' archaeological expedition in northern Peru where he uncovered the dwelling places, temples, pottery and metal work of a civilization which, thus far known, is one of the oldest in Peru (reports the September issue of 'Natural History', New York). Dr. Bennett found whole villages containing as many as fifty subterranean houses. These dwelling places were roofed with tremendous slabs of rock, some of them measuring 12 feet long and 3 feet wide and evidently cut from the mountain sides, but how they were cut and transported from the quarries to the village sites is unknown. The Recuays also made their tombs of great slabs of rock fashioned into boxes. The site of these ancient ruins is located in the present-day town of Huaraz in the upper part of the Santa river valley at an altitude of 10,000 feet, between the White and the Black Cordilleras.

On 14 August the Lima daily *La Prensa* published an account of Valcárcel's recent activities, based on an interview with him. Valcárcel said he had made a visit to the North Coast valleys of Chicama and Jequetepeque for the purpose of inspecting the work being undertaken there by the scientific mission sent by the Munich Ethnological Museum. He said he had inspected the work being done at Pacatnamu, and he had also inspected the archaeological museums in Lambayeque (Department), especially the one in the old city of Túcume and the Brüning Museum (in Lambayeque), and upon his return to Lima he had made a report to the

From the evidence in the tombs, such as pottery, copper pins and discs and arrow heads of flint and obsidian, these people of the Recuay civilization predate one branch of the Tiahuanaco civilization and the Inca civilization. According to [Philip] Means' method of dating ancient civilizations, the Recuay ruins would date around 500 A.D. Many of the sunken houses extended two stories below the surface and contained five or six rooms with narrow passageways leading from one floor to another and from room to room. It is probable that these people built their homes in such a manner to escape the inclement weather, which in this region is cold, rainy and very windy. Two temples were found, each having three stories above the ground and rising to 30 feet in height. The position of stone Puma heads in the ruins indicates that these carvings were at one time situated below the cornices of the temples. A large number of carved statues representing human figures were found, scattered throughout the sites. In the ancient village two subterranean passageways with but single entrances were also discovered. Some of them extended 60 feet in length, but were only about five feet high and four feet wide. Pottery found in the tunnels show they were used as dwelling places. Doctor and Mrs. Bennett also visited the famous ruins of Chavín, noted for the discoveries made by Dr. Julio C. Tello, of Peru. The main temple of the Chavín ruins is an imposing and complex structure, built of stone. At the intersection of two long galleries facing the entrance is a huge elaborately carved statue representing a mythological tiger god, considered one of the finest carvings in the remains of the Chavín civilization [the Lanzón stone]. Ceramics found at the ruins of Chavín will prove of great importance in the understanding of this important, but as yet little known, civilization. Collections made by Doctor Bennett at Huaraz will be classified and later placed on public exhibition in the American Museum's Peruvian Hall" (Anon. 1938vv).

minister of education. Valcárcel then went on to speak about the recent transcendental discoveries that had been made by Tello in the Nepeña and Casma Valleys and in the Marañón region, by Bennett on the North Coast and in the Callejón de Huaylas, and by Doering in the Jequetepeque Valley, as well as preliminary work that was being done (by Kidder II) at Pukará in the Puno region of the Southern Highlands.¹⁶²

He then spoke about the gold artifacts that had been found (at the beginning of 1937) at Batán Grande, and at sites in Cusco and Puno. Next he said there had been a complete restoration of the Bolívar Museum (at Magdalena Vieja) and that the construction of large halls and galleries at the rear of this museum was where the National Museum of History, then located in the Exposition Palace, would be relocated. The inauguration of this history museum, he said, would take place in early December, in conjunction with the the Eighth Pan American Conference (Congress). Valcárcel then turned to a brief discussion of the National Museum, and said that during the previous year it had welcomed 9,219 visitors, 5,745 of whom were foreigners, while during July 1938, 520 individuals had been to the museum. Finally, he made the point that the National Museum contained a large collection of Nazca artifacts, as well as the Batán Grande collection of metal objects¹⁶³ (Anon. 1938cc).

¹⁶² Valcárcel had earlier published in the *Revista del Museo Nacional* on the site of Pukará (1932b, 1932c, and 1935a) and he published in this same journal on a visit he and Tello made to the site in 1935 (1935b).

¹⁶³ Valcárcel published an article on the Batán Grande collection on page 856 in the 14 May 1938 edition of *The Illustrated London News*. In part he wrote, "This great treasure has been handed over to the Peruvian National Museum in Lima. It consists of a large number of objects of gold, silver, copper, and the alloy *tumbaga*. The greater part is made up of small repoussé plates which were sewn to the clothing. . . . Next come a large number of sheets . . . of silver and gold, which no doubt served as ornaments for the walls of palaces or buildings connected with the

The following day, 15 August, *El Comercio* published two United Press reports sent from Chavín on the 13th. The first dealt with proposals that had been submitted to the government for the construction of a tourist hotel at Chavín, one of these proposals calling for a hotel to be built in a Chavín style. Also mentioned in the article was the need for the government to provide 120,000 soles both to construct a hotel, and to complete the Huaraz-Chavín highway (Anon. 1938dd). The second report proposed the celebration of the centennial of the naming of the Department of Ancash that would include a tourist excursion to the ruins of Chavín (Anon. 1938ee).

Tello received unexpected visitors at the Institute of Anthropological Research on 15 August—President Benavides and Minister of Education Montagne. As Lothrop later wrote (1948:52), Benavides:

spent several hours with Tello inspecting the collections. Remarking what was good enough for Rockefeller to support was good enough for Peru, Benavides ordered Tello to build a new museum to house the Paracas collections and promised him the funds and a free hand to do it.

On 19 August Tello sent a memorandum to Montagne in his role as minister of education. He began by referencing the visit that both this minister and President Benavides had recently made to the Institute. He also referenced the discussion he had with them relative to the need

religious cult. Never have these objects been found together in so large a number. Next, as regards volume, come a large number of discs, small balls, bead necklaces and funerary masks, some earrings, small spoons, pins, bells and timbrels, ornaments of clothing, and similar objects. The series of vases, in an excellent state of preservation, constitutes a rich display of the art of this ancient people. The objects, however, which stand out in this collection are the magnificent idols of gold" (Valcárcel 1938).

to have the Institute reorganized so that it could prepare for a special exposition of aboriginal art, to open in conjunction with the upcoming Pan American Conference. Tello then provided his plan for this exposition.

Tello began by saying that, if it were to be placed under the General Direction of Education, the Anthropological Institute could be assured a more direct and immediate intervention by the Ministry of Education. It was obvious, he said, that this Institute had an urgent need of capable personnel and the funding it needed to accomplish its ends. Personnel would consist of a director, two curators, an assistant, four preparers, two artists, a sculptor/ modeler, an administrator, a porter, and two servants. In addition, a monthly allowance of 600 soles would be required for conservation and study and another 500 soles for publications. Regarding the special exposition, Tello said the Institute would focus on the most select representations of Peru's aboriginal art, with abundant illustrative material, including legends, replicas, enlarged photos of selected pieces, models, amplified aerial views of ruins, and maps showing the distribution of cultures and the location of archaeological sites. In this regard, he stressed, it was deemed essential that all of the Paracas material be made available and, as such, it would be necessary to reintegrate into the Anthropological Institute's collection that part of the Paracas material now in the National Museum's Department of Archaeology.

Tello then directed the minister's attention to an attached plan (not known to have been published) of the Anthropological Institute marked with letters A-E representing the proposed exhibition salons. Marked in red ink, he continued, were the places where the display cases would be located, and on separate pieces of paper were schematic drawings of the different kinds of cases (to be used). The proposed costs of making these cases, he went on, were

given in the (attached) proposal by the firm Tanka House, while how many would (actually) be built would depend on what could be produced in three months time. Tello then said he calculated that by working intensively, the exposition would be shown in the Grand Salon of the Rotunda, and in three large salons, in which would be housed the most select of the Paracas materials.

For the purpose of repairing pottery and textiles, Tello then said, the Anthropological Institute would use as a workshop three small rooms on the north side and at the rear of the building, these being situated near the director's office, the library, the archive, and the office of the administrator. Then, returning to how the exposition would be set up, Tello said, given time, they would, as shown in red, exhibit in the corridors of the Anthropological Institute plaster replicas of the high relief statues found at Chavín, (Cerro) Sechín, Cerro Blanco, and Punkurí. If possible, the extensive walled panels of the corridors would be decorated with (pictures? drawings?) of the most important gods and demons of the ancient religious system. Tello then stated he would need for the office and the workshop, at a minimum, a desk, two armchairs, a sofa, two leather chairs, and a typewriter table and chair. He would also need 2,500 soles for the making of 500 cedar boxes for delicate (Paracas) pieces, 1,200 soles for maintenance and preservation expenses, 1,000 soles for the printing of labels and the like, another 2,000 soles for the printing of guidebooks, and 5,000 soles to pay for three months of extraordinary labor (totaling 11,700 soles; Tello and Mejía 1967:219–220).

Bennett penned a note to Lothrop on 25 August. He began by saying he would be leaving for Wisconsin at the end of the week. He then said he felt giving money to Soriano had proven to be a positive experiment, and, as such, it would be good to support in an equal way Fran-

co Inojoso of Cusco, who would be assisting Kidder II, something that Valcárcel favored, but that Tello angrily opposed, because he considered it bribery (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

On 25 August *El Comercio* published under a single headline two United Press reports that had been sent from Chavín on the 24th. The first stated that the government had currently designated 4,000 soles for the construction of tourist hotels and annexes in the country. Chavín, given its archaeological importance, the article continued, should be given priority consideration. The second stated that the mayor of the community of Chavín, Felix F. Rotta, had organized an initiative to open a modest archaeological museum in the community, and it was urged that the government issue an official resolution in which it declared recognition of the Chavín Archaeological Museum (Anon. 1938gg). The next day, the 26th, this newspaper followed up with an editorial in which it was stated that the newspaper had received information from Rotta. Specifically, a small archaeological museum was to be opened in a salon facing the principal plaza of the community, in which would be exhibited monoliths, pottery, and the like. The editor declared this to be a laudable endeavor (Editor 1938c). Then on the 27th this Lima daily published a response it had received from the Press and Propaganda Section of the Ministry of Public Works. The anonymous author stated that, in recognition of the importance of the ruins of Chavín, the government was in the process of undertaking steps to protect them from flooding by the nearby Mosna River, inclusive of the construction of a temporary bridge. This work would be followed by studies needed for the construction of a solid defense wall. The author concluded that the site was an important cultural center and a great tourist attraction that merited the construction of a modern tourist hotel (Anon. 1938hh).

On 30 August *The West Coast Leader* republished without attribution the article dealing with Bennett's discoveries in the Callejón de Huaylas that had been published on 7 August in *The New York Times* (Anon. 1938ii).

Finally, it was during August that Tello republished a short article in the journal *Turismo* that he had written on 15 June 1937, and that had originally been published by Editorial Antena in Lima that same year (Daggett and Burger 2009:346). The republication was a single page in length, and it was illustrated by three drawings. One of the three drawings was of a *Strombus galeatus* shell decorated with the design of what Tello characterized as a divinity blowing on just such a shell. Another was a drawing of only the decorated part of the shell with the incised design, while the third was a reconstruction of this design that emphasized human and feline figures. In his article, Tello identified the artifact as one that he had been told about by Air Force Commander Abraham Pickman while visiting Chiclayo in January 1937. After saying that Pickman had graciously allowed him to examine the artifact found in an excavation made near the Chiclayo airbase, Tello went on to describe it. He wrote that the artifact was pearl colored and decorated with jasper ink, and that it measured 23 centimeters long, 13–17 centimeters wide, 24–51 centimeters in circumference, and three millimeters to two centimeters thick. He then said the decoration represented a humanized jaguar deity blowing on a shell trumpet drawn in the classic Chavín style (Tello 1938b).

The U.S. Secretary of State, Cordell Hull, responded to President Benavides' invitation to attend the Pan American Congress on 2 September. This response was subsequently published on page 618 in the November 1938 edition of the *Bulletin of the Pan American Union*. Hull wrote in part:

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of Your Excellency's courteous communication of August 2, 1938 by which you so kindly extended on behalf of the Government of Peru an invitation to the Government of the United States to participate in the Eighth International Congress of American States which will be held in Lima on December 9, 1938. I hasten to accept on behalf of my Government your Excellency's kind invitation. . . . I shall be glad to communicate to you at a later date the names of representatives of my Government (Concha and Hull 1938).

On 2 September, the Peruvian government had issued Supreme Resolution 688 that essentially asked the head of the National Museum to transfer its collection of Paracas artifacts to the Institute of Anthropological Research at Magdalena Vieja. In addition, this decree, signed by Carlos Concha on behalf of President Benavides, authorized payments to Tello and his staff at the Anthropological Institute to cover costs for the preparation of the exhibit over a four-month period, beginning 1 September. Specifically, the following monthly payments were authorized: four 100 sole payments for the director totaling 400 soles; four 100 sole payments for each of two artists, totaling 800 soles; and four 60 sole payments for each for four preparers totaling 960 soles. In addition, monthly payments for a three-month period beginning October 1st were authorized for other workers. Specifically, three payments of 150 soles each for two conservators totaling 900 soles; three payments of 60 soles each for two guards totaling 360 soles; and three payments of 80 soles for a porter totaling 240 soles. Funding for other related costs was also authorized as follows: 1,200 soles for materials for maintenance and preservation of collections; 1,000 soles for the printing of labels, enlargements and the like; 2,000 soles for the printing of exhibition guides; and 800 soles for costs related to

the transfer of the Paracas collection from the National Museum to the Institute. Finally, Tello, as director of the Institute, was to be paid 3,000 soles for extraordinary service (Tello and Mejía 1967: 220–221). The total amount authorized was 11,660 soles. By a Supreme Resolution dated 8 September, the Institute of Anthropological Research officially became (also) the Museum of Anthropology (Mejía 1948:24).

On 10 September it was reported in *El Comercio* that a subterranean gallery, presumably dating to Inca times, had been found the day before on Hacienda Orbea in the Magdalena Vieja area (Anon. 1938jj). The following day it was reported in this daily that Mejía had gone to the site and had determined that it was post-Inca (Colonial) in date (Anon. 1938kk).

In September Giesecke published an article in *Turismo* on work being done at the ruins of Pachacamac. In part he wrote of:

welcome news that the Government of Peru has started work of conservation at Pachacamac and Cajamarquilla. . . . The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Dr. Carlos Concha, has been entrusted with this work, and he has designated the undersigned to take full charge of the technical supervision of repairs and the conservation of these ancient ruins. Work began at the end of August (Giesecke 1938).¹⁶⁴

On 13 September *The West Coast Leader* published a detailed article on what had been found at Pachacamac. In part this article reads:

¹⁶⁴ As Giesecke later recalled his old friend the Minister phoned him and as a result he went to the ruins of Cajamarquilla and Pachacamac. Based on his visual inspection he submitted a report in which he stated how much he thought it would cost to preserve and conserve these ruins, a figure that he was later told President Benavides thought was too low but that in any case felt he should begin work at once (Mason 1963:268–270).

Excavations which are being carried out at Pachacamac resulted at the end of last week in the laying bare of the remains of a monumental stairway . . . to the Temple of the Sun . . . in the past three weeks, a gang of workmen has been engaged in removing the layers of dirt and sand . . . and have exposed . . . a flight of broad steps . . . built of “adobe” and stone, covered with a layer of mortar. They were painted in rich tones of blue, yellow and red. . . . Traces also remain of human faces and hieroglyphics which were carved on the face of the steps and on the balustrade on either hand. The excavations are being carried out by Dr. Alberto A. Giesecke, formerly Rector of the University of Cuzco, at the request of the Government, and under the direction of the National Board of Archaeology. . . . The task with which he has been entrusted . . . at the present time will include the laying bare of all that remains hidden of the ruins of Pachacamac and the outlying cemeteries. . . . The Government also proposes to construct, if possible, a motor road . . . in order to enable tourists to visit the ruins under circumstances of greater comfort than in the past. On the completion of the work at Pachacamac, Dr. Giesecke has been commissioned to carry out similar excavations at Cajamarquilla adjoining the highway from Lima to Chosica (Anon. 1938mm).

Also on 13 September *El Comercio* published the results of an interview with Tello. He had been asked about the ongoing excavations at Pachacamac, within the perimeter of the temples dedicated to the Sun and to the Moon. He responded by saying that the site had suffered continual looting since Hernando Pizarro’s visit in 1533, and followed this with a history of the site up to 1913. He then went on to say that what he described as the cleaning of monuments was not in the archaeological lexicon, and

referred to a two-part newspaper article he had published (also in *El Comercio* in March 1934) in which he had criticized work then being done at sites in and around Cusco by those ignorant of the science of archaeology.¹⁶⁵ He concluded with the comment that the workers being used at Pachacamac were operating without proper direction (Anon. 1938ll). The next day, 14 September, this newspaper published a short synopsis of the Tello interview that was illustrated by a drawing of part of a fresco that had recently been uncovered, and a copy of a cross section of the Temples of the Sun and Pachacamac (Moon) that had been published by Uhle (in 1903; Anon. 1938nn).

On 18 September Tello went to the ruins of Pachacamac in the company of his staff artist Rojas and likely others as well. In his dictated notes he mentioned that in recent days, workers had exposed nearly all of the northern façade of the Temple of the Moon, as well as a goodly portion of the eastern façade. The workers had also exposed walls decorated with superimposed decorations and nine steps. The northern façade was decorated with designs painted alternately in panels red-yellow and yellow-red, and these panels with different colors extended from the front or first step to the back one. Represented on the panels were stylized fish and maize plants (Paredes and Sortelo 2010:189).

An interview with Valcárcel was published in Lima’s *El Comercio* on the 21st. The subject was ongoing changes at, and future plans for, the National Museum. Regarding the latter, Valcárcel spoke about his desire to construct a new facility for the National Museum that would face the Palace of Justice and would be surrounded by parks and gardens. Such a facility, he went on, would not only be of sufficient

¹⁶⁵ See Tello’s article in the March 12–13 1934 editions of *El Comercio* in which he is critical of the non-scientific work then being conducted at archaeological sites in and around the city of Cusco (Tello 1934b).

size to accommodate the museum's historical and archaeological collections, but would also be able to accommodate both the National Library and the National Archive. Valcárcel then went on to say he considered it urgent, and that he was campaigning hard (for the government) to make a decision on this edifice for which plans and budget had already been prepared (Anon. 1938oo).

On 22 September the government issued Law 8751. It was stated within that the Council of Ministers had decided to revoke Law 7084 dated 9 April 1931 and thereby make substantial changes relative to the Institute of Anthropological Research. Furthermore it had been decided that the minister of education would formulate specific changes that would be approved by Supreme Decree. This new law was signed by President Benavides, and by all of the members of his cabinet, including Montagne, who served as both the head of this body and as minister of education (Tello and Mejía 1967: 221).

Tello was busy on 22 September. That day he opened Paracas mummy bundle number 347 (Sotelo *et al.* 2012:362). On the 24th he completed the process of opening bundle number 392 that had begun on 6 July 1929. Tello was assisted on the 24th by Mejía, Ponce, A. Santisteban, and Rojas, as well as by V. Martínez, J. Palacios, J. Espejo Núñez¹⁶⁶ and Mario Bernola during this process of completing the opening of the bundle (*ibid.*: 369). On 5 October Tello initiated the opening of the first of the numbered Paracas mummy bundles in the presence of Carlos More and Margot Schmidt, in accordance with a directive issued by the

Ministry of Public Works (*ibid.*: 233).¹⁶⁷ Three days before, on 2 October, Tello had returned to the ruins of Pachacamac, accompanied by Carrión, Mejía, Rojas, and Santisteban (Paredes and Sotelo 2010:193).

On 6 October *El Comercio* began publishing a series of articles on the great wall in the Santa Valley that had been discovered by American aviators in 1932 (Bescarret 1938). Both the director of the National Library and the director of the National Archive were interviewed. On the 7th it was reported the former felt that the wall had been built as a defensive measure (Anon. 1938pp) while on the 8th it was reported the latter felt that it had served to separate distinct highland and coastal cultures (Anon. 1938rr). Valcárcel was also interviewed and, as reported on the 9th, he used this opportunity to promote international research into determining the extent of wall networks in the Cusco-Puno region (Anon. 1938ss). As was to be expected, Tello was also asked about the wall, but instead of simply agreeing to be interviewed, he actually put his thoughts down on paper for later publication (Tello 1938c).

It was on 7 October that readers of *El Comercio* were reminded of the urgent need to protect the ruins of Chavín (Anon. 1938qq). On the 8th the government issued Supreme Resolution 1313 signed by Minister Montagne on behalf of President Benavides. The purpose of this document was to officially declare the placement of the Institute of Anthropological Research under the direction of the National Board (as opposed to the National Museum) and to state that the Board had been authorized to formulate a plan to put this change into effect (Tello and Mejía 1967:222). The minister of

¹⁶⁶ Julio Espejo Núñez graduated from the University of San Marcos in 1938 (Vidal and Ravines 1988:7).

¹⁶⁷ An article by Carlos Raygada illustrated by a photograph of the Belgium artist Margot Schmidt in the process of opening a Paracas mummy bundle was published in the 27 November 1938 edition of *El Comercio*.

education by law served as the head of the National Board.

Also on 8 October, Giesecke wrote his second report to minister of foreign affairs Concha on the work being done at Pachacamac, having submitted his first such report on 10 September. Giesecke noted in this second report (Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology Archive, Harvard University, Samuel K. Lothrop Papers, accession no. 996-20, box 6, folder 6, correspondence), that work had concentrated on the Temples of the Sun, Pachacamac, and Virgins, this work being undertaken by about 60–65 workmen who had been paid essentially on the basis of what they had found. All discovered objects, he wrote, including five mummies, had been sent to the National Museum. He provided a long list of artifacts that had been sent to the museum. He said this included a wooden idol measuring three meters long by 10 centimeters high crowned by back-to-back figures that had been reported in an article published in *La Prensa*, a copy of which, he added, he had attached.

Giesecke then discussed the fact that, during the month since his first report, the press had made the claim that the government was simply excavating (looting) one of the nation's archaeological sites. He then reminded Minister Concha that this had led to a meeting of the members of the National Board presided over by Minister of Education Montagne, that had been also attended by the two of them, and by functionaries of the Ministry of Education. Subsequently, he again reminded Concha, they had made a visit to the ruins of Pachacamac that had lasted hours, at the conclusion of which Minister Montagne had congratulated him for his effort. Finally, in his report, Giesecke stated that the work at Pachacamac would take many years, and he proposed the permanent placement there of four or five workers who would report directly to the director of the National

Museum. Left unsaid in this document, was that both Tello and Valcárcel served as members of the National Board, and that they had both likely participated in the referenced inspection of the ruins of Pachacamac.

Tello wrote his article on the Santa wall on 10 October and the next day it was published in *El Comercio* (Tello 1938c). Essentially he drew from work he had done in the Santa Valley in 1934, in 1937, and from work he had done in the highlands in 1937. The wall, he wrote, had been constructed with materials that were locally available in the valley—fragments of rock, rolled pebbles, gravel, mud, trash, and, lower in the valley, rectangular adobes, there being some evidence of a final surface smoothing. The effects of wind, rain (flooding), and earthquakes, however, had all contributed toward destruction over centuries, as had the building of roads more recently. In general, techniques used in its construction were those used by modern natives, with walls having a wide base narrowing to the top.

The wall, Tello went on providing specifics, branched out at various points throughout the valley, and, at times, it passed by or through ancient ruins and cemeteries dating to different time periods. He then said that, while he had been unable to find clear evidence that the wall was associated with specific sites, he could say categorically that branches of the wall always went to the tops of mountains, from which the sea (Pacific Ocean) was visible, and at these locales there were ceremonial structures and associated cemeteries. In particular, he named the ceremonial site of Ipuna that he had recently found in the lower valley. Now, he continued, although aviators had seen traces of the wall in the highlands at Corrongo, on his recent expedition he had learned from generally reliable local informants in the Province of Pallasca that the wall passed into the highlands and crossed agricultural lands, dividing and subdi-

viding as it passed eastward. No doubt, he said, wall remnants he had seen at Santiago de Chuco, Pallasca, Corrago, and Huamachuco all pertained to a network that had branched off from the trunk running up the Santa Valley. He said, one could imagine that the wall continued northward to Marca Huamachuco and southward to Corrago.

Next Tello addressed the two hypotheses that had been proposed to explain why the wall had been built—either to provide defense, or to serve as a boundary between distinct cultures. He did not favor the former, he said, because to provide defense, the wall should have incorporated features like parapets, lookouts, and protected entrances, which it did not. Also, the wall was simply not solid enough, and too easily scalable—no more than three meters in height, and even a mere meter high in places. As for what were thought to be fortresses in the (upper) valley, he said he doubted that the structures had served as such because they could have held at best fifty individuals who would not have been able to sustain themselves and because the structures were so inaccessible. Instead of fortresses, he said, the structures had served a ceremonial function. Finally, regarding the idea that the wall had been used to form a cultural boundary, he said he did not favor it because, in his mind, natural boundaries like rivers and mountains were more likely to have acted in this way.

Having argued against the only two hypotheses that had been offered to explain the wall, Tello proposed a third explanation—it had served as a road, or more properly a guide (path) for those who were involved in the exchange of coastal and highland products, especially salt, and for priests and pilgrims who traveled to coastal and highland religious centers. In addition to the coastal ceremonial site of Ipuna in the Santa Valley, he suggested the possibility that the wall had served to guide

individuals to the famous highland temples of Cabana and Apocatequil. Tello then went on to say that the Santa wall was not unique, and that other walls had been constructed in the Huar-mey, Supe, Huaura, Chillón, and Rímac Valleys. He then named the ancient ceremonial centers of Chuquitanta, Chimu Capac, and Choque Ispana that were associated with the walls in the Huar-mey, Supe, and Huaura Valleys, respectively, as well as the major sites of Huatica and Cajamarquilla in the Rímac Valley. As for Pachacamac in the Lurín Valley, he said the wall there may have been the terminus of a network of walls in that valley. Finally, as to who built the Santa wall, and when, he admitted he couldn't say for sure, but he did feel it had been built two or three centuries before the arrival of the Spanish, and that it had been a collaborative effort on the part of groups making up the great coastal nation of the Chimu, that of the Huamachuco highland nation, and perhaps that of the Inca nation.

Finally, in its 14 October edition, *El Comercio* once again reminded the public that the ruins of Chavín were in danger of being destroyed. This warning came in the form of a United Press dispatch sent from Chavín the day before. In this dispatch, it was stated that, despite the government prohibition against cultivation in an archaeological zone, the ruins were still in danger of being harmed (by farmers) and it was considered urgent that an engineer be sent to resolve the problem (Anon. 1938tt).

In brief, at the onset of August, Tello and Minister of Foreign Affairs Concha were holding discussions about setting up a special exhibit in the Anthropological Institute at Magdalena Vieja. It was at this time that Tello first advanced the idea that the Institute would better serve the needs of the government if it were to be placed under the direct control of the Ministry of Education, rather than the National Museum. He submitted a preliminary plan for

the exhibit, noting how he would set it up, and provided an estimate of how much it would cost to accomplish this. He specifically noted that he planned to exhibit twenty large opened Paracas mummy bundles, and that, as such, he thought it necessary to re-unite the Paracas collection, and have that part of the collection currently housed at the National Museum transferred to Magdalena Vieja. Clearly Tello had seen his chance, and had acted accordingly.

During mid-August Valcárcel was interviewed, and he spoke about his recent visit to the North Coast to inspect work being done by Doering. In addition to commenting on this work, he said Peru was experiencing a burst of archaeological field research, specifically citing the work of Tello and Bennett, as well as preliminary work that had been done at Pukará. He also pointed out that the National Museum housed important Nazca and Batán Grande collections. He stated that the government had undertaken major renovations at the National Museum's Magdalena Vieja locale, and that the National Museum of History would be relocated there.

In mid-August President Benavides and Minister of Education Montagne paid Tello a visit at Magdalena Vieja, and inspected the work that had been done on the Paracas collection there with money that had been donated by Rockefeller. Impressed, and perhaps a little embarrassed, Benavides agreed to reorganize the Institute of Anthropological Research, and place it directly under the authority of the Ministry of Education. In return, Tello agreed to put together a special exhibit featuring Paracas material to open in concurrence with the December hosting of the Eighth Pan American Conference. Subsequently, Tello sent to the minister his plan for the exhibit, including content and costs. Tello reiterated his request that the Paracas material at the National Museum be transferred to the Anthropological Institute at

Magdalena Vieja. Tello succeeded on both accounts. A decree issued early in September included the request that the National Museum put into effect this transfer, while subsequent decrees placed the Anthropological Institute directly under the control of the National Board.

It was toward the end of August that Bennett wrote to Lothrop and said he thought the experiment of giving money to Peruvians who had assisted members of the IAR in the field had proven successful, so much so that he suggested that Franco, who would be assisting Kidder II in the field, also be given funding. This he said was an idea that angered Tello, but pleased Valcárcel. So, despite improved relations with the Benavides government, things did not bode as well for Tello and his relationship with the IAR. In fact, Bennett seems to have been very much intent on weaning the IAR from Tello's influence, while at the same time promoting its relationship with Valcárcel.

As for Valcárcel, in mid-September he let it be known by way of a published interview that he was anxious for the government to approve plans he had submitted to have a much larger facility created for the National Museum, in part so that it could exhibit its entire archaeological collection in one place. This likely reflected, at least in part, his concern that Tello was beginning to re-emerge as an important force in the world of Peruvian archaeology, and that his own position in this regard had begun a downward trajectory.

In any case, it was also in mid-September that the public was finally made aware of the government-sponsored excavations at Pachacamac that were being overseen by Giesecke. Tello was interviewed about this work, and he expressed concern that it was not being done in a scientific manner. In fact, he subsequently visited the site on two occasions to collect data,

and to see for himself what was being done there. Tello very likely took part in an official inspection of the site as a member of the National Board.

Finally, toward the end of the month, Tello opened two Paracas mummy bundles, and it was during October that Tello published an article in which he put forth his idea that the great wall in the Santa Valley, that he had studied in both 1934 and 1937, had served not as a defensive or cultural barrier, but instead had acted as a highway that united the coast and the highlands, and thereby facilitated both inter-regional trade and pilgrimages to religious centers.

PREPARING FOR THE PAN AMERICAN CONGRESS

November–December 1938

Santiago Antúnez de Mayolo, with whom Tello had crossed swords in the past,¹⁶⁸ published an article in *El Comercio* on 13 November that served to inform residents of the capital city of what the excavations had revealed at Pachacamac, a site that had first been excavated by Max Uhle. At the structure closest to the asphalt road leading to the site, he wrote, workers had found at the so-called Convent of the Virgins further evidence of both large and small rectilinear and trapezoidal niches characteristically Inca in type. Little remained of a series of columns that had formed a series of rectangles and corridors that led first to a heavily looted cemetery, and then, finally, to the Temple of the Sun, that had been erected by the Inca. It was while cleaning in front of this temple, he explained, that a wooden idol had been discovered beneath the sand, purportedly the same idol that had been tossed aside by the Spaniard Hernando Pizarro 405 years before. This artifact, he said, was subsequently brought to the National Museum.

¹⁶⁸ For example, see Daggett 2016:58–59.

In addition to four photographs of walls that had been exposed at the Temple of the Sun, readers were provided with drawings of both the front and rear sides of the staff, as well as dedicated drawings of the upper four sides of the staff that showed images of standing figures. This idol, readers were told, measured two meters thirty centimeters in length, and had a maximum width of fifteen centimeters. The lower fifty-three centimeters of the staff had been left undecorated, the author explained, because it would have been sunk into the soil. In contrast, the upper part evidenced painting, though discoloration made it impossible to actually determine through visual inspection the color used. Back-to-back male and female personages were carved onto the upper portion of the staff, images of ears of corn and yucca plants on the knees of these respective deities serving to distinguish them. Finally, carved below each of these deities were numerous other images including felines, llama heads, double stylized feline heads, a bird, various plants, and the head of a human (Antúnez 1938).

The following day, the 14th, *El Comercio* published the names of those individuals chosen to make up the American delegation to the Eighth Pan American Conference. Giesecke was listed as one of the delegation's secretaries (Anon. 1938ww). On the 17th *El Comercio* reported that Doering had given a talk at San Marcos the day before that dealt with recent work he and Disselhoff had done in the Chicama and Jequetepeque Valleys. Drawing from this talk, readers were provided many details about this North Coast work, while other details were provided about work Doering had done on the South Coast during the years 1931–1932 (Anon. 1938xx).

On 8 November, Bennett wrote to Lothrop from the University of Wisconsin, and asked if Soriano had sent in his report. He said that (when he saw him in Lima) Tello had been very

angry that the IAR had given Soriano money. He went on to say Tello had complained the payment had been a bribe, though, Bennett added, Tello had not explained why he felt this was the case (Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology Archive, Harvard University, Samuel K. Lothrop Papers, accession no. 996-20, box 6, folder 1, Institute of Andean Research).

Perhaps by this time Lothrop had been in receipt of a copy of Giesecke's 8 October Pachacamac report from Bennett. There is also the possibility that Bennett had enclosed a copy of this report in his letter to Lothrop, though he made no mention of it. In any case, in an undated letter that Giesecke wrote to Bennett, he provided a summary of what had been found at Pachacamac. Giesecke went on to say his work at the site had received praise from Valcárcel and Doering, but that Tello had made disparaging comments in the press, saying that the work was not being done in a scientific manner. He told Bennett he had sent a copy of his report to Kidder II, with the request that copies be sent to him, and to other interested friends. He closed by saying the proposal by Kidder II to work in Peru had been officially approved (Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology Archive, Harvard University, Samuel K. Lothrop Papers, accession no. 996-20, box 6, folder 6, correspondence).

Lothrop wrote to Kroeber on the 11th and wondered, given the improved economic climate, if the IAR could find sponsors. He brought up the possibility of looking into asking the Carnegie Institute for money, but was concerned that Kidder would not like the idea (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH). Then, on the 14th, Kidder II handwrote a letter to Strong, in which he said he and his wife were leaving New York (for Peru) on the 25th, and that all he needed was IAR money for his Peruvian assistant, just as money had been provided

for Bennett's assistant (Soriano). Kidder II concluded by asking Strong if he would be officially representing the IAR as a fellow (Division of Anthropology Archive, AMNH, Wendell C. Bennett file, correspondence 1938–1969).

It was on 20 November that *The New York Times* published an article by A. H. Hammond on the work being done at Pachacamac. In part he wrote:

Excavations being carried out at Pachacamac, Peru, have resulted in the laying bare of the remains of a monumental stairway . . . probably one of the main approaches to the Temple of the Sun . . . in the past few months a gang of workmen has been engaged in removing the layers of dirt and sand which have accumulated in the last four centuries, and have exposed . . . a flight of broad steps which ran from the prehistoric cemetery at the foot of the hill to the temple at the top. The steps were built of "adobe" and stone, covered with a layer of mortar. They were painted in rich tones of blue, yellow, and red, and, thanks to the protective cover of sand, the colors in many places have remained as fresh as on the day when they were first applied. Traces also remain of human faces and hieroglyphics carved on the face of the steps and on the balustrade on either hand. The excavations are being carried out by Dr. Alberto A. Giesecke. . . . His task will include the laying bare of all the ruins of Pachacamac and the outlying cemeteries. . . . The government also proposes to construct, if possible, a motor road to the top of the hill, in order to enable tourists to visit the ruins under comfortable circumstances. On the completion of the work at Pachacamac, Dr. Giesecke has been commissioned to carry out similar excavations at Cajamarquilla, adjoining

the highway from Lima to Chosica (Hammond 1938).

The following day, the 21st, this newspaper published a cable dated the 20th, in which it was reported that President Benavides had officially opened a new section of the Pan American Highway north of Lima¹⁶⁹ (Anon. 1938yy).

It was during November that Tello published in *Turismo* a detailed illustrated article on a collection of five decorated gold objects, and in particular, a decorated pin or brooch from Cusco. In brief, Tello explained, he had recently received from a named Chilean gentleman a photograph of this brooch. Upon examination, Tello explained, he had been both surprised and delighted when he had studied it under a lens, because the images displayed on this piece corresponded to those of the principal astral deities of the ancient Peruvian pantheon.

Tello then went on to say he had previously published his ideas on a similarly decorated breastplate.¹⁷⁰ He made the point that Lothrop had recently published an article (1938) on the distribution of pre-Columbian gold discs in the Americas, in order to make sense of what he had found in the Guatemalan highlands, and

that he had concluded that they had been stamped with a Peruvian design. Tello said he concluded from this that the use of the design was very ancient in Peru, that it had been used by many cultures up to the time of the Inca, and that the Guatemalan object had been decorated in a style that was between the Chavín and Nazca styles, and, hence, should date later. Tello continued by saying the principal figure on the brooch was that of a stylized feline whose head displayed phosphorescent eyes, animal ears, and serpentine appendages. This image likely symbolized the sun, he said, as it did in the art of Chavín, Huari, Pukará, pre-Tiahuanaco, and Tiahuanaco. After considerable discussion, Tello concluded that the figures represented on the brooch were humanized creatures, the principal one being the anthropomorphic feline of Chavín art that was given symbolic attributes. In Chavín art, he went on, this feline represented a group or family of gods, and demons: the Anthropomorphic Feline or Supreme Deity, the Dragon, the Condor, the Fish, and the Serpent. It was significant, he continued, that the brooch was decorated with the most important of the fantastic Chavín beings, the feline and the dragon, both being adorned with stars. Tello then said he had not been able to determine what all of the decorative animal figures on the artifact represented, nor their connection with similar representations in Chavín art. However, he could say that the art of Chavín and Pukará shared a wide parentage, with the images that decorated all of the artifacts that he had discussed (Tello 1938d).

A decree dated 29 November and signed by Montagne on behalf of Benavides was published in the 30 November edition of *El Comercio*. The purpose of the decree was to announce the hours of operation for Lima's national museums and those in its immediate vicinity, as well as other related matters (Montagne 1938a).

¹⁶⁹ The following was published on page 1 in the 21 November 1938 edition of *The New York Times*: "A convoy of 150 automobiles headed by the President of the Republic left this morning for Huaras, officially inaugurating a 100-mile addition to the Peruvian section of the Pan American Highway. All towns and villages along the route were gayly decorated to welcome the caravan. The Mayor of Huacho entertained the party at a luncheon. The new concrete and asphalt road opens up a large agricultural section in the provinces of Lima and Ancash, bringing the towns of Huacho, Huaras, Supe, Pativilca and Barranca within easy distance of the capital. Trips to these towns heretofore necessitated a risky journey through sand dunes and took several hours. Now the distance can be covered comfortably in some three hours (Anon. 1938yy).

¹⁷⁰ See Tello 1918:52–54 and Tello 1923:224–228.

On 2 December this newspaper published another decree. This decree was dated the day before, and like the previous one, it was signed by Montagne on behalf of President Benavides. The purpose of this decree was to modify an earlier one that had been issued on 18 June 1931. Six specific points were addressed. First, the entrance fee to all national museums during the week would be 50 centavos, while the fee on Sundays and on holidays would be 20 centavos. Second, there would be no entry fee for Peruvian students accompanied by their teachers, who had made arrangements in advance with museum directors. Third, the director of the National Museum was authorized to establish tourist subscriptions at a rate of 50 centavos per person and per visit for each of the museums in Lima and in its surrounding area. Fourth, the proper government agency would provide the museums with tickets and subscription (forms). Fifth, essentially the administrators and treasurers of the museums would report weekly to this agency the number of tickets sold, and a new special account would be established in 1939. Sixth, the director of the National Museum would be responsible for sending a monthly report to the Director General of Education showing how many people visited the various museums in Lima and in its surrounding area, as well as the amounts received by each of these museums. Finally, the director of the Institute of Anthropological Research at Magdalena Vieja would likewise be responsible for reporting this information (Montagne 1938b).

Two days later, on 4 December, *El Comercio* published a listing of museums and other places of interest in Lima. Specific exhibits were highlighted. For example, it was noted that a special exhibit had been set up at the National Museum featuring artifacts that had been recently found at Pachacamac. In addition, there was an exhibit at this locale that included the gold artifacts that had been found at Batán Grande, the most complete collection of artifacts belonging

to the Moche, Nazca, and Chimú cultures, as well as unique Cusco and Tiahuanaco artifacts. It was also noted that there was a special exhibition of Paracas artifacts at the Institute of Anthropological Research that included a reproduction of the Punkurí Temple (found in the Nepeña Valley in 1933), and it was pointed out that the University of San Marcos Museum of Archaeology had set up a special exhibit comprised of tracings of the Sechín megaliths (Anon. 1938zz).

Kroeber wrote to Lothrop on 7 December. He was apparently responding to a letter (date and specific contents unknown) that Lothrop had sent to him. Kroeber began by saying he was not concerned about the IAR as long as it could continue to get some funding. He went on to say he thought the decision to parcel out the IAR's limited funding to Peruvians had been a wise one, and that with a little more funding the IAR could once again send fellows. As for Tello, Kroeber wrote, all were in agreement that he owed the scientific community a detailed publication, scholarly in character, and that the IAR should set money aside to help him in this endeavor. However, Kroeber added, if this didn't lead to the desired result, then the IAR owed him nothing, even if he had been the one to stimulate the interest that led to its founding. Kroeber then essentially repeated his earlier point that if members of the IAR situated on the East Coast could continue to get funding, some of which could be set aside, then over time this would ultimately allow for projects greater in scale. Before asking Lothrop to pass on all of his comments to those attending the meeting of the committee that he presumed would be taking place soon, he opined that the strength of the committee was that it could act in a neutral way, unlike a single institution and a museum least of all (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

Tello wrote to Lothrop on 11 December in answer to a letter he had received from him dated 23 November (specific contents unknown). He began by saying he wanted to explain why he had not yet sent in his preliminary report on the 1937 expedition. He was pleased, he said, that the one he had written and sent (to Kroeber) had been so well received, so much so that there was an interest in getting it published. However, he added, he thought it best he should revise it, amplify it, and do a better job of illustrating it. In this way, he would incorporate his finds in Nepeña, at Chavín, and at Paracas, as well as the Chavín evidence he had recently found in the Marañón Basin.

Tello then went on to say he had been working on this expanded report when President Benavides had visited him at Magdalena Vieja, and had decided to reorganize the Institute and make it a place dedicated to the study and exhibition of the Paracas collection. So, Tello continued, Benavides, with an eye on the upcoming meeting of the Pan American Conference to be hosted in Lima, had agreed to provide the necessary funding for an exhibit. As a result, the Institute's building had been improved, and a special exhibition would be opened there in a few days. Tello then explained he had made an agreement with the government to exhibit in a short time the best pieces comprising the Paracas collection, and, as such, he had been obligated to completely devote himself to this task, adding that the most notable of the mummy bundles had been preserved. Hence, he continued, he had found it necessary to postpone his work on the report that would entail not only the work he had done in the field in 1937, but also the work he had undertaken the previous 25 years. But, now that the exhibit was set, he continued, after a fifteen day break he planned to begin anew work on this report during the end of December, and expected that his "small book" would be finished by the end of February. After saying he hoped this met the

approval of the IAR, and that it would still help him to publish, he made it clear he did not want Collier to speak for him regarding the 1937 expedition.

Tello then apparently answered in the affirmative Lothrop's question as to whether or not he wanted to write an article to be included in a book that would celebrate the Jubilee of Tozzer, but, Tello then said, rather than write about cultural relations between Central and South America, he thought he could write something that connected with other submissions, and that synthesized one of his three more detailed works, unfortunately not specifying which one. He concluded by asking Lothrop to let him know as soon as possible what he thought about this (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

On the 15th *El Comercio* published a statement issued by the government. Essentially, it stated that during the month of December national museums in Lima would be open every day of the week, including Sundays and holidays, in the mornings from 10:00 to 12:00 and in the afternoons from 3:00 to 6:00 (Anon. 1938aaa).

Soriano wrote to Bennett on the 23rd and began by saying that he had received the letter he had sent to him (date and specific content unknown). He then explained at length the medical problems he had experienced that began on 18 October, and that had forced him to leave the field. As a result, he wrote, he had not been able to complete his work, and neither had he been able to write the report he was to send to the IAR, and for this he wanted Bennett to apologize for him to Lothrop. He enclosed with his letter medical certificates that attested to his having been ill (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

The Museum of Anthropology inaugurated its special exhibit at Magdalena Vieja on 25 December. Presumably Tello was the primary speaker during opening ceremonies. Unfortunately no record of this speech in whole or in part was published in *El Comercio*, the Lima newspaper most favored by, and favorable to, Tello.

The exhibit was composed of six parts set up chronologically earliest to latest. The first part was in the Rotunda, or principal salon, and it contained a number of models of sumptuously adorned Paracas personages, each displayed within a special glass case, along with ceremonial objects and offerings. In addition, there were exhibited in the Rotunda models of the Paracas sites, and a number of large ceremonial bowls that had been found at Pacheco in the Nazca Valley. In the north and west galleries there was a second section where Paracas textiles were exhibited, and a third section where similar textiles were shown. These latter textiles were accompanied by drawings and photographs, and they served to illustrate the development of textile arts during the two periods documented on the Paracas Peninsula. Then in the first salon on the west side of the museum, a fourth part of the exhibit was set up where funerary pottery and trepanned skulls, as well as bone and obsidian (surgical tools) were displayed. Also displayed here were food remains, weapons, and other select items that had been found at Paracas.

The fifth section comprising the exhibit was set up in the second salon on the east side of the museum. Exhibited there were collections of pottery and textiles, as well as artificially mummified trophy heads, musical instruments, and other items of a symbolic and religious character belonging to the post-Paracas Chanka and Kollawa cultures. Finally, the sixth part of the exhibit was set up in the museum's third salon, and there pottery that had been found at Pacheco

was displayed, including a collection of large ceramic pieces measuring 60 to 90 centimeters high, and 60 to 90 centimeters in diameter. In addition, displayed here were sculptural representations of humans, felines, monkeys, etc. Finally, the exhibit included a reproduction of the (Chavín period) Cerro Blanco temple that had been found in the Nepeña Valley in 1933 (Tello and Mejía 1967:222–223). It also incorporated the feline head in the round that had been found at Punkurí (Alayza 1940).

The Eighth International Congress of American States was held in Lima during the period December 9–27. It was subsequently reported that among the recommendations coming out of this congress, and approved on the 23rd was the following: “That the various groups which are making American studies undertake coordinated scientific exploration work which will increase the knowledge and enhance the value of archaeological wealth of the continent” (Editor 1939d:64).

On 31 December, the government issued Ministerial Resolution 8362 signed by economic director F. Guillermo Rosemberg [sic] on behalf of Minister Montagne. This document served to name the individuals who worked for the Institute of Anthropological Research/Museum of Anthropology situated at Magdalena Vieja, whose employment had been approved and the positions they held. Listed were curators Carrión and Mejía, administrator Santisteban, guards Ponce and Enriqueta Duthúrburu, assistants Espejo and Teodoro Liñan, artists Rosa Carrión and Carlos More, preparers Francisco Cuello and Agripina Santillan, janitor Alfonso Almaraz, and gardener Gregorio Segura (Tello and Mejía 1967:224). In addition Ministerial Resolution 8598, also dated the 31st, provided for the inclusion of money in the government's budget for 1939 to fund the administrative expenses of the institute/museum (*ibid*: 223).

Finally, during 1938, Tello published a photographic album in which he discussed the morphology and technology of North Coast Moche pottery. This was published as the second (and last) issue of the University of San Marcos Museum of Archaeology journal *Inca* (Tello 1938e). Tello had published parts 1–4 of the first volume over the course of 1923 (Espejo 1948:20). Presumably he was working on volume two in 1925 while working at Moche sites (Shady and Novoa 2000:154). In addition to hundreds of photographs of individual pieces of Moche pottery held in Lima museums during the 1920's, this album was profusely illustrated by drawings. Certainly, this volume would have been very expensive to publish, which likely caused the long delay. When specifically it was published during 1938 is unknown, but it seems likely it would have occurred after Tello's stock with the government had risen.

To summarize, during the months of November and December 1938, Peruvian officials, in general, and Tello and his institute/museum staff, in particular, continued preparations for the arrival of the delegates (and their families) who would be attending the Pan American conference. This meant more reporting both inside and outside Peru on the ongoing work at Pachacamac, and this meant a period of intensive activity for Tello and his staff prior to the inauguration of the special exhibition at Magdalena Vieja. Presumably Tello spoke at this inaugural event, and by the very end of the year government funding for his staff for 1939 was announced. Tello did find time to publish an article on a Chavín gold artifact that he linked to both Mesoamerica and to Pukará. It was probably later on in 1938 that Tello was finally able to secure funding to publish the second volume of *Inca*. Given that the San Marcos Museum of Archaeology was a national institution, publication costs would have been assumed by the government. Hence, in the eyes of the perceptive, this publication was a clear state-

ment that Tello had achieved favored standing in the eyes of the Benavides administration.

So things were going well for Tello in Lima. Yet, he was not happy with how he was being treated by the IAR, and neither were individual members of the IAR happy with him. Tello still felt he had been slighted when he had been named the IAR's Peruvian counselor instead of its field director, and he did not like it that the IAR was giving money to other Peruvians (without his consent). Bennett appears to have been the one behind the idea of giving money to Peruvians other than those affiliated with Tello, while Kroeber, in particular, wanted the IAR to rein in Tello's penchant for continuous fieldwork, and insist that he focus on finishing the manuscript on the 1937 IAR-sponsored expedition. The fact that Tello had been forced once again to put off writing his report, and the fact that he now wanted to expand its scope and content did not bode well.

ALL QUIET ON THE PERUVIAN FRONT

January–June 1939

Tello was named director of the Institute of Anthropological Research/Museum of Anthropology (hereafter Museum of Anthropology) in Supreme Resolution No. 8 dated 3 January 1939 that was signed by Minister Montagne on behalf of President Benavides (Tello and Mejía 1967: 224). Then, on the 12th, *El Comercio* reminded readers of the upcoming centennial of the founding of the Department of Ancash and its famous ruins of Chavín (Anon. 1939a).

On 19 January Tozzer wrote to Vaillant. He was responding to a letter Vaillant had sent to him (date and specific contents unknown) in which he had been informed that he had been named head of the IAR. Tozzer wrote that he felt he was unsuited for the job, and that he hoped the IAR's secretary did all the work. He

went on to say that he did not think Lothrop's excuse to relinquish the leadership role because he needed more time to focus on field-work was a valid one (Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology Archive, Harvard University, Alfred M. Tozzer Papers, accession no, 41-10, box 1, folder 16, correspondence).

Also on 19 January, it was reported in *El Comercio* that representatives of the Geographical Society of Lima were going to visit the ruins of Pachacamac at the request of Giesecke (Anon. 1939b). Then on the 23rd this daily reported on this visit (Vicinius 1939a).

This same month Giesecke published an article in *Turismo* that dealt with the work that had been done at this site. In part he wrote:

Photographs exist of the Temple of the Sun and the Temple of Pachacamac as they appeared from the air before efforts at preservation of these two sites was undertaken. Photographs taken by the Government Aviation service show how these sites appeared as of December 1938. The contrast is very noticeable indeed. . . . Work (at Pachacamac) has been restricted chiefly to the angle nearest to the motor road, and to the western site of the Temple. The corners of the eight or nine terraces or platforms of the angle were repaired . . . clearing up hundreds of tons of debris. The three staircases leading towards the top . . . have been repaired and communications between them established. The upper platform has been cleaned in part, bringing to light . . . niches, corridors, rooms and windows. . . . Many objects . . . were found during the five months . . . They were sent to the Museo Nacional. Some are on display in the new "Pachacamac Room" which was opened to the public in 1938. The most interesting transformation . . . is found at . . . the

Temple of Pachacamac. . . . The staircase, about four hundred feet long, was carefully uncovered of many tons of debris, stone and sand. The stones came from the foundations of the Temple . . . which used to exist . . . on the platform above a series of stairs with frescoes in colors that have been uncovered. . . . The figures represent fish, plants, men and birds. Red, yellow, blue, black are the principal colors used. In one place sixteen distinct fresco designs were found, one layer being placed successively over the immediately preceding. . . . Of the Temple itself there are only the remains of walls. . . . During the process of cleaning . . . over one hundred boxes of objects were found . . . sent to the Museo Nacional . . . most important by far . . . a divinity of the Temple of Pachacamac found within a few yards of the probable site of the shrine of Sanctuary of Pachacamac . . . a totem pole . . . three yards long with intricate . . . high relief . . . now on display at the Museo Nacional" (Giesecke 1939a).

The following was published in the 24 January edition of *The West Coast Leader*: "Mr. Alfred Kidder, of the Peabody Museum, Harvard University, who has recently visited Lima in company with Mrs. Kidder, is now engaged in archaeological research at Pucará, near Cusco"¹⁷¹ (Anon. 1939c).

¹⁷¹ In her diary entry for 12 January 1939 Mary Kidder wrote, "This afternoon I went over to the National Museum where I had a long pleasant chat with Mr. Respaldiza and walked all over the exhibition rooms. . . . Mr. Respaldiza pointed out all the wonders which the Museum had acquired since I was last there—including the carved tree-trunk that Dr. Giesecke recovered in excavating the temple of Pachacamac. This 'totem-pole' looked very Chimu to my untutored eye and I said as much to Dr. Valcárcel when I was presently introduced to him. He impressed me favourably—both because of his admiration for Teddy and his 'distinguished father' and because of his ease and charm of manner" (1942:89–90).

Kidder II had written to Lothrop from Arequipa on 20 January. He began by saying he had delayed writing for two reasons. The first had to do with Tello. He went on to explain that he had spoken with Tello in Lima, who had told him that he had sent him (Lothrop) a report on his work in Casma. Tello had also told him that he wanted to contribute an article to the Tozzer volume, in which he would specifically treat one aspect of Peruvian archaeology, Kidder adding that he had responded that he felt this was the right thing to do. Kidder then went on to say that Tello was very busy, and in the process of establishing a new museum that was apparently separate from Valcárcel's, and that the government had nicely repaired Tello's facility where the Paracas mummy bundles were stored. However, Kidder also found negative things to report. He said that Tello *always* found something to do other than to write, that he didn't think the Casma report was finished, and that someone was going to have to really push him if the IAR was ever going to get a complete report.

As for the second reason why he had delayed writing, Kidder continued, it had to do with Valcárcel. He explained that, although Valcárcel had assigned Franco Inojosa of Cusco as provisional representative (for his Pukará project), he wanted to delay involving the IAR for a while. Kidder speculated that Valcárcel might actually prefer that the IAR support one of the other younger archaeologists in Lima. Although in his opinion, he went on, Franco had lots of experience working in the highlands, and had published a number of reports,¹⁷² he thought Valcárcel might want to give someone from Lima a chance to work in the highlands

¹⁷² As curator of the Archaeological Institute of Cusco Franco had published a number of articles in the National Museum's journal that dealt with work undertaken by the government at sites in and around Cusco (e.g. Franco 1935; 1937a, 1937b; Franco Inojosa *et al.* 1936).

(IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

On 29 January it was reported in *El Comercio* that *El Sol* of Cajamarca was advocating for the construction of an archaeological museum in that city for the purpose of promoting tourism (Anon. 1939d). On 1 February it was reported in this Lima daily that Jorge Muelle¹⁷³ had co-authored a report on the paintings uncovered at Pachacamac in the recent edition of the National Museum's journal (Anon. 1939e). This was a technical report illustrated by both photographs and drawings of the painted designs that had been found at the site (Muelle and Wells 1939).

Early in 1939 Bennett published a report in *American Antiquity* on work that was done in Peru the previous year. In part he wrote:

Dr. Rafael Larco Hoyle has done more careful excavating on the North Coast of Peru than any other individual. Not only is his collection of Early Chimú ceramics the finest in the world, but he also has excellent plans, descriptions, and photographs of excavations and ruins. His first published volume on this work appeared at the end of last year ("Los Mochicas," Casa Editor La Cronica, Lima 1938) including description and plans of the important but still little known ruins of Nepeña,¹⁷⁴ Queneto and Cupisnuique, as well as illustrations of Chavin coast ceramics and Early Chimú specimens (Bennett 1939a: 71).

On 5 February *El Comercio* published a report on a visit by the members of the executive board of the Geographic Society of Lima to

¹⁷³ Muelle and Tello had been at odds for years. For example, see Daggett 2016:58–59.

¹⁷⁴ Tello had been the one to initiate work in the Nepeña Valley so this may have been seen as a not so subtle criticism of him.

the ruins of Pachacamac (Casa 1939a). It was noted in this report that, a few months prior to the onset of the work at Pachacamac overseen by Giesecke, society members had accompanied an archaeological class from the School of Letters at San Marcos to see the ruins. It was mentioned that (the priest) Pedro Villar Cordova,¹⁷⁵ as well as the dean of this school had served as guides. There was no mention of Tello.

Then on the 16th, *El Comercio* published an account of this society's visit to the ruins of Cajamarquilla during which Giesecke had served as guide (Vinicius 1939b). This was followed on the 26th by an even more detailed account of this visit in this newspaper (Casa 1939b). Giesecke, it was stated, had served as guide, and in that role he had pointed out where three mummies had been found that had been sent to the National Museum.

Bennett wrote to Vaillant on 8 February. He began by saying he had just received a letter from Soriano in which he had explained why he had not yet sent his promised report to the IAR. Bennett went on to say he was enclosing the letter and a half dozen supporting medical certificates for inclusion in the IAR's files; documents that made it clear that Soriano had medical issues that would have prevented him from completing his obligation. Bennett pointed out that Soriano had thoroughly documented his difficulties and that he had promised to send in his report by June. Finally, Bennett made mention of photographs Soriano had sent, said he would forward them in the future, and wondered whether the IAR was planning another

(year-end) report on the IAR's work (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH). Vaillant responded on the 23rd and said he agreed that Soriano had had good medical reason not to send in his report on time. He went on to ask Bennett if he would write something short for the annual report of the IAR, suggesting that a picture or two would be useful. He also asked for ideas about the future, in so doing wondering if the IAR should try to again get money from Bliss, and, if so, to whom it should be given (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

On that same day, the 23rd, Vaillant wrote to Tello. He told him that at the last meeting of the IAR he had been elected secretary and Tozzer president. He also told Tello that he had again been chosen to serve as Peruvian counselor for that year. Vaillant then went on to tell Tello that money would be available to him until July for the purpose of publication, but thereafter the money could be used for other purposes. He ended by telling Tello the IAR would deeply appreciate receiving his report on the 1937 field season, adding the IAR felt it could be published as a memoir of the *American Anthropologist* (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

An attempted coup d'état failed on 19 February when President Benavides' palace guard remained loyal to him (M. Kidder 1942: 123).¹⁷⁶

¹⁷⁵ Pedro Eduardo Villar Cordova was born in Canta on 1 August 1901. He graduated from the San Marcos Seminary School in 1923, his thesis being on the ancient religion of Peru. Following his assignment to work in the Province of Canta, he began studying the archaeology there (Avalos and Ravines 1976:368). That same year he published on excavations he had conducted in the new journal *Inca* edited by Tello (Villar 1923).

¹⁷⁶ "As the year 1939 began, many Peruvians speculated that Benavides would not relinquish power as scheduled and would extend his already-amplified term. If the general harbored this ambition, events of February certainly dissuaded him. On the eighteenth of the month, the president departed from Callao on a three-day cruise with the navy. Among those bidding him bon voyage was the minister of government, Gen. Antonio Rodríguez. As soon as the executives' ship left port, Rodríguez returned to Lima, took control of the presidential palace, and proclaimed himself provisional chief of state. . . . The Benavides regime appeared lost. But in the morning of February 19, Maj. Luis Rizo Patrón, the leader of the civil

On 28 February the Lima weekly *The West Coast Leader* published the following report:

In the presence of the State and municipal authorities, and representatives of the Consular Corps, the Peruvian Pavilion at the San Francisco World's Fair was inaugurated on February 18th. . . . The opening speech was delivered by Señor Manuel B. Llosa, Peruvian Commissioner to the Golden Gate Fair, who pointed out how the exhibits in the Pavilion were speaking evidence of the spiritual and material progress that Peru is making under the Benavides Administration. . . . The Peruvian Pavilion at the Golden Gate Fair is attracting considerable attention owing to the diversity of the exhibits. The prehistoric past of Peru is well represented by a wide range of Chimu and Inca relics (Anon. 1939g).

A Supreme Resolution issued 1 March was published in *El Comercio* in its 4 March edition. The document, dated 31 December 1938, stated that, in view of the report on the work that had been done at the ruins of Pachacamac and Cajamarquilla, work that was important both for its contribution to history and its promotion of tourism, it was resolved that Giesecke be given thanks (Concha 1939). Then, on 7 March, the following was published in *The West Coast Leader*:

A supreme resolution was issued March 1, signed by the President and the Minister of Foreign Affairs, extending the thanks of the Government to Dr. Albert A. Giesecke for the services rendered in the conser-

guard unit assigned to protect the president, confronted Rodríguez in the courtyard of the presidential residence and killed him with a burst from his submachine gun. Although Benavides had been saved, his confidence was shaken badly. One month later, the general announced that he had no intention of remaining in power and that elections would be held in October" (Werlich 1978:218).

vation of the ruins of Pachacamac and Cajamarquilla. Dr. Giesecke, one time rector of the University of Cuzco and now attached to the U.S. Embassy staff, has personally directed the partial restoration of these two famous pre-Conquest ruins situated near Lima (Anon. 1939h).

Kidder II wrote to Lothrop from Pukará on 15 March. He began by referencing his previous letter, in which he had reported Valcárcel wanted the IAR to hold off on funding a worker assigned to him. Kidder said he had since communicated with both Valcárcel and Giesecke on the matter, and that he had just heard back from Giesecke, who had informed him that Valcárcel had said it was up to him to make the recommendation. Hence, Kidder told Lothrop, it was his recommendation that the IAR give money to Franco. He went on to say it was his understanding that Valcárcel's decision came with no strings attached, but, Kidder added, he assumed Franco would owe the IAR a report.

Kidder then asked Lothrop if Franco could use any unspent money after he (Kidder) left the field, adding that he hadn't had the chance to discuss with Bennett whether his man (Soriano) had been allowed to do so. After suggesting how the money should be sent to Peru, and after saying that his work at Pukará had been going well, Kidder ended by telling Lothrop that he had suggested to Valcárcel that he write to him (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).¹⁷⁷

¹⁷⁷ Mary Kidder first mentions Franco in her journal entry for 4 February, and then again on the 14th, when she wrote that he was in bed suffering from rheumatism. In this latter entry she reported that her husband had to write to Valcárcel because the sub-prefect of Puno had closed the work at Pukará, and hence they did not have authorization to work there. First occasionally, then more frequently, and then ever more fondly, she mentioned Franco in subsequent entries. Specifically, in her entry for 7 March she wrote that she was glad that the government had authorized him to work at Pukará (1942:104–126).

Tello responded to Vaillant on 31 March and said that, to his embarrassment, illness and unforeseen circumstances had served to delay the completion of his obligation to the IAR. He went on to say his report was nearly done, and he hoped to send it in by the date specified (1 July; IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH). Tello made no mention of being reelected to the position of counselor.

The West Coast Leader continued to report on what the government was doing to advance tourism from outside the country. In its issue dated 4 April it told its readers:

All that Peru has been and is today, is the motif underlying the exhibits in the Peruvian Pavilion at the New York World's Fair. . . . The Pavilion occupies an area of 10,000 square feet. . . . The exterior is in the ultra-modernist style. . . . On the ground floor the halls are divided into three separate sections, illustrating pre-Colombine, colonial and republican Peru. Especial pains have been taken to make the prehistoric aspect of Peru as complete and representative as possible. To this end the Rafael Larco Herrera Museum at Chicama has made a priceless contribution. It includes a number of articles in gold and silver and ceramics dating back to Mochica, Pre-Chimu and Chimu times. Another valuable contribution has been made by Julio C. Tello, head of the Anthropological Museum at Magdalena Vieja and the Archaeological Museum of the University of San Marcos (Anon. 1939i).

Unfortunately the nature and extent of Tello's contribution to the exhibit was not specified.

In mid-April a series of interesting reports were published in *El Comercio*. On 11 April it published a report on a visit by Giesecke and members the Geographic Society of Lima to the

ruins of Tambo Inka in the Pisco Valley the previous day. Mention was made of earlier visits to the ruins of Cajamarquilla and Pachacamac (Anon. 1939j). On the 14th this daily published the hours the nation's museums were open to the public. They would be open as of 1 April from 10 to 12 in the mornings and then from 3 to 6 in the afternoons, while on Sundays the hours were only from 4 to 6 in the afternoons (Anon. 1939k). On the 20th this daily reported that improvements on the road from Lima to Casma had made the ruins of Sechín more accessible (Anon. 1939l).

It was on 12 April that Vaillant wrote to Kidder II and told him Lothrop had given him the (15 March) letter he had sent to him. He went on to say that as soon as they heard from Valcárcel they would send the money that he could then turn over to the designated Peruvian (Franco). He closed by saying the IAR would need something official from the Peruvian government to formalize things (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

The string of positive reports on the government's efforts to promote tourism and preserve and conserve archaeological sites was broken on 23 April by a report in *El Comercio* regarding the ruins of Chavín de Huantar. This report stated that the delegate of the Ancash archaeological museum had published (source unspecified) on the danger to the ruins posed by the recent torrential rains that had damaged the provisional work done by the government during the previous two years. It was this publication by the delegate, the report stated, that had served to motivate the government to authorize an engineering study and resultant report. In this engineering report, it was noted that the provisional defensive works had been effective, that because the work had been done with economy it had cost less than the designated 8,430 soles, that the recent rains had not caused an unusual flow in the Mosna River, and that the danger of

serious flooding had disappeared. Hence, recent criticism was unjustified, but, given the importance of the ruins, the government should maintain its vigilance (Anon. 1939m). This article was followed by another United Press report from Chavín that was published on the 30th in which it was stated that it was urgent the government name someone to protect the ruins of Chavín (Anon. 1939n).

It was around this time, and specifically on 23 April, that Valcárcel published on discoveries that had been made at Pachacamac in the daily *La Prensa* of Buenos Aires, Argentina. He illustrated this article with four photographs. One was of five wooden anthropomorphic figures. Another was of eight small wooden objects, including three tubes. Another was of a screen decorated with thirty marine shells. Finally, there was a photograph of about thirty marine shell objects (Valcárcel 1939a).

On 4 May, a member of the Geographic Society of Lima published an account in *El Comercio* about the archaeological excursion that members had taken to the South Coast the previous month. According to this account, among the sites visited were the ruins of Inca Huasi, Cerro del Oro, Palacio de Canchari, and, especially, Tambo Colorado (Urteaga 1939). The latter site had previously been referred to as Tambo Inca.

Two weeks later, on the 18th, a brief account of what had transpired at the meeting of the National Board held two days earlier was published in *El Comercio*. Readers were informed this meeting was chaired by Oscar Arrus, the (new) minister of education and was attended by apparently its entire membership including Tello and Valcárcel. Arrus, it was stated, had opened the meeting by saying he had assembled them to discuss the reforms that needed to be made in departmental boards due to problems they had experienced in dealing with judicial

officials. The National Board members, the article noted, then provided assessments of the state of archaeological monuments (sites) in the country. No particulars were provided (Anon. 1939p).

The West Coast Leader had just published on 16 May the following report:

The annual report of the American Museum of Natural History, New York, states that Dr. Wendell C. Bennett, supported by the Voss Fund, spent six months last year working at a site near Huaraz in the upper part of the Santa River valley (Callejon de Huaylas), between the Black and the White Cordilleras of Peru. He located villages with subterranean structures, some extending two stories below the surface, and two temples, of three stories, standing about thirty feet above the ground (Anon. 1939o).

On 21 May Valcárcel published in *La Prensa* of Buenos Aires a second report on work done at Pachacamac. This one was illustrated by an aerial view of the ruins, two pictures showing the results of work that had been done at the Temple of Pachacamac, one photograph of a wall mural showing representations of fish, and a drawing showing opposing sides of the wooden idol that had been uncovered in front of the Temple of Pachacamac (Valcárcel 1939b).

It was also in May that Tello published another article in *Turismo*. This one was dated the 22nd, it dealt with condor representations in ancient Peruvian art, and it was illustrated by two ceramic vessels each for the Moche and Nazca cultures. For one of the Moche pieces Tello provided a separate drawing in which he highlighted the different features of the image that demonstrated its being identified as a condor. In this article, Tello made the point that, in the art of ancient Peru, only the condor

and the royal vulture reached the level of supreme deities. The royal vulture, he said, was profusely illustrated in the inter-Andean Recuay cultural trunk, and in that of its Marañón and Moche derivatives; the condor, however, was profusely illustrated in Moche art. He then went on to add that the condor was shown just as prominently in the art of the Paracas and Nazca cultures. Tello then shifted to a discussion of the southern highland Tiahuanaco (Bolivia) and Cusco (Inca) cultures, and said that they too prominently displayed images of the condor in their art, adding that these cultures were the originators and the inheritors of the Cult of the Sun, respectively. Finally, in his concluding remarks, Tello made two points: first, that it was important to observe morphological and anatomical details, and, second, that in so doing it was possible to identify diverse condor figures corresponding to similar deities, or to those that pertained to the same family or group of deities (Tello 1939a).

It may have been around this time that Bennett published a report in the *Handbook of Latin American Studies*. He wrote in part:

In Peru, the Museo Nacional has concentrated on new installations and studies of collections. Luis E. Valcárcel, the museum director, spent part of the year at the Paris Exposition, and also gave a series of lectures in Argentina. Julio C. Tello, of the Museo de la Universidad de San Marcos, has made casts of the carved stones found at Cerro Sechin, Casma. . . . Many of the Paracas mummy bundles at the Magdalena Vieja museum have been opened under Tello's supervision. The Peruvian government instigated a program of cleaning and partially restoring some of the more important ruins by preparing sections of Pachacamac for the Pan American Congress. The work was conducted under the supervision of Albert Giesecke of the American

Embassy staff and Luis E. Valcárcel of the Museo Nacional. . . . Augusto Soriano Infante, director of the regional museum of Ancash, was named a fellow of the Institute of Andean Research to carry on his valuable survey of the ruins of the Callejón de Huaylas. Rafael Larco Hoyle, director of the Museo Chiclin, which has the finest Early Chimu collection in the world, continued his archaeological exploration of the North Coast region. . . . It is pleasing to announce the first volume of a series of publications on the results of his many years of exploration. . . . Wendell C. Bennett of the American Museum of Natural History, New York, spent eight months in the north highlands of Peru making a brief survey of the Callejón de Huaylas and excavating at some twenty sites in the general region of the town of Huaraz. . . . Excavation was continued at the ruins of Chavín de Huántar where a number of test pits were made. . . . Edgar L. Hewett¹⁷⁸ visited Lima to gather materials for his book on ancient Andean life¹⁷⁹. . . . Fi

¹⁷⁸ Regarding Hewett, it should be noted that in 1939 Tello contributed to *So Live the Works of Men: Seventieth Anniversary Volume Honoring Edgar Lee Hewett*. Although his article dealt with the Inca, he could not help but mention Chavín. Near the end of his paper, on page 366, he wrote, "In origin, all this is reminiscent of times long before the Inka conquest, and reveals a very ancient organization of society upon a basis of specialization of religion, arts, and crafts. The degree of development in commerce also is indicated by finds showing that products from the intra-Andean and jungle regions were traded to the coast. Likewise, coastal products have been found in the lowest stratum at Chavin, which is in the Marañón basin. The routes of communication so highly developed in Inka times and which divided the territory in many places in both transverse as well as longitudinal directions, must also have had their origins long before the Inka" (Tello 1939c:366).

¹⁷⁹ Hewett published *Ancient Andean Life* in 1939. Included were comments about Larco, Giesecke, and Tello. On page 223 he wrote, "It is no exaggeration to say that the essential archaeological history of northern coastal Peru can be written from the Larco collection." On page

nally, Alfred V. Kidder, II, of the Peabody Museum of Cambridge returned to Peru in order to excavate at the important site of Pukará in the highlands (Bennett 1939c: 26–28).

Two articles of interest were published in the 20 June edition of *The West Coast Leader*. The first read in part:

The Peruvian-North American Cultural Institute . . . was organized prior to the convening of the VIII Pan American Conference in Lima in December 1938, and during this conference it provided an interesting programme of entertainment and exhibitions for the visiting delegates. It is now proposed to open a permanent office of the Institute to be inaugurated on July 4th. . . . The first Board of Managers of the Institute elected . . . for the year June

1938– June 1939 is as follows: Honorary Presidents: Dr. Carlos Concha, ex-Minister of Foreign Affairs of Peru; Hon. Laurence A. Steinhardt, former U.S. Ambassador to Peru; Hon. Manuel de Freyre Santander, Peruvian Ambassador to U.S.A. Honorary Vice-Presidents: General Ernesto Montagne, former President of the Cabinet and ex-Minister of Public Education; Dr. Alfredo Solf y Muro, Rector of the San Marcos University of Lima. . . . Directors of the Board: Dr. Julio C. Tello . . . Dr. Luis E. Valcárcel. . . . Dr. Albert A. Giesecke (Anon. 1939q).

The second article concerned the opening of the Peruvian Pavilion at the New York World's Fair. It read in part:

As previously reported . . . the inauguration of the Peruvian Pavilion at the New York World's Fair took place on May 29th. At the ceremony . . . Ambassador of Peru, Hon. Manuel de Freyre y Santander [spoke and said] . . . “You will learn something of ancient Peru, the mysterious empire of Inca and pre-Inca times, brought to light by our archaeologists Valcárcel and Tello” (Anon. 1939r).

Tello wrote to Vaillant on 25 June. He began by saying he hoped he was on time in sending to him the (enclosed) packet that contained the first part of his report on the Marañón Expedition, as well as a goodly number of photographs and drawings. He went on to say he would be sending the second part of his report before 10 July, and that it would only deal with work that had been done at the site of Sechín in the Camsa Valley. He closed by telling Vaillant that he would appreciate knowing what needed to be done to publish his report, adding that he could translate it into English, and cut back on some of the text and illustrations (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

227 he wrote regarding the ruins of Pachacamac that he felt “it contemporaneous with Chan Chan— definitely pre-Inca in origin. . . . The literature of Pachacamac is voluminous and undependable. . . . The large cleaning-up job now being carried out by Dr. Albert Giesecke may throw light on the problem.” On page 237 he wrote regarding the study of the cult of the dead, “Paracas affords the best opportunity in all South America for this study . . . they have the advantage of being scientifically explored before the pot-hunter got at them. This was the work of Peru's great native archaeologist, Dr. Julio C. Tello of ancient San Marcos University.” Hewett followed this with a translation of key passages from Tello's *Antiguo Peru* published in 1929. On page 247 he wrote, “So definitely has Dr. Tello made the Chavin culture his own particular field that I am going to leave its general description to him”. He follows this with further extensive quotations from *Antiguo Peru*, after which, on page 250 he wrote, “Dr. Tello continues with a technical description of the art of Chavin. . . . I am convinced that he is working out here a basic mother culture that was influential in all directions, and which, because of its natural lanes of communication with the coast, stimulated the arts of coastal towns in many ways.”

On 27 June *El Comercio* published official information it had received regarding the International Congress of Americanists to be held in Lima later that year. Among those listed as being members of the organizing committee were Tello and Valcárcel (Anon. 1939s).¹⁸⁰

To summarize, at the start of the year Vaillant had written to Tozzer, as the IAR's new secretary, to inform him that (in his absence) he had been elected to replace Lothrop as president. Tozzer had not been pleased. Kidder II had spent some time in Lima before heading to the southern highlands to work at Pukará. He had written to Lothrop to tell him that he had interacted with both Tello and Valcárcel in

¹⁸⁰ A summary of an address given by the president of the Royal Anthropological Institute on June 27, 1939 was published in the August issue of *Man*. In part it was reported in this summary "In spite of richness of remains, their intrinsic interest and excellent state of conservation in ideal conditions in the arid coastal region, no British archaeological expeditions have yet been undertaken in Peru . . . Dr. Kroeber's valuable field expeditions in 1925 and 1926, and his classification of the Uhle collections in American Museums, have confirmed Uhle's scheme in the main. . . . But the antecedents of the earliest and finest cultures such as the Early Chimú ('Proto-Chimú' or 'Mochica') and the Early Nazca ('Proto-Nazca') are still unknown. Dr. J. Tello's intensive field-work, particularly in the Chavin region and at Paracas, has led him to the view that the Coast cultures were to some extent derived from the Highlands and to other disagreements with the Uhle-Kroeber scheme. He regards the 'Archaic Andean' as the earliest which extended throughout the Highlands of Peru. . . . In 1933, the fourth centenary of the foundation of Spanish Cuzco, the Peruvian Government established an Archaeological Institute at Cuzco, and inaugurated an extensive programme of operations for clearing, restoring and excavating the ruins of the Cuzco region, as well as farther afield. Among the more important sites investigated and restored are Sacsahuaman, Tampu Machay, Pisac, and Ollantaytambo, and illustrated reports of the work have been published by Dr. L. Valcárcel [sic] and others. . . . The general conclusion reached by Valcárcel [sic] is that all the architecture is purely Inca, that the Inca used different styles of masonry for different purposes, and often combined two or more styles in the same building. The pottery found is almost without exception of characteristic Inca types. . . . Dr. Valcárcel [sic] has recently appealed in his journal for international co-operation in the excavations" (Braunholtz 1939:129).

Lima. Regarding Tello, he had reported he was very busy at his Magdalena Vieja museum now that the government had separated it from the National Museum, and it was providing him with additional funding. Additionally, he had told Lothrop that Tello wanted to contribute to the Tozzer volume, but, he had added in an accusing way, that of course Tello was too busy to submit his report. As for Valcárcel, Kidder had told Lothrop he had come away with the impression that Valcárcel was unsure if he wanted Franco to assist him at Pukará as the IAR's representative.

All this suggests that (by choice) Tozzer was out of the loop as far as the IAR's decision-making was concerned, and that Vaillant had essentially been left in charge, that Kidder II had replaced Bennett as the IAR's informant in the field, and that he (Kidder II) was reporting to Lothrop. It is unknown if Kidder II was aware Tozzer had replaced Lothrop as head of the IAR.

It wasn't until the end of February that Vaillant had written to Tello to tell him he had again been selected to represent the IAR as its Peruvian counselor, to tell him publication money designated for his report would be not be held aside indefinitely, and to politely ask that he send in his report. Tello had responded by saying he had been ill, and that unforeseen circumstances had delayed his work on his report. During the months to follow, Bennett had heard from Soriano, who said he had been sick, and would be unable to submit his report to the IAR, information that Bennett then relayed to Vaillant. Unlike Tello, Soriano had backed up his claim with medical documentation.

Bennett had published in the United States on the activities of Tello, Valcárcel, Soriano, Kidder II, Giesecke, Larco Hoyle, and himself, while Giesecke, Muelle, and Valcárcel had pub-

lished on the ruins of Pachacamac. Clearly Bennett was still promoting the IAR with his various summary publications. However, he was also promoting the activities of Peruvian investigators, in addition to Tello.

Kidder II had again written to Lothrop to inform him he had selected Franco to represent the IAR at Pukará, and that as its representative he assumed Franco would owe the IAR a report. Later Vaillant had written to Kidder II to tell him he would need an official letter from Valcárcel before he would send the money to help Franco. Tello had again written to Vaillant, this time toward the end of June, to tell him he was enclosing the first part of his report, and that he would then be sending him the second part that would focus only on his work at Cerro Sechín. Tello had made no mention of his article on the use of condor images in ancient Peru. Tello had not felt the need to explain that he had been very busy, given that there was a new minister of education and that, as head of the National Board, this minister felt reforms were in order. Neither had Tello felt the need to explain that, adding to his already full plate, he (and Valcárcel) had been appointed to the organizing committee for the upcoming meeting of the Congress of Americanists to be held in Lima.

BEFORE AND AFTER THE INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF AMERICANISTS

July–December, 1939

On 4 July it was announced in *El Comercio* that the French anthropologist Paul Rivet had arrived in Lima the previous day (Anon. 1939t). On 5 July *El Comercio* published law 8910 dated 22 June and signed by President Benavides and Minister of Education Arrus. Following a preamble in which it was noted that, by virtue of an earlier law in which the constitutional congress had conceded to the executive the power to act

in such matters, it was stated that the government had decided to reorganize departmental archaeological boards to improve their ability to carry out their duties. The reason for this being that, in practice, implementation of duties by members of departmental boards had proven incompatible with the duties of those representing the judicial branch. Toward this end, then, it had been decided to establish instead a greater involvement with university and educational centers. The particular makeup of boards in the various departments in the country that reflected not only greater participation by educational leaders, but also by political and religious leaders was then designated in the first article of this new law. This was followed by a second article in which it was stated that neighbors (residents), who should also be included in the makeup of individual boards, would be nominated by the Ministry of Education based on recommendations received from respective departmental boards. In addition to Benavides and Arrus, the new Minister of Foreign Affairs, E. Goitisoló, and all other ministers signed this document (Benavides and Arrus 1939).

The next day, 6 July, it was reported in this daily that the French anthropologist Paul Rivet and others had spent more than an hour at the Museum of Anthropology the previous afternoon. Rivet, the report stated, had been accompanied by the rector and secretary of San Marcos, as well as by numerous teachers and historians who had been specially invited. The report went on to state that Tello had met the group, and had given a guided tour of the museum. It was also stated that Tello and the group had subsequently reunited in the office of the organizing commission for the International Congress of Americanists, where ideas were exchanged until seven in the evening. It was explained that since 1909 Rivet had served as the secretary of the Society of Americanists of Paris. Finally, a photograph was published of

Tello and the group visiting the museum (Anon. 1939u).

In the 18 July edition of *The West Coast Leader* it was announced that a permanent office of The Peruvian-North American Cultural Institute had been opened on 4 July in the offices formerly used by the Philharmonic Society. Once again, all individuals involved with the cultural institute were listed, including Tello, Valcárcel, and Giesecke (Anon. 1939v). It was reported on the 19th in this daily that a luncheon had been held in Rivet's honor on the previous day at the Hotel Bolivar, and that those attending included both Tello and Valcárcel (Anon. 1939w).

On 24 July *El Comercio* published a report in which it stated that the organizing committee for the Lima sessions of the International Congress had been busy preparing for the event, a committee that included, among others, Tello and Valcárcel. In this article, readers were told that it was during the 1935 meeting in Seville that it had been decided that dual sessions for the next meeting would be held in Mexico City and in Lima. It was also stated in this article that one of the first decisions made by Peru's organizing committee was to hold the Lima session during the period 10–15 September. Finally, readers were told Max Uhle would be attending the Lima session as a representative of Germany (Basadre 1939). It was subsequently reported in the 15 August edition of *The West Coast Leader* that on 24 July Tello had left for Panama on the steamship *Reina del Pacifico* (Anon. 1939z).

Tello wrote to Lothrop on 13 July. He began by telling him that he felt he owed him an explanation for his strange behavior, given that he esteemed both his friendship and his moral influence. He went on to allude to the agreement he had been forced to make with the government with regard to the formation of the

Museum of Anthropology that he had organized, and to allude to his health problems that had prevented him from attending to other promises. Hence, he told Lothrop, he despaired he would ever complete the manuscript that he had in his hands, and he hoped that Lothrop would understand the circumstance in which he (Tello) had found himself being unable to contribute an article to the Tozzer volume.

Tello then shifted gears and said he *had* thought the Lima session of the International Congress of Americanists would not happen, but that the government had decided that it would. From the beginning (once this decision had been made), he explained to Lothrop, he had been pressing the organizing committee to send out special invitations to both him and Tozzer. Tello then told Lothrop he had recently been given permission to offer him (free) round trip passage and stay in Lima, and that an official invitation should already have been sent. Next Tello told Lothrop there was much of archaeological interest he wanted him to see over a period of a few days when he was in Peru (attending the congress). He then said he had sent invitations to eight Americanists, mostly European, and that it would be lamentable if the IAR did not have a good representative at the congress. He closed by saying he was going to the Mexico City meeting of the congress as a delegate of the Peruvian government, adding that he was not particularly enthusiastic about attending, but thought it would give him a good rest (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

George Vaillant received in Littleton, New Hampshire a letter dated 21 July from Bella Weitzer, a colleague at the AMNH. In this letter she informed Vaillant she still had the Tello manuscript, that the promised second part had not yet been received, and that she would leave the manuscript on her table for Lothrop to pick

up if he so chose (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

On 31 July Kroeber II and his wife Mary returned to Lima from their work at the site of Pukará. She wrote in her diary for 1 August: "This afternoon Teddy and I went to tea at Dr. Giesecke's house. As usual we had a most delightful visit" (1942:215). For 2 August she wrote: "I went to the [national] museum for him this afternoon. . . . Saw there our friends Mr. Respaldiza and Muelle" (*ibid.*:215–216). Her entry for the 3rd included:

Teddy went to the [National] Museum as usual this morning. Then two American friends came for me and we drove together out to the Anthropological Museum in Magdalena Vieja. We spent some time wandering through. . . . Just as we were leaving Miss Carrion appeared. She looked splendidly. . . . Dr. Tello apparently has gone to Mexico for the Scientific Congress there (*ibid.*:216).

Finally, for 4 August she wrote "This afternoon I spent with Teddy in the museum, unpacking slowly and getting into discussions with Mr. Muelle, who is a pleasant and very well educated person (*ibid.*:217).

Bulletin Number 4, dated 11 August, and apparently issued by the Lima organizing committee was published in *El Comercio* on the 12th. It was stated in this bulletin that it had been decided at the Seville congress in 1935 that the principal theme of the 1939 congress would be the study of the Maya, Anahuac (Aztec), and Inca civilizations, and their connections and influences on the post-conquest cultures. It was announced in this bulletin that the elder Kidder would head the American delegation to the Mexico City session, a delegation that also included Strong and Vaillant. Finally, it was announced that news had been

received from Mexico City that Tello had been unanimously named vice-president of the congress (Anon. 1939x).

On 15 August *The West Coast Leader* published an article on Peru's pavilion at the New York World's Fair. In part it was reported:

Stepping into the hall you at once feel as if you were stepping in a Peruvian mansion. . . . The large salon behind this hall contains . . . the life-sized, eagle-faced figure arrayed in the actual hand-woven garments of an ancient Peruvian; a red woolen tunic partially covered by a perfect black mantle, with a small fine design in colours. Such weaving is unequaled. Behind this figure is a mummy with its wrappings Next comes a case full of perfect specimens of Chimu pottery. . . . Other cases contain examples of pottery and textiles of the Nazca culture (Anon. 1939y).

For her diary entry dated 16 August Mary Kidder wrote:

Same old story. I helped Teddy in the Museum this afternoon. He has all his stuff unpacked now and the crowd at the Museum all seem very enthusiastic about it. Dr. Valcarcel seems to think there's a pretty good chance that some of the collection may be sent to Harvard for study. Dr. V. obviously seems really to be making a great effort for Teddy, as do Messrs. Muelle and Delgado. The latter two helped with his letter to be signed by the various government officials with whom rest the final decision" (1942:220).

Then in her entry for the 24th she wrote: "Evening as usual. Dr. and Mrs. Valcarcel and their daughter came to call and were exceedingly pleasant" (*ibid.*:222). While for the 26th she

wrote "we went out and had tea with the Valcarcel. . . . The Valcarcel are very pleasant" (*ibid.*).

On 27 August *El Comercio* reported on a brief interview with Tello who had just arrived back in Lima.¹⁸¹ Tello said he had given a paper at the Mexico City congress that dealt with stone sculptures found on the Peruvian North Coast (at Sechín). He went on to say this stonework suggested similarities with Mayan stone sculptures, and he had presented his paper to get a reaction from his audience. He then said that, because of the length of his paper, he had been given extra time to present it, and that, following this, there had ensued a lively debate, one of the participants being Kroeber. The opinion was nearly universal, he concluded, that there was nothing that served as solid evidence to support the notion there were cultural connections between Central and South America (Anon. 1939aa).

On 2 September it was reported in *El Comercio* that Uhle had arrived in Lima. To further inform its readers, this newspaper provided a detailed biography focused mainly on his work in Peru. This was followed by the results of what was probably a brief interview with Uhle, in which he had complained about the past and current practice of excavating in a non-scientific way. As for a question concerning the focus of the paper he was going to present at the Lima session of the congress, Uhle had responded that he was interested in all the ancient civilizations of the Americas, and not just that of Peru, and that this would be focus of his paper (Anon. 1939bb).

It was in its 7 September edition that *El Comercio* published a photograph of Lothrop, his

wife, and Francis Richardson¹⁸² that was entitled "Delegados Norteamericanos" (Anon. 1939cc).

The next day this newspaper published a government resolution dated the 7th and signed by President Benavides and Minister of Foreign Relations Goytisolo. The purpose of this resolution was to provide the names of the individuals comprising the Peruvian delegation. Included were Tello as director the Museum of Anthropology, and Valcárcel as director of the National Museum. The following day this newspaper noted that, among others, Larco Hoyle and Soriano would be taking part in the meeting of the congress (Anon. 1939ee).

On 8 September the Lima daily *La Prensa* published a photograph of Lothrop under a headline that essentially stated that Lothrop, who was an American delegate to the Congress of Americanists, had declared the ruins of Paracas to be a truly important archaeological discovery. The article that followed stated Lothrop had been interviewed at the Hotel Bolivar, and that, after being questioned about his background, he had answered he had received his degree from Harvard in 1915 after having conducted research on the Maya, supported by the Carnegie Institute of Washington D.C. This brought up the question of whether or not this institute would be interested in South American studies, and Lothrop had responded by essentially saying yes, and pointed out the fact that Francis B. Richardson of the Carnegie Institute was attending the Lima Conference. Then, after being asked about his interest in Peru, Lothrop had stated that fourteen years earlier (in 1925) he and Tello had gone to the Paracas Peninsula where they had made discoveries. The importance of these discoveries, he went on, were then made clear after Tello had worked on the peninsula. The

¹⁸¹ Mary Kidder later wrote, "We sailed for the Canal Zone on August 29th. . . . We reached the Canal on the morning of the fifth of September. . . . We sailed for New York on the ninth of September" (1942:223–224).

¹⁸² Like Tello and Lothrop, Francis B. Richardson was an alumnus of Harvard. He graduated from this school in 1934 (Anon. 1946).

anonymous author of the article then stated that Lothrop had clearly shown his admiration for Tello during the interview, not just because he (like Lothrop) had also graduated from Harvard, but even more so because of the way Tello had subsequently distinguished himself (Anon. 1939dd).

The Lima session of the Congress of Americanists was inaugurated on 10 September, and it was reported in *El Comercio* the following day that among those who spoke was Lothrop (Anon. 1939ff).¹⁸³ The next day, the 12th, this newspaper reported on a scheduled reception that Tello had held at the Museum of Anthropology in honor of the congressional delegates and their families. Others who had attended the gathering that lasted until nine in the evening were ministers of state, public functionaries, and special invitees (Anon. 1939gg). Later Lothrop reminisced "The formal opening of the new museum took place at this time in a night ceremony with brilliantly garbed Indians from Huarochirí dancing on the replica of the huge Nepeña altar which had been erected in the outer patio" (1948:52).

On the 14th and 15th reports were published in *El Comercio* on scheduled afternoon visits made to the ruins of Cajamarquilla (Anon.

1939hh) and Pachacamac (Anon. 1939ii), respectively, by the delegates, teachers, and members of the diplomatic corps who were guided in each case by Tello. On the 17th this daily published a report on the final day of the congress. Included was mention of the fact that papers by Uhle and Tello had been presented and discussed on this day (Anon. 1939jj). That same day, the 17th, Soriano published an illustrated article on the ruins of Atac in the Lima daily *La Crónica* (Soriano 1939). Then, on the 19th, an editorial in *El Comercio* included mention of the talk that Carrión gave at the meeting (Editor 1939a). During September a series of five photographs taken at the congress were published in *Turismo* (Anon. 1939mm). One showed Tello and others in the audience listening to a speaker, while a second was a posed shot of delegates with Tello at the center of a group that included Mejía, Soriano, and Uhle.

Later, first Giesecke, and then Valcárcel, (the latter as editor) published accounts of the meeting. In part Giesecke wrote in the September issue of *Turismo*:

Two hundred and seventy-six delegates participated in the Lima sessions as members of this Congress. Among the prominent members present . . . Max Uhle. . . . Drs. Samuel K. Lothrop and Albert A. Giesecke were delegates of the United States Government. Francis Richardson attended in the name of the Carnegie Institution. . . . The Congress adopted several resolutions and made certain recommendations, amongst which we may mention . . . motion presented by Drs. Tello and Sivorichi to establish an "American Institute of Andean Anthropology". . . . Motion (by Lothrop) to revise archaeological nomenclature, submitting the results to the Institute of Andean Archaeology. . . . Establishment of an International Institute of Andean Archaeology. . . . Max Uhle's

¹⁸³ The following was later published in the *Bulletin of the Pan American Union*: "Dr. Jorge Basadre, Secretary General of the Congress and Chairman of the Organizing Committee, addressed the meeting. . . . Following Dr. Basadre's words of welcome, Dr. Samuel K. Lothrop . . . addressed the Congress in the name of the foreign delegates, saying in part: 'We are met here under exceptional circumstances. A great war has broken out in Europe. It will seem to many persons that our deliberations are not timely, now that we find ourselves face to face with a world disturbed by such conflict. Nonetheless, I wish to call your attention to the fact that although we may meet here under these impressions, we must not be afraid to discuss problems of technical significance or of apparently limited scope. We must not forget that the ultimate desire of anthropology is to obtain a better understanding of humanity as a whole'" (Nuñez 1940:449).

paper on the origin of ancient civilization in America attracted considerable attention. It was a contribution in favour of the thesis of the Asiatic origin of civilization in the New World, through successive immigrations from Asia, probably from China. It furnished some new data on this mooted question. . . . The paper read by Dr. Julio C. Tello on the origin and development of primitive cultures in Peru referred to a chronological series of ancient cultures beginning with Recuay, and followed by Chavin, Huari, Usaka (Paracas), Cuzco (pre-Inca period), Tiahuanaco, Cochabamba. Heretofore, he had held that Chavin represented the earliest of these cultures. It is worthy of note that this series refers to regions which are practically all located in the Peruvian highlands. From these plateau areas these peoples spread to the coast and towards the selvas. Dr. Francis B. Richardson, of the Carnegie Institution of Washington, D.C., read a paper on possible South American influences in the monumental sculptures of Nicaragua” (Giesecke 1939b: 16).

As for Valcárcel, as editor of the *Revista del Museo Nacional*, he provided an unsigned day-by-day account of the papers that were presented in the archaeological and prehistoric section of the meeting. During the afternoon of Monday the 11th Lothrop spoke about four ancient Panamanian cultures. On Tuesday the 12th, in a session chaired by Tello, Dr. Luis A. Pardo gave a talk in which he presented a new way of classifying Cusco pottery, and which provoked a heated discussion in which Uhle, Tello, Franco, and Soriano took part. Also on this day, Carrión spoke on representations of a lunar divinity in Chimu art, Mejía spoke about ancient aqueducts in the Nazca drainage, and Muelle spoke about the painted murals found recently at Pachacamac. It was on Wednesday the 13th that Valcárcel spoke about the origin of

Cusco and Franco gave a report on the work at Pukará. Apparently no session was scheduled for Thursday, because Valcárcel then reported that during the morning of Friday the 15th Muelle spoke about ancient Peruvian tools and Richardson spoke about non-Mayan monumental sculptures in Guatemala and Salvador. Then during the afternoon, Soriano gave a talk on the archaeology of Ancash that, among others, Uhle, Tello, and Carrión objected to. Finally, on Saturday the 16th, in a session presided over by Rector Solf y Muro, Uhle, Tello and Richardson gave their papers (Editor 1939e:186–187).

Tello hosted a meeting at his home on 21 September. Those in attendance were Valcárcel, Carrión, Mejía, Espejo, Jorge Muelle,¹⁸⁴ Franco, Javier Pulgar¹⁸⁵ Vidal, Rojas, Soriano, Villar, Cesar Graña, Ricardo Mariátegui Oliva and Luis Pardo.¹⁸⁶ The group decided to form the Peruvian Archaeological Association (hereafter Association). The group decided to invite a number of other individuals to become part of the Association including Ponce, Juan José Delgado (of the National Museum), Martín Flores García (of Chavín de Huantar), Soriano (of the Huaraz Museum), and Agustín Loli (of

¹⁸⁴ Jorge Muelle worked at the National Museum in Lima from 1931 to 1936, at which time he traveled to Germany to study archaeology in Berlin. Among others, he studied with Uhle. He returned to Lima in 1939, but precisely when is unknown (Buse 1974b).

¹⁸⁵ Pulgar Vidal was a geographer who, in 1942, served as the secretary of the Ministry of Public Works (Milla 1986, Volume 7, page 310) and who, as a student at Lima’s Catholic University, had taken part in Tello’s 1935 expedition into the highlands north of Lima (Daggett 2016:144). He is best known for his textbook *Geografía del Perú: Las ocho regiones naturales, la regionalización transversal, la microregionalización* in which he outlined the basic ecozones of Peru and their economic uses, basing himself on traditional Quechua classification systems.

¹⁸⁶ Pardo had a history of publishing on the archaeology of the Cusco region in the journal of the University of Cusco (e.g. 1933, 1935) as well as the journal of the Archaeological Institute of Cusco (e.g. 1937).

the Huaraz Museum). By the same token, the group decided to invite participation from those interested in the archaeology of Northwestern Argentina, Northern Chile, Bolivia, Ecuador, and Southern Colombia, all areas that formed part of the Inca domain. Finally, the group elected Franco as president, Mariátegui and Pulgar Vidal as secretaries and Carrión as treasurer on the Association's executive committee. Tello, Valcárcel, and Villar were elected to its consulting board. It was the consulting board that was charged with the task of creating a set of statutes for the Association in accordance with the ideas and opinions given at the meeting (Editor 1940d:78–79). Subsequently, Tello was elected president and Valcárcel and Villar were chosen to serve as secretary and treasurer, respectively of the consulting board (*ibid.*:82). The following day, the same group that met at Tello's house, plus Ponce, met at the Café D'Onofrio on Alameda Grau in Lima and ratified the resolutions that had been made the day before. It was at this time that the group created an act of foundation (*ibid.*:79).

On 26 September Tello published an article in *El Comercio* in which he discussed archaeological sites on the Central Coast between Lima and Paramonga. He began by saying that during his 1937 Marañón expedition he had inspected the most important sites on the coast between the Rímac and Casma Valleys. He continued by saying Uhle had been the one to first work on this part of the coast and that, based on this, he had proposed three cultural periods, one represented by what he had found at Ancón and Supe, one represented by polychrome pottery found in the Chancay Province that he thought corresponded to Nazca, and a third appropriately called Chancay. Tello then said he agreed with this assessment, and that Uhle's contribution was of the first order. Tello then went on to explain he had explored (nine) sites along this stretch of the (Central) coast: the cemeteries of Doña María and Teatino at the foot of the

Lacha hills in the Chancay Valley; the ruins of Lauri in the Chancay Valley; the ruins of Wiskera, Willka Waura, and the wall of Maso in the Huaura Valley; the Temple of Chimu Kapac, and the trash heaps of Farro de Supe in the Supe Valley; and, finally, the Temple of Paramonga in the Fortaleza Valley. He followed this with a discussion of each of these sites.

In brief, Tello said the ruins of Lauri were totally covered over by a layer of trash and, while heavily looted, there was a group of ruins at the site that had been ignored by looters, and that, upon inspection, had proven to be a manufacturing site for Chancay pottery, as evidenced by kilns, deformed pottery, and an abundance of scoria. As for the two and a half square kilometer late Chancay site of Doña María, he was able to collect not only skeletal material, but also an abundance of utilitarian and ceremonial pottery that was useful for defining different periods of the Chancay pottery type. Teatino, he went on, was to be found five kilometers from Doña María and there, during four days of excavation, he had found stratified tombs representing three great periods of interment. The lowest tombs contained pottery very similar to the pottery he had found in the Upper Huallaga region (of the Central Highlands), the middle tombs contained polychrome pre-Chancay pottery, while the upper tombs contained late Chancay type pottery.

From this Teatino cemetery, Tello continued, he had followed a bridle path that brought him to an old road leading directly to the ruins of Wiskira on the left margin of the Huaura River. These ruins consisted of a looted main temple, a number of small mounds, many collapsed houses, plazas, corridors, corrals, and, finally, cemeteries that were enclosed by low adobe walls. The site, he concluded was Inca period in date. As for Willka Waura, Tello called it the most important archaeological area in Chancay, a heavily looted city situated near

the hacienda Vilcahuaura. He said it had been as important as Pachacamac, and said it contained high pyramids, temples with enclosed plazas, and cemeteries built upon superimposed platforms replete with human remains dressed in fine garments and buried with colored ceramics. He was obviously very impressed with this site, because he said, judging from the objects left by looters on the surface, it evidenced the highest level of achievement in the late pre-Inca ceramic and textile arts, and its study would provide researchers with volumes upon volumes of information.

Next Tello turned his attention to the Maso wall in the Huaura Valley, and said he had on more than one occasion made a study of it, and in particular one stretch going toward the Hacienda Rondoy. He went on to say that, because sections of the wall had been built upon the remnants of a slimmer one, he had concluded that what had later been built was none other than the remains of an Inca wall. This had been built with adobes over cemented stones, and, in part, with hand-made lenticular adobes and stones. He further explained that in transverse cut the wall was trapezoidal in form, the base measuring 5–6 meters in width tapering to 3–4 meters in width at the top. The wall in some places, he added, was five meters high, in some places there were low parapets, and in some places one could see it had been decorated with salient clay figures. Tello also mixed this discussion of the Maso wall with a discussion of the Santa wall that he had written about in *El Comercio* in 1938. Like this latter wall, he speculated that the former wall extended into the highlands.

Tello then turned his attention to what he called the most conspicuous site in the Supe Valley—the so-called fortress of Chimu Kapak. He said many had studied the ruins, including Uhle and Kroeber. The principal edifice, he said, had been built on the summit of a moun-

tain, and was constructed principally, as Uhle had observed, with conical adobes, and on the slope below there were the remains of stone structures, covered in part by trash, accessible by a road that wound around the mountain as it ascended. He then described a unique bejeweled wooden object decorated with mythological figures that had been found by the administrator of the Hacienda San Nicolás when a canal had been dug at the base of Mount Chimu Kapak. Tello discussed next the trash heaps of Farro de Supe. He said Uhle had worked at the site, and had concluded, just as he had for the site of Ancón, that what he had found were the remains of a primitive fishing culture. However, Tello went on, during his work there (in 1937) he had found the remains of a principally agricultural culture as evidenced by his discovery of agricultural products, cooking utensils, and an abundance of fine pottery of the types he had found at Chavín and at Huallaga (Kotosh). Finally, Tello discussed the so-called Fortress of Paramonga set atop an extensive ridge near the mouth of the Fortaleza River. He dated it to the last phase of the Chimu-Inca period. In his detailed description, he mentioned the fact that there could still be seen the remains of Inca style niches, and that [the Spanish Conquistador] Hernando Pizarro had seen here on his first trip to Pachacamac from Cajamarca the figures of two jaguars adorning the principal entrance to the temple. Tello did not specify that he had visited all these sites during his IAR-sponsored 1937 expedition (Tello 1939b).

On 27 September *El Comercio* published a 25 September announcement posted by Pulgar Vidal regarding the installation of the Association, whose object was to propagate, defend, and broadcast archaeological studies, and to organize them cooperatively throughout the country. This announcement noted that Franco had been elected the first director of the group, that Pulgar Vidal had been elected to one of two secretarial positions, and that Carrión had been

elected treasurer, while a board of consultants had been established consisting of Tello, Valcárcel, and Villar. The report by Pulgar Vidal listed the active members who had attended the first meeting of the Association, including Tello, Valcárcel, Villar, Carrión, Mejía, Muelle, Franco, Pardo, Soriano, Pulgar Vidal, and Rojas (Pulgar Vidal 1939).

The following day, the 28th, *El Comercio* published an editorial applauding the installation of the Association (Editor 1939b). On the same day it published a United Press report sent from Huaraz, dated the 27th. It was stated that Tello and a number of individuals, including Mejía, who had attended the recent International Congress of Americanists, were making a visit to the Department of Ancash (Anon. 1939kk). Then, on the 30th this newspaper published a report in which readers were told that Tello and his group had returned to Lima the previous morning, after having visited a number of ruins. Specifically it was stated that the group had seen the ruins of Tambo Inga and Lauri, the Teatino cemetery, the wall of Maso, the Supe shell heaps, and the fortress of Paramonga on the first day of their excursion, and that the following day they had gone to the Casma Valley where they had seen the ruins of Sechín. Next the group had traveled to Huaraz by way of the Santa Valley, and had visited the ruins of Pumacayán, Incahuain, Tumshucaico, and Katák in the Callejón de Huaylas. Finally, readers were told that, on orders from Tello, Mejía and an unnamed artist from the Museum of Anthropology had stayed at Katák to study its subterranean chambers (Anon. 1939ll).

Tello wrote to Kroeber on 7 October and told him that the meeting of the congress in Lima had been a success, and that the government had facilitated visits by delegates to the ruins of the Callejón de Huaylas, Paracas, and Cusco. Tello next told Kroeber that he had then found it to be a propitious time to form the

Association, in order to unite persons directly or indirectly interested in archaeological studies. He told Kroeber that, motivated by the holding of the congress, the museums of Lima had put together special exhibits. Then he said he was sure that Lothrop would tell him all the particulars (of the congress), and about the need for the IAR to more fully cooperate with these museums, particularly the Madgalena Vieja Museum of Anthropology that he directed. Tello went on to tell Kroeber he had just come back from a short visit to the Callejón de Huaylas, adding that it now only took a few hours to do so, because of the magnificent new road that existed between Lima and Huaraz. He stated there was an extensive cemetery at the headwaters of the Santa River (at the southern end of the Callejón) that had not yet been exploited, and that he hoped he could save it from looters. He went on to say he had left Mejía at this place, and that it was possible that he himself might return to it in fifteen days to conduct an exploration. He closed by saying he hoped that in some formal way the IAR would conduct research in Peru (Bancroft Library Archive, University of California, Berkeley, Alfred L. Kroeber Collection, correspondence).

According to the editor's report published in the first issue of the Association's journal it was on 13 October that the consulting board of the Association met at the San Marcos Museum of Archaeology, where they exchanged ideas and coordinated opinions regarding the Association's objectives and intentions, its functions, and activities, and its organization and government. Tello was given the task of editing and writing this all up. Then, on the 15th, this board met at the National Museum, and Tello presented the statutes that he had written. After discussion, during which parts of what he had written were clarified, the final product was approved. As authorized by the Association on 21 September, the board made public the formation of the Association and its goals in the

journals of the museums directed by its members. The decision was made to tender invitations to the president of the National Board, the rector of San Marcos, the president of the Historical Institute, and the president of the Geographical Society of Lima to take part in the Association (Editor 1940d:78–79).

Tozzer wrote to Vaillant on 23 October and began by complaining that he didn't know what he should do regarding the IAR and the "nominal" position he held in it. He went on to ask if the IAR had any money, because he (Harvard) was planning to give an ethnologist \$1,500 to work (in Peru) and that this amount would not be enough. He wondered if the IAR could help, adding that it would be good for the IAR to give more of its funding to support ethnological work (Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology Archive, Harvard University, Alfred M. Tozzer Papers, accession no. 41-10, box 1, folder 16, correspondence).

Vaillant responded on the 26th and told Tozzer the IAR had \$900, and was already obligated to set aside \$500 to help Tello with his publication expenses. He added it was hoped Tello's work would be published as a memoir of the *American Anthropologist*. He then made reference to Tozzer's unnamed ethnological student and asked if he would actually get the job done if the IAR were to support him. Finally, he said that the two of them could discuss the matter in Chicago, suggesting that the members of the IAR would be getting together there (Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology Archive, Harvard University, Alfred M. Tozzer Papers, accession no. 41-10, box 1, folder 16, correspondence).

Tozzer wrote back to Vaillant on the 28th and told him the student in question was Harry Tschopik, that he would be taking his orals on 4 December, and that he was married to Marion Hutchinson, who had worked for years at the Peabody Museum. He then said he could vouch

for Tschopik, who had done good work in the American Southwest, and that Kidder thought highly of him as well.¹⁸⁷ Finally, apparently regarding the IAR's annual meeting, Vaillant said he would not be able to meet in Chicago, and suggested instead New York City (Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology Archive, Harvard University, Alfred M. Tozzer Papers, accession no. 41-10, box 1, folder 16, correspondence).

In the 24 October edition of *The West Coast Leader* it was reported in part:

Dr. Waldo G. Leland arrived in Peru on October 18th. . . . He expects to spend two or possibly three weeks in Peru, including an excursion in the Andes. He is accompanied by Mrs. Leland. Dr. Leland is Director of the American Council of Learned Societies and President of the Union Academique Internationale. His headquarters are at Washington, D.C. The present trip was planned to learn at first hand information about institutional life in the countries visited, referring to the humanities; to make contacts with representative students in these general fields and to examine the possibilities for closer collaboration between these institutions. The American Council of Learned Societies has a membership of twenty American national societies, including philosophy, arts, oriental studies, archaeology, modern

¹⁸⁷ "Harry Tschopik was born on August 23, 1915, in New Orleans, Louisiana. His father . . . was an executive of the American Radiator-Standard Sanitary Corporation. . . . At least as early as high school days, Harry became interested in American Archaeology. . . . He was admitted to the University of California as a junior in 1934 and took his A.B. degree there in 1936. . . . He had his first field experience in the summer of 1935 . . . working near Marsville in the Sacramento Valley. . . . Harry's plan was to specialize in the archeology of Central America or the eastern United States, so he went on to do graduate work at Harvard University" (Rowe 1958:132–133).

languages, biblical literature, history, economics, anthropology, political science, sociology and linguistics. Dr. Leland is a delegate of the American National Committee on International Cooperation (Anon. 1939nn).¹⁸⁸

Subsequently, on the 31st, an article by Leland was published in the above Lima weekly. In part he wrote:

For many years South American students have gone to the United States for a year or more of study or advanced research. . . . Peru has been the scene of many important research activities on the part of students and professors from the United States, especially in the field of archaeology, which offers unparalleled and almost unlimited opportunities. For the time, at least, it appears that the most useful exchange of students is at the highest level of research and graduate instruction, for students at that level, whose careers have been determined, and who have maturity of character and stability of purpose, can much better use these opportunities than the immature undergraduate (Leland 1939).

Perhaps around this time, or even earlier, Tello and Mejía published as volume 1 number 1 of the Museum of Anthropology's publication series an interpretive essay of the seventeenth century writings of Guaman Poma. Means subsequently wrote a positive review of this work dated 18 November 1939 that was later

¹⁸⁸ "Dr. Leland . . . received a Bachelor of Arts degree from Brown University in 1900 and a master's degree from Harvard University a year later. After two years as an assistant in history at Harvard, he joined the Carnegie Institution's department of historical research, where he remained until 1927. In that year Dr. Leland, who had served as organizing secretary of the American Council of Learned Societies in 1919, was appointed its director" (Anon. 1966).

published in the first issue of the Association's journal in which he also cited Mejía for his contribution (Means 1939).

A much more detailed review of this work was later published in the *American Anthropologist*. In part, the reviewer wrote:

It is unnecessary to comment on the merits, whether ethnological or literary, of the source material from which the booklet recently published by Tello . . . is drawn. . . . Means qualifies Poma's chronology as "absurd" and the illustrations of the original as "atrocious". However . . . [we] feel very much indebted to the initiative of Dr. Tello in now rendering into readable Spanish this extract from the inedited document. . . . Dr. Tello's interpretive essay . . . gives an interesting picture of the post-Conquest Indian mind. . . . Now for the first time these legends are made completely intelligible to the modern readers through the efforts of Dr. Tello and the collaboration of Toribio Mejia Xesspe, who, with a rare feeling for exact shades of meaning, has translated into Spanish the expressions of indigenous origin which occur in the original. An especially valuable feature of this booklet is the inclusion of Mejia's fourteen-page vocabulary giving the racial affiliations, grammatical constructions, and Spanish translations of those terms. No little credit for the pleasing effect of this publication is due to Pedro Rojas Ponce and Hernán Ponce Sánchez for the five beautiful woodcuts which parallel . . . the five "atrocious" . . . originals (Wells 1940:510–511).

To recap, by mid-July, Vaillant, who was apparently on vacation, was informed by a colleague at the AMNH that Tello had not submitted the second part of his report. Yet, Tello had written to Lothrop around this time

to apologize for his tardiness, explaining he had been ill, and that he had found it necessary to focus his attention on his Magdalena Vieja museum. Tello also told Lothrop about of the upcoming meetings of the International Congress of Americanists, saying he would be attending the first session to be held in Mexico City as Peru's delegate, and that, as a member of the organizing committee, he was pushing to have both him (Lothrop) and Tozzer sent special invitations to attend the second session in Lima as representatives of the IAR.

Tello had been very busy throughout this period. There was a reorganization of departmental boards of archaeology that Tello and Valcárcel would have been involved in writing. Tello had attended the Mexico City meeting of the congress and had presented a paper at a session attended by Kroeber, in which he had discussed the monolithic statues that he had unearthed at Cerro Sechín. In addition to Kroeber, he would likely have interacted with other attending members of the IAR such as Strong and Vaillant. While Tello was in Mexico, Kidder II and his wife were in Lima interacting in a positive way with Valcárcel, Giesecke, and Muelle.

Uhle had arrived in Lima in early September, just before Lothrop, who arrived accompanied by his wife and Richardson. During the week the congress was held, Tello had led tours to the ruins of Cajamarquilla and Pachacamac, and he had hosted a reception for delegates and their families at the Magdalena Vieja museum. It seems likely that Tello and his staff at this museum, and perhaps even the museum at the university, had worked hard to put together special exhibits for the congress. In any case, Lothrop, Richardson, Soriano, Muelle, Mejía, Carrión, Pardo, Franco, Vaillant, Uhle, and Tello had all given papers during archaeological sessions of the meeting. In his paper, Tello had promoted the idea of an independent develop-

ment of civilization in Peru, in stark contrast with Uhle's idea that ancient Peruvian civilization owed its origin to Asiatic influences. After the meeting, Tello had led a group of delegates on a tour of the Central Coast and up into the highland Callejón de Huaylas. As a result, he had left Mejía and an artist to work at Katák.

Then Tello had hosted a meeting at his home. Discussions had resulted in the decision to form the Peruvian Archaeological Association. Tello, Valcárcel, and Soriano were elected to an overseeing board, while Franco was elected to head an executive committee. This meeting served to bring together the Tello and Valcárcel camps in a joint endeavor. Yet Tello still found time to publish a report on the first leg of the 1937 Marañón Expedition that focused on sites on the Central Coast. Of particular interest is the fact that Tello reported he had found Chavín type pottery at the site of Supe, a place that he described as having been the home of agriculturists, in contrast to Uhle's earlier description of it as having been the home of primitive fishermen.

During this period, Tello had remained in contact with both Kroeber and Lothrop, while Tozzer was apparently only briefly in contact with Vaillant. Tozzer, as its president, wanted to know how the IAR could financially help the Harvard ethnologist Tschopik, who was married to Marion Hutchinson of the Peabody Museum, and who would be undertaking work in Peru. Finally, it was at this time that Leland, who was a member of the American National Committee on International Cooperation, had arrived in Lima.

On 3 November Tello and Valcárcel met at the Museum of Anthropology to resolve the matter of transferring collections of artifacts from the National Museum's Department of Archaeology. The following specific points were discussed and agreed to in a memorandum

signed by both parties: (1) the process of transference of the Paracas and Nazca collections would be completed; (2) the collections would be transferred to the Museum of Anthropology; (3) with the concurrence of both parties, from these collections and others still at the National Museum those most representative would be selected to remain at the National Museum for the purpose of exhibition; (4) the decisions made (by Tello and Valcárcel) would be made official by both parties; (5) representatives of the two institutions would meet at set intervals to discuss technical matters regarding the preservation, conservation, and exhibition of archaeological artifacts; (6) the signees of the document, Tello and Valcárcel, and their respective institutions were in complete solidarity and harmony for the benefit of the scientific interests of the State. Subsequently, date unknown, Tello and Valcárcel signed a second memorandum of agreement regarding the exhibition of archaeological artifacts at their respective museums (Tello and Mejía 1967:224– 225).

On 18 November the government issued Supreme Resolution No. 643 in which it designated special funding for the Museum of Anthropology, for the purpose of enlarging its facility and installing in its two corridors a series of glass display cases (*ibid.*:225).

On the same day, the 18th, Tello wrote to Lothrop and began by telling him about his trip to the Callejón de Huaylas following the meeting the International Congress of Americanists. He told him he had found Chavín pottery at Katák and that at the ruins of Pomakayán near Huaraz he had also found pieces of Chavín pottery that had been left by looters. Hence, he went on, he had decided to leave Mejía in the Callejón to conduct additional work.¹⁸⁹ Next

Tello told Lothrop he was actively working on his Marañón expedition report, and said he wanted to begin his reporting with what he had found at Sechín, Moxeke, Pallka, and Kumbemayo where he had discovered remains of the Chavín culture. He then told Lothrop he was thinking about making a short trip the second half of December to Pallasca, where he thought there were other sites he could discuss in his report. He followed this by reminding Lothrop that they had discussed the matter of his report, and that he had at that time said he wanted the IAR to set aside the money for publication for four months. That being the case, Tello told Lothrop, he wanted returned to him the packet he had sent to Vaillant containing text and photographs.

Tello then turned to a discussion of what was happening in Peru politically. He told Lothrop that the Benavides government had set into motion a reorganization of its national

Antropología, Lima, under the direction of Julio C. Tello. Volume two of the series *Inca* (volume one, 1923) appeared in 1938. Dr. and Mrs. Alfred Kidder, II, of the Peabody Museum, Harvard University, spent six months excavating near Pucara, Puno, in the southern highlands of Peru. This area has long been recognized as an important center, but no excavating has been previously reported. The ceramics, metal works, architecture, and carved monoliths of Pucara bear definite relationship with Tiahuanaco and Chiripa in Bolivia, but none the less have distinctive characteristics of their own. Likewise some resemblance to the early Nazca coast style cannot be overlooked. Kidder uncovered some stratigraphy, with an early classical period followed by a cruder pottery in turn followed by Inca-ware. The detailed report of these excavations is in preparation. Julio C. Tello of the Universidad Mayor de San Marcos, Lima, made another survey trip to the Callejón de Huaylas where he discovered Chavin type ceramics in quantity near Huaraz and Caraz. This is the first discovery of Chavin material in the Callejón in spite of the geographic proximity of the two regions. Tello has advanced greatly in his preparation of the materials from his previous expeditions. A new museum in Magdalena Vieja, Lima, has been organized for displaying the Paracas and Nazca materials. The Sechín, Casma, casts of stone carving will be exhibited in the Museo de la Universidad de San Marcos" (1940:52).

¹⁸⁹ Sometime later Bennett published a synopsis of South America archaeology in the *Handbook of Latin American Studies*. He wrote in part: "Two new anthropological series were initiated in 1939 . . . and Publicaciones del Museo de

museum of archaeology, and that, as a result, he now had a new exhibition salon. He told Lothrop he felt the new government headed by Manuel Prado would be good for him, because he was the brother of Javier Prado who many years before had been the rector of San Marcos, and who had advanced his (Tello's) archaeological interests.¹⁹⁰ He then said that two weeks previously he had spoken with Leland who had expressed a strong interest in establishing connections between North and South American archaeological institutions, and that Leland had specifically spoken about scholarships. Toward this end, Tello added, he had taken it upon himself to suggest to Leland that he speak with both him (Lothrop) and Kroeber when he returned to the United States. Tello closed by asking Lothrop to give his regards to Richardson (Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology Archive, Harvard University, Samuel K. Lothrop Papers, accession no. 996-20, box 6, folder 6, correspondence).

An announcement was subsequently published in the 12 December edition of *The West Coast Leader* concerning the makeup of the new national government. In part it was reported:

The Executive and Ministerial slate now stands as follows: President of the Republic, Sr. Manuel Prado; First Vice-President, Sr. Rafael Larco Herrera . . . Minister of Foreign Affairs, Dr. Alfredo Solf y Murro, Rector of the University of San Marcos . . . Minister of Education, Dr. Pedro M. Oliveira (Anon. 1939pp).

¹⁹⁰ In the fall of 1918 Tello was awarded his doctorate from the University of San Marcos School of Science (Mejía 1964:93). Then, in November, he sought and was granted approval by the university to conduct an archaeological investigation of the Department of Ancash beginning in January 1919 (*ibid.*:97). The collections Tello obtained from this expedition, and especially at the ruins of Chavín, formed the basis for the university's new museum of archaeology with him as director. Javier Prado was at this time the rector of the university.

It will be recalled that the minister of education headed meetings of the National Board.

On 30 November *El Comercio* published a United Press report sent from Chavín on the 29th. The report dealt with the discovery late in the afternoon two days previously of a large stone feline head at the ruins of Chavín. This had occurred when a group of workers were in the process of digging up earth for the making of adobes to the east of the (principal) ruins. The stone was said to have exhibited feline canines, hook-like ears, and a large tumor on the crown of the head (topknot?). It was also stated in this report that, despite heavy rains, the governor of Chavín, who was a museum delegate and a member of the new archaeological association formed in Lima, as well as Martín Flores, had gone to the ruins to see to the care of the stone artifact. It is unclear whether Flores was the Association member being referred to, or whether a member of the Association in addition to him had been present at Chavín. Finally, left unstated was the full name of the museum, but presumably it was either the new one that had just been established at Chavín, or the one at Huaraz with which Soriano was affiliated (Anon. 1938oo).

On 14 December an editorial was published in *El Comercio* that ostensibly served to remind readers about the newly formed Association (Editor 1939c). On the 18th this daily published a report sent by the Association's regional committee in Lima on the meeting of the Association held at the San Marcos Museum of Archaeology. It was reported that, among others, Tello, Valcárcel, Carrión, Mejía, Espejo, Pulgar Vidal, Rojas, and Villar were said to have attended. At this meeting, the regional committee of Lima was organized and made up of resident members, and Tello and Rojas were chosen to act as president and secretary, respectively. Next it was reported that it had been resolved at this meeting what studies the mem-

bers of the regional committee would undertake. Specifically these included (1) the study of a general and fundamental knowledge of American archaeology so as to allow members to undertake field-work; (2) the study of the methods and procedures of archaeological investigation, exploration, and excavation best adapted to the needs of Peruvian archaeology; (3) the study of historical sources in Peru with the aim of advancing archaeological knowledge; (so that members could) (4) undertake archaeological explorations and excavations in and around Lima. It was then reported that Tello had received an invitation from the Geographical Society of Lima to contribute to the preparation of an archaeological map of Peru. It was also stated it had been decided that members of the Association would be responsible for reporting on specific themes at subsequent meetings. In this regard, Tello was to give a report on the science of archaeology as it related to the advancement of human knowledge; Mejía was to report on the methods and undertakings of archaeological excavations applicable to coastal research in Peru; Pulgar Vidal was to report on the geography of ancient Peru on the basis of what could be learned from historical sources; Ponce was to give technical recommendations on the pictorial reproduction of smaller archaeological monuments; Valcárcel was to report on Spanish or Indian nationalism; Carrión was to report on historical sources of the sixteenth and seventeenth century useful for the reconstruction of the ancient territory of the Inca; Rojas was to report on the colors used in the Paracas sumptuous textiles; Espejo was to report on the archaeology of the Province of Jauja; and Villar was to report on some archaeological ruins of exceptional importance in the Lima Valley (Anon. 1939ss).

With regard to Tello and the Geographical Society of Lima, it had earlier been reported in the 15 December edition of *El Comercio* that, as an associate of this group, he had accepted the

charge of creating an archaeological map of Peru (Anon. 1939qq). Then, on the 20th, this daily published an illustrated article written by Nicolas Puga Arroyo in which he made the case for the archaeological importance of the Cajamarca region, in so doing providing some details about the megalithic canal of Kumbe-mayo. Of note, he provided a photograph of etched figures found in association with the canal, a photograph of a distinctive zigzag portion of the canal, a photograph of asymmetrically carved monoliths at the canal, and a photograph of an angular tunnel that had been cut through a monolith so that the canal could pass (Puga 1939).

On 17 December *El Comercio* published another United Press report sent from Chavín. It was dated the 16th and it stated that the community of Chavín had celebrated the naming of Flores as a member of the prestigious Association (Anon. 1939rr).

The annual meeting of the IAR took place (likely in Chicago or New York) on 28 December 1939. Subsequently the minutes of the meeting signed by Bennett were circulated. Bennett noted that he, Cole, Vaillant, Lothrop, Strong, and Kidder II, who was representing his father, were in attendance; left unstated was that Kroeber, Means, Spier, and Tozzer did not attend. Bennett noted that Cole, Vaillant, and he (all of whom were present) had been elected to serve as chairman, treasurer, and secretary, respectively for the upcoming year. Bennett then provided a brief account of the IAR's money. He noted that as of the first of January 1939, there had been a balance of \$811.50. During the year a gift of \$100 had been received from Mrs. Edward Moore and interest had accrued to the amount of \$12.04. Expenses during 1939 totaled \$25.50, leaving a balance of \$898.04 to carry over to 1940.

Bennett noted a number of decisions that had been made at the meeting. First, a grant-in-

aid in the amount of \$250 was made to Mrs. Marion Hutchinson Tschopik¹⁹¹ for the purpose of supporting an archaeological survey of the Puno region of Peru.¹⁹² Second, a grant-in-aid in the amount of \$150 was made to Franco for a report on an archaeological survey of the southern Peruvian highlands with the important proviso that Valcárcel approve the grant by letter before the money was to be sent. Third, \$500 was to be set aside to help Tello in publishing his manuscript (report on the 1937 expedition) with the proviso that the report was received by 1 May 1940. Bennett noted that Tello had submitted part of his report, and had then asked for it be sent back to him, and that (as a

result) it had been decided the money allotted to Tello could be reallocated if he did not meet the May deadline. Bennett concluded with the statement that every effort should be made to obtain the reports from Tello, Franco, and Soriano because they served as test cases to show that the IAR had correctly decided to give money to Peruvian co-workers (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

In brief, the final two months of 1939 had been very busy ones for Tello. He and Leland had discussed the possibility of coordinating the exchange of students of anthropology and archaeology between Peru and the United States, and he had suggested to Leland that he contact both Kroeber and Lothrop to begin the process of selecting candidates when he returned to the United States. Tello and Valcárcel had finally gotten together to discuss the matter of shipping to the new Museum of Anthropology the Paracas material still held at the National Museum, and, of course, Tello and his staff would have been kept busy at this Magdalena Vieja museum, given that the government had provided it with even greater funding.

Tello had written to Lothrop and told him he thought the new government headed by President Prado was going to be good for him, because he was the brother of a past rector of San Marcos who had supported his work. In addition to telling him about Leland, Tello told Lothrop that he wanted to have the first part of his report that he had submitted returned to him, because he wanted to update it.

Tello had also been very busy with the various activities of the newly formed Association, including whatever duties were involved with his new position as head of the Lima regional committee. He had also committed himself to working on an archaeological map of Peru for the Geographical Society of Lima.

¹⁹¹ "Opportunities for summer fieldwork in archeology were scarce in those days, so Harry [Tschopik] accepted an invitation . . . to try doing ethnographic work . . . in the summer of 1937. . . . This experience converted Harry to ethnology. . . . Meanwhile, with Marion Hutchinson, whom he married August 23, 1939, he assisted in the study of a mummy bundle from the Great Necropolis at Paracas, Peru. This work, done under the direction of Alfred Kidder II, reflected an interest in the Andean area which Harry owed to a course he took with Ronald L. Olson at the University of California in 1935. Harry wrote a section on the basketry remains for the still unpublished report on this mummy bundle" (Rowe 1958:133).

¹⁹² Marion Tschopik later wrote, "During the early part of 1940, my husband, Harry Tschopik, Jr., and I established ourselves . . . in the small town of Chuicoto, 19 kilometers southeast of the city of Puno, the capital of the Department of the same name in the southern highlands of Peru. During that time, my husband, financed by grants from Harvard University and the Peabody Museum of American Archaeology and Ethnology of Harvard University, made an intensive ethnological study of this Aymara Indian community. For my part, after investigating local archaeological collections, I reached the conclusion that the funds placed at my disposal by the Institute of Andean Research could best be used in making reconnaissance trips to chullpa sites around the northwestern edges of Lake Titicaca, some of which had been briefly mentioned in the literature and others of which had attracted no notice. Inasmuch as most of these sites are in remote and relatively uninhabited regions, reached by very poor roads, reconnaissance activities were limited to Sundays when my husband took a day off from his ethnological work in order to accompany me" (Tschopik 1946: vii).

As for the matter of the annual meeting of the IAR Cole, Vaillant, and Bennett had been elected to the positions of chairman, treasurer, and secretary, respectively. It had been decided to award Marion Hutchinson Tschopik, and not her husband, a grant-in-aid, indicating that it had been decided to continue to support archaeological research in Peru. It had also been decided at the meeting that members of the Institute urge Tello, Soriano, and Franco to submit their respective reports on work done in Peru.

So Tello had still not fulfilled his obligation to submit a complete report on the 1937 expedition, but it might also be pointed out that many members of the IAR appear to have become less involved in the workings of the IAR, including at least one elected to office. The names of Cole, Kidder, Means, and Spier in particular are absent from existing correspondence for the year 1939, while those of Bennett and Kroeber rarely appear. Tozzer was chairman in name only, and Lothrop, because of his special relationship with Tello, appears to have become de facto chairman as a result. It was left up to Vaillant to run the IAR. and known correspondence between him and members of the Institute, and between him and Tello is minimal. Perhaps Vaillant preferred to do his business on the phone. Then again, it may be that IAR correspondence dating to this period did not survive the passage of time particularly well. In any case, it is interesting to note that for the year 1939 neither Beale nor Bliss saw fit to continue to support the IAR, while only one new minor donor was found.

THE ASSOCIATION, THE NATIONAL BOARD, AND THE PAN AMERICAN CONGRESS

January–July 1940

A meeting of the Association was held at the San Marcos Museum of Archaeology on 2 January 1940. Among those attending were

Tello, Valcárcel, Villar, Carrión, Mejía, Espejo, Rojas, and Emilia Romero. Tello gave a talk on the place of archaeology in the field of human knowledge, in which he developed the theme of a general revision of knowledge relative to the origin and evolution of the old ideas of history as science and art. He gave a detailed account of current understandings based upon anthropology, or the scientific history of man. He enumerated and defined the sciences of physical anthropology, ethnology or social anthropology, and ethnography or geographic anthropology as a whole. Using numerous illustrations, he discussed the relation between the goals of each of these three sciences, the manner in which each science was applied in the field, the sources each of the three made use of, and the importance of each of them in coming to an understanding of Peruvian history.

Tello also spoke about human history and its more restricted usage as the history of the great modern or western civilizations that had as its source written documents, as opposed to archaeology, that sought to recover the past principally using non-written sources. Archaeology, he said, made use of recovered and restored information to support other scientific data obtained by anthropologists and natural historians in order to shed light on human life in general. After discussion, it was decided that the next meeting of the Association would take place on 2 April at which time talks would be given by Villar and Carrión (Editor 1940d:84-85).¹⁹³

On 6 January *El Comercio* reported on a lunch that was held in honor of Carlos Villarán, the interim rector of San Marcos, an event that was attended by Tello as a member of the faculty of the School of Letters (Anon. 1940a).

¹⁹³ Unfortunately, a written version of Tello's talk has never been published.

A report was published in *El Comercio* on 11 January that dealt with the growing concern that flooding of the Mosna River would endanger the ruins of Chavín. This was actually a United Press report that had been sent from Chavín the previous day, in which was also included a plea that authorities in the region petition the government to authorize funding to undertake remedial action (Anon. 1940b). Then, on the 15th, this Lima daily published what was essentially a letter to the editor in support of this plea signed by Ricardo Mariátegui Oliva, who was secretary of the Association's executive committee (Mariátegui 1940). Two less serious reports were then published in *El Comercio* on the 21st and on the 27th of January. The first dealt with the positive reaction to Tello's article on Cerro Sechín (1940a) that had been expressed in Casma (Anon. 1940c), while the second was an announcement that a tourist film dealing with the Department of Ancash was going to be shown that afternoon in Lima, a film that included views of the ruins of (Cerro) Sechín and Punkurí in the Casma and Nepeña Valleys, respectively (Anon. 1940d).

On 1 February *El Comercio* published a 31 January proclamation signed by Minister of Public Works Moreyra on behalf of President Prado. It dealt with the conflicting rights of miners and archaeologists concerning the nation's pre-Columbian sites. Specifically it was stated that, in accordance with the opinion of the pertinent branch director, the National Board had the right to determine the locales and extent of the nation's pre-Columbian cemeteries and monuments that fell within its purview, and that as a consequence, the minister of public works would issue appropriate directives (Moreyra 1940a). This was followed by an editorial published on the 2nd in support of this action (Editor 1940a). Then on 3 February this Lima daily published a report on an undated meeting of the National Board that had taken place under the chairmanship of Minister of

Education Oliveria which was attended by Tello, Valcárcel, and Villarán, the new rector of San Marcos, among others. The meeting had been held to discuss the reform law dealing with department archaeological boards, and the recent action that the government had taken against miners relative to the nation's patrimony. Special actions were adopted with regard to northern Peru. Specifically it was recommended that a supreme decree be issued to prohibit the planting of trees on archaeological terraces, and that the government act to defend the ruins of Chavín. In addition, it was decided at this meeting that a plan be made of the ruins of Cajamarquilla, and to hold the next meeting of the National Board during the first half of March (Anon. 1940e).

The installation of the Ica departmental board of archaeology was reported on in the 20 February edition of *El Comercio*. It was stated in this report that the responsibility of this board included the provinces and districts of Chincha, Pisco (Paracas), and Nazca, and that the board would be dealing with denunciations made by the prefecture regarding illegal actions made at archaeological sites (Anon. 1940f). An editorial in support of the new departmental board was published the following day (Editor 1940b).

On 13 March *El Comercio* published a United Press report that had been sent from Chavín the previous day. It was stated that locals had expressed satisfaction with a proposed law submitted by provincial representative Wenceslas Barron that dealt with the urgent need to defend the ruins of Chavín, a proposal, it was pointed out, that had been sent to the National Board (Anon. 1940g). This was followed by the publication on the 16th of a second United Press report sent the day before. It was specified in this report that Flores (a member of the Association) had petitioned the representatives of the Department of Ancash to declare Chavín an archaeological and tourist zone

because of its importance as an archaeological center of the first order (Anon. 1940h).

A Resolution dated 27 March, and signed by Moreyra on behalf of President Prado, was published in the 30 March edition of *El Comercio*. It was resolved therein that, with the recommendation of the minister of public works, Tello, who was director of the Museum of Anthropology/Institute of Anthropological Research had been authorized to work at the ruins of Pachacamac (Moreyra 1940b).

On the first day of April readers of *El Comercio* were advised that a meeting of the Association's Lima regional committee was to take place at 8:00 P.M. the following evening at the San Marcos Museum of Archaeology. Among other items, the program was to include a paper by Villar on interesting monumental sites in the Lima Valley. Topics of discussion included the development of tourism in Peru, and its affect on conservation and archaeological field-work; whether or not regional museums should be created; and the role of private collections. Though Carrión had originally been scheduled to give a talk, no mention was made of it (Anon. 1940i). Then on 13 April, this newspaper provided a detailed report on this meeting. In addition to those who attended the meeting held in January, those in attendance included Uhle, Muelle, and Mariátegui. Homage was given to the 38th anniversary of Uhle's publication on his work at Pachacamac, and it was decided that a special issue of the Association's journal *Chaski* be dedicated to discoveries made at that site.¹⁹⁴ With regard to this journal, it was noted that contributions to the first issue would focus on presenting archaeological, ethnological, and bibliographic material. Each member of the Association was urged to contribute to the creation and maintenance of the scientific and educational prestige of the Association and its journal. Apparently, neither Villar

¹⁹⁴ No such special issue was published.

nor Carrión gave presentations. Instead, there were two other speakers. The first delivered a talk on the kinds of quipus that had been found in the Province of Canta, and this generated considerable discussion, during which Tello, Valcárcel, Carrión, and Mejía made contributions. The second speaker gave a talk on the recent discovery of stone axes in the Huallaga Basin, after which Tello made a lengthy comment during the discussion period (Anon. 1940j).¹⁹⁵

On 16 April, it was reported in *El Comercio* that a meeting of the Association's Lima regional committee was to be held at 6:00 P.M. that evening at the San Marcos Museum of Archaeology, at which time Villar would give his talk, and Mejía would talk about his recent work in the Callejón de Hualyas (Anon. 1940l). A subsequent account of this meeting was apparently not published in this daily, but an account was published in the second issue of *Chaski*. There were fewer attendees, but among those present were Tello, Valcárcel, Mejía, Uhle, Villar, Espejo, Ponce, Pulgar Vidal, and Rojas. It was at this meeting that Villar gave his paper on sites in the Lima Valley, after which principally Tello and Uhle made comments (Editor 1940e:67–69).

It was also on 16 April that *El Comercio* published on the Eighth American Scientific Congress to be held in Washington D.C. beginning 10 May. Mention was made in this account that the elder Kidder would be acting as the meeting's vice-president (Anon. 1940k). On the 18th a report in this daily named the delegates that would be attending on behalf of Peru. Tello was not so named (Anon. 1940m).

Bennett wrote to Lothrop on 9 April enclosing a copy of the minutes of the meeting of the

¹⁹⁵ Essentially the same information about this meeting was published by the editor on pages 63-66 in the second issue of *Chaski* (Editor 1940e).

IAR. He went on to say he had written to Tello (date and specific contents unknown) to thank him for the publications he had sent (through Strong), and said he had been glad to see him in Chicago at Christmas (at the meeting of the IAR). Bennett mentioned his planned move to New Haven (Yale University) and he ended by asking Lothrop if he had received a copy of his report on the North Coast of Peru and, if not, saying that he would send him a copy (Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology Archive, Harvard University, Samuel K. Lothrop Papers, accession no. 996-20, box 6, folder 1, Institute of Andean Research).¹⁹⁶

Strong wrote to Kidder II on 17 April. Strong began by asking him if he could stay with him and his wife the weekend of 20 April, so that he could look over their travel itinerary (for their upcoming trip to Peru), adding he had already spoken with Bennett about the matter. He then said he was about to make reservations on the Chilean Line for his round trip to Peru, to depart on 1 June, and then return on 10 September. He had chosen this line, he told Kidder, because it was less expensive than the (Peruvian) Grace Line, but would appreciate his thoughts on the matter. Then Strong reminded Kidder that Richardson had told him that he (Strong) needed someone to act as guide both inside and outside Lima. Strong characterized his Spanish as lousy, hence one reason for his need of a guide. He went on to inquire whether one of either Valcárcel's or Tello's assistants would fit the bill, specifically reminding Kidder of his suggestion that Muelle would do, but then Strong wondered whether Muelle's English was sufficiently good (National Anthropological Archive, Smithsonian Institution, William D. Strong Papers, correspondence). Kidder II wrote

back the following day, and began by saying he and his wife would be delighted with his company any weekend other than the upcoming one of April 19–22, because his father would be visiting. He next addressed the issue of the two steamship lines, and agreed that the Chilean one was the better. He then agreed that Muelle's English was not very good, and instead suggested Garro, who had assisted Bennett when he was working in the highlands of the Department of Ancash, adding that none of Tello's assistants would fit the bill. He then said both Muelle and Garro worked at the National Museum, and in the event they could not get away, his next suggestion would be Giesecke who worked at the American embassy. In any case, he told Strong, he should write to Valcárcel and say he was coming to Peru and, hence, give him the opportunity to suggest someone to act as his guide. This way, Kidder explained to Strong, Valcárcel would feel that he had come up with the idea, and he would essentially have begun the process of selection before he arrived in Lima. Kidder closed by asking Strong if he planned to attend the meeting of the Pan American Congress to be held in Washington (National Anthropological Archive, Smithsonian Institution, William D. Strong Papers, correspondence).

The meeting of the Eighth Pan American Congress was held in Washington, D.C. during the period 10–18 May. As assistant curator of Andean archaeology of Harvard's Peabody Museum, Kidder II presented a paper entitled, "Speculations on Andean Origins."

In part Kidder stated in (the published version of) his paper:

A fundamental problem facing Americanists today is that of the origins of the high cultures of the Andean area . . . On the basis of present knowledge, it seems reasonable to believe that at some time

¹⁹⁶ Bennett was referring to his 1939 publication entitled, *Archaeology of the North Coast of Peru: An Account of Exploration and Excavation in Viru and Lambayeque Valleys* that was published as volume 37 of the AMNH anthropological papers series (Bennett 1939b).

many centuries before the earliest phases of Nazca, Chimú, Ancón, Chavín and Tiahuanaco, hunting, or more probably hunting and gathering peoples, entered the Andean area from Central America. . . . The weight of botanical evidence, however, seems to leave the coast of Perú, and probably the coasts to the north and south as well, in what [Carl] Sauer has termed a "Colonial" position. We may then speculate as to whether the eastern lowlands of the Amazon-Orinoco drainage, or the Chaco, the valleys of the montaña region or the true highlands first harboured our incipient farmers. . . . The first advances may have taken place in the lowlands of the Amazon basin. . . . The coast itself in spite of its dearth of important native staples was still, however, capable of supporting a fishing population. . . . Shell heaps and fishing village sites have been incredibly neglected. Between Nazca and Arica the coast is virtually unexplored archaeologically. . . . I was frankly disappointed at my failure to discover anything at Pucara older than the classic Tiahuanaco chronological level, but I am not as yet prepared to state that the possibility of early highlanders, even in the Titicaca basin, must be rejected. . . . The importance of the eastern valleys has been stressed by various investigators, particularly Tello, and they have been the subject of much speculation. Their constant mention in hypotheses of origins insistently calls for their examination (Kidder 1942:161–167).

As director of the University of San Marcos Archaeological Museum, as a member of the board of directors of the Peruvian-North American Cultural Institute, and as (director) of the Institute of Anthropological Research (Museum of Anthropology), Tello sent a paper to be read at the Washington meeting. His paper dealt with the need to found an inter-American

Institute of Andean Archaeology. In part he wrote (in his published version) that in the upper basins of the Marañón, Huallaga, and Ucayali Rivers contiguous to the Amazonian jungle, the remains of an advanced stone culture had been found that had no parallel in South America. He stated that two phases of this culture had been determined, the earliest Chavín and the later Recuay. Tello then stated that, in light of recent investigations, Chavín sites had been found in the Nepeña and Casma Valleys, and an advanced culture had also been found at Paracas, and that all these discoveries indicated a wide connection between early coastal and highland cultures.

Tello then turned his attention to the topic at hand. He began by saying South American universities had not yet organized the teaching of professional archaeology. Unlike the United States, he went on, there were no schools or departments set up to prepare students to become professional archaeologists, to work in museums and in the field. Tello admonished South American governments for not passing laws to protect antiquities, this despite the fact that sites were being infringed upon by farmers; ruins were seen as sources for building material; artifacts were being treated as mere curiosities to be collected; and tourism was being advanced at the expense of science. Tello concluded by recommending that the congress propose that the governments of South America, through the intermediary of the Pan American Union, found a school or institute of inter-American Andean archaeology to meet annually at places contiguous to the (host nation's) most important archaeological centers. This would be done with the goal of conserving, investigating, and propagating knowledge related to the inter-Andean area, to coordinate uniform studies, and to prepare scientific personnel so that they could take charge of such work in the future (1942a: 335–337).

On 8 May, a report was published in Lima's *El Comercio* that dealt with the activities of an expedition headed by the American Paul Fejos¹⁹⁷ who was about to begin an exploration of the Madre de Dios River Basin in the Department of Cusco (Anon. 1940n). This was followed by a second such report published in this daily on the 9th (Anon. 1940o). Then on the 10th, this newspaper published yet a third such report dealing with this expedition (Anon. 1940p).

Tello visited the ruins of Pachacamac during the morning of 12 May with Carrión and a North American female student (Mejía 2009b: 15). He began work at Pachacamac the next day with four members of his staff, Mejía, Espejo, Luis Ccosi (Salas),¹⁹⁸ and Cirilio Huapaya,¹⁹⁹ as well as 27 workmen. This was an initial reconnaissance of the site, and Tello divided his workers into small groups, each under the direction of a museum employee. Exploratory cuts were made by each group to expose stratigraphic layers (Galván *et al.* 1953:100).

A meeting of the Association took place at the San Marcos Museum of Archaeology on 16 May. Although apparently not reported on in *El*

Comercio, an account was provided in the second issue of *Chaski*. Among those in attendance were Tello, Uhle, Valcárcel, Villar, Carrión, Mejía, Mariátegui, Espejo, Muelle, Ponce, Pulgar Vidal, and Rojas. Mejía gave a talk on Inca keros found in the southern highlands that elicited comments from Tello and Uhle, while a second talk on mummies that had been found in funerary caverns prompted a discussion in which Carrión, Villa, Mejía, and Tello participated (Editor 1940e:70–76).

On 18 May Tello and his team undertook a reconnaissance of the great plaza found at the foot of and on the northwest side of Pachacamac's Temple of the Sun. This led to the discovery on the 20th of a chamber constructed with stone slabs of the same quality and type as had been found on the surface. Then on the 22nd Mejía discovered evidence for an aqueduct (Galván *et al.* 1953:100–101).

On 23 May *El Comercio* reported that the Wenner-Gren archaeological expedition²⁰⁰ headed by Fejos²⁰¹ had departed from the City of Cusco (Anon. 1940q). On the 29th it was similarly reported in this daily that, due to recent seismic activity, the buildings of the National Museum were closed to the public for repairs (Anon. 1940r).

¹⁹⁷ "Paul Fejos was born in Budapest, Hungary. He was a Hussar cavalry officer but changed mounts to the airplane in the First World War. After wartime service, he attended the Royal Hungarian Medical University, where he received his medical degree. The years 1923 to 1926 were spent at the Rockefeller Institute for Medical Research in New York. He left this for motion pictures in Hollywood, following an earlier interest in Budapest. After his quarrel with Universal, he returned to Europe and eventually began to make ethnological films" (Solecki 1964:81).

¹⁹⁸ The artist Luis Ccosi Salas worked at the Chichén Museum for three years prior to beginning his work for Tello in 1940 (Anon. 1955). Mejía Xesspe had been the one to suggest that he work for Tello, because he needed a sculptor (Barrig 1978:8).

¹⁹⁹ The artist Cirilio Huapaya Manco began working for Tello in 1940 at the suggestion of his friend and fellow artist Pedro Rojas Ponce (Rosello Truel 1987).

²⁰⁰ The following was published in the 7 February 1939 edition of *The West Coast Leader*: "Mr. Axel L. Wenner Gren, Swedish capitalist, founder of the famous 'Electrolux' system of refrigeration, who arrived at Callao recently aboard his private yacht the 'Southern Cross', sailed on the 5th inst., for Panama and Miami. . . . During their stay at Callao, a ball and dinner were given on board the 'Southern Cross' to prominent members of the foreign colony and high Peruvian officials" (Anon. 1939f).

²⁰¹ Fejos "became associated with Wenner-Gren, whom he met in southeast Asia on one of his ethnological film-making trips. . . . Fejos saved Wenner-Gren from a charging tiger on a hunting trip, bonding their friendship" (Solecki 1964:81).

Tello wrote to Richardson at the Carnegie Institute in Washington D.C. on 30 May. He began by telling him it had been about a week since he had begun work at Pachacamac with unemployed laborers supplied by the government. He went on to say he had begun his work at the site by digging a number of deep pits on the north side of the Temple of the Sun, and at the same time he had made a reconnaissance of the entire site. In the pits and on the plain, he went on, he had found remains of many stone houses. He had also discovered in a small mound in front of the Temple of the Moon a stone chamber made of stone cut in the Cusco style, and, he continued, just three days past he had found, essentially on the north margin of the ruins, an aqueduct constructed of stone and clay oriented toward the east that, to judge from the covering layers of earth, dated to pre-Incan times. Tello then told Richardson that due to a recent earthquake, he had been forced to temporarily stop his work at Pachacamac. He closed by telling him he hoped he would have the occasion to return to Peru (Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology Archive, Harvard University, Samuel K. Lothrop Papers, accession no. 996-20, box 6, folder 6, correspondence).

Sometime after mid-May the inaugural issue of *Chaski* was published by the Association's editorial staff consisting of Tello, Carrión, and Emilia Romero. On the cover was the drawing of an Incan runner blowing into a conch horn. In his one-page prologue Tello essentially stated that the title of the journal served to explain the reason for its being. Like the legendary messengers that ran the length of the Incan Empire and served to fortify national unity and solidarity, he explained, the journal sought to share, in a modest way, what the members of the new Peruvian community had learned about the nation's past, as they attempted to reconstruct Peru's true history. The journal, Tello continued, would provide information related to the scientific study of Man in Peru as a social com-

munity, provide information related to the origin of the country's nationbuilding, and provide information related to the laws and principles that had governed Peruvian civilization. Lastly, he said, the journal would divulge basic information about the history of the country's four regions that had made up the old Mother Land, and of the race that had left an artistic and monumental legacy. This, he said, was its most legitimate and admirable legacy, one that served to demonstrate how great and prosperous it was, a heritage that Peru would always be proud of, and one that would be an example and inspiration for present and future generations (Tello 1940c).²⁰²

This first issue of the Association's journal provided a written summary of its by-laws and of the various meetings that had taken place, including a synopsis of the papers that had been presented, and the discussions that had followed. The journal also provided a place for members to publish field reports and studies of an archaeological nature (Editor 1940d:78–86). For example, Mejía (1940:18–24) reported on two Recuay sites that he had recently excavated in the Callejón de Huaylas. Carrión (1940:49–70) reported on her study of a litter recently found in the Huaura Valley on the Central Coast, and Tello (1940d:27–48) reported on a stone vase that had been found in the Nazca Valley on the South Coast.

To summarize Tello's contribution, he began by saying the Chavín and Recuay cultures had

²⁰² Lothrop later wrote, "The real key to Tello's character lay in his love of Peru. He developed not a nationalistic or outspoken patriotism, but a keen understanding of the land and a deep devotion to its inhabitants. To him his country was essentially Indian and his desire was to improve the Indian way of life. . . . As an archaeologist, Tello believed that Peruvians of all classes must realize with pride that their country contains the seeds of greatness as demonstrated by a series of brilliant autochthonous civilizations, which may be compared favorably with contemporary cultures anywhere in the world" (1948:53).

begun in the inter-Andean Marañón, Huallaga, and Santa Basins, and from this area had spread to the coast and throughout the northern highlands. In the south, he said, other cultural centers had developed in the inter-Andean Paucartambo, Urubamba, and Titicaca Basins, and from this region they had spread northward and to the coast. As for the central area, he continued, there were also inter-Andean basin cultures connected with those of the north and those of the south which gave birth to the Paracas culture, one of America's most advanced. Tello went on to say he had found evidence for Chavín-like artifacts at Paracas in 1925, at Wari, Ayacucho in 1931, and at Pukará in 1935. After providing details, he then focused on the artifact under discussion that he said provided evidence for the movement to the southern coast of an old and advanced megalithic highland culture.

Tello began this part of his article by saying that, at the close of 1928, a collection of Nazca artifacts on sale in Lima had been brought to his attention. This consisted of thirty artifacts belonging to the known *huaquero* Eliseo Galindo that was purchased by the Museum of Peruvian Archaeology (directed by Tello) for 300 soles on 30 December 1928. It was learned that Galindo had overseen the excavation of tombs at the ruins of Kawachi in the Nazca Valley. One artifact in the collection was the focus of Tello's paper. This was a cylindrical stone vase with an annular base that weighed 1775 grams and had a number of small chips at the lip. Of particular interest was the incised design consisting of two mythological beings on the well-polished exterior of the vessel. These beings were similar monsters or demons, that is, idealized and humanized felines, the tongues and lower extremities of which were converted into serpents, and from the necks and backs of which emerged other serpents. While similar, Tello went on, there were differences. One of the two demons had long serpent-like appendages that emerged

from its temple, and had a reduced or symbolic head attached to a chord hanging from its hands, while the other lacked the temple appendages and had a head or masked head suggestive of a trophy head attached to a chord hanging from its hands.

After providing a description of the vessel's decoration, Tello went on to discuss similarities between these figures shown on the vessel and the figures shown on the famous Chavín Obelisk found at the ruins of Chavín. He followed this with a discussion of the differing thoughts he and Kroeber had about pre-Nazca culture. He concluded by saying the Chavín, Wari, Pukará, and Paracas cultures all came from a (mother) Andean trunk, and this led him to conclude that Chavín civilization was an early product of the development of these cultures. Tello then admitted that he was, at that time, unable to say whether Chavín preceded Recuay, although he thought that it did.²⁰³ Next Tello stated that, in 1937, when he undertook his Marañón expedition, he had presumed Chavín and Recuay had a common origin, and had developed simultaneously—one (Chavín) developing contiguous to the tropical forest, and the other (Recuay) developing contiguous to the coast. Chavín art, he continued, was principally stone, and he was inclined to think it had been preceded by one principally in wood. After describing Chavín megalithic culture in general, he stated he could tentatively perceive great steps in the development of a pan-Andean Chavín art based on an idealized feline that converted into a monster, and that incorporated both human and feline victims.

The two figures represented on the stone vase under consideration, Tello continued, were

²⁰³ It was only later, in the final published version of the paper, that Tello had sent to be read at the meeting of the Eighth Pan American Congress held in Washington, D.C., that Tello announced in print that Chavín dated earlier than Recuay (1942a:335).

the same type seen on the Chavín Obelisk and on Paracas Cavernas artifacts in general, and especially on textiles. In Cavernas art, he repeated from an earlier discussion, there was a mixture of both Chavín and Recuay elements, whose confusion or amalgam served as the model for what he characterized as the diabolical derivative representations in Paracas art, in general, and those in pre-Nazca art. Hence, he surmised, the Nazca stone vase under consideration ought to be placed between Chavín and Paracas Cavernas, because it was a link that united inter-Andean art with Cavernas art. That is, the artifact was an indication of a new (previously unknown) Central Andean stone culture. Tello concluded by saying the discoveries he had discussed proved Chavín remains found on the coast were peripheral manifestations of the expansion of the inter-Andean Chavín culture, and, therefore, the most ancient thus known for the region. As for the stone vase, it was a very illustrative revelation of the existence of a fundamental inter-Andean stone culture that had migrated to the coast, a culture that originated pre-Nazca culture in the Nazca Valley. It was for this reason, Tello said, that further research on this part of the coast was needed.

In its 5 June edition *El Comercio* published a report in which it was stated that authorities needed to be aware that ruins in the District of Cascas, Province of Cajamarca were being vandalized by looters (Anon. 1940s). Then, readers were informed on the 18th, of the death of an artist in Huaraz whom Tello had employed to prepare drawings of the ruins of Chavín (Anon. 1940t). On the 26th readers were updated on the activities of the Wenner-Gren expedition, including the discovery of a site fifty kilometers from the mouth of the Colorado River. This information was given in a United Press report sent from Puerto Maldonado, Peru's eastern-most departmental capital (Anon. 1940v). Other such United Press reports re-

ceived from Maldonado were later published in the July 2nd (Anon. 1940w) and July 12th (Anon. 1940x) editions of this newspaper.

It was in the 23 June edition of *El Comercio* that readers were given a report on actions taken at recent (undated) meetings of the National Board. Established were the Commission for the Inspection of Museums and Archaeological Artifacts and the Commission for the Inspection, Conservation and Registration of Archaeological Monuments. The first commission would be in control of all existing antiquities in Peru, while the second would be responsible for the immediate supervision of archaeological ruins, including their registration and preservation, as well as control of all explorations and excavations in the country. Among those elected to the first commission was Valcárcel, while Tello was elected to the second commission. In other business, the National Board decided to ask the Ministry of Education to act in defense of the ruins of Chavín, to prohibit the planting of trees at archaeological sites, and to restrict both urban and agricultural encroachment at archaeological sites. In addition it was decided to ask the minister of education to employ engineers in the making of plans of the ruins of Cajamarquilla and Vista Allegre (in the Lima Valley), to appoint Franco as inspector of monuments, to conduct reconnaissance and dig test pits at the ruins of San Pedro Mama, to begin the restoration of the Huaquerones *chullpa*, to have the members of the board visit the ruins of Pachacamac, in light of Tello's report on his work there, and to pass on to the Monuments Commission information that had been submitted by the various departmental boards (Anon. 1940u).

The following report was later published without pagination in the August edition of *Turismo*:

Cultural relations between the United States and Peru have received a most significant impulse as a result of the recent action of San Marcos University of Lima, which established this year a Summer School course for United States university students. The School was inaugurated officially on July 9, 1940. Fifty-five university students from the United States came to Peru to attend classes. Twelve courses were provided . . . [including] Archaeology of Peru, by Professor Julio C. Tello; [and] Economic Geography of South America, by Professor Albert A. Giesecke. . . . Seven of these courses were given in Spanish and five in English. Outlines of these courses were printed in Spanish and in English, and furnished to the students at the moment of registration. Furthermore a calendar of events was also . . . printed and distributed at the same time. These events included excursions to the archaeological ruins in the Chillón Valley (Pre-Inca highway, the La Capilla cemetery, La Ventanilla Cave); the Paramonga Fortress; the historic site of the Divinity of Pachacamac, at which place astounding discoveries are being made. . . . The students were received by the President of the Republic, Dr. Manuel Pardo (Anon. 1940ss).

A report on the visit to the Chillon Valley was published in the 12 July edition of *El Comercio*. It was noted in this report that both summer school students and students from the University of San Marcos had taken part, and that Giesecke had served as guide (Anon. 1940x). Around this time, it was reported in the August issue of *Turismo*:

The students had an opportunity to walk on an elevated pre-Inca highway—one of the few still extant in Peru, in such fair condition. Shortly thereafter, the students had an excellent opportunity to roam over

an extensive pre-Inca cemetery, on the surface of which were scattered the human remains and artefacts of the people that had been buried here, and which treasure hunters have been ransacking during the last four centuries (Anon. 1940ss).

On 27 July, the following report was published in *The New York Times*:

That Nelson Rockefeller, son of John D. Rockefeller, Jr., would enter government service was hinted at today when he called on President Roosevelt. He said that his visit was at Mr. Roosevelt's request and that the principal topic was Latin America. He indicated that he would accept some post here (Anon. 1940ii).²⁰⁴

To summarize, Strong and Kidder II corresponded. We learn from this that the former was in the early stage of planning to travel to Peru, while the latter was about to return there with his wife. Strong was clearly concerned about his ability to communicate in Spanish, and wanted to know if the younger Kidder could help him select a guide who was connected with either Valcárcel or Tello. Kidder said outright Tello's people would be of no help, and, instead, suggested someone connected with Valcárcel, specifically Garro, who had worked with Bennett.

²⁰⁴ At "the end of June, Roosevelt made it known that he was naming a special assistant to grapple with the government's entire Latin American program. This assistant was a wealthy New Yorker with impeccable ties to the business world. . . . James Forrestal. . . . In early July he phoned Nelson Rockefeller: would Rockefeller be willing to come down to Washington for a chat. . . . The creation of a coordinator separate from the State Department was bound to appeal to the President. Roosevelt had always been disposed toward setting up new agencies. . . . By July 15, Rockefeller had tossed aside his misgivings and decided to accept the position. . . . He asked Forrestal to arrange a meeting with the President the following week" (Reich 1996:180–185).

Except for Bennett's letter, date and contents unknown, there appears to have been no formal communication with Tello at this time on the part of the members of the IAR, but Tello did write to Richardson and told him about discoveries he had recently made at Pachacamac. In addition to working at this site, Tello was teaching American summer school students, doing serious behind the scenes work on behalf of the National Board, and taking part in the activities of the Association. At the same time, he was involved with the publication of the inaugural issue of the Association's journal.

Tello's special interest in the ruins of Chavín would have been sparked by the proposal sent by a member of the senate to the National Board to protect these ruins. Tello published an article in *Chaski* in which he used a unique stone artifact discovered by a looter at a site in the Nazca Valley to support his theory that during Chavín times there had been significant interaction between highland and coastal cultures. In this article, Tello admitted he was unsure if Chavín pre-dated Recuay, but thought it did. Tello sent a paper to be read at the Washington D.C. meeting of the 8th Pan American Conference, in which he both advanced his ideas about Chavín, and also proposed the foundation of an Institute of Inter-American Andean Archaeology. Kidder II is known to have attended this meeting, and to have presented a paper, in which he admitted how difficult it was to work in Peru, and essentially conceded that Tello was right when he said that in order to understand the archaeology of Peru one had to understand the interrelationships of groups living in its three zones, the western coastal valleys, the inter-Andean valleys, and the eastern tropical valleys.

Finally, the museum and monuments commissions created by the Board essentially put Valcárcel in control of existing collections of artifacts in Peru, while placing Tello in charge of

the nation's ruins/sites, as well as explorations and excavations of the same.

DUAL FOCUS ON PACHACAMAC AND CHAVIN

July–September 1940

On 14 July a United Press report sent the previous day from Chavín was published in *El Comercio*. It was stated in this report that Strong, a teacher at the University of Illinois (actually Columbia University) and Garro of the National Museum were studying the ruins of Chavín, and that upon completion they had expressed their wonder of the ruins as well as the need for the government to give them special attention (Anon. 1940z).²⁰⁵

Two days later, on the 16th, this newspaper published a report on discoveries made by Tello at Pachacamac. This was a fairly lengthy report that provided the reader with the history of the ruins from the time of the early Spanish encounters and a discussion of modern work beginning with the excavations of Uhle at the turn of the century. This was followed by a reminder that it was in conjunction with the upcoming Pan American Congress held at the end of 1938 that the government had authorized work at the site, in order to make it presentable to visiting delegates, and that this work had led to various discoveries. Then the author turned his discussion to Tello and the fact that for three months, as head of the Museum of Archaeology (Anthropology), he had been working at the site on behalf of the government, noting that the government had provided Tello with 25–30 workers.

Next the author stated that one of the newspaper's editors (and others apparently) had

²⁰⁵ It should be noted here that in 1939 Garro published an archaeological guide for the Department of Ancash, something that certainly would have added to his value as a traveling companion in this part of Peru.

visited the site the previous afternoon. At Pachacamac two identified members of the Civil Guard had prevented them from entering the area under excavation, on orders from Tello. Once the visitors had showed their credentials, however, they were allowed entry, with the proviso that they not disturb the ongoing work. The guards let it be known that Tello usually arrived around four in the afternoon. In fact, he did arrive at this time and courteously showed the visitors places they had not yet seen. At this time, Tello told them he had preferred that the work being done by personnel of the Museum of Anthropology not be publicized until it had proceeded further. He also told them that the thirty workers being employed daily were being diligently overseen by his museum staff, naming Mejía, Espejo, and Ccosi.

Tello then gave them a tour of the site, indicating along the way where test pits had been sunk. They then arrived at the terraces of the Temple of the Sun where a small stone staircase with eight steps had been uncovered, at the end of which it met a stone wall forming a right angle with another stone wall rising to its left. The lower part of the staircase, the writer went on, consisted of marvelously cut blocks of stone and, in fact, the wall of cut stone appeared to extend some 50 meters north-south to the right in the direction of the shore where it then went more than 120 meters to the left. The well-cut stone wall was made of blocks measuring up to 60 centimeters long by 30 centimeters wide by 30 centimeters high and the blocks had been made using a construction technique that Tello said was similar to what had been used in the Department of Cusco which was the center of the Inca empire.

At this point the writer made mention of the fact that Tello had discovered the ruins of a Chavín temple at Cerro Sechín in the Casma Valley, the stone walls of which were different than those that had been found at Pachacamac.

Then, after saying that in some places the uncovered Pachacamac stone wall was as high as one and a half meters, he said a number of wall corners, as well as evidence of a corridor, had been found. The writer stated that in some places another less well made wall of simple cut stone had been built atop the well-cut stone wall. Left unsaid was that all these discoveries had been made at, or adjacent to, the Temple of the Sun.

Then the author commented that elsewhere at Pachacamac well-cut stone walls had recently been found, but provided no details as to their construction. He stated that other older walls (at this general locale) had been built of adobe. Next the writer said they were led (by Tello) to a sector under excavation, where a great patio with a stone floor and stone walls had been found, and where there also had been found stone corridors and habitations. The writer then said in the center of this patio a square cut-stone reservoir measuring ten meters on each side had been discovered, referring readers to one of two photographs accompanying the article.²⁰⁶ The writer continued, there had been found two stone canals about forty centimeters wide, that had been broken in places, suggesting that they had served the reservoir. As yet, the author continued, neither human remains, nor artifacts had been found at this locale. After saying that Tello had said those who had built the well-cut stone wall had lived about 2,000 years past, the author ended by saying the visit to Pachacamac had concluded at 5:30 P.M., after which Tello and his collaborators had been thanked (Anon. 1940aa).

²⁰⁶ The second photograph accompanying the article shows an inside view of a corner of the wall made of well cut stones. This photograph also appears to provide evidence for a portion of the wall made of well-cut stones atop which was constructed another, cruder, wall made of simple cut stones.

The following day, 17 July, *El Comercio* published an editorial that dealt with the article just discussed. The editor referenced Tello's discovery of the Chavín Cerro Sechín temple, repeated Tello's statement to his visitors that the stone walls of this temple had been constructed differently than those he had uncovered at Pachacamac, characterized Tello as an expert in archaeology, and echoed his statement that the walls at Pachacamac were 2,000 years old. After repeating other comments that Tello had made to his visitors, the editor wrote that American pre-Columbian history had been completely changed (Editor 1940c).

Then, in its afternoon edition on 17 July, this newspaper published a series of seven photographs taken of the recent architectural discoveries made at Pachacamac. According to the captions for each, one was of a stone staircase leading to the lower terraces of the site; a second was a panoramic view of the ruins at the center of which was a reservoir full of water; a third showed one of the aqueducts thought to bring water to this reservoir; a fourth showed enormous blocks of cut stone found in ruins recently unearthed by Tello; a fifth provided a view of the wall made of these enormous blocks of stone; a sixth showed evidence for the construction of a later wall made of irregular stones that had been built upon the wall made of well-cut stone; while a seventh served to show how perfectly the enormous blocks fit into the wall (Anon. 1940bb).

The results of an interview with Tello were published in *El Comercio* on 18 July. Readers were provided with three new photographs. Again according to the captions, the first was of a Cusco style finely cut stone wall situated on the western side of the Temple of the Virgins; the second was of a group of individuals overlooking a great cistern that had been found totally full of debris, and after the extraction of which had filled with water; and the third was of

buildings made of cut stones that had been uncovered to the east of the cistern and that had been covered by thick caps of trash and (sand that had turned into) cement.

The author of this article did not say where or when this interview took place, that is, whether this was the result of comments made by Tello during the just discussed guided tour of the ruins of Pachacamac, or as a result of a subsequent interview with Tello. However, the author did say the newspaper had received a dispatch from the museum (whether the Museum of Anthropology or the San Marcos Museum of Archaeology is left unstated) as well as copies of a cross-section and diagrams of Pachacamac that Tello was using in his San Marcos summer school course on Peruvian archaeology.

In any event, Tello answered a number of questions put to him orally or on paper. In his answers, Tello provided both details and comments. He began by saying that, at the beginning of 1940, he had engaged in discussions with the engineers Carlos Alayza and José Pflücker representing Lima's departmental unemployment board, at which time he had been asked to put together a proposal intended to point out an archaeological site of both national and scientific importance (at which unemployed workers could be put to use). After discussion, it had been decided he would first write a report on the ruins of Pachacamac, given its prestige and its proximity to Lima. Tello then stated he had frankly been unenthusiastic about the idea, because he had been convinced work at the site would provide little new information, given the extensive bibliography that existed for Pachacamac including (especially) Uhle's monumental (1903) publication on work he had done there (at the turn of the century).

However, Tello went on, with the issuance of a supreme resolution he had been designated to work at Pachacamac and, on 13 May, he had

begun this work with the assistance of 15 workers. First he had conducted a survey of the entire site utilizing experience he had gained from working at sites such as Cochabamba, Huánuco Viejo, Chan Chan, and La Barranca, along with knowledge he had gained from his study of historical records, and this experience had allowed him to locate some of Pachacamac's principal structures. From this initial field-work he had then been able to tentatively draw up a plan of the enclosures and residential areas and the great wall that extended eastward beyond the ruins.

It was at this point that Tello went off on a tangent and summarized his ideas about great walls in Peru that he felt served to unite coastal and highland religious centers. Then, after returning to the subject at hand, Tello stated he had directed his workers to start digging a number of pits, one of which had exposed a cemetery. He explained that he felt this would require a long time to excavate, and would mean he would have to shift the focus of his work at the site. So, because he had wanted to focus on Pachacamac's stone architecture, he had decided to postpone excavating the cemetery.

Tello went on to say that it was on 18 May, while workers were occupied with cleaning the north side of the Temple of the Sun where they had encountered lots of fragments of Inca pottery, that he had conducted an inspection of a mysterious plaza that Uhle had named the Pilgrim's Camp. Working along the west side of this plaza, he had found a small stone cut in the club-shaped style of Cusco among trash covering some structures that seemed to be habitations. After a careful examination, he had become convinced it was the product of the art of Cusco—something he had never expected to find at Pachacamac. He then had his workmen continue to excavate an exploratory trench at this locale and, in less than a half hour, on the

following day, a wall of well-cut stone had been exposed in the heart of an edifice above which had been built adobe structures. He quickly understood they had found a chamber built of well-cut stone and an access stairway in the center of a mound set in front of what he called the Temple of the Moon, and what Uhle had named the Temple of Pachacamac (Temple of the Virgins).

Here Tello briefly stopped his recounting of the process of discovery at Pachacamac to name Mejía, Carrión, Espejo, Ccosi, and Huapaya as his assistants, especially singling out Mejía who had found traces of a construction buried under a thick layer of trash in a cut of a mound that had been made when an access road had been built through the site. As a result, Tello said, work had then been focused along a long wall that marked the northern and western limits of the ruins, and this had resulted in the discovery of an aqueduct. This aqueduct, they came to understand, led to structures that Uhle had dubbed Las Mamaconas (the Virgins). However, Tello added, he had decided to delay this work, because of the amount of trash that needed to be removed to expose the aqueduct.

Next, Tello continued, on 5 June he and a local individual had explored a number of small hollows or depressions where the ruins ended and cultivated fields began, and, at that time, he had started to notice that in the grass there were clear impressions of recently traveled paths. He followed one of these, and found what he thought might have been an aqueduct hidden by trees. Although, at first glance, the feature had not appeared to be man-made, he conducted an excavation to see if it was the end of the aqueduct they had already discovered. Continually widening his search at this locale, Tello went on, he had exposed a cistern and beautiful galleries that ran under the trash toward the center of the ruins. This trash included lots of slag and cinders, suggesting that

they had (also) found evidence for ovens used in the process of metalworking.

The cistern, Tello continued, was situated above a subterranean current and, as such, it was the first time this kind of feature had ever been found at an archaeological site in Peru. As for the galleries that they had found, he said, their style had suggested to him the galleries he had seen at the ruins of Chavín. He said cautiously that, some of the pieces of pottery they had found suggested (at first glance) they were related in type to that of Chavín, pointing out, however, that as yet these artifacts had not been actually studied.

Work was then expanded at the site of Pachacamac, Tello explained, and this had brought to light a great cut-stone wall and a great horseshoe-shaped terrace bordering cultivated land, various large terraces, and the remains of a pyramidal temple analogous to that of the Temple of Pachacamac. All of this he had felt appeared to indicate that a further excavation of the extensive area under cultivation southwest of the ruins would lead to even more discoveries, and it was because of this, Tello added, that the idea of turning the site of Pachacamac into a great national park had come into his mind.

Tello then offered a few closing comments. He said it was too early to come to any specific or general conclusions about Pachacamac, because much more work needed to be done. For this reason, he did not think it was time to reopen the site to tourists. Finally, he said what had been found at Pachacamac was a city belonging to a culture analogous to that of Cusco that had been abandoned for unknown reasons, and that its builders had been succeeded much later in time by those who had used un-worked stone and adobe as their principal building materials (Anon. 1940cc).

Also on 18 July *El Comercio* published an account of the (San Marcos) summer school activities that had taken place the previous day. Among other things, it was pointed out that from six to seven in the afternoon a visit had been made to the Magdalena Vieja Museum of Archaeology (Anthropology) where Tello, as professor of South American Archaeology and especially that of Peru, had lectured on Inca social organization and religious system (Anon. 1940dd).

On the 20th this Lima daily published an account of a visit to the ruins of Pachacamac by students attending the university's summer school sessions, an account that was illustrated by four photographs showing the students at various locales. The single caption stated that Tello was shown lecturing the students at the site. In the text accompanying the photographs, it was stated that at three-thirty in the afternoon on the previous day, Tello had invited students in his class to go with him to Pachacamac, and there he had given them a detailed lecture in English that had lasted for an hour (Anon. 1940ee).

On the 21st, this daily published a report sent from Trujillo, in which it was stated that Columbia University professor Strong, who was in Peru for the purpose of conducting archaeological studies, was in that city, accompanied by the Peruvian student Garro (Anon. 1940ff). Then, on the 23rd, a report on the activities of the summer school was published in *El Comercio*. Among other things, it was stated that at three in the afternoon the previous day a visit had been made to Magdalena Vieja, where the students had spent time in the Bolivar Museum (of History). There was no specific mention of Tello, or the Museum of Anthropology (Anon. 1940gg). However, on the 24th, another report in this daily on the activities of the summer school stated that Tello would be giving a lecture from six to seven that afternoon on the

subject of the Inca religious system (Anon. 1940hh).

To close out the month of July, a two-page article on Tello's recent discoveries at Pachacamac was published in the monthly journal *Turismo*. It was specifically stated in this article that fragments of pottery of the Chavín type had been found in association with structures built of cut stone. A series of seven photographs served to illustrate this article. One showed members of the summer school walking across the site; another showed Tello, leaning on a walking stick and lecturing at the site; a third showed a wall of perfectly fitted well-cut stone blocks identical to those of Cusco; a fourth showed remains of stone structures that had been found at the place known as the Pilgrim's Camp; a fifth showed the Chavín style stone galleries that Tello had found; a sixth was of the great stone-walled reservoir that had been uncovered; while the last showed a part of the "stone walled city" that Tello had unearthed at Pachacamac (Anon. 1940jj).

Tello published an article about Pachacamac in the 4 August edition of *El Comercio*, illustrated by a drawing showing the discoveries he had made at the site, a photograph of a newly discovered staircase built of well-cut stone, and a photograph of newly discovered galleries made of well-cut stone. Following a detailed discussion of the history of the site drawn from the chroniclers, Tello discussed the site's topography. He stated that the ruins occupied an area two or three times as large as that indicated by surface remains, adding that beyond the palaces and the temples there were extensive areas of trash and cemeteries, as well as the remains of habitations corresponding to the suburbs of a metropolis. The site, he continued, occupied a triangular area bounded by the Lurín River, the Pacific shore, and a high wall running in a northeast to southwest direction. He pointed out that the principal structures had been built

on an irregular terrain formed by rocky prominences and depressions, that there was a lower part contiguous to the shore presently under cultivation using waters drawn from the nearby Lurín River, and that there was a lower area with an extensive lagoon that, according to local sources, revealed structures during dry seasons.

The city of Pachacamac, Tello explained, could be divided into four sections; one that contained the temples on the western side; a second that contained the enclosed palaces at the center; a third that contained the open palaces to the east; and a fourth made up of a vast northern plain limited by the great wall. At present, he went on, it was known there were two large temples dedicated to the Sun and to Pachacamac, and two smaller temples dedicated to the Moon, the wife of the Sun, and to Urpay Wachaq, the wife of Pachacamac. The last of these temples, he emphasized, had been found only recently, as a result of excavations in an area locally named after the water fowl that frequented it. This temple, he said, was an enormous mound built of small adobes, the walls of which were well-finished and decorated with frescoes.

Tello then credited Uhle as having been the first to provide a plan for the enclosed palaces, while adding that he (Tello) had set aside his exploration of these structures for the future. Tello did provide the reader with a general description of these enclosed palaces, pointing out that they contained habitations, cemeteries, plazas, small enclosures, and what appeared to be enclosed storage chambers. He stated the large enclosed palaces were likely communal structures that served *ayllus*, and he likened them to the Chan Chan palaces (in the Moche Valley) and the La Barranca palaces in the Jequetepeque Valley (on the North Coast). Then, after discussing the eastern part of the City of Pachacamac in general, he stated that

the walls at the site previously thought to have been defensive in nature actually served to connect the Pachacamac ritual center with other ritual centers in the highlands.

Next Tello began his specific archaeological discussion. He said explorations beginning 13 May that year had been concentrated in the western sector of the site, and this had revealed the existence of an extensive area of stone constructions beneath the surface that dated earlier than surface structures built of adobe. Brought to light, he went on, was evidence of terracing, walled byways, and stone steps on the northwest side of the Temple of the Sun, as well as the remains of small structures and superimposed rectangular chambers separated by partition walls built of trash and (concreted) sand in the rectangular plaza in front of this temple that Uhle had called the Pilgrim's Camp. This plaza, he explained, measured 200 meters long by 50 meters wide, and was connected to a stone causeway marked by a line of columns. Though the surface of the plaza was both clean (hence artifact free) and level, he went on, recent deep excavations had made it clear that beneath the surface there was evidence that the site had experienced earlier occupations.

Tello explained that his discovery of a stone cut in the old club style [in the shape of an ax head] of Cusco along the western edge of the plaza had caused him to conduct a series of test excavations near the point of discovery, and this had led to the discovery of a cut stone chamber with access stairway. Although the discovery of such stonework was not the first such on the Peruvian Coast, he went on, citing discoveries that had been made on the South Central Coast and in the Nepeña Valley, it was new for Pachacamac, as no mention had been made of such stone work by the chroniclers.

Tello then went on to explain it was deep down under the rubbish of the adobe ruins on

the surface, under thick caps of cemented and wind-blown sand, that he had found evidence for various phases of construction. These phases were marked by changes in construction materials from stone to adobe, the use and reuse of such in later times, and the changes in the style and size of these building materials over time. These changes were accompanied by changes over time in the accompanying pottery, from that decorated with incised designs, or decorated with monochrome relief, to that painted with multiple colors in pre-Inca times. There were different kinds of stones used as building materials, he summarized, and there were different kinds of adobes as well as different kinds of pottery in the layers beneath the surface, hence clear stratigraphic evidence that the site of Pachacamac had experienced a long history of occupation.²⁰⁷

Tello then said the cut stone structures in the lowest levels of the site had been found in association with fragments of pottery of the Chavín type; that the structures above these were built of adobe, that had been found in association with fragments of pottery of the types known as Mantaro, Proto-Chimu, Classic Chimu, and Tiahuanacoid; and that the structures above these and on the surface had also been built of adobes, but these adobes were larger and rectangular in form, and they had been found in association with Inca pottery types, as well as those types called Sub-Chimu and Sub-Mantaro. Tello then went on to more or less conclude by saying his work at Pacha-

²⁰⁷ Lothrop later wrote, "In May [1940] . . . Tello started excavations and reconstruction at the famous site of Pachacamac. . . . Although Uhle had supposedly made an exhaustive study of the site, Tello soon found below the visible buildings an older city constructed of stone. Underneath lay a third city, in part as much as 20 meters beneath the surface. Here was beautiful masonry of the type known as Inca in the highlands, a discovery which has yet to be fully appraised. This level contained large stone pools fed by underground aqueducts, through which water from an unknown source again flows" (1948:52).

camac had revealed the great antiquity of the site, and had revealed glimpses of the intimate relation that had existed between the coast and the highlands as well (Tello 1940b).

Also on 4 August readers of *El Comercio* were informed that a meeting of the Association would be taking place at six the following evening at the university's archaeological museum (Anon. 1940ll). It was reported that same day that summer school students guided by Tello had visited the ruins of Cajamarquilla the previous day (Anon. 1940kk). On the 8th this newspaper announced that Tello would be lecturing to his summer school students on the subject of the oldest of Peru's civilizations (Anon. 1940nn). Also published on this date was an account of the just-held meeting of the Association. It was reported that, in addition to the members of the group, Uhle had attended. Two illustrated talks were given, one by Dr. Javier Pulgar Vidal who spoke about pictographs he had found while working in the Huallaga Basin, some of which were executed in the classic Chavín style.²⁰⁸ In addition, those assembled discussed the recent discoveries made at Pachacamac, with Uhle and Tello making interesting contributions (Anon. 1940mm).

The following was published in the 17 August edition of *The New York Times*: "President Roosevelt . . . appointed Nelson Rockefeller coordinator of cultural relations between the American republics for the Council of National Defense (Anon. 1940oo).²⁰⁹

²⁰⁸ Pulgar Vidal published an article on the pictographs he had found in the Huallaga Basin in *El Comercio* (Pulgar Vidal 1940).

²⁰⁹ "Washington D.C., in the summer of 1940 was a city on the brink of what might be termed the greatest peacetime invasion in the history of the United States. With preparedness the new national watchword . . . the capital became a vast magnet for thousands of would-be civil servants, aspiring advisors and hopeful contractors. . . . And at the vanguard of this influx were a thousand

On 26 August, *El Comercio* published an account of the visit President Prado had made to the ruins of Pachacamac the previous day. It was reported that Prado, and his accompaniment of military officials, had been received at the site by a group including Tello, Valcárcel, the San Marcos rector, and the mayor of Lima. Following brief speeches by Prado and Tello, the latter had led the group on a tour of that part of the ruins where work had recently been done. It was then reported that Prado and his entourage visited the Museum of Anthropology, where Tello guided his guests through the museum's salons with special attention given to the one in which the Paracas collection was exhibited. This report was illustrated by a photograph of Tello leading the president through what appears to be one of the recently discovered galleries at Pachacamac (Anon. 1940pp).

On the 27th this Lima daily published a United Press report sent from Chavín the day before. The report stated local authorities were enthusiastic over the approval of legislation filed in the Chamber of Deputies, by Delegate Barron, requesting that the ruins of Chavín be declared a national archaeological and tourist zone. The report went on to state that Sub-Prefect Pease had made a visit to the ruins in accordance with a supreme resolution that prohibited cultivation in the archaeological zone, and, at that time, had stated that he interpreted this resolution to mean the government wanted the site to be conserved (Anon. 1940qq). This United Press report was then followed by another, also sent from Chavín,

'dollar-a-year men': private-sector executives. . . . Among this army . . . was Nelson Rockefeller. Yet from the first day he reported for work in the immense rococo State Department Building, just across from the White House's West Wing, there was much to indicate that Rockefeller was more than just another dollar-a-year man. He was given the ornate suite of offices that were once occupied by Secretary of War Newton D. Baker when the War Department shared the building with State" (Reich 1996: 189).

published in this newspaper on 31 August. It was specified in this report that Sub-Prefect Pease Olivera had made a detailed inspection of the Kahuish tunnel being built (to facilitate transportation between Chavín and other communities to the west, with those in the Callejón de Huaylas). It was further reported that he had subsequently issued dispositions aimed at conserving sites in the region, and, at the same time, had expressed his hope that funding would be provided (by the government) to protect endangered sites, and, by implication, especially the site of Chavín (Anon. 1940rr).

On 7 September it was noted in *El Comercio* that the Senate had approved the request of Senator Estrenadoyro that the legislative body ask the minister of public works to undertake steps necessary to prevent the ruins of Chavín from being destroyed by heavy rains (Anon. 1940tt). Then, on the 11th, it was reported in this daily that the residents at Chavín not only hoped the government would provide funding for a tourist hotel, but that they were concerned the rainy season had arrived, and that the ruins of Chavín were at risk (Anon. 1940ww).

Two days earlier, on the 9th, this newspaper published a report on the meeting of the Association that had taken place at the San Marcos Museum of Archaeology on 2 September. Among those in attendance were Tello, Valcárcel, Uhle, Carrión, Mejía, Villar, Ccosi, Espejo, Franco, Huapaya, Ponce, Pulgar Vidal, and Rojas. Franco gave a talk about the state and conservation of archaeological sites in the Lima Valley. During the discussion that followed, a number of individuals spoke including Uhle, Carrión, Mejía, Villar, and Pulgar Vidal. Comments included such matters as the need to stop individuals from using sites as a source for building materials, especially through the use of dynamite, and the need for the Association to coordinate with the inspector of monuments (Franco) to tackle this problem. Comments

were made about the various kinds of adobe that had been used prehistorically to build structures, including the size and shape of adobes used at sites such as Pachacamac. Tello ended the session with a summary of what had been said, and with his thoughts about the importance of knowing the diverse morphologies of adobe types and of the stone blocks used in constructions (Anon. 1940uu).

In editions of *El Comercio* published on the 10th (Anon. 1940vv) and on the 14th (Anon. 1940xx) readers were provided with reports that kept them abreast of the activities of the Wenner-Gren expedition headed by Fejos. Then on the 15th, this newspaper published a resolution dated the 14th and signed by Minister of Public Works (Carlos) Moreyra on behalf of President (Prado). The document stated that 3,000 soles had been designated to pay for necessary work to be undertaken to protect the ruins of Chavín from the rising waters of the Mariash River, presumably a tributary of the Mosna, that Tello as director of the Museum of Anthropology/Institute of Anthropological Research had been placed in charge of this work, and that he would be responsible for submitting a detailed account of expenses incurred (Moreyra 1940c).

On 16 September it was reported in *El Comercio* that the previous day Tello had led members of the Society of Engineers on a tour of the ruins of Cajamarquilla (Anon. 1940yy). Then on both the 22nd, and in the afternoon edition published on the 30th, readers of this daily were given updates on the ruins of Chavín. In the first it was noted locals were pleased Moises Estremadoyro has spoken out in the Senate about the need to protect the ruins of Chavín from the rising waters of the Mosna River (Anon. 1940zz), while in the second it was noted that, with the onset of spring, locals thought it would be good if Tello would quickly come to oversee the work to protect the ruins of

Chavín, as he was designated to do in the (14 September) resolution (Anon. 1940aaa).

Not reported in this Lima daily was that Tello, Valcárcel, Mejía, and Strong had traveled to the South Coast in September and had spent a week visiting archaeological sites like those of Paracas situated on the peninsula of that name, and others in the Nazca Valley (Strong 1948: 55–56). Whether or not a visit was also made at this time to the ruins of Tambo Colorado in the upper Pisco Valley is unknown. It should be pointed out that between the months of August and October 1940 work was being done there by members of Tello's staff, including Ccosi (Ccosi 1948:71).

Before continuing, it should be noted that on 17 August 1940, Means penned some of his thoughts about how to protect Peru's archaeological heritage. This was published as an article in a 1940 issue of the journal of Peru's National Museum. Means began by stating the (active) head of the National Board should have broad authority over the direction and control of all aspects of the nation's archaeology including everything that related to it. It was indispensable that this individual be given both authority and prestige, and, as such, hold the rank of minister of state without its political character. Hence, there should be created a Ministry of National Archaeology and History with an apolitical minister at its head, who would report directly to the nation's president.

Means went on to say that to not only adequately protect, but also to improve Peru's archaeological sites, this proposed ministry should create a series of national parks and historical monuments protected by electrified fences, with single entrances protected by a guard or, if necessary, soldiers, who would reside near the entrance. Also resident at the site should be a park deputy director who, as representative of the director general of the National

Museum, would be in charge of the guard or soldiers, and those who worked at the site. All visitors to national parks would be required to have a ticket to enter, native Peruvians to pay little or nothing for them, with non-Peruvians having to pay five soles. These latter individuals, usually tourists, could also opt to purchase a booklet of tickets (presumably at a reduced cost).

Means then discussed a stringent set of rules for those who wanted to visit the parks. At the entrance, everyone would be subject to a search to prevent individuals from bringing into the park such items as shovels, trowels, spades, crowbars, and other such tools used in illegal excavations. In addition, everyone would be subject to a search upon leaving the park, in order to prevent the removal of artifacts. By the same token, everyone would have to sign a declaration to the effect that they did not intend to undertake illegal excavations or theft within the park. Perjury would be subject to a month's incarceration, or a fine of 500 soles for each infraction, while non-Peruvian tourists would be expelled from the country and prohibited from returning.

Each of the parks, Means went on, would be under the direction of an archaeologist, a scientifically well-prepared expert who would have the official rank of deputy director. In addition to safeguarding the park, this individual would be expected to undertake scientific excavations within the park in so doing employing, dependant upon funding, the most modern methods. The result of this work would be sent to the National Museum, or to other museums in Peru, on approval from the ministry. In either case, the most ordinary of the artifacts discovered could remain at the park to be displayed. At this park, the deputy director should be provided with ample office and laboratory space for him and his assistants. There he would be able to write up his technical notes and his "definitive

memory” regarding his park, and there he would have a library of works written by both Peruvians and non-Peruvians.

Next Means proposed that the head of his proposed ministry assure Peru it had the best collections of archaeological, colonial, and modern Peruvian artifacts. However, this minister could also allow select foreign museums to form or add to their collections of Peruvian artifacts. Such institutions would be expected to establish covenants with the ministry, and would be expected to employ the services of scientific experts and/or known individuals whom they would pay. So authorized and financially supported, these individuals would be allowed to undertake excavations within the parks, under the supervision of the park sub-director. Upon completion of an excavation, a report would have to be sent to the National Museum, along with all artifacts found. The most notable of these artifacts would be kept by the museum, and the rest would be equally divided between the representative(s) of the foreign institution and the National Museum.

The best collection of archaeological and historical artifacts should be held in the National Museum, Means stressed. Yet, having said this, he felt this should not be the only museum in Peru, and pointed out that the country had many local museums of note like that at Cusco and the Chiclín Museum in Chiclayo owned by the Larco family. There were also some museums in Peru that were purely artistic in nature like Lima’s Museum of Fine Arts, and then there was the San Marcos Museum of Archaeology that was one of the richest and most important thanks to the “loyal and intelligent” work of Dr. Tello. Yet, Means again stressed, it was necessary that the National Museum headed by Dr. Valcárcel should be preeminent.

All of Peru’s museums (of archaeology and history), Means continued, should be placed

under the central authority of his proposed Ministry of National Archaeology and History. The contents of all these museums, Means went on, should be classified and described in analytical catalogues and illustrated in “beautiful tomes” edited under the patronage of the museums and the Ministry, but paid for by the latter. This, he added, would serve to end the practice of publishing shoddy works of this nature in Peru.

To pay for all that he had proposed, Means stated that, in addition to funds supplied by the Peruvian government, funding could be derived from entrance fees to national parks, by the imposition of a \$10 American tourist tax, by a hotel tax, by the sale of books and catalogues published by the ministry, and by voluntary contributions. He then proposed, based on such existing societies in the United States and in Europe, that those who contributed \$50, \$500, and \$5,000 or more be designated “friends”, “benefactors” and “patrons”, respectively.

Finally, Means stated the head of his proposed ministry should, above all, be an archaeologist and historian of solid reputation, an individual with wide fame and of authentic personal prestige both inside and outside Peru. This minister should be a just, active, and experienced person who, like the French minister of fine arts, would neither shun, nor be daunted by, long hours of intense labor. Under his proposed minister of archaeology and history, Means went on, there would be a series of director generals of the nation’s museums, of excavations, of national historical monuments, of fine arts, and of tourism. Below these would be the director generals of all other museums, who would be subject to the director general of the National Museum. Next in the hierarchy would be the deputy directors, including those of the national parks, all of whom would also be subject to the director general of the National Museum. He concluded by stating this minister

would serve as the *ex officio* vice president of the National Board (Means 1940).

In view of Means' publication, the following should be noted. In the Lothrop file stored in the Archives of Peabody Museum is a copy of an undated resumé of the IAR's activities to 1940, written by Bennett, that was presumably sent out to all members. Bennett wrote that Cole as chairman and he as secretary had approved a request from Means to undertake a plan to catalog Peruvian collections held in small museums in the United States. Bennett went on to say they had agreed to the request that the IAR sponsor this, because the plan would be undertaken under Means' supervision, and because the IAR would not have to provide any funding. Bennett ended by saying details would be given in a letter to be sent in the future. The date and contents of any such letter are unknown, but it would seem that Means had been working independently for a while on matters related to the archaeology of Peru (Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology Archive, Harvard University, Samuel K. Lothrop Papers, accession no. 996-20, box 6, folder 1, Institute of Andean Research).

To summarize, Tello continued to be preoccupied with matters related to Pachacamac. This was so both in terms of overseeing ongoing excavations being undertaken by members of his museum staff and in terms of responding to the aftermath of an ever increasing interest in discoveries being made at the site on the part of the public, as well as public authorities up to and including President Prado. This meant interviews, publications, and, of course, guided tours of the site inclusive of one he gave to students of his summer school class. Many fascinating details about what was being found were included in the various reports published in *El Comercio*—the pre-interview article, the interview with Tello, and Tello's piece. In addition to the photographs accompanying

these articles, there were others published in this newspaper and even more published in *Turismo*. It is very likely that Lima's other newspapers, both daily and weekly, would have taken advantage of the public's thirst for information about, and photographs of, Pachacamac, to increase their respective sales. Clearly the ruins of Pachacamac had become more than just ruins, and more than just another potential tourist destination.

In light of this "Pachacamac mania", Tello's star was shining ever more brightly, and President Prado made a visit to the Museum of Anthropology where Tello guided him through the various salons, including those in which the remains of the Paracas and Chavín cultures that were the most dear to his heart were exhibited. Tello also found time to give his summer school students a guided tour of the ruins of Cajamarquilla—a site upon which the Board of Archaeology was beginning to focus.

The safeguarding of the ruins of Chavín de Huantar continued to be a topic in the press, and it would seem this matter was increasingly attracting the attention of authorities both in Ancash and in Lima. Strong and Garro made a visit to these ruins, and contributed to the growing sentiment that the site was special and needed to be protected.

As for Means, he did not travel to Peru, but instead he published in the National Museum's journal his thoughts about the archaeology of that nation. This was a very detailed document that left one wondering just who he had in mind for his proposed minister of national archaeology and history, though his insistence that the National Museum assume the leading role in this new ministry certainly suggested Valcárcel. It is highly likely that Means and Valcárcel were in contact both before and after the submission of the piece, and, given that Means had been one of his most ardent supporters, it seems

probable that he was also in contact with Tello. Assuming this to have been the case, the question is whether Means ever brought up the topic addressed in the article in his correspondence with Tello, and if so, what was the nature and extent of their subsequent discussion of the matter.

October–December, 1940

In its 3 October 1940 edition, *El Comercio* published a decree dated the previous day that was signed by Minister of Education Oliveira on behalf of President Prado. It was stated in this decree that, upon the recommendation of the National Board, the planting of trees on archaeological sites in Cusco was prohibited (Oliveira 1940). On the 8th, this newspaper published in its afternoon edition an account of the most recent meeting of the National Board, date not given. Among those listed as present were Tello and Valcárcel. Among other matters, the board approved a proposed supreme resolution to prohibit the planting of trees at archaeological sites, approved a report submitted by Tello on the ruins of San Pedro Mama, discussed a report submitted by Inspector of Monuments Franco on work done in the Lima Valley since July, authorized Tello to present at the next meeting of the board a plan of organization for the (office of) inspector general of ancient monuments, and resolved that the Ministry of Education ban secondary school teachers and students from conducting excavations for the purpose of creating school museums, even though the organization of such would be for technical study. The report ended with the statement that, after meeting, the members of the board planned to go to the ruins of Pachacamac on Sunday the 6th (of October) leaving from the Ministry (of Education) at 10 A.M. (Anon. 1940bbb).

On 15 October this Lima daily informed its readers that the Pisco newspaper *La Reforma*

had published a warning that the abandoned ruins of Tambo Colorado were in danger of disappearing. Specifically it had been reported in this newspaper that a group, including members of its staff and the secretary of the Ica departmental board of archaeology, had made an inspection of the ruins (Anon. 1940ddd). On the 17th a U.P. report sent from Chavín was published in *El Comercio*. It was stated in this report that the sub-prefect of Ancash province had been in the vicinity of the town of Chavín, inspecting both the road there and the nearby ruins of Chavín. Regarding the latter, he had expressed his concern, and felt that Tello should come quickly and see to the construction of defensive works (Anon. 1940ccc).

In its afternoon edition of 18 October, *El Comercio* reported that a meeting of the Lima regional committee of the Association would convene at six in the afternoon in the San Marcos archaeological museum (Anon. 1940eee). It was not until 5 November that it published a report on this meeting. Readers were told that among those attending were Tello, Valcárcel, Uhle, Carrión, Mejía, Ccosi, Ponce, and Pulgar Vidal. Among the presentations given was a joint one by Ccosi and Ponce in which they discussed the work they had undertaken at the ruins of Tambo Colorado in the Pisco Valley on behalf of the Museum of Anthropology. Afterwards, among others, comments were made by Uhle and Tello (Anon. 1940hhh).

Strong wrote to Tozzer on 17 October and told him he had just returned from a four-month trip to Peru and Bolivia, during which he had spent considerable time with the Tschopiks. He noted that they were adapting well to their surroundings, that prospects for the ethnological work looked great, and that the archaeological work was promising. Strong closed by telling Tozzer that he looked forward to speaking with him, with Kidder II, and with others but that he

was swamped with work (National Anthropological Archive, Smithsonian Institution, William D. Strong Papers, correspondence).

The next day, 18 October, the following was published in *The New York Times*:

Secretary Jones of the Department of Commerce announced today that Nelson Rockefeller has been appointed chairman of the Inter-American Development Commission. Mr. Rockefeller, [is] already coordinator of commercial and cultural relations among the American republics (Anon. 1940fff).

Subsequently it was reported:

In August 1940, President Roosevelt appointed Nelson Aldrich Rockefeller to the National Defense Advisory Commission as Coordinator of Commercial and Cultural Relations between the Americas (a title later changed to Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs). Thus began the creation and growth of a new governmental agency, backed by relatively adequate funds, staffed in large part by people new to Washington and to Latin American work (Crawford 1942:123).

Two U.P. articles were published in *El Comercio* that dealt with impatience on the part of locals at Chavín in having to wait for Tello to come and initiate the construction of defensive work at the nearby ruins. Both of these articles were reports sent from Chavín. In the edition published the afternoon of 28 October it was reported that since the arrival of the rainy season, the rising Mosna River was increasingly threatening the ruins of Chavín, so much so that it might be too late to undertake defensive action, and, as such, it was hoped that Tello would arrive soon (Anon. 1940ggg). Then on 10 November it was reported that it was hoped

Tello would arrive soon because the Mosna River was continuing to rise (Anon. 1940iii).

Work began at the “Lagoon of the Ducks” at the extreme northwest of the ruins of Pachacamac, and near the Hacienda Palmera Grande, on 14 November. Instructions to do so had come from Tello, who was on his way to Chavín. Espejo was in charge of a group that included others from the museum and twenty-seven workers. Huapaya arrived at Pachacamac on the 19th to help (Vega and Paredes 2007: 19–26).

A U.P. report sent from the community of Huari was published in *El Comercio* on the 16th. It was stated therein that Sub-Prefect Pease had left for the ruins of Chavín with a Civil Guard team for the purpose of assisting Tello in his work defending the site from the rising Mosna River (Anon. 1940kkk). On the 18th, this newspaper published a U.P. report sent from Chavín in which it was stated that Tello had arrived there, accompanied by Mejía and Ccosi, and that, in the company of authorities and an unnamed archaeological delegate, he had made a detailed inspection of the site. As a result of this inspection, the report concluded, Tello had decided to immediately begin defensive work, and he estimated that this project would take two weeks (Anon. 1940lll).

The arrival of Sub-Prefect Pease (and his Civil Guard team) was reported in *El Comercio* in a U.P. report sent from Chavín and published on 22 November (Anon 1940mmm). This daily then published on the 23rd a U.P. report sent from Chavín, in which it was stated that work at the ruins of Chavín had begun with enthusiasm under the direction of Dr. Tello and the engineer Carrillo (Anon. 1940nnn). Finally, on the 26th this Lima daily published yet another U.P. report sent from Chavín. It was stated therein that ongoing work at the ruins of Chavín had exposed a large part of the façade (of the princi-

pal temple) and that, as such, it was possible to appreciate the majesty of the site that was considered both the oldest and the most important in America (Anon. 1940ooo).

Rockefeller's government work was further clarified in a report published in *The New York Times* on 15 November. In part it stated:

Appointments of advisors to committees for the cultural program in the Americas was announced today by Nelson A. Rockefeller, co-ordinator of commercial and cultural relations between the American republics whose office is subsidiary to the Defense Department. Following are the advisors who have volunteered their services to the government: . . . Scholarship Committee—Henry A. Moe, secretary-general, Guggenheim Foundation, New York (chairman); Frederick Keppel, president, Carnegie Foundation, New York; and David H. Stevens, director of Humanities Division, Rockefeller Foundation, New York. . . . Arts Committee— John E. Abbott, executive vice president Museum of Modern Art, New York (chairman); Alfred H. Barr Jr., director of Museum of Modern Art; Laurance Roberts, director Brooklyn Museum; Francis H. Taylor, director Metropolitan Museum of Art, and George C. Vaillant, associate curator of Mexican Archeology, American Museum of Natural History, New York (Anon. 1940jjj).

Work continued at the duck lagoon. Santisteban joined the team on 29 November (Vega and Paredes 2007:33). On 2 December Espejo, Huapaya, Rojas, and Segura were working at the site (*ibid.*:56). Carrión made a visit on 5 December. She returned the following day with engineer Pflücker and the mayor of Chorillos (*ibid.*:61).

On 14 December, *El Comercio* published a U.P. report sent from Chavín that dealt with new discoveries that had been made by Tello at the nearby ruins. It was stated in this report that Tello had told the correspondent that, although he had come to Chavín on behalf of the government to undertake work in defense of these ruins, his recent discoveries at Pachacamac prior to coming to Chavín had led him to believe there was an intimate relationship between what he had found at this site and the old culture of Chavín. Tello had then said that he had been proven right because, after excavating six meters down into the principal edifice at Chavín, he had found marvelous walls of cut stone that had been created with a technique that surpassed even that used at Tiahuanaco. He had found a unique staircase as well as enormous granite plates not found anywhere else in South America, and many stone artifacts that made Chavín both unique and the most important archaeological center in America. The report ended with the statement that Tello had left for Lima (Anon. 1940ppp).

On the morning of 15 December Tello, Mejía, and Ccosi visited the ruins of Pachacamac to inspect the work being done there. During the afternoon, Tello and Mejía returned with an unidentified American. The following day Tello returned to inspect the work being done on the southern and western sides of the Temple of Urpi Wachak that he had ordered begun the day before. Once again Tello inspected the work being done on his behalf at Pachacamac during the morning of 19 December (Vega and Paredes 2007:38).

Strong wrote to Tello on 12 December and began by apologizing for not having written sooner to thank him for all that he had done to help him on his recent visit to Peru, specifically

mentioning a trip they had made to Nazca.²¹⁰ He went on to explain that, since his return, he had been ill off and on, and attributed this to having to make climatic and dietary adjustments. He told Tello to pass his greetings on to Lothrop, who he said would have arrived in Lima by then, adding that he envied Lothrop his time in Peru, but that he hoped to return in a year or two to undertake field-work. Next Strong told Tello that Kroeber had asked him to go to California during the summer for consultations and to take part in (Berkeley's) summer school.²¹¹ This, he told Tello, would give him the opportunity to talk with Kroeber about the things they had discussed (relative to Peruvian archaeology). Strong then told Tello he would be sending copies of the photographs (he had presumably taken at sites he and Tello had visited together) that he wanted as soon as he had had enlargements made, and then had copies made of these. He closed by again thanking Tello for all that he had done for him in Lima, at Pachacamac, and in the field (National Anthropological Archive, Smithsonian Institution, William D. Strong Papers, correspondence).

²¹⁰ Strong (1948:56) later wrote that Mejía, Tello, Valcárcel, and he spent a week on the South Coast where they visited Paracas, among other places. For his part Willey (1988:85), later wrote "Strong . . . went to Peru that summer of 1940 and began to involve himself, once more, in Peruvian archaeology. . . . He came back full of enthusiasm . . . he had traveled widely in the country and had spent considerable time with Julio C. Tello. . . . He announced, almost as soon as he got off the boat, that his seminar that fall was going to be on Peru. I had gone down to the dock to meet him and I announced that I was going to take the seminar" (Willey 1988:85).

²¹¹ Regarding Kroeber's visit to see Strong, Gordon Willey later reminisced, "In the fall of 1940, when I was a graduate student at Columbia, Kroeber stopped in at the Department of Anthropology on a visit to New York . . . [it] created a small stir. I remember edging around the door into Strong's office in my attempt to meet this celebrated figure and finally being invited in and introduced" (1988:172).

THE IAR PLANS TO RETURN TO PERU

December 1940–May 1941

Vaillant wrote to Cole on 13 December and told him that he, Bennett, and Strong were very busy making proposals to Nelson Rockefeller's Council of National Defense. He went on to describe the negotiations as nebulous, and that even so, they had been required to submit a number of proposals during a fairly short period. Vaillant then told Cole he was enclosing a copy of their most recent proposal, and asked him whether he had any prospective participants in mind, adding that he would let him know as soon as things firmed up. Vaillant then asked Cole if he would mind authorizing him, Bennett, and Strong to make up an executive committee to carry out negotiations that, in part, consisted of telephone conversations. He told Cole that he was enclosing IAR letterhead sheets if he so chose to appoint them and make their position more official, adding that it would be advisable to backdate any such appointment. Vaillant then told Cole he hoped the negotiations would be far enough along to discuss them at the meeting of the IAR later that month. Finally, he told Cole that Lothrop had already left for Peru (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

Circulated among the members of the IAR now inclusive of Kidder II was a 17 December announcement that the annual meeting would be held at the Harvard Club in New York City on the 27th, at which time serious consideration would be given to important matters. Specifically, recipients were told that the IAR's newly formed executive committee had proposed an archaeological research program to the Council of National Defense Advisory Committee on Art and that, as such, a quorum was vital and attendance was urgent (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

Cole, as head of the IAR, wrote back to Vaillant on 18 December. He told Vaillant he was enclosing a note in which he was appointing Bennett, Strong, and him to the executive committee he had proposed. Cole told Vaillant that he planned to attend the meeting in New York (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH). The enclosed note to which Cole referred would have been the one typed on IAR letterhead stationary backdated to 1 December, in which he informed Vaillant that as head of the IAR he was appointing Bennett, Strong, and him to an executive committee charged with negotiating with the Council of National Defense (hereafter Rockefeller committee) or other such appropriate organizations. The purpose of these negotiations, Cole continued, was to establish closer ties between institutions in North America and in Latin America, especially those interested in archaeology. Cole went on to explain that he hoped this executive committee would be able to come up with a proposal that would provide for joint archaeological research (on the part of the members and representatives of the IAR and Latin American partners) that would lead to training, to student and teacher exchange, as well as to publications. Cole closed by suggesting to Vaillant that he draw up a tentative budget and a list of potential participants (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

A more detailed report on Tello's work at Chavín was published in *El Universal* on 19 December. This report was based upon an interview that Tello had given at the Museum of Anthropology, and it was illustrated by two photographs, one of Tello and others posing on a recently exposed stone staircase, and another of men at work making molds. The report began with Tello more or less stating that he was satisfied that the Chavín culture was the oldest and most highly developed in Peru. He explained he had gone to Chavín at the request of the government to inspect the state of the ruins,

and to undertake careful explorations of the principal temple. Both now and in the past, he went on, the structures there had been endangered by both avalanche and flooding. Evidence of the former was his recent discovery of a megalithic wall specifically built to defend the site (against mud slides), a wall that he speculated had likely been constructed during a period of heavy rainfall similar to that which had inundated the region (during the rainy season) since he had first visited Chavín in 1919.

Tello then provided some details about his excavations. He said he had dug down thirteen meters into the principal temple, and had discovered on its south side a high socle formed by well-cut stone slabs that served to protect a staircase also made of well-cut granite slabs. This staircase, he continued, led to an entrance on the upper part of the temple that once had another set of stairs, some of which he had seen in 1919. Beneath this monumental socle and in front of it, in a cultivated plot, he had undertaken several excavations, and had discovered an enormous accumulation of cut stones, fragments of sculptures, and one of the best (tenon) heads (ever seen) which proved that the classic Chavín temple had been destroyed in pre-Recuay times. He had also found, he went on, fragments of fine classic Chavín pottery, as well as such items as stone axes and points, fragments of steles in high, plain, and low relief, and sculpted dragon heads. It was at this point in his report that Tello said Mejía and Ccosi had assisted in this work. In his closing remarks, Tello said all of the sculptures found at Chavín, both recently and in the past, were being stored on site in an old chapel named Cruz de Mayo, and that a local man had donated 200 soles to make it suitable.²¹² Tello also stated that molds

²¹² This chapel, which became the Chavín Museum, had been constructed atop one of the mounds comprising the ruins of Chavín, and among artifacts placed in this building were twenty-five club heads, forty-five fragments

had been made of the newly discovered sculpted pieces, and that these had been brought to the Museum of Anthropology for study.²¹³ Finally, Tello said he would be sending a report on the Chavín work to Minister of Public Works Alberto Jochamowitz and to Huari (Province) Deputy Wenseslas Barron (Anon. 1940qqq).

Tello wrote to Strong on 22 December and began by telling him he had gone to Chavín at the beginning of November, on behalf of the government, for an expected three or four days of work. However, he went on, once there, he had made some interesting finds, and had ended up working there for a month and a half, and that only upon his return to Lima did he discover the letter that he had sent to him. Tello next told Strong that he was sorry he had been ill since returning to New York, adding that just recently Lothrop had arrived (back in Lima) and he thought he and Lothrop might make some trips into the Peruvian interior. Tello then turned to another matter. He stated he was very interested in learning if anything had been published on the four Paracas mummy bundles that Rockefeller had arranged to be sent to the United States (in 1937) and that had been referenced as having been studied at the American Museum of Natural History and at the Peabody Museum. He asked Strong to send him copies of any such publications (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

Lothrop wrote to Alden Mason (at the University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology) from the Bolivar Hotel

of steles and obelisks, thirteen diverse stone objects, eight pieces of pottery, and various human remains (Tello 1960:64). It was on 11 December 1940 that 119 archaeological specimens were installed in this new site museum (Tello and Mejía 1967:226).

²¹³ Detailed descriptions of forty-eight monoliths were made and, with the help of Victor Salazar and José Casafranca, a total of 52 molds were made (Tello 1960:64).

in Lima on 24 December. He began by telling him that he had something he wanted to be addressed at the upcoming meeting of the IAR. He explained that there was a great interest in Lima in having the United States and Peru participate in an educational exchange program in which faculty and students took part in summer schools. He made mention of the fact that a number of Peruvians would be leaving the first of January for the United States, the fact that American (students) had recently taken part in a summer school (at San Marcos), and the fact that (Peru's) Grace Line had facilitated matters for these Americans by offering a price of \$470 that covered round trip travel and onshore expenses including the cost of attending the summer school. Lothrop told Mason that both Tello and Grace Line wanted up to ten archaeologists to come to Peru the following summer. The students, he went on, would work part of the time with Tello, and part of the time they would tour, going to Cusco and possibly to Chavín in cars provided by Grace Line. Tello, he explained, was willing to take anyone with proper training in archaeology, regardless of age or knowledge of Peru, whether they were graduate students, museum workers or teachers. After adding his endorsement to the idea, Lothrop suggested that the IAR act as a steering committee, and that it seek funding through Rockefeller or the State Department. He then specifically suggested that at the meeting of the IAR such a committee be appointed, and be given the power to act and then, after it had secured funding, it contact the Peruvian ambassador in Washington. He ended this part of his letter by saying that, if acted upon, he wanted to know who had been appointed to the steering committee, and he would then see to it that they would be able to make contact with the proper people in Peru as well as the right officials at Grace Lines.

Lothrop then told Mason about the amazing finds that Tello had made at Pachacamac. He

said Tello had even surprised himself when he had extended the known depth of the site thirty feet beneath the level that Uhle had considered its floor. In so doing, he went on, Tello had exposed the remains of walls, streets, aqueducts, and, most recently, two stone-lined pools filled with water brought in through the ancient water system. Because of his work at this site, Lothrop told Mason, he had not yet found the time to speak with Tello on the matter of publishing on what he had found in (1937), but that he thought, in any case, Tello's hands were tied because he was under orders from President (Prado) to continue his work at Pachacamac. Finally, after signing off for him and his wife Eleanor, Lothrop told Mason as a postscript that Valcárcel would be sailing north on 15 January (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

In the 1 January 1941 edition of *El Comercio*, a report on an interview with Fejos was published, along with plans of the newly discovered ruins of Puyu Payta Marka (above the clouds) and Sayaq Marka (the inaccessible) and a photograph of the Wenner-Gren expedition's topographer Dr. G. K. Lowther (Anon. 1941a).

Cole sent a brief letter to Vaillant on 4 January and told him he hoped his conversations with the Rockefeller committee would prove worthwhile for the IAR and offered to help in any way that he could (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH). That same day, the 4th, Vaillant wrote to Lothrop and told him that because Mason was not a member of the IAR, Mason had forwarded his 24 December letter to him. As for the plan, he wanted the members to discuss, Vaillant told Lothrop, his letter had arrived too late, and that, in any case, the IAR was already involved with Rockefeller on an archaeological plan, and, as such, it would not be the right time to bring up something else. Vaillant then informed Lothrop that at the IAR's meeting he had been appointed (in his

absence) to the executive committee, along with Bennett, Means, Strong, and himself. Vaillant then said he had been appointed head of the IAR and that Bennett would be staying on as secretary (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH). He did not, however, tell Lothrop that Kidder II had been made a member of the IAR (Mason 1967:14) at some point in 1940, perhaps because it had already been decided upon before Lothrop left for Peru.

Vaillant wrote to Bennett at Yale on 7 January (incorrectly dated 1940). He began by saying he was enclosing some changes (apparently not saved) that Kroeber wanted included in the IAR's (Rockefeller) proposal. He went on to advise Bennett that Kroeber wanted to discuss these changes with him. Vaillant then said Lothrop was moving up to Ecuador, presumably from Peru, and, as a result, he would be able to act more freely, a benefit, he wrote, being that there would be fewer problems with Tello. Vaillant essentially ended by saying he was also enclosing a copy of the IAR's incorporation, the original of which he had gotten back from (John E.) Abbott (of the Met; IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH). Bennett responded with a short note on 8 January in which he asked Vaillant if his secretary would check to see whether or not all of the members of the IAR had been sent a copy of the IAR's (Rockefeller committee) project, because he did not have one. He went on to say Means planned to be in New York soon, and wondered if it would be worthwhile to schedule a meeting of the executive committee at that time (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

Vaillant's unnamed secretary replied to this short note from Bennett on 11 January and told him she was enclosing a copy of the "Archaeological Research Project in Latin America", copies of which had been sent to all (other) members of the IAR. She went on to say the U.S. Comptroller had not yet approved funding

for this project. Finally, she passed on Vaillant's message that the Rockefeller committee was not interested in the project proposed by Lothrop (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH). Vaillant then wrote to Cole on 13 January and passed along the worrisome news that the (Rockefeller) committee had approved the IAR's proposed project, but that the comptroller's office was holding things up, because it had been unable to find a statutory way of releasing funds (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

Meanwhile, Tello and Mejía inspected the ongoing work at Pachacamac during the three days January 7–9 (Huapaya 2009a:276–278).

New reports on discoveries being made by the Wenner-Gren archaeological expedition had been published in the 25 December 1940 (Anon. 1940rrr), 31 December 1940 (Anon. 1940ttt), as well as on 1 January (Anon. 1941a), and 4 January 1941 (Anon. 1941b) editions of *El Comercio*.²¹⁴ Then, on 17 January, this daily posted a notice that the year's first meeting of the Association was to take place that evening at the Museum of Anthropology. Talks were scheduled to be given by Fejos about recent archaeological discoveries made in the region of Machu Picchu, and by Tello, by Mejía, and by Ccosi on recent discoveries made at Pachacamac (Anon. 1941c). The following day, this newspaper published an account of this meeting. It was noted that Tello had spoken briefly, before turning the meeting over to Fejos, who discussed his recent work in the field, and in

²¹⁴ The following was published in the 25 December 1940 edition of *The New York Times*: "Ruins of three Inca towns of imposing dimensions have been discovered in the Cerro Bamba, Valle Rio and Urubamba zone situated in Cuzco Department. The discoveries were made by a scientific expedition led by Dr. Paul Fejos and are not far from the famous Machu Picchu ruins. One of the towns found at an altitude of 12,000 feet contained imposing and well-constructed archways and three wide roads rivaling those at Machu Picchu" (Anon. 1940sss).

particular his discovery of the ruins of Puyu Payta Marka and Sayac Marka in the vicinity of Machu Picchu.²¹⁵ Subsequently, among those who made extended comments were Villar and Tello (Anon. 1941d). There was no mention of a talk on Pachacamac at this meeting, but Tello and Mejía visited these ruins to inspect ongoing work on the three days 16, 17, and 20 January, while on the 21st these two and Lothrop visited the site (Huapaya 2009a:281–283). Hence, Lothrop was in Peru on 21 January, and it may be that what Vaillant meant in his 7 January letter to Bennett when he said Lothrop would be moving up to Ecuador was the idea of having Lothrop oversee a new IAR project in that country.

On 18 January a lengthy U.P. report sent from the town of Chavín was published in *El Comercio* that dealt with work Tello had undertaken weeks before at the nearby ruins. The article praised Tello and extolled the special

²¹⁵ The following was subsequently published in *El Palacio*: 68: "Hailing the importance of two lost Incan cities discovered 12,000 feet high in the Peruvian Andes, Dr. Luis E. Valcarcel, director of Peru's National Museum and authority on Incan archaeology, who was a recent visitor to Santa Fe, declares that the ruins greatly increase modern understanding of the pre-historic Incan Empire's mastery of life in high altitudes. He predicts more discoveries in this overgrown area. . . . The two cities discovered by Dr. Paul Fejos . . . reveal that a large population of the Incan Empire's Indians occupied a network of cities served by road systems and fed from irrigated farms. . . . Both of the new-found cities resemble the Incan city of Machu Picchu . . . thought of as . . . an isolated retreat. . . . Now, Machu Picchu is blended into a more social picture. Dr. Valcarcel finds its plan, windows, wall niches, stone masonry and pottery goods all similar in type to those of the new-found cities. And among the many stone-paved roads leading out from the new-found cities one road leads to Machu Picchu. . . . That roads about ten feet wide, extending from the ruined cities are cut in some sections through bed rock impresses Dr. Valcarcel. Stone forts are planted at intervals along the way. Also impressive to his expert eye are the many stone faced agricultural terraces and irrigation canals" (Anon. 1941uuu: 93–94). Actually Bingham was the first to explore Sayac Marca, having done so in 1911 (Paredes 2014:239).

significance of the ruins. It included part of an interview that Tello had given, in which he mentioned the fact that the community of Chavín was seeking government approval for the construction of a tourist hotel. It was reported that Tello had said neither the ruins of Cusco, nor those of Tiahuanaco were comparable to the ruins of Chavín, a site he considered the eighth wonder of the world (Anon. 1941e).

Bennett wrote a note to Vaillant on 23 January to tell him he had asked that a copy of the notes, photographs, and an article on (the opening of) a Paracas mummy bundle that had been published in the AMNH magazine *Natural History* all be sent to Tello. He added, clearly in a mocking way, that it might be good to suggest to Tello that it was *he* who had taught them the habit of not publishing notes and manuscripts! Bennett also told Vaillant that he would have a revised outline of the (Rockefeller) project ready for his review the next day, while noting that he still thought it would be a good idea to get feedback from all of the members of the IAR. He closed by saying that he found it very easy to spend \$10,000 (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

Vaillant wrote to Lothrop on 17 January and began by saying he had recently seen Henry Allen Moe, and he had taken the opportunity to ask him if he thought the Rockefeller committee, of which he was a member, would support the idea of exchanging students, but that Moe had said no, while adding that he thought it best to limit funding to specific projects and individuals with technical training. Vaillant then turned his attention to a discussion of what he characterized as the ambitious plan the IAR had put together, telling Lothrop he should have received what amounted to a dummy form of what was being proposed, and that revisions were ongoing, depending on the availability of personnel. He then went on to tell Lothrop that a revised plan would be sent to him in a few

days, and to say that he felt what was being proposed was all that Tello's plan had sought. Vaillant then told Lothrop that the Rockefeller committee wanted a broad plan that encompassed many South American countries, and then asked Lothrop if he would prefer to be involved in an Ecuadorian or a Peruvian project. Vaillant advised Lothrop that the IAR had proposed that each project be led by a director who was a senior person more or less known to the workers in the country where he would be operating. However, he added, because such individuals already had paid positions, and hence obligations that would make it difficult for them to take a year's leave of absence, it had been decided to also establish the position of supervisor, which could be staffed by younger men who were not so obliged, an advantage being that a foundation would be established for a new generation. In closing, Vaillant said that everyone (at the AMNH, presumably) was looking forward to seeing Valcárcel, and they would try to have both a party for him and a business meeting with him. Then he told Lothrop that the IAR's plan had been approved by all of Rockefeller's boards, but that the Office of the Comptroller was holding up funding because of statutory restrictions (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

To summarize, Tello remained intimately involved with the National Board and with the Association. One of the concerns of the board, as well as the Lima press, dealt with the decaying ruins of Tambo Colorado in the Pisco Valley. Among the papers presented at a recent meeting of the Association was one jointly given by Ccosi and Rojas that dealt with the work they were doing at these ruins on behalf of Tello's Museum of Anthropology. There were also concerns registered in the Lima press about the rising threat of flooding to the ruins of Chavín. Tello responded by going to the site with Mejía and Ccosi on behalf of the government. He had gone to Chavín for what he had

thought would be less than a week, to oversee the implementation of defensive measures to protect the nearby ruins, but he had instead spent six weeks there conducting excavations, which resulted in the discovery of walls made of well-cut stone associated with classic Chavín pottery. As a result, he said in a newspaper interview, he was able to demonstrate that classic Chavín predated Recuay, and, as such, he was convinced that the ruins of Chavín were the earliest and most important in Peru.

Strong had visited Peru where he interacted with Tello and with the Tschopiks whom he reported were doing just fine. Upon his return to New York, he had corresponded with Tello, and the latter had asked him to forward copies of reports on the opening of the mummy bundles that he had agreed (in 1937) to be shipped to the United States. Strong had already returned to New York by the time Lothrop had arrived in Lima, and the latter wrote to Mason with the news that Tello wanted to establish an exchange of American and Peruvian faculty and students with an archaeological background. Lothrop stated he felt the IAR should facilitate such an exchange that would perhaps involve Rockefeller. Lothrop also passed on the news that Valcárcel was en route to the United States.

Mason, who was not a member of the IAR, forwarded Lothrop's letter to Vaillant, who then answered it. Unbeknownst to Lothrop, Rockefeller, as Coordinator of Commercial and Cultural Relations between the American Republics, had recently announced that Vaillant had volunteered to be a member of the Arts Committee headed by John Abbott, executive vice president of the Museum of Modern Art. Vaillant told Lothrop that his letter had arrived too late to be discussed at the annual meeting, and that, in any case, the IAR was already involved with another project. He was referring to the negotiations in which Bennett, Strong, and he were engaged with the Rockefeller

committee (consisting of Moe, Keppel, and Stevens). As for what had transpired at the annual meeting, Vaillant told Lothrop that the two of them, along with Bennett, Means, and Strong, had been appointed to the IAR's executive committee, and Vaillant told Lothrop that he had accepted the position of chairman, while Bennett had agreed to stay on as secretary.

Strong passed along to Bennett Tello's request for Paracas reports, and the latter wrote to Vaillant to tell him he had complied with the request, while adding in irritation that he felt Tello was hardly one to complain. Bennett also made it clear he was hard at work putting together the IAR's proposal. Then Vaillant sent a second letter to Lothrop, in which he told him he had taken the opportunity to ask a member of the Rockefeller committee about the idea of creating an American-Peruvian exchange, and had been told the committee wasn't interested, because it wanted a broader plan that encompassed many South American countries. In light of this, Vaillant asked Lothrop whether he wanted to become involved in a Peruvian project, or one centered on Ecuador. Vaillant then explained that the IAR had decided to have its projects headed by directors who were well-known and respected senior men in the countries to which they would be assigned, but, because such individuals would not be able to spend a year in the field, it had also been decided to create the position of supervisor for the younger generation of individuals, who would actually be in the field for the year. Finally, Vaillant told Lothrop about the delay regarding funding for the project, and he told him Valcárcel's visit to New York was highly anticipated.

Lothrop sent a letter to Vaillant from the Hotel Bolivar in Lima on 17 January. His opening line was ominous. He told Vaillant that Tello was not happy with Rockefeller, other individuals, and all institutions that had been involved with the four Paracas mummy bundles

that had been sent to the United States. He was upset because he had been promised he would promptly receive reports, but, as yet, had not received anything. Tello had told him, Lothrop said, that he knew he was making a sacrifice when he had agreed to allow the bundles to be shipped, but that he thought the advanced techniques used in the United States would provide good results—results he had not yet received. Lothrop then suggested to Vaillant that several copies of the article Bennett had published (in 1938) in *Natural History* be sent to Tello, as well as a series of photographs that had been taken at the time he opened the bundle, along with a nice letter of explanation (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

Lothrop then sent a second letter to Vaillant on the 24th that, as he wrote, was in response to the two letters from him that had arrived together dated 4 January and 17 January. He told Vaillant that, because he had not yet received his copy of the IAR's proposal, he was left in the dark. This served as a prelude to a list of comments he made about what was happening in Peru. The National Board had been reformed in 1940, and he expected more reforms to be enacted during its next meeting to be held soon. Valcárcel's influence was waning; he was now limited to registering local collections, and he had not yet begun to do so. Tello, on the other hand, was now, by order of the president, in charge of all permits to export archaeological material, and a special room had been set up outside the museum at Magdalena where all foreigners had to bring collections for inspection.

Lothrop then reminded Vaillant that Tello was not happy with Rockefeller, and that he thought the IAR had outlived its usefulness—likely, Lothrop supposed, because it had supported individuals in Peru other than Tello. However, Lothrop went on, Tello was in favor of intellectual cooperation and the exchange of

students, provided they had adequate training. Lothrop then said he and Tello were good friends, and that because of this friendship Tello was willing to keep an open mind when they discussed matters, but, Lothrop stressed, if the IAR wanted to work in Peru, it had to conform to the law, the primary requisite being that all those representing scientific institutions needed to be certified, adding that this explained why Marion Tschopik's permit had been held up for months. In closing, Lothrop told Vaillant that he and his wife were leaving on a trip the next day, and then, after a day back in Lima, they would be taking another trip, this time into the mountains. He made no mention of Tello regarding his travel plans, but he did add as a postscript that San Marcos officials expected to publish Tello's Sechín report, and that he had heard them give Tello a tongue lashing for not having finished it (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

Kroeber also wrote to Vaillant on 17 January. He began by reminding Vaillant that, before leaving New York, he had suggested to him that the IAR publish a book for Tello in 1941. He went on to say he had given thought to the entire situation, and had concluded that the IAR was too one-sided (in its proposed project) with regard to Latin-American interrelationships, and especially so in Peru, where the plan was to have four expeditions, and where Tello might cause problems. Kroeber went on to point out that Tello did have certain moral claims with regard to the founding of the IAR, and would likely become patriotic, and insist that the IAR honor these claims. He said, the problem was that Tello had earlier interacted with Rockefeller, and (if displeased) he might just do so again (that is, contact Rockefeller and register his displeasure). Hence, Kroeber went on, it might be wise to anticipate a reaction on the part of Tello, given the fact that the IAR had submitted a plan (to the Rockefeller committee)

that might be as disruptive (to Tello) as it was a way to improve inter-American relations.

Therefore, Kroeber continued, it was his recommendation that the executive committee re-designate \$10,000 for work in Peru that had been tentatively designated for work in Brazil. He recommended that the IAR allot \$5,000 (of this total) to publishing a large picture book by Tello, and consider the possibility of asking Tello and/or Valcárcel to submit a plan of exploration to be included in the IAR's program (for 1941–1942). He did admit, however, that deciding whether to fund Tello and/or Valcárcel would be a delicate balancing act, and that, if they funded Tello, he would spend a lot of time in the field, and not find time to finish his book. In any case, Kroeber went on, it would be up to the IAR to decide on the topic of the proposed Tello book, whether Paracas pottery, Sechín sculpture, or even important Chavín or Pucará material, with input from Bennett and Strong, while all Tello would have to do would be to decide what to include in his short text.

At this point Kroeber then told Vaillant that when Tello had visited him at Berkeley a few years past (in 1936) he had left with him a large portfolio of pictures, drawings, and paintings (including Paracas?) that he had agreed to try to get published, but that his efforts to accomplish this had proven unsuccessful, because of the costs involved. As a result, Tello had asked that everything be sent back to him, but, Kroeber said, if Tello were to include plans of (the Paracas) ruins, along with the contents of the portfolio, then perhaps this might be the book that the IAR could publish for him. Hence, Kroeber added, perhaps \$5,000 could be allotted (for the book), \$3,000 could be allotted to Valcárcel for exploration, and \$2,000 could be allotted to fund exploration by Tello, but only upon receipt of the book. Kroeber closed by saying he was only trying to anticipate problems beyond what had been discussed at the meeting in Philadel-

phia, and he felt that Moe could be persuaded to approve changes in the program if the reason for the changes were made known to him. Indicated below Kroeber's signature was the notation that copies of his letter were to be sent to Bennett and Strong (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMMH). Vaillant responded on the 24th and thanked Kroeber for what he said were his very good suggestions. He went on to tell him that the executive committee would be getting together soon, and he would get back to him (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

Marion Tschopik wrote to Vaillant from Puno on 21 January. She began by saying she was still waiting for permission to excavate, and needed help from the IAR. Referring Vaillant to a letter he had sent to her the previous June (specific date and specific contents unknown) she said that, upon receipt, she had immediately written to Valcárcel to request permission, and that he had replied in July saying that the National Board met only every forty days, and that, assuming the next meeting did not coincide with the national holiday at the end of July, he would at that time bring the matter up. When she did not hear from him in August, she continued, she assumed the board would not be meeting until sometime in September. She then went on to say that when Strong saw Tello and Valcárcel just before leaving Peru, both had been very enthusiastic about her proposed excavations, and the latter had said he would see to it that the permit would be issued as soon as possible. Yet, she explained, when she still hadn't heard anything by 1 December, she had sent a tactful registered letter to Valcárcel, but had not as yet received a reply.

Tschopik then told Vaillant that her husband had written on her behalf to Giesecke at the American embassy, because he and Valcárcel were friends. Giesecke had written back and, among other things, had said that the applica-

tion to excavate had been sent to Tello, but he had not yet submitted his report on it to the National Board, so the Board might have to take action on the matter (hence placing the blame on Tello). Then Tschopik told Vaillant that she knew Lothrop was in Peru, but had not heard from him, adding that she knew that he and Tello were good friends, and she felt he could help if only she knew how to contact him. She then admitted she had already done some excavating, but was hesitant to do too much more out of fear of getting into trouble. She explained that she had excavated a small trench when visited by Strong, and had later dug a larger one.²¹⁶ Although she had not done any more digging, she told Vaillant, now that her mapping and exploration were about completed, she really needed to shift to excavation. In closing she apologized to Vaillant for troubling him with her problems. (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

Tozzer wrote to Lothrop on 22 January. He referenced a letter that Lothrop had sent to Donald Scott at the Peabody Museum on the 17th (specific contents unknown but that appears to have dealt with Tello's displeasure over not having received a copy of the report on the opening of the Rockefeller Paracas mummy bundle at Harvard). Tozzer said he found the matter disturbing, and went on to say he thought it all traced back to the reaction of Kidder II to the (perceived) way Guernsey had been treated by Tello, adding that he thought the Tschopiks had made a mistake in not playing up to Tello. Tozzer then suggested to Lothrop that he remind Tello he was the only foreign archaeologist ever to be named a curator of the Peabody Museum, and to tell him that

²¹⁶ She later wrote: "Later in 1940, after a visit from Dr. William Strong, and at his suggestion, two test trenches were excavated in the town of Chucuito in the hopes of obtaining stratigraphic material which would give time perspective to the surface collections we had been making at chullpa sites and in Chucuito itself" (Tschopik 1946:3).

the museum would send him a copy of the report on the mummy bundle (unwrapped by Kidder II at Harvard) as soon as possible. He went on to say it was too bad that the Peruvian embassy and the IAR had been brought into the (Tschopik) affair, and told Lothrop that he would really be concerned if he had to rely on anyone other than him (Lothrop) to defend the name of the museum. Tozzer then added that he thought it might be a good idea to look into the possibility of (the Peabody Museum) taking part in a joint excavation (with Tello, probably mentioned by Lothrop in his letter to Scott dated 17 January), and asked Lothrop to investigate the idea.

Tozzer also made a number of other interesting comments in his letter to Lothrop. He mentioned that Guernsey was on her way back to (the) Cleveland (Museum) where she was apparently doing well, even to the point of giving a lecture. He told Lothrop that he and Vaillant had argued over where the meeting of the IAR should be held, Vaillant wanting it to be held in New York City, while he and Kroeber had insisted that it be held in Philadelphia.²¹⁷

²¹⁷ Vaillant was likely under a lot of stress at the time, and his argument with Tozzer was probably because he felt the need to stay close to his office to keep an eye on matters. In this regard Gordon Willey's later comments about Vaillant are interesting. He wrote (1988:109–111), "It was at the end of 1930's . . . that I first came to know George Vaillant . . . I met him through Duncan Strong in the fall of 1939, when I was a new and beginning graduate student at Columbia University, and when I took his Middle American course at Columbia. At that time there was no good single library resource at Columbia for archaeological literature. An alternative, of which I often availed myself, was to go down to the American Museum of Natural History and use their very extensive library. . . . Vaillant's office was on the fifth floor of the old wing (at the 77th Street end) of the American Museum building complex. The library was also on that floor. . . . On the fall day of 1939 when I paid my first visit, Vaillant was alone in the office that morning. He rose, graciously pulled out a chair by the desk, and invited me to sit down. The great charm was there. . . . So I stopped by to see Vaillant a good many times."

Finally, Tozzer told Lothrop that since the meeting he had heard nothing (from Vaillant) regarding the disposition of the money from the Rockefeller fund (Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology Archive, Harvard University, Alfred M. Tozzer Papers, accession no. 41-10, box 1, folder 16, correspondence).

In its 24 January edition, *El Comercio* published Law 9298 signed by President Prado and Minister (of Public Works) Carlos Moreyra. It was stated therein that, in accordance with congress, the president of the republic had declared the ruins of Chavín de Huantar in the Province of Huari an archaeological and tourist zone. This published decree included a 20 January congressional communication sent to the president, that promoted the intent of the new law that was signed by both the president (Ernesto Montagne) and secretary of the Senate, and by both the president and secretary of the Chamber of Deputies (Prado and Moreyra 1941).

On 26 January it was reported in this newspaper that work was being done to protect the ruins of Chavín from the rising waters of the Mosna River (Anon. 1941f).

On 27 January, and again on 29 January, Tello and Mejía went to the ruins of Pachacamac to assess the work being done there (Huapaya 2009a:289–291). On the 27th Tello also undertook an inspection of the ruins of Cinco Cerros in the Lima Valley on behalf of the National Board. He subsequently wrote a report, in which he stated that during recent years a brick-making company had been taking bricks from the site, despite the fact that the ruins had been declared the property of the state, and under the protection of the board. Then, on the 29th, Tello submitted a second report to the board on behalf of the (Office of) Inspection of Monuments in which he recommended it deny a request to excavate at the site

of Mateo Salado also situated in the Lima Valley (Shady and Novoa 1999:100–103).

In its 28 January edition, *El Comercio* published what amounted to an argument intended to provoke comment about the need to create a series of national historic parks in Peru, given the recent discoveries that had been made at Chavín and in the region of Machu Picchu. Mention was made that newspapers in Trujillo had recently called for the protection of the ruins of Chan Chan. Mention was also made of comments that had been made by Tello (regarding the ruins of Pachacamac; Anon. 1941g).

The following day, the 29th, the results of an interview with Tello were published in this Lima newspaper. When asked about the idea of creating national historic parks in Peru, he had first responded by essentially saying that Peru was blessed with an abundance of important sites, and he felt the government should act to create parks that would not only serve to protect this precious national heritage, but also to promote both a sense of national identity and tourism. After going into some detail about how the important sites in Peru had originally served both social and religious purposes in ancient times, Tello had then said he had seen national parks in the United States during his recent (1936) visit to that country. He then listed the sites in Peru that he thought should be established as national parks: Sacsayhuaman, Vilcashuaman, Tambo Colorado, Huánuco Viejo, Chan Chan, and El Purgatorio in the Departments of Cusco, Ayacucho, Ica, Huánuco, La Libertad, and Lambayeque, respectively, as well as Pachacamac and Huarco in the Department of Lima, and Chavín, Pomakayán, Katák, and Sechín in the Department of Ancash (Anon. 1941h).

Lothrop wrote to Tozzer from the Bolivar Hotel in Lima on 31 January. He began by thanking him for his (22 January) letter and said

that at last things were beginning to make sense. He went on to explain that he knew nothing about the plans that had been drawn up between the IAR and the Rockefeller committee, and requested a comment about his suggestion that San Marcos and Harvard establish a connection. Lothrop then went on to say that Tello had finally figured out what had happened with Tschopik's permit to excavate. He told Tozzer he was enclosing a summary (apparently not saved) and then pointed out that she had applied to the wrong place, that the Peruvian embassy had thereafter made a mess of things, and that her application had then been held up for months by Valcárcel.

Lothrop then told Tozzer that in the past ten days there had been two meetings of the National Board and that Tello had been placed in complete charge of excavation permits issued to foreign institutions, as well as permits to export (recovered or purchased artifacts), adding that a special room had been established at his museum (Museum of Anthropology presumably) to inspect collections for export. Lothrop then said these actions had received approval from the minister of education the day before, that only the approval of President Prado was needed, and that he thought Valcárcel had been pushed aside (by Tello) while traveling abroad. He continued by saying that the meetings of the board were now being scheduled every week or two instead of every year or two.

Then Lothrop turned to other matters. He told Tozzer that he and his wife (and Tello?) had just returned from a trip south of Lima as far as Ica, with stops along the way, and that he hoped that, after three postponements, they would soon be off to the Callejón de Huaylas (with Tello?; Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology Archive, Harvard University, Alfred M. Tozzer Papers, accession no. 41-10, box 1, folder 16, correspondence).

A government resolution dated 24 January and signed by President Prado and Minister Moreyra was published in the 31 January edition of *El Comercio*. The purpose of the resolution was to commission Tello, as director of the Museum of Anthropology, and the engineer Harth-terré, head of the urban studies section of the general direction of the Ministry of Public Works,²¹⁸ to go to the city of Huaraz and make a study of the ruins of Pomacayán for the purpose of transforming it into a national park (Moreyra 1941).

Briefly, though Lothrop complained about being out of the loop regarding the IARs plans, he was becoming a valuable source of information concerning Tello, with whom he had a friendly relationship. He passed on the news that Tello was angry about not having received reports on the opening of the mummy bundles that Rockefeller had arranged to be exported. He also passed on the news that Tello had been placed in charge of overseeing the granting of excavation permits, and approving the export of artifact collections. He indicated that certification was now required for all foreign scientific institutions conducting research in Peru, and that this had been the root cause of Marion Tschopik's excavation permit problem. He also revealed San Marcos officials had reprimanded Tello for not submitting his Sechín manuscript for publication.

Marion Tschopik's permit hold-up was not an issue for the IAR, because she was working on behalf of the Peabody Museum, but it became one when she wrote to Vaillant, who was both a Harvard alumnus and head of the IAR. While Giesecke, who was a friend of Valcárcel, blamed Tello for the problem, Lothrop reported

²¹⁸ Harth-terré was awarded a civil engineering degree in 1922 and an architectural engineering degree in 1925 both by the University of San Marcos School of Engineering (Tauro 1945:8). Hence, he is appropriately referred to as an architect and/or engineer.

that Tello had resolved the matter, and that the fault lay with Marion Tschopik, the Peruvian embassy, and Valcárcel. Speaking of the Tschopiks, Tozzer expressed the opinion in his letter to Lothrop that they were partly to blame for Tello being upset about not receiving a report on the opening of the mummy bundle at Harvard, but that the problem likely traced back to how Kidder II felt about Tello's treatment of Guernsey when she had been in Peru. Left unsaid by Tozzer, but implied by him, was the fact that Kidder II had been the one to oversee the opening of the Paracas bundle at Harvard. Hence, one gets the sense that Tozzer felt Kidder II deliberately chose not to send a report to Tello. In any case, Tozzer suggested to Lothrop that he look into the possibility of a joint Harvard-San Marcos field expedition.

Tello was also on Kroeber's mind, given that the IAR was proposing a number of projects for Peru. He thought it would be a good idea if the IAR helped Tello publish a book, perhaps dealing with Paracas, and he suggested that the IAR fund field-work by Tello and/or Valcárcel, though he admitted adding Valcárcel to the mix might annoy Tello. Finally, it appears that, despite the fact that Vaillant had wanted the annual meeting to be held in New York, it was instead held in Philadelphia, at the insistence of Kroeber and Tozzer.

As for what Tello was doing, he continued to take part in the activities of the Association, at a session of which he introduced Fejos, who then spoke about discoveries he had made in the Cusco region. Tello continued to oversee the work at Pachacamac, and on behalf of the National Board he had begun to inspect sites in the Lima Valley that were under attack by those indifferent to protecting the national heritage. In addition, a debate was ongoing in the press regarding the need to designate extraordinary archaeological sites as national parks, and Tello contributed to this debate by offering a list of

worthy sites including Chavín, Sechín, Katák and Pomakayán.

On the first of February Tello and Lothrop paid a visit to the ruins of Pachacamac. Subsequently they continued southward, heading toward Las Conchitas (Ccosi 2009a:204).

A report on a recent meeting of the National Board attended by, among others, Tello and an unnamed interim director of the National Museum, was published in the 2 February edition of *El Comercio*. Five actions were taken. First, the National Board discussed the request of farmers who had been growing crops on the platform of (the principal temple) of Chavín (where Tello had just excavated) to be indemnified for losses suffered during the 1940 harvest. It was decided to first solicit reports from both Chavín authorities and the monuments commission before making a final decision. Second, in order to better coordinate measures adopted by the Lima departmental board of archaeology to promote the conservation of sites, it was decided to ask all departmental boards to submit weekly compliance reports that would include the measures that had been taken. Third, given the reconnaissance work being done at the ruins of Cajamarquilla and Pachacamac where roads had been built through cemeteries and architectural zones, it had been decided for the time being to prohibit vehicles from these sites. Fourth, it was decided to agree to the request of Bolivian authorities to allow the shipment of copies of casts made of the great idol of Tiahuanaco. Fifth, following a discussion of Tello's report on the request to excavate at the site of Mateo Salado, which was reproduced in its entirety in the newspaper, the National Board decided to approve the conclusion of the report, and hence deny the request (Anon. 1941i).

The following day, 3 February, *El Comercio* published a U.P. report sent from Trujillo. It was stated in this report that the Trujillo daily *La*

Industria had published an editorial in favor of Tello's idea of transforming the ruins of Chan Chan into a national park (Anon. 1941j). It was subsequently reported (Huapaya 2009a: 294–295) that Tello, Mejía, and a member of the Miro Quesada family (who owned Lima's *El Comercio*) visited the ruins of Pachacamac on 4 February.

On this same day, the 4th, Vaillant sent the exact same short notes to Strong and Tozzer (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH). He stated that he was enclosing preliminary information on the IAR's proposal (to the Rockefeller committee) that he, Bennett, and Strong had put together. He asked for comments and suggestions, and said he hoped to hear soon about funding for the proposal. Vaillant had written these communications on AMNH letterhead stationery that showed him as associate curator of Mexican archaeology, Junius Bird as assistant curator in anthropology, and Bennett as a research associate in anthropology.

The enclosed undated preliminary proposal that Vaillant sent to Strong called for ten projects, four of which involved Peru: one centered on the (central) Peruvian and Chilean coasts (Project Four), one centered in the northern highlands of Peru (Project Five), one centered on the adjoining highlands of southern Peru and northern Bolivia (Project Six), and one involving survey in the north of Peru (Project Seven). The amounts suggested for funding the first three of these projects were \$10,000, \$10,000, and \$15,000, respectively. Strong was listed as the director of the Peru-Chile project with Gordon Willey (Peru; Figure 26) and Bird (Chile) to serve as his field supervisors; Collier was listed as the director of the northern highland Peru project, though it was noted Kroeber wanted to be, with McCown to serve as his field supervisor; Kidder II was listed as the director of the Peru-Bolivia project, with John Rowe to

serve as his field supervisor, and Lothrop and Tello were to be co-directors of the survey project in the north (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

Vaillant also wrote to Kroeber on 4 February. He began by saying that he, Bennett, and Strong had discussed the matter of funding an album (book) for Tello, and had concluded that it would not be practical to do so, given that it would have to pass through another (government) committee. Instead, he continued, they thought it would be better to have Tello take part in a survey project in which Lothrop would be in charge of funding. He concluded by asking Kroeber to look over the list of projects that had been tentatively set up, and to make both comments and suggestions (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

Vaillant also wrote to Lothrop on 4 February. In addition to the brief note that he had sent to both Strong and Tozzer, he added a longer postscript. He told Lothrop that the executive committee thought it would be a good idea if he were to oversee a project that would focus both on archaeological research and publication. Vaillant then asked Lothrop to thoroughly critique the proposed program, adding that they were hamstrung by the fact that they were unable to directly fund Latin Americans (specifically Tello). He closed by saying existing statutes continued to hold up actual funding of the program (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

On 5 February Tozzer wrote to Lothrop from the Peabody Museum, and began by saying he had received his 31 January letter and wanted to quickly respond. He went on to tell Lothrop that he and Scott agreed with his suggestion that the museum establish a link with Tello, though funding was limited, and he would like an estimate of costs. Tozzer then told Lothrop to pass on his congratulations to Tello for re-

solving the issue of Marion Tschopik's excavation permit, saying that she should have known how and where to apply, though adding (ruefully?) that he might have been somewhat to blame. Tozzer then turned to the topic of Valcárcel's arrival in Cambridge. He said Kidder had assured Valcárcel he would be treated well. Tozzer then complained petulantly that Kidder was always making such promises, despite the fact that *he* would not be around during the entire period of Valcárcel's visit, meaning it would instead fall upon him to assume the role of host. Then, after referencing an undated letter that Lothrop had sent to Scott (contents unknown), Tozzer told Lothrop he hoped he would be undertaking his trip to the Callejón de Huaylas.

Tozzer followed this by telling Lothrop he had just received from Vaillant the outline that he, Bennett, and Strong had put together for the Rockefeller committee. He noted his pleasure that the museum would be in charge of two projects (numbers Six and Seven) and went on to tell Lothrop that it was assumed he would begin the process of getting the Project Six excavation permit for Kidder II started. He then told Lothrop that Kidder II planned on leaving for Peru in early May, and that he would be contacting him. Continuing with his discussion of the IAR's proposal, Tozzer said he was going to object to the salary proposed for Rowe, because he did not think a graduate student should be paid. He then said Rowe was up for two scholarships, in addition to the assistant position being proposed for him by the IAR, but he could get no more than one of these. Finally, Tozzer asked Lothrop whether he thought the excavations the museum was thinking of having him do jointly with Tello for the Peabody Museum fell within the purview of Project Seven. He closed by telling Lothrop that Vaillant hoped to hear about funding for the Rockefeller project that week (Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology Archive, Harvard Univer-

sity, Alfred M. Tozzer Papers, accession no. 41-10, box 1, folder 16, correspondence).

Kroeber wrote back to Vaillant on 7 February. He began by thanking him for having sent the copy of the IAR's proposal, saying that he wanted to study it more leisurely, and explaining that he was writing only in regard to Project Five. His only problem, he said, was *who* was shown as its director—Collier. Kroeber went on to tell Vaillant that he thought *he* should be the director of the project, if only because *he*, and not Collier, was the person known and respected by the Peruvians. Although Collier had worked in Peru, he had done so as a student, while McCown (listed as the project's supervisor) was equal in age to Collier and was also an archaeologist, and not simply a physical anthropologist. In addition, Kroeber argued, Collier should not be asked to go to Peru and interpret and otherwise smooth the way for McCown. Then returning to the matter of appointing him the director of the project and not Collier, Kroeber said in doing so it would save the IAR \$800 (because he did not plan to travel to Peru). Kroeber then told Vaillant he did not want to shut Collier out of the IAR's (Rockefeller) project because he was an important asset, and he asked Vaillant whether there might be some other project that could be created in which he could oversee a younger person. Kroeber then suggested as a possibility his student (Robert F.) Heizer²¹⁹ who, he said, he could vouchsafe for as a capable and experienced archaeologist. Kroeber then stated he did not think the position of project director was as important as that of the supervisor, because the latter would be doing the actual field-work. He concluded by saying he thought it best that *he* rather than Collier oversee McCown, so as to avoid difficulties (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

²¹⁹ Heizer did post-graduate work under Kroeber and received his doctorate in 1940 (e.g. Baumhoff 1980).

Means also wrote to Vaillant on the 7th. He said he favored Collier as director of Project Five in the northern Peruvian highlands. He went on to say that Project Six directed by Kidder II and supervised by his friend Rowe was the one that most interested him. He went on to say that Kidder II and Rowe were friends, were quite capable, and would make an exceptional team. He then said he was also very much interested in Project Seven in which Lothrop and Tello would be taking part. He concluded by advising Vaillant he would be moving to New York on the 15th, and that for the next couple of months he could be reached at the University Club (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

Kroeber wrote to Bennett at Yale on 11 February, and began by saying he had already written to Vaillant to state his case that he be named director of Project Five. He then added a new wrinkle by saying that McCown had taught Collier introductory anthropology (at Berkeley) a few years past, and as such it would not be wise to place the latter in charge of the former. Kroeber then told Bennett that he had been the one to give McCown instruction in matters Peruvian, and, as such, they worked well together, adding that by naming him director of Project Five this would save (the IAR) money, given that he did not plan to actually go to Peru.

Kroeber then told Bennett he saw a problem with Lothrop and Tello working together in northern Peru, though he did not elaborate. He then shifted abruptly back to the matter of Project Five, and said it was obvious that Ecuador was important, but that he (Kroeber) was a Peruvianist and he ought to direct someone working in Peru. He pointed out to Bennett that Collier was still young, and, as such, he should be the one to direct work in Ecuador, because he had many more years ahead of him to work in the field. Kroeber then wondered why an

individual other than he was being considered an elder statesman in South America. Kroeber then advocated on behalf of Heizer, and followed this with the statement that if Lothrop wanted to work with Tello, everyone else should happily agree. Continuing, Kroeber then told Bennett he had promised Vaillant he would look over the entire proposal that had been circulated, and that he would offer suggestions. His only comment, he went on, was that the proposed work in Ecuador, and in Colombia, had been left blank, and, as such, he did not know if this meant the executive committee was planning on going ahead with what had been discussed in Philadelphia, or not. He closed by thanking the committee for its work (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

Valcárcel wrote to Vaillant from the Hotel Duncan in New Haven, Connecticut (home of Yale) on 13 February, and began by telling Vaillant that Bennett had spoken well of him. He then told Vaillant that he might have to defer his visit to New York City until after traveling to the southwestern part of the country, and might not arrive until the first or second of April (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH). Vaillant responded the following day, and suggested to Valcárcel that they arrange a meeting before he left by train. Vaillant closed by telling Valcárcel that he would be happy to meet with him, and renew their pleasant but short acquaintance of a few years past (1936; IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

Kroeber wrote to Strong on the 13th. Among other matters he briefly argued that he should be named director of any project that included McCown (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

On 10 February a U.P. report sent from Chavín was published in *El Comercio*. It stated that heavy rains had caused a delay in the work

being done to defend the nearby ruins, and that it was hoped the work could begin again within the next fifteen days (Anon. 1941k). As for the ruins of Pachacamac, visitation appears to have increased. On 11 February Dr. Herbert Parker from Northwestern University arrived at the site, saying he and Tello were good friends (and that he should be given a tour of the site). The next day, a group in excess of thirty individuals attending a youth congress in Lima arrived with a note from Tello saying that they were to be guided around the Temple of the Sun. On the 13th, the Deputy of Pisco arrived with a similar note from Tello, while later that day a group of tourists were also allowed to see the Temple of the Sun. Then, on the 14th, a group of American tourists arrived (Huapaya 2009b:303–304).

It was on 12 February that Tello submitted a report to the National Board regarding the ruins of Huaca Juliana (also known as the Huaca Pucllana) in the Lima Valley. The essence of his report was that the site was being infringed upon by the (illegal) sale of part of the property comprising the site for the purpose of the construction of houses. Tello provided a sketch of the mound named Pan de Azucar, and made reference to his earlier visit to the site in 1935. Major issues he reported were the insistence on the part of the developers on the right to urbanize the zone, and the insistence on the part of purchasers of land to proceed with the construction of homes on land they felt they owned (Shady and Novoa 1999:70–72).

Lothrop sent a detailed letter to Vaillant hand-written on Hotel Bolivar stationery on 14 February, a typed copy of which contained the note that the annual meeting of the IAR had been held in Philadelphia at the end of December. Lothrop opened with the statement that they had just arrived back from an overland trip to the Chicama Valley (on the North Coast) in possession of a nice collection of pottery and textiles retrieved from archaeological sites from

as much as 600 kilometers to the north of Lima. He explained they had been taken to a cemetery where grave excavations in a small area had been held up for their inspection. He went on to say that in a single day they had witnessed the extraction of artifacts representing four distinct periods.²²⁰ Unfortunately, he did not specify if by his use of the word “they” he meant anyone other than him and his wife.

Lothrop then turned his attention to relaying a series of comments he had regarding the copy of the IAR’s outline of research that he had just received. He began by saying that, as a whole, it was too theoretical, both in terms of projects, and in terms of expenses, and gave as an example his successful experience working in Chile for nine months which cost less than the amount allotted for the IAR’s proposed work there. Lothrop then made it clear he was not happy with the idea of having younger and less-well-known individuals assuming important roles, adding that he felt bigger names, like Kidder, Kroeber, and Tozzer should be involved. This, he went on, was because the names of these individuals carried more weight, they would find it easier to make social contacts, and their participation would make a bigger splash in the press, especially in Peru.

Lothrop then told Vaillant the IAR’s workers would be better received in Peru as opposed to Mexico, that Chile looked fine, and that both Ecuador and Bolivia were problematic, but that, in any case, success depended upon publicity and local cooperation. Then, after saying he was a friend of the elderly dean of Chilean archaeology, he said Kroeber should direct Project Five with either Collier or McCown acting as supervisor, and that, in any case, more of the funding should be designated for publication, and less for excavation. He explained that the Peruvian northern highlands were as remote as the Ama-

²²⁰ Most likely he was referring to work overseen by or for one or more members of the Larco family.

zon region, and as such a good-will mission should instead focus on the coast with excursions into the highlands. Beyond commenting on non-Peruvian projects, Lothrop told Vaillant that, as written, Project Seven was going to be too much for him, because it would mean he would be involved in two archaeological projects at the same time.²²¹ He then said it would be better if he were to supervise work closer to Lima.

As for alternate projects, Lothrop suggested that Bud Newman (Figure 26)²²² and his wife be sent to Lima to work on skeletal material and have (Earnest A.) Hooton²²³ (Figure 17) serve as project director. He went on to say he thought Newman was a good skeletal technician, something the Peruvians wanted, that skeletal material was limitless in Peru, and that Newman and his wife would easily make friends. After providing estimates of some of the costs involved with this project, he moved on to a discussion of another alternative project. This would involve, he explained, publishing a book on Paracas, something that would be a real plus, given Rockefeller's past interest in Tello's work in this area. Lothrop then explained that (Tello's) color illustrations of the Paracas material were done, and he estimated that for less than \$10,000 a nice illustrated album of lasting

international value could be set for press in only six weeks. Lothrop then suggested that this latter alternative project replace the existing Project Seven. Lothrop closed by saying he hoped many of the Peruvian projects could be handled through the IAR in cooperation with San Marcos, and that this was something he could arrange (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

El Comercio published an account of a recent meeting of the Ica departmental board of archaeology on 15 February. Among the decisions made were to clean and restore the ruins of Tambo Colorado, and to seek the construction of a departmental archaeological museum that would in part serve as a place to teach students about the ancient history of the department, inclusive of the Paracas and Nazca cultures (Anon. 1941l).

On 16 February, a group of American tourists arrived at Pachacamac, while around five in the afternoon Tello and Mejía, who were on their way to Chilca, paid a visit. On the morning of the 18th Tello and Mejía again went to Pachacamac (Huapaya 2009b:304–307).

Tello submitted reports to the National Board on the 20th and 24th of February, respectively. The first dealt with a request to continue working at the site of San Miguel or Huantille in the Valley of Lima. Tello essentially stated the site belonged to the nation, and was protected by law, that work at the site was illegal, and, hence, permission to continue work there should be denied. He said the request that had been sent to the board was exactly like the request seeking permission to work at the site of Cinco Cerros that had already been denied (Shady and Novoa 1999:109–110). As for Tello's second report, it was based on work he had undertaken on behalf of the office of Inspector of Monuments. He had undertaken this work in order to investigate a request to parcel

²²¹ It is unclear if the two projects he was referring to were doing work with Tello in the field and working with him on publishing his Paracas material, or working in the field with Tello and helping to oversee the Tschopiks.

²²² In volume 44 of the *American Anthropologist* it was noted "The following Doctoral theses were accepted by the Department of Anthropology of Harvard University last spring. The authors received the PhD degree in June 1941. . . . 'An Analysis of Indian Skeletal Material from Northern Alabama and Its Bearing upon the Peopling of the Southeastern United States', Marshall Thornton Newman" (Anon. 1942y:166–167).

²²³ Hooton began teaching physical anthropology at Harvard in 1913 and continued to do so for the rest of his professional life (Shapiro 1954).

land (for purpose of home construction) contiguous to the group of mounds known collectively as the Juliana Group. He concluded that this request be denied (*ibid.*:72).

On 22 February *El Comercio* published in its afternoon edition yet another U.P. report sent from Chavín. It was stated in this report that work at the nearby ruins had stopped due to a lack of funding, and that it was hoped the government would soon remedy the situation, especially given the fact that it had indicated its desire to convert the ruins into a national park (Anon. 1941m). Five days later, on the 27th, another such report sent from Chavín was published in this newspaper. It stated that the (archaeological) work of the museum (of anthropology) at the ruins had ended, and the director of the work would be sending in a report to authorities (Anon. 1941n).

Tello and Mejía went to the ruins of Pachacamac on the morning of 26 February to undertake an inspection of ongoing work, and to issue new orders (Huapaya 2009b:308–309).

Bennett wrote to Vaillant on 18 February and enclosed a copy of the letter he had received from Kroeber dated the 11th. Among other things, he stated his concern that the IAR was proposing too many projects for Peru. He said he wondered whether Lothrop would be able to get Tello to produce if given \$5,000, adding that it would not be an easy job, and, if Lothrop wasn't in Peru, he had his doubts. He then said everything was developing nicely, and asked whether or not to ask the members of the IAR for suggestions regarding competent graduate students (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNN).

Vaillant updated Kroeber on IAR matters in his letter dated 15 February, enclosing a copy of the letter he had received from Lothrop dated 14 February. He began by telling him that

matters had progressed to the point where the executive committee felt comfortable negotiating with the Moe-Keppler-Stevens (Rockefeller) committee. Vaillant went on to tell Kroeber that the executive committee planned to submit a proposal consisting of five parts, for travel, survey, excavation, preparation, and publication. They planned to suggest to the Rockefeller committee how much would be paid upon completion of each part, without actually providing a detailed account. He then went on to say that the AMNH had indicated it might be willing to provide start-up funding, though the museum's trustees had not yet been apprised of the matter, and that this would obviously cause a delay. Vaillant then told Kroeber the (Rockefeller) committee had insisted that the IAR's proposed projects be limited to a year's duration, with the completed manuscripts due a month prior to the end of the fiscal year, which he added, placed a heavy burden on the participants.

Next Vaillant told Kroeber that he, Bennett, and Strong had just recently met and had discussed the Tello-Lothrop matter. He said they liked the idea that the two of them worked well together, and they liked the idea that Tello would not be given the money directly, but that instead Lothrop would dole it out, which might prompt Tello, or those who worked for him, to publish on work already done. Vaillant then added that the three of them thought that since Tello had focused on the northern highlands (in 1937) it might be best to have him involved in work in that area. This led Vaillant to bring up the related point that they were concerned there might be too many projects designated for Peru, while nothing had yet been established for Ecuador, so he asked Kroeber if he would be willing to take on the non-paying job of directing projects in both Peru and Ecuador, suggesting both Collier and McCown to act as supervisors for the latter country and adding that both

Ecuador and its American minister were keen on having work done by the IAR.

Vaillant then addressed financial matters that helped to explain what he meant by having Collier and McCown work as supervisors in Ecuador. He told Kroeber that concerns had been expressed by members of the IAR over how much supervisors were to be paid, particularly McCown (for his proposed work in Peru), and because of this concern, it had been suggested that it might be established that they be paid only \$150 a month with their assistants being paid as little as possible. He added the suggestion that McCown and Collier could take part in a dual Ecuadorian project focused on early man and archaeology, respectively. In concluding, Vaillant told Kroeber that he and others on the executive committee would greatly appreciate receiving his comments, criticisms, and suggestions (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

Kroeber responded to Vaillant on the 20th. He began by thanking Vaillant for sending him a copy of the letter he had received from Lothrop, and then addressed each of the points that Lothrop had laid out. Given his experience, he said, he did not necessarily agree with Lothrop's assessment of how American workers would be received in Peru as a whole, but that as long as relationships were established with the right people, he felt there would be no problem. Then, with regard to Project Five designated for the northern highlands, Kroeber said Lothrop's comments were likely justified, but that in the end any kind of work led by a good man would provide important contributions. As for Lothrop's suggested alternative for Project Seven, he said that, while he theoretically agreed more money should be spent on publication, and less on excavation, there was the complication of the insistence by the Rockefeller committee on one-year budgets. Kroeber then said he did not know Newman and his

wife, but agreed with Lothrop's suggestion that they be sent to work on skeletal remains. Then Kroeber said he agreed with Lothrop's suggestion about getting Tello published, especially on Paracas, though he had some concern about how much money should be allotted. Kroeber then went on to praise Lothrop for thinking outside the box, and seeing the need to cultivate personal relationships. Kroeber said the executive committee should consider the matter, and, if they agreed, they should reconsider budgeting. In any case, continued Kroeber, money should be allotted for entertainment, both for supervisors and directors.

Kroeber then focused his comments on what Vaillant had said in his letter to him dated 15 February, and what Bennett had said in his letter to him (date and contents unknown). After saying that Ecuador was important, and that work should be done there, he again said he was not interested in taking part. He explained that he knew little about Ecuadorian archaeology, and besides, he was extremely reluctant to become involved in two projects. He then said he had once again spoken with McCown who said he really wanted to do archaeological work in Peru, and was not interested in working in Ecuador and, Kroeber added, he agreed. Kroeber then brought up Vaillant's comment that it would not be possible to give money directly to Tello, and said he agreed with Lothrop's suggestion that the IAR instead publish his (Paracas) album in the United States in 1942, noting that among the illustrations that Tello had left with him in 1936 were a number of drawings of Paracas artifacts. After making a number of other comments unrelated to Peru, Kroeber wished Vaillant and others on the committee good luck with the problems with which they had to contend, including sorting through solicited comments received from the IAR's membership (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

On 21 February Bella Weitzer wrote to Tello from the AMNH. She told Tello that Bennett had asked her to send to him a series of photographs that had been taken when he had opened one of the Rockefeller Paracas mummy bundles at the museum. As requested by Bennett, she told Tello, she was also sending to him rough descriptions of the textiles and artifacts found during the process of unwrapping the bundle (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

To summarize what was happening during February, Vaillant sent out preliminary information on the IAR's proposed projects. Means offered no criticism, but said he was pleased for Rowe and Kidder II, and showed particular interest in the Lothrop-Tello project. As for Tozzer, he was pleased for the Peabody Museum. He wrote to Lothrop and told him Kidder II (who would be directing Project Six with Rowe's assistance) would be leaving for Peru in May. He told Lothrop he expected him to initiate the process of getting Kidder's permits. Tozzer also asked Lothrop whether Tello's participation with him in Project Seven might be construed as a way of linking the Harvard and San Marcos museums, hence negating the need for the Peabody Museum to tap its limited economic resources for work in Peru.

Others were not so pleased, however. Kroeber was upset that Collier, and not he, had been proposed as director of Project Five. He made it clear that he did not want to become involved in an Ecuadorian project, and he let it be known that McCown was only interested in doing archaeology in Peru. As for Lothrop, he did not like the idea of being involved in two projects, nor was he pleased that this work would take him away from Lima. He suggested two alternative projects, one involving Newman doing skeletal analysis under the direction of Hooton, and the other involving the publication of Tello's Paracas material; this latter being

offered as an alternative to a field project with Tello. Lothrop also stated he thought too much money was being allocated for expenses like travel, and not enough was being allotted for entertainment, that Project Five would better be conceived as a coastal project with incursions into the highlands, and that senior rather than junior men should represent individual projects, especially in Peru, where he thought Kroeber should direct Project Five.

The matter of publishing a book for Tello was of special concern, in part because project participants would be required to submit manuscripts for publication by the end of the fiscal year. The executive committee felt Lothrop, because of his special relationship with Tello, could get the job done, as long as he controlled the purse strings. Kroeber was also concerned about this and, like Lothrop, he was worried about a possible problem getting Tello's manuscript published in Peru. He agreed with his suggestion that it instead be published in the United States. While Kroeber agreed with Lothrop that more money should be designated for entertainment, he disagreed with him on how much should be allocated for the publication of Tello's book. Finally, the issue of money extended to projects as a whole, and Vaillant had initiated discussions with the AMNH to provide start-up funding.

On 3 March Tello and Mejía went to Pachacamac (Huapaya 2009b:310). The previous day, a report on a recent meeting of the Board of Archaeology was published in *El Comercio*. Six actions had been taken: Fejos was granted permission to explore and excavate in the archaeological zone between the ruins of Phuyo Pata Marca and Sayac Marca in Urubamaba Province in the Department of Cusco; Marion Tschopik was granted a permit to undertake archaeological studies and excavations in the Department of Puno; passed (up the bureaucratic channel) were the reports of the inspector

of archaeological monuments dealing with requests to expand urban zones next to ruins in the Lima Valley; passed (up the bureaucratic channel) was the report of this inspector on the actions taken by the board regarding the exploitation of the ruins of Mateo Salado; rejected was the request to continue to take bricks from the ruins of Wantille (Huantille); finally it was decided to remind the public about the dispositions of Law (6634) dated 13 July 1929, which defined the government's position regarding archaeological sites, the contents of which were included in this dispatch (Anon. 1941o).

Late in the afternoon of 6 March, Tello and Mejía again went to the ruins of Pachacamac (Huapaya 2009b:311–312). Then, on the 9th, a long and detailed article (Ruiz 1941) promoting the preservation of archaeological sites in the Department of Ancash, and specifically the ruins of Pomacayán near the city of Huaraz, was published in *El Comercio*.

The arrival the previous day of Thomas Dale Stewart was noted in the 13 March edition of *El Comercio*. This notification was in the form of the results of an interview with accompanying photograph of Stewart. It was noted that he had studied medicine at Johns Hopkins University in Baltimore, Maryland, that he presently resided in that state, and that he was assistant head of the Department of Anthropology at the National Museum in Washington D.C. It was stated that he had come to make a study of human cranial remains stored at Peru's various museums. Apparently Stewart was not included among the individuals that Tello guided around the ruins of Pachacamac on 11 March (Anon. 1941p). Tello and a number of other individuals made a surprise visit to the site on the 13th to undertake an inspection, though Mejía had arrived earlier to give advanced notice (Huapaya 2009b:313–314).

A U.P. report sent from Pisco that dealt with the sensational discovery at an unnamed archaeological site of the skeletal remains of a dozen individuals, including, apparently, pre-Incan skulls, was published in the 22 March edition of *El Comercio*. It was stated in this report that, after a preliminary examination, the remains had been carefully packed and sent to Lima for further study. The specific destination of the remains was not provided (Anon. 1941q). Two days later, on the 24th, this newspaper published a U.P. report that had been sent from Arequipa. It was stated therein that Lothrop and McCulloch, the "Director of the *Pan American Journal of Archaeology*", had arrived at the city on their way back to Lima, after having conducted archaeological research in the region. It was further stated that Lothrop and McCulloch had been treated courteously by the "Delegation of the National Association of Writers, Intellectuals and Artists" (Anon. 1941r).

In its edition distributed on 28 March, *El Comercio* published an unsigned Supreme Decree that named the delegates that would be representing Peru at the Third General Assembly of the Pan American Institute of Geography and History to be held in Lima from 30 March–8 April. Tello was among those listed (Anon. 1941s). On the same day, in an unsigned bulletin issued by the Assembly that was published by this newspaper, it was noted that Lothrop was a delegate representing the Peabody Museum (Anon. 1941t).

The following day, 29 March, this daily published a U.P. report sent from Arequipa that announced the discovery of the site of Las Tres Cruces on the road between the cities of Arequipa and Tingo. It was explained in this report that a manufacturing plant was under construction at this place, and that this had led to the discovery of an ancient cemetery. Excavations approved by the Regional Board of Archaeology had then led to the discovery of pottery and

human remains in what appeared to be tombs dating to different time periods (Anon. 1941u). Then, on the 30th, this daily published the results of an interview that Tello had given regarding this discovery. He said that the discovery was important, given the type of pottery that had been found, because only a few examples of this pottery were included in the collections of the Museum of Anthropology. He then said that he planned to go soon to Cusco, and that along the way he would stop and examine what had been found (Anon. 1941v).

Though there was no mention of Tello presenting a paper in *El Comercio*'s report on the meeting of the Third General Assembly published in its 2 April edition (Anon. 1941x), there was mention in its 3 April edition of the fact that among those who had given papers the previous day were Carrión, Villar, and Stewart (Anon. 1941z).

A series of reports were published in *El Comercio* that dealt with the Third General Assembly. On 1 April it was noted that the program called for visits to the San Marcos Museum of Archaeology, to the National Museum of Archaeology (*sic*), and to the Museum (of Anthropology) at Magdalena (Anon. 1941w). On the 2nd it was noted that Uhle, Tello, and Villar had all made comments following a talk on Mexican archaeology, and that Tello had subsequently spoken out against ideas expressed in a paper on Bolivian archaeology. It was also stated in this report that Tello had received delegates earlier in the day at the Museum of Anthropology, and had then served as their guide. It was reported that, following the afternoon sessions, the American embassy had hosted a reception for delegates (Anon. 1941x).²²⁴ Then it was noted in its coverage

published on the 3rd that a visit was to be made to the ruins of Pachacamac later in the day (Anon. 1941z). Not surprisingly, on the 4th, this daily published two photographs of Tello speaking to a group of delegates at Pachacamac, photographs that served to illustrate an accompanying report. In this report, it was stated that Tello had been at the site to greet the delegates, and he had then taken them to see all the major architectural features that had recently been unearthed (Anon. 1941aa). The same day this newspaper also published coverage of the sessions held the previous day, and it was noted therein that Harry Tschopik Jr. had been among the speakers (Anon. 1941bb). Coverage of the conference continued in the 5 April edition of *El Comercio*. Among those noted to have made comments during the archaeological session held the previous day were Tello and Uhle (Anon. 1941dd).

Despite this heavy coverage of the ongoing international conference, *El Comercio* also continued to keep its readers informed about urgent archaeological matters. In its 2 April edition, it published a U.P. report sent from Arequipa. It was stated in this report that a number of pre-Inca tombs had been exposed on the slope of Mount Kaka Inka, or Kakallinca, at Tingo Grande, where a jail was under construction. It was specifically pointed out that the local archaeological authorities had not denounced the act of exposing the tombs. The report went on to state that some of the tombs were horizontal, with niches, but that most were vertical, and from them it had been said pottery and textiles had been taken. Upon later inspection, the report continued, all that could be seen were the skeletal remains of mummified individuals (Anon. 1941y). The following day, 3 April,

²²⁴ During April 1941, "Mexico, Venezuela, Peru, and Ecuador seize 16 Italian and seven German merchant ships. The crews attempt to destroy nine of them. Peru outlaws Transocean German news agency, cancels the

Lufthansa airline contract, and seizes two Lufthansa planes. . . . The Peruvian Navy announces that German freighters which fled Peru on March 31 have been found aflame and sinking off the coast. Their crews return to Peru in lifeboats" (Whitaker 1942:202-203).

this newspaper published an editorial in which it appealed for the defense of the national patrimony, citing specifically the recent reports emanating out of Arequipa regarding the looting of tombs (Editor 1941a). Then on the 4th this newspaper published a U.P. report sent from Arequipa, in which it was stated that illegal excavations continued to expose tombs, and that the previous morning (the 2nd) a major tomb with a cist within had been found a meter beneath the surface (Anon. 1941cc).

Backtracking, on 20 March Vaillant wrote a note to Marion Tschopik. He said he assumed she had been in contact with Lothrop and that the permit problem had been resolved. In any event, he went on, he was enclosing a document appointing her an honorary fellow of the IAR (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

Vaillant then wrote to Valcárcel in care of the Hotel Benedict in Washington on 31 March. He told him his upcoming visit to New York to discuss the IAR's plans for work in Peru was keenly anticipated, but asked that he let him know when he planned to arrive, so that he would have time to contact Bennett, Means, and Strong (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH). Valcárcel responded the following day, saying that he would be arriving on 3 April (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

Vaillant also wrote to Lothrop on 31 March and enclosed a copy of the IAR's general plan. He told him negotiations with the Rockefeller committee had reached the point where they were about to prepare a contract with the IAR. Vaillant went on to tell Lothrop the IAR had received verbal, but not as yet written, clearance from both the State Department and the Smithsonian Institution. He added that he was enclosing copies of the plan for his comments regarding personnel, because matters had reached the

point where they felt comfortable deciding on participants, contingent upon availability, despite funding uncertainty. He closed by telling Lothrop that the role of the AMNH in smoothing the process of moving the overall project from one stage to another still needed the input of the museum's lawyers (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

In fact, Vaillant sent copies of the IAR's general plan to all of the members, and Tozzer and Kidder II jointly responded on 2 April. They began by saying they felt \$2,000 for overhead and administrative costs for each of the ten projects was too much, adding that overall they were concerned the budget was too specific, and they assumed actual spending would not have to be so constrained. Next they specifically addressed Project Seven (originally Project Six directed by Kidder II) and Project Eight (Lothrop's suggested alternative to Project Seven), both of which involved the Peabody Museum, the individual amounts designated for the two totaling \$22,000. They strongly suggested that \$1,500 be taken from each of these two projects, and be given to the Tschopiks for their work in Puno, adding that they were already working there, and that Kidder, Strong, and Lothrop had all praised their work to date.

Tozzer and Kidder II then went on to advise Vaillant that, in a letter from the Tschopiks that had been received (date and specific contents unknown), they had indicated their desire to extend their Puno work for another year, something, they pointed out to Vaillant, the \$3,000 would allow them to do. Since the money would only be coming from amounts allotted to Peabody Museum projects, they argued, they did not see any problem, especially given Lothrop's desire to give the Tschopiks another year to finish up their work.

Vaillant was then reminded that, in the letter he had received from Lothrop dated 6

February (specific contents unknown), Lothrop had suggested that the Tschopiks be included in the IAR's (highlands) project (directed by Kidder II). Tozzer and Kidder II then suggested to Vaillant that the \$3,000 for the Tschopiks could be made up by re-designating \$1,500 each from money already designated for Projects Seven and Eight. In general, they said, money designated for administrative costs could be reduced for both projects, while, specifically, \$1,050 of the amount allotted for the supervisor's (Rowe's) salary for Project Seven could be re-designated. Finally, they told Vaillant that, if necessary, what they were proposing for the Tschopiks could be designated Project Eleven, with Tozzer serving as director (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

On 8 April, Kroeber sent a letter to Vaillant and began by praising the program he had sent to the Rockefeller committee calling it both wise and well balanced (now that he was listed as director instead of Collier). He went on to say that he approved of both the plan and the participants established for Project Nine (originally Project Five), adding that he assumed budget figures were not set in stone. He concluded with the comment that the IAR needed new letterhead to reflect its membership. and, particularly, those members comprising the executive committee (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).²²⁵

Tozzer sent a letter to Lothrop on the 8th that, he said, was actually in answer to a letter Kidder II had received from Tschopik (date and contents unknown). He did not specify whether he meant Harry or Marion. Tozzer went on to tell Lothrop that he had expected him to write to either him, or to Scott, about Vaillant's outline of projects. Tozzer then stressed that suggestions they (those representing the Peabody Museum) had proposed were not reflected

in the outline, adding that he had since written to Vaillant and had suggested that he take \$1,500 from each of the two Harvard-led programs, and use the money to fund the Tschopiks. He then said he had already written to (Harry) Tschopik to inform him that \$900 could be drawn from a specified fund, and that Scott had said he could come up with another \$900 to help him if he wanted to stay for another year, explaining further to Lothrop that he thought Scott was writing to the Tschopiks.

Tozzer then told Lothrop that he had finally made indirect contact with Rockefeller to discuss the matter of the report on (the opening of the Paracas) mummy bundle (at Harvard by Kidder II and his students including the Tschopiks). He explained that this contact was through the head of the publications committee of the Council of National Defense, who was in possession of the plates (photos?) and the Tschopiks' drawings. Tozzer told Lothrop that this individual planned to show these items to Rockefeller. He then said that Bennett (who was a member of the executive committee) had told Kidder II that the IAR would get the funding (for the Tschopiks?) and that he was unsure how this would affect Kidder's plan to provide his namesake with \$1,500 from the Carnegie Institute.

Tozzer closed with some comments about his student Rowe. He told Lothrop that Rowe had gotten a \$1,500 scholarship, and that because Rowe thought he could get by for a year on \$2,000 he (Tozzer) was trying to get him another \$500 in the event the IAR's plans fell through. However, he closed, he did not think a student writing his doctoral thesis should be paid for anything except expenses, so the funding he had just discussed could be subtracted from the IAR's funding in the event the plans were approved (Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology Archive, Harvard University,

²²⁵ The letterhead still showed Kroeber as chairman of the IAR and Strong was not listed a member.

Alfred M. Tozzer Papers, accession no. 41-10, box 1, folder 16, correspondence).

Lothrop wrote to Vaillant from the Gran Hotel Bolivar in Lima on 11 April. He began by thanking him for sending the outline for the IAR's archaeological projects, and then confessed his amazement that they were being so well funded, adding as an example that he had only paid \$490 for a round trip ticket to sail to and from Callao (Lima), while the budget called for \$700. He then provided some detailed suggestions and criticisms. He asked whether the Tschopiks could be included as assistants for Projects Three (Peruvian Central Coast supervised by Strong) and Four (northwestern coast of Chile also supervised by Strong) given that Marion Tschopik had received her permit to excavate. This, he stated, would save on transportation costs. He then rendered the opinion that the salary allotted for assistants in Peru was too low. He suggested to Vaillant that, if the Tschopiks could not be fit into either of these two projects, then, perhaps, they could be fit into Project Seven (directed by Kidder II), with possibly an arrangement being made with the Peabody Museum to have them turn over their Ford truck.

Lothrop's most detailed comments dealt with what had been Project Seven, but was now Project Eight, directed by him. He began by saying he assumed he would be able to use his own discretion concerning how money would be spent. He then said he felt Newman should plan on bringing his wife along for a six-month stay, and that this could be paid for with a slight reduction in the funding allotted to him as director of the project. Next he suggested that he, as director, Tello, as counselor, and Newman, as supervisor, should take part in a small excavation at Paracas with certain provisos: that everything found would be published as a unit; that the supervisor would be given complete access to, and would be in complete charge of,

all found skeletal material; that, given her experience, Mrs. Newman would be guaranteed a voice in editing; that arrangements would be made for prompt publication; and that either the Peruvian government or San Marcos would pay half the publication costs, and would sign all contracts with local printers.

Lothrop then went on to say that such a plan for Project Eight was feasible. He added there was a consensus among South American archaeologists that the Paracas material was very important, and needed to be published, adding that the Paracas collection was perishable in nature, that where it was stored (the Museum of Anthropology) was subject to damage by earthquake, that very nice drawings or water colors of the Paracas artifacts had already been done, and that any such publication would be well received. Lothrop next told Vaillant that Newman could also work on the abundant skeletal material easily accessible around Lima, and elsewhere along the coast, where looters had strewn sites with unwanted examples. Even so, he admitted, it would be difficult to obtain complete skeletons, and there was a nice collection of several thousand skulls that had been surface-collected from coastal sites housed at the National Museum in Washington, but, he concluded, this was Stewart's area of expertise and he would soon be returning from Peru with even more skeletal remains. Then, he went on, though the Larco family museum at Chiclín (on the North Coast) probably did not have a large collection of skeletal material, what it did have Newman could study, in addition to Paracas skeletal material.

Having completed his comments about Project Eight, Lothrop then turned to another matter. He told Vaillant that all of the Institute's Peruvian projects would need to receive approval from the National Board, and, though possible, this would not be easy. He then said he would undertake the task to seek approval, but

to do so he needed credentials from the IAR authorizing him to represent each of the projects, as well as complete authority to act on its behalf in the event of the unexpected. In addition, he would need to receive, as soon as possible, from each director or supervisor, a detailed statement on where and how work would be done, because authorities were not in favor of issuing open-ended permits. Then, after making comments that were not pertinent to Peru, Lothrop ended with a post-script in which he advised Vaillant as head of the IAR to write to Tello and ask for his advice and assistance in getting work permits, adding that Tello would be pleased to receive such a request. even though this would be a delicate matter for him, given that he was a member of the National Board (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

Vaillant wrote back to Tozzer (and Kidder II) on 10 April. After saying he was glad to have received their opinion (on the IAR's proposal), he went on to say the two of them must have misunderstood, because there was no provision calling for the allotment of \$2,000 for the administration of each project, but that what the plan called for was taking out \$10,000 in five installments in order to fund office staff and interest on borrowed funds, as well as possible travel and secretarial costs in the event that the publication of field results did not meet deadlines. Hence, he explained, these installments served as a hedge or ten percent contingency fund. Vaillant then said that, despite apparent built-in restrictions on spending, there would be no real problem in taking money out of Projects Seven and Eight to fund the Tschopiks as research assistants. Next Vaillant stated that he, Bennett, Means, and Strong had held profitable talks with Valcárcel, who had demonstrated his willingness to support the IAR's proposed projects for Peru, adding that he and Bennett would soon be going to Washington to speak with, among others, the Peruvian ambassador.

Then, after addressing the downside of U.S. government contracts that called for payment after work was completed, Vaillant allayed concerns by stating he felt it would be possible to borrow money from the AMNH to facilitate matters, hence the need for contingency funds (Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology Archive, Harvard University, Alfred M. Tozzer Papers, accession no. 41-10, box 1, folder 16, correspondence).

Vaillant wrote to Strong on 22 April and asked him to read over an attached (cover) letter, that would be sent out to the members of the IAR, and then send it back with revisions as soon as possible (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH). That same day, Strong wrote to the Selective Service Board on behalf of Willey. The purpose of the letter was to request that his doctoral student Willey be allowed to take part in the IAR's planned work in Peru. Strong prominently mentioned the IAR, as well as the names of Rockefeller and Vaillant (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH)²²⁶

²²⁶ Willey later reminisced, "The academic year 1940-41 saw Vaillant engaged in a number of activities. . . . It was after the State Department funds from the Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs had been made available for the Institute of Andean Research archaeological expedition to Latin America in 1941-42. . . . The Institute of Andean Research had its 'home office' at the American Museum—in fact its 'business office' was essentially the same as the business office of the Museum. I had to go down there to receive certain vouchers, advances, and instructions in connection with the forthcoming trip. This was in late April of 1941. One item of business needed Vaillant's signature, so I went over to see him. He wished me luck in Peru. He had never been down there himself, but, in his capacity as the overall organizer of the Institute's program, he said he was making a quick trip down—in fact, sailing with Dunc Strong and Wendy Bennett. I remember him telling me that they wanted all of us younger participants, who were the ones who would be staying for the full year, to be happy and content. That's why he had seen to it that funds were available to take our wives along, and that he wanted us to do our best to establish 'good cultural relations' with our hosts. He had assured his friend Nelson Rockefeller, Coordinator of

Vaillant must have also written to Means on the 22nd to ask him to edit the copy of the same cover letter that he had sent to Strong. Means acknowledged in his response to Vaillant dated the 23rd his receipt of a copy of a (unspecified) letter that the latter had received from Lothrop. Means went on to say that he had not been feeling well as of late, and would soon be going to a named Boston hospital, and, as such, would be of little help in the near future. He closed by thanking Vaillant and his wife for recently hosting him and his wife for dinner (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

In brief, the Peabody Museum's plans for work in Peru complicated matters, but the executive committee felt accommodations could be made to satisfy both the museum and the IAR. Marion Tschopik was granted her permit to excavate, and was also made an honorary fellow of the IAR. Vaillant had told Tozzer and Scott that she and her husband could be assigned to projects with IAR funding. However, there remained more issues regarding Rowe, and Tozzer was making contingency plans to have the Peabody Museum provide him with financial support in case IAR money fell through.

Stewart visited Peru to conduct an investigation of skeletal remains, including those housed in Tello's museum(s). Lothrop convinced the Tschopiks to join him in taking part in the international congress held in Lima, at which Tello was an active participant.

Vaillant sent Lothrop and other members a copy of the IAR's plans. Though a source of confusion on the part of Tozzer, who consistently conflated IAR and Peabody Museum activities to the benefit of the latter, the plan called for an overhead expense of ten percent to be drawn from each of the ten projects, four of

which involved Peru. These were Project Three (previously Project Four) directed by Strong and assisted by Willey, Project Seven (previously Project Six) directed by Kidder II and assisted by Rowe, Project Eight (previously Project Seven) directed by Lothrop with Tello acting as counselor, and Project Nine (previously Project Five) directed by Kroeber or Collier with assistance from McCown.

Kroeber ultimately succeeded in pressing his case that he be named director of the northern Peruvian project, while Vaillant agreed that the Tschopiks could take part in Projects Seven and Eight after Lothrop, Tozzer, and Kidder II had made the case that they do so. Lothrop continued to support Kroeber in his drive to become director of the northern Peruvian project; he pushed the idea of having Newman do skeletal work in Peru, with the help of his wife; and he advocated for the idea of substituting publication of Tello's Paracas material for the fieldwork to be done by him and Tello. Kroeber backed both of these ideas. Lothrop also indicated by his suggestion that he, Tello, and Newman excavate at Paracas, that he considered Newman to be part of Project Eight.

In addition, Lothrop expressed his amazement that projects were being so well-funded, and he indicated his willingness to act on behalf of the IAR before the National Board, but he wanted the authority to act at his discretion, and he wanted the directors of the projects to send him details of their proposed work as soon as possible. He made it clear to Vaillant that it would be wise for him to contact Tello, given that he was a member of the board. Valcárcel also served on the board, and he had agreed to support the IAR's applications to work in Peru following face-to-face discussions with members of the IAR. Discussions continued at the AMNH, and Vaillant was becoming more confident that the museum would agree to provide start-up money. Finally, the IAR had

Inter-American Affairs in the State Department, that archaeologists would be good at this and we mustn't let him down" (1988:116–117).

begun discussions with the State Department and with the Peruvian ambassador.

Scott wrote to Vaillant on 23 April. He expressed concern about financial arrangements that were being made for the IAR's projects, and said he and Kidder had discussed the matter. He then proposed that the IAR make grants directly to the institutions represented by those going into the field, and, as such, hold both these institutions and these individuals responsible. He then elucidated reasons why he thought this was a good idea: it would be to the benefit of institutions seeking continuous work in Latin America rather than just work connected with the IAR's short-term projects; the prominent attachment of the names of the institutions involved in the IAR's projects would impress Latin Americans; a clearer accounting of responsibility for the IAR's projects would be established; in the event of sickness, participating institutions would be held accountable, and would thereby be forced to involve their own resources to meet guaranteed deadlines; institutional publication would be more economical (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

It was announced in *El Comercio* on 23 April that the second session of the Association would be held at six o'clock that afternoon at the Museum of Anthropology. Among those listed as scheduled to make presentations were Mejía and Tello (Anon. 1941ee). The following afternoon this newspaper published a detailed report. After Tello had read the minutes of the previous session, Mejía had presented the first of three illustrated talks. He spoke about discoveries that had been made at the ruins of Waman (Huaman) Marka in the (central highland) District of Carania, Province of Yauyos. Carrión and the engineer Harth-terré were said to have been two of those who made comments during the period of discussion that followed. Tello then introduced Lothrop and an Argentinian archaeolo-

gist who was the next speaker. In his introductory remarks, Tello referenced the IAR, and spoke about the need to undertake cooperative scientific ventures of an archaeological nature in the Andes. Following the talk, among those commenting were Carrión, Mejía, Uhle, and Villar. After providing a summary of this discussion, Tello then gave a talk in which he discussed the representations of ulcers and mutilations on Peruvian pottery, and pointed out the possibility of the tropical forest origin of the diseases represented (Anon. 1941ff). Essentially the same account of this session of the Association was printed in the 24 April edition of Lima's daily *La Prensa*, an exception being that it was reported that Lothrop and the Argentine archaeologist had been incorporated into the Association (Anon. 1941hh). Another report, again essentially the same, was published in the Lima daily *La Crónica* also on 24 April, but it included a listing of attendees. Among those not yet mentioned were Ccosi, Espejo, Ponce, Pulgar, and Rojas (Anon. 1941gg).

On 24 April, Vaillant prepared a letter of introduction for Lothrop that authorized him to undertake negotiations with the National Board on behalf of the IAR regarding its proposed projects for the period 1941–1942. It was further stated in this document that it was understood that final decisions would be made by the board, and by the individual project directors (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

Vaillant enclosed this document in a letter that he wrote to Lothrop the same day. He began by thanking Lothrop for his 11 April letter, and then quickly got into a discussion of decisions that had been made regarding the upcoming field season. He stated that the executive committee had built in extra expense money in the budget as a way of enlarging the entire budget that he said, no matter what, would not be increased, adding that it was better to turn in left-over money, than not to

have enough. He then told Lothrop that the committee had decided to use Grace Line, despite reservations, because this sailing line had been cooperative to the point of giving the IAR favorable rates. Vaillant then told Lothrop that the IAR was contractually obligated to complete all of its work, including manuscripts, by 1 June 1942. He told him that the committee had been able to convince the government to approve the IAR's project because it had guaranteed publications. He also told Lothrop that the committee had discussed the matter of the Tschopiks who, he said, had also requested funding from the Department of Agriculture for a non-archaeological project, and he had concluded that it would be okay to include them as assistants in either Project Seven or Project Eight, with the money to be turned over to them directly. He added that the committee thought this would be feasible, given that Marion Tschopik was already involved with an archaeological project, as opposed to the ethnological one being undertaken by her husband.

Vaillant then went on to tell Lothrop that he had written to Tozzer with regard to Newman, whom the committee planned to pay the standard monthly stipend of \$150. Given that there was no contractual provision for travel expenses for wives, he explained, they felt a stipend in this amount plus a moderate adjustment in money allotted for household expenses would suffice, and that this would allow Newman and other supervisors to bring their wives. Then, referring back to what Lothrop had proposed in his 11 April letter to him, Vaillant then told Lothrop that if he could guarantee the inclusion of the Paracas material in his Project Eight budget it would be a real plus.

Vaillant next told Lothrop that Valcárcel had suggested the IAR apply for a general five-year project, and then have the National Board in Lima decide on each specific project, adding that a member of the State Department would

be sending the IAR's application to the Peruvian ambassador. He went on to tell Lothrop that, ideally, it would be a good idea to specify what sites would be worked after the permit was granted. Next Vaillant told Lothrop that he would be arriving in Peru in mid-May, and that he looked forward to seeing him. Then he told him that, as he had advised, he would be writing to Tello. He thanked Lothrop for his efforts, and then spoke about the financial negotiations in which he had been engaged, and specifically told him that government funding provided little flexibility, and, as a result, the AMNH was taking a chance on its accounting liability, and was borrowing start-up money for the IAR's projects (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

In his official capacity as head of the IAR, Vaillant wrote to Tello on 24 April. He began by telling Tello that he was writing to him in his dual roles as the IAR's counselor, and as a member of the National Board, to seek both advice and cooperation. He went on to tell Tello that he understood his board obligations and duties took precedence, but that the U.S. government had made available to the IAR funding that would permit it an unprecedented opportunity to conduct archaeological research in Peru. Vaillant then went on to explain that the IAR had proposed four tentative Peruvian projects. He explained to Tello that he would act as counselor for one of these projects that would be directed by Lothrop, and assisted by the physical anthropologist Marshall (Bud) Newman. Strong would direct a second project with Willey's assistance, and it would focus on excavations in the southern part of the country. A third project focused on work in the southern highlands that would be directed by Kidder II, with possible help from the Tschopiks, while a fourth would consist of a small expedition in the northern part of the country directed by Kroeber, with the help of McCown. He did not

mention Rowe, nor did he provide any specifics for any of these projects.

Vaillant then told Tello that discussions had been held with Valcárcel in New York, and with the counselor of the Peruvian embassy, the result being the idea that it might be wise to submit to the National Board a general request to conduct research for a period of five years, with the specifics of each project then being looked over and approved by the board without the need to involve the U.S. State Department. He further explained that the IAR had a contractual agreement with the government to submit publishable manuscripts for each of the projects by June 1942, adding that *everything* depended upon compliance. Finally, Vaillant appealed to Tello's commitment to the advancement of scientific research in the home of the greatest civilizations in the Americas; he praised him for his past assistance; and he said he hoped the IAR could depend upon his friendly advice and support. He closed by passing on the warmest wishes of Bennett, Means, Strong, and himself (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

Vaillant next wrote to Valcárcel on 28 April to say he was sorry not to see him again before he left New York. He then told Valcárcel that things were proceeding without issue and that the AMNH was in the process of looking over the IAR's contract with the government. Vaillant closed with warm regards from him and his wife (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

Vaillant also penned a letter to Scott on the 28th and began by telling him that he was very much interested in what he had read in his 23 April letter. He then went on to explain the contractual obligations faced by the IAR, and the fact that the AMNH was investigating the possibility of loaning the IAR money before government payments actually began. If the

museum did provide a loan, he went on, it would become responsible for the administration of project funding, and it might even face a congressional investigation in so acting. Hence, he said, it would not be feasible to involve other institutions in money matters. Then Vaillant told Scott he was very much in favor of the idea of publicly connecting the IAR with the institutions represented by project participants. He was also in favor of having these institutions oversee the publications that resulted from projects, publications that would prominently state the IAR's involvement. But again, he said, the way the government operated in terms of funding, such an arrangement was going to make this a problem, due the fact that a number of institutions would be involved. He then told Scott he was enclosing a copy of the IAR's contract. He told him the accounting office at the AMNH was still trying to figure out how to work within the parameters of the contract, and, as such, it had not yet been sent to the museum's lawyers for approval, but, he went on to say, he was optimistic that approval would be given. Vaillant ended with two statements. First, he assured Scott that the IAR would take care of all the permits needed by participants, and, in so doing, would make sure that participating institutions would get the fullest credit. Second, he specified that the reason why the AMNH had become involved was because the IAR needed \$40,000–\$50,000 to get the projects going before the contracted government payments kicked-in (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

Copies of the contract with a cover letter dated 29 April and signed by the executive committee were sent to, among others, Bennett, Kidder, Kidder II, Kroeber, Lothrop, and Strong.²²⁷ The letter began with the statement

²²⁷ Bennett, Kidder, Kidder II, Kroeber, and Lothrop, as well as Strong and Vaillant were all designated to serve as director of one of the IAR's Rockefeller-sponsored project (Mason 1967:5).

that the point had been reached when actual planning for the projects could begin, and then went on to state that financial arrangements were still being worked out between the government, the IAR, and the AMNH. Following this opening statement, recipients were requested to provide the executive committee with a list of project participants, specifying sailing dates, whether payments were to be in the form of traveler's checks, open accounts, or letters of credit, where money was to be deposited, etc.

The recipients were then requested to get the presidents of their institutions to write a letter endorsing the IAR's project to be sent to Rockefeller at his Washington office. The cover letter then explained that it was the position of the executive committee that participant control should rest in the hands of project directors, who would then be responsible to the IAR, and not to other institutional authority. It was explained that it was the committee's position that the IAR would be the one to determine the final disposition of exportable collections resulting from projects. Hence, a sample collection could be given to the National Museum in Washington with details to be worked out at the next annual meeting of the IAR.²²⁸ Recipients were then told that the committee was reserving \$1,500 from each project for publication, and that it was assumed that representative institutions would publish project results with a special page designated for the listing of all other project publications. Finally, all recipients save Lothrop were told that Grace Line schedules had been enclosed, they were told to apply directly for tickets, and they were advised not to actually buy tickets until notified (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

The contract or memorandum of agreement was a little over three pages in length, with spaces for the signatures of Rockefeller, the

president of the AMNH, and Vaillant. Essentially, it called for a total of ten projects, four of which were connected with Peru, Project Three for the southern area (Central Coast), Project Seven for the southern highlands, Project Eight for racial problems and basic research, and Project Nine for the northern area. A monthly breakdown of payments to be made on or about the first of each month was provided for the period July 1941 to June 1942. Individual project payouts differed, depending on the total amount allotted, and, in the case of Project Eight, a lesser initial payment was due to the fact that Lothrop was already in Peru. The government would send payments to the AMNH that would then issue vouchers, and would maintain accounting records open to examination at any time by the issuing entity. Payments would continue on schedule as long as work continued on schedule. The deadline for making arrangements for the publication of monographs resulting from each project was set for August 1942 (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

Lothrop wrote a note to Vaillant from Lima's Hotel Bolivar on 29 April. He began by informing Vaillant he had sent a wire to him the previous night (not saved) out of concern that he had involved the Peruvian embassy in Washington in the IAR's project. He explained that the Tschopiks had done so, and this is what had led to their problems, something that he had resolved by beginning the process anew in Lima. Lothrop then warned Vaillant that the Peruvian Minister of Foreign Affairs was half German, and might be a problem, but then added that this individual would be leaving office in July. Lothrop then urged Vaillant to deal directly with President Prado, and likewise urged that payments not be made directly to Tello, because he had been influenced by recent anti-American sentiment. After telling him that he planned to be in the field during the month of May, Lothrop then asked Vaillant to let him know his

²²⁸ This helps to explain why negotiations were held between the IAR and the Smithsonian Institution.

travel plans so he (and his wife) could greet him and his wife Sue when they arrived in Lima (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

Tello also wrote to Vaillant at the close of April, penning his letter on the 30th. He began by thanking Vaillant for his letter dated the 24th and stated that he would be happy to cooperate with the IAR in his role as counselor. He then told Vaillant that he had previously asked Bennett, then secretary of the IAR, to specify the counselor's responsibilities, but he had never done so. Hence, he posed the same question to Vaillant. Tello then apologized for pressing the issue, explaining that counselor was an unusual position for Peru, and he simply did not understand what the IAR meant by the designation. Tello said he had to insist on this point, because he did not want his duties and obligations as a member of the National Board to conflict with those he would have as the IAR's counselor. This was a point, he continued, that he had talked about on a number of occasions with Lothrop, because of its importance.

Next Tello told Vaillant that he and all of the other members of the National Board felt that, with regard to foreigners wanting to conduct archaeological work in their country, there was a need to establish a strong connection with scientific institutions in the United States and incipient ones in Peru. It was their position, he continued, that Peru should (financially) benefit from all foreign expeditions, whether small or large, and benefits would be converted into the preservation and restoration of explored sites, the increment of museum collections from artifacts found during exploration, the technical training of Peruvian assistants working with foreigners in the field, the publication in Spanish of the resultant field reports, as well as receipt of copies of all photographs, plans and site schematics produced during field-work. In essence, he continued, what the board wanted

was to assure the integrity of Peru's archaeological resources, foster the development of Peruvian institutions, and create a spirit of confidence and frank friendship between Peruvian and North American institutions. In closing, Tello thanked Vaillant for his considerate attention, by letting him know about the IAR's future activities, and said he hoped he had been helpful (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

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In response to the cover letter and contract he had received, Kroeber wrote to Vaillant on 3 May to congratulate him on a job well done in putting into action the IAR's new field-work. He told him he agreed with all the points that had been made in the cover letter, and specifically made the point that his university at Berkeley would assume responsibility for the publication of the northern Peruvian project, and, though he was not authorized to make a commitment, would do so, even to the point of assuming additional costs. Kroeber also informed Vaillant that McCown was working on his preliminary program for field-work, and would send it to him soon, adding that the two of them had looked over maps of northern Peru the previous day. Regarding McCown, Kroeber told Vaillant he was sure he would be granted leave from the university (Berkeley) and that as soon as this formality was done he would ask the university's president to write to Rockefeller as suggested (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

Lothrop again wrote to Vaillant from his hotel in Lima, this time on 4 May, after having received his copy of the contract, and cover letter that day. He began by requesting more details about what he perceived as problematic Project Eight. He wanted to know if Paracas was to be the subject of the project, with Tello publishing on its art, and Newman on its skele-

tal remains. He also wanted to know if the IAR's contract allowed for additional funding from the Peruvian government, San Marcos, or the Peabody Museum. He then asked if Project Eight was largely a printing project, and, if so, whether it should be done in Lima, which would be one third the cost of having it done in the United States. Then he asked whether the text should be in Spanish or in English, and who would be authorized to sign contracts, because he would not do so without written authority.

Then, specifically addressing what he had just received in the mail, Lothrop told Vaillant that he could not address the matter of the funding stipulated in the contract for Project Eight before he knew its nature, although he could say that he felt Newman should receive both a salary and expense money. He then advised Vaillant that, in view of what had happened in 1937, it would be wise to keep Tello's funding in New York until an actual agreement was reached with him as to how it was to be spent. As for his own funding, Lothrop told Vaillant, he planned to use it to meet unforeseen expenses. Lothrop next told Vaillant he could not do anything with the National Board until he had specific information with which to work, because it would not consider preliminary negotiations, and would likely deny permits for undefined projects, noting specifically Project Eight. As a result, he told Vaillant, he would advise him to contact the American ambassador in Lima, and have him ask President Prado for blanket approval. In that way, Lothrop explained, he could then work out the details with the board. In closing, Lothrop told Vaillant he planned to leave Lima on 6 May to return on the 16th and then, after a few days, he would again leave Lima for a few weeks. He added that he could postpone his plans, but he couldn't simply wait around while the IAR solidified its plans. He added a postscript in which he suggested that, in the advent of difficulties in Peru or any of the other countries where it planned

to work, that the IAR change to another country rather than choose to fight to work in the original locale (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).²²⁹

Lothrop also wrote to Scott. This was on 5 May and Lothrop began by telling him he had received his letter, specific contents unknown, dated 28 April. He then told Scott that the Tschopiks were doing fine, but that, given their relative isolation in Puno, he had suggested that they come to Lima and take part in the recent congress. As for Marion Tschopik's permit to excavate, he told Scott that it had been issued on 2 March, but that she had written she had not yet begun to dig because of rain. Then, switching to a discussion of the work permit for Kidder II, Lothrop then told Scott that Tello had told him that, unless discussion of the IAR's entire program was postponed, it should be approved at the next meeting of the National Board. Lothrop also told Scott that Kidder's IAR project did not conflict with Marion Tschopik's work, because Puno was so large. Lothrop told Scott he had asked (Tello?) that the latter's permit be issued quickly, because Kidder wanted to get to work right away. Next Lothrop told Scott that he didn't think it mattered whether institutions or the IAR were the titular heads of the Peruvian projects, and he told Scott that Tello had told him that local supervisors with government authority (attached to IAR projects) would likely be eliminated by the board, and be replaced by younger men, including university students, in order to give them field experience.

As for Project Eight, Lothrop went on, nothing had really been decided except that it was designed to get the Paracas material published. He told Scott that he hoped the project

²²⁹ During May 1941, "The U.S. Navy Department announces the appointment of Captain William M. Quigley, U.S.N., as chief of staff of the Peruvian Navy" (Whitaker 1942:207).

would include a small dig to verify things, that it would include a Tello study of archaeological remains, that it would include a study by Newman of 250–300 available complete skeletons, and that it would also include metallurgical, botanical, and zoological studies. Tello, he next said, was trying to get additional government funding for the project that would go directly to him. This money, Lothrop continued, would help to cover costs involved with the publication in color of the results of Tello's study at his Museum of Anthropology of the twenty most complex of the Paracas mummy bundles, as well as other prominent Paracas artifacts, but there was a proviso: the book had to be published in Peru. After telling Scott that, in the event new mummy bundles were found and extracted during his hoped for work at the site of Paracas with Tello and Newman, Lothrop said he expected half the artifacts contained within such bundles would go to the Peabody Museum. Lothrop told Scott that, in the event of such a dig and resultant discovery of mummy bundles, Tello would give Newman both an assistant and a room in which to unwrap the mummies. He then told Scott that, given the 1 June 1942 publication deadline, it was doubtful Newman would be able to do anything else while in Peru other than study the Paracas skeletal collection (at the Museum of Anthropology), because the collection was so large, and hence it seemed unlikely he would be able to work on skeletal material from any later period. Lothrop closed by making three comments. First, that he hoped Newman's wife would be accompanying him to Peru, because she could be of help to both her husband and to Tello; second, that Vaillant hoped to arrive in Lima in a couple of weeks and that by then things should become definite; and third, that Newman had better be heading south as soon as he got his (travel) money (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

Vaillant wrote to Lothrop on 6 May to tell him he would likely be leaving from New York

on or about the 15th, and would be arriving in Lima around the first of June. He went on to explain that they were contractually required to send their applications through the State Department, and, as such, he would either forward to him each application as they were approved, or he would hang on to all of them and bring them with him to Lima where the two of them could discuss them. Next Vaillant told Lothrop that the trustees of the AMNH had only the night before approved the plan to borrow money to fund the onset of the program. Then Vaillant apologized to Lothrop for the complications he was facing in Peru, and also apologized for not having wired his travel plans but, he explained, he still could not say specifically when things would be completed at his end, because of the complicated nature of the negotiations. Vaillant then addressed the matter of paying Tello directly for his part in Project Eight. He told Lothrop this was strictly prohibited, because he was not an American citizen. However, with his guidance, and if Tello acted reasonably, something might be arranged. After again thanking Lothrop for all that he had done, Vaillant closed by saying he found the news depressing that Tello was becoming influenced by anti-American sentiment (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

On 7 May Means communicated with Vaillant by letter. He started by thanking Vaillant for sending him a copy of Lothrop's 29 April letter. Means then said Lothrop's comments about the German inclination of the Minister of Foreign Affairs Solís y Muro depressed him, but did not surprise him. However, he continued, he was surprised, even horrified, that Tello was becoming anti-American, because he had been so honored and praised by Americans, and had received help from them. He then asked if he should write to Tello. Means closed by asking Vaillant when he planned to sail, and how he could be reached in Lima. He told Vaillant to give Lothrop his

regards, and to tell him that all he had to do was ask and he would respond (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

Means then sent a second letter to Vaillant on the 8th, in which he enclosed a copy of a letter he had addressed to Tello (specific contents unknown). Means told Vaillant that he had enjoyed talking with him on the phone that morning, a call he said that had been inspired by his receipt from him of a copy of the letter that Tello had sent on 30 April. Means then went on to repeat what he had said over the telephone, that Lothrop must have misinterpreted Tello's attitude, adding that he had found it hard to believe that Tello had become anti-American. Next Means referred to their phone conversation in which Vaillant had read to him parts of the letter that he was writing in response to the one he had received from Tello. Specifically Means cautioned Vaillant against using the word "guidance" and he advised him to stress the point that the objective of the National Board and the IAR in no way conflicted. He then added that he felt Valcárcel had a better understanding of this, that in some ways Valcárcel was a bigger man than Tello in both a moral and psychological sense, and that Valcárcel was a friend of the IAR. Means essentially closed by telling Vaillant that his own letter to Tello was meant to remind him that the members of the IAR were the best friends he could have, and to show him that, despite all the anti-American rhetoric he had been exposed to, it would be best for him to deal with Americans (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

Vaillant replied on 9 May and congratulated Means on his sentimental letter and thanked him for writing it. He said it should serve as a wake-up call for Tello. He went on to say he felt there was a feeling of jealousy among Indians of mixed blood in Latin America, and that this was what impelled them to play hard-to-get with their best friends, because they saw it as a way of

getting away with something (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

It was also on 9 May that Vaillant responded to the letter he had received from Tello dated 30 April. Vaillant began by thanking Tello for his letter on behalf of all the members of the (executive?) committee. He then addressed the issue of the duties and responsibilities of the counselor. He said they comprised what Tello had always done in the past, namely to cooperate in a friendly fashion with representatives of the IAR, and to provide them guidance regarding the archaeology of Peru. This, he told Tello, should not infringe in any way on his duties and obligations as a member of the National Board, but that it should, instead, help to establish a mutually beneficial link between the goals of American organizations like the IAR and the Board. After stating that this link would help to assure the presence of foreign students in Peru, Vaillant told Tello that, as counselor, he would be able to guide the IAR's representatives, and help them heed to the letter Peru's rightful regulations. Finally, he told Tello that, in Tello's letter, he had expressed in an elevated way the spirit of the IAR's ideals.

Next Vaillant explained to Tello that the IAR hoped it wouldn't be too much of an imposition to ask him to help the representatives they planned to send to Peru to get their visitation periods extended to a year. He added that this matter had been discussed with the Peruvian consul general, and that he had told them to turn the matter over to him (Tello) for his scrutiny and action. Vaillant then provided Tello with the names of the individuals who would be actively participating in the IAR's program slated for Peru: Strong, Willey, McCown, Newman and his wife, Kidder II and his wife, Rowe, and Harry Tschopik and his wife. He told Tello that he hoped he would be able to assist these individuals, who, he said, were passionate about the archaeology of Peru.

He told him that it was felt best to engage in a face-to face discussion of the details of each project, and the specific authorization for each individual. In closing, Vaillant told Tello he hoped he would be able to inform him soon regarding the matter of the status of the individuals he had listed, so that he could make arrangements prior to leaving for Peru on 20 May. Vaillant concluded his letter to Tello by saying he looked forward to renewing their friendship (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

To summarize, Vaillant sent to Lothrop the letter of authorization he had requested to act before the National Board on behalf of the IAR. In his enclosing letter Vaillant informed Lothrop of the 1 June 1942 deadline for the receipt of project manuscripts, told him that it was okay to include the Tschopiks in either Project Seven or Project Eight, and said he had told Tozzer it was okay for Newman to bring his wife. Vaillant also told Lothrop that he hoped the publication of the Paracas material could be included in Project Eight, that dealings were ongoing with the State Department and with the AMNH, that he would be writing to Tello, and that he would be leaving for Lima in mid-May.

Vaillant did write to Tello and asked him to assume the role of counselor, and to act on behalf of the IAR in its dealings with the National Board, of which he was a member. He went on to inform Tello of the four projects planned for Peru and their participants. He told Tello that he would participate as a counselor in a project directed by Lothrop, who would be assisted by the physical anthropologist Newman, and he told Tello that contact had been made with both Valcárcel and the consul general of the Peruvian embassy, and, as a result, it was thought the IAR should present to the National Board a request for a five-year permit. Vaillant also stressed to Tello how important it was to

comply with the 1 June 1942 deadline for project reports. Tello responded and said he would be glad to act as counselor, but that he wanted to have specified what responsibilities he would be assuming in this role, given his responsibilities to the National Board. Tello then laid out for Vaillant the position of the board.

Scott suggested to Vaillant that the IAR directly fund the institutions represented by participants, and, in his response, Vaillant said it was not feasible to do so, because of contractual obligations. Vaillant then sent out copies of the contract, along with a cover letter to select members of the IAR who would be taking part in its field program. In this letter, he requested information, and he asked that arrangements be made to have institutional presidents write letters of support directly to Rockefeller in Washington. Regarding these institutions, he said he assumed they would make arrangements for the publication of project results by the August 1942 deadline, and he said the reason why participants, and not institutions, had to retain control was because the former would be responsible to the IAR, and, as such, it could, for example, designate a sample of recovered artifacts be sent to the National Museum in Washington. Vaillant also said arrangements between the government and the AMNH had not yet been finalized, but that vouchers would be issued by the former, and sent to the latter on a monthly basis following the completion of scheduled work. Finally, Vaillant said \$1,500 would be taken out of the funding for each project for overhead expenses, and he said the Grace Line would be used, but that it was too early to actually purchase tickets.

Among those to whom Vaillant sent a copy of the contract and cover letter was Lothrop who, as it turned out, had written to Vaillant on the same day. Lothrop had written to warn against involvement with the Peruvian embassy in Washington. He was concerned that the

Peruvian minister of foreign affairs might be a problem, because of his German heritage, and he was concerned that Tello was being influenced by anti-American sentiment. He also told Vaillant that he would be outside Lima during the month of May. Means was particularly alarmed about what Lothrop had said about Tello being influenced by anti-American sentiment, and decided to write to him. In his response to Vaillant's letter with enclosed contract, Lothrop expressed a number of concerns about Project Eight, not the least of which involved paying Tello before his part of the project was completed. Lothrop also wondered if the project was indeed focused on Paracas, with Tello getting his manuscript ready for publication, and with Newman providing an analysis of Paracas skeletal remains. Assuming this was the case, Lothrop asked whether the Peruvian government, San Marcos, and/or Harvard should become involved, whether the work should be published in Spanish or in English, and who would be authorized to sign off on the publication, adding that he would do so only with written authorization. Lothrop also addressed other matters. He said Newman should be paid both a salary and expense money, and, as for himself, he would use his salary to pay for unforeseen expenses.

Lothrop was also in contact with Scott. He told him he foresaw no problems with Kidder II getting his work permit, and he foresaw no problem with the work of Kidder II and that of Marion Tschopik conflicting. Lothrop also told Scott that, although things had yet to be decided, Project Eight would likely deal with the publication of Tello's Paracas material, and that Newman would have plenty of skeletal material with which to work. He went on to say that Tello was trying to get the government to help fund the project, that he had agreed to give Newman an assistant and a room in which to open Paracas mummy bundles discovered as part of the project, and that the Peabody Mu-

seum would be getting half of the artifacts found in these bundles. He also said Vaillant would be coming to Lima soon, that he hoped Newman would sail as soon as he got his money, and that he hoped he would be bringing his wife along, because she would be of help to both her husband and to Tello.

Prior to leaving for Peru, Vaillant wrote to Lothrop and told him he would be arriving around the first of June. He also told him the IAR was contractually obligated to send all of its applications to the State Department, and that he would either pass them along to Lothrop as they were approved, or he would bring all of them with him, and they could discuss them in Lima. After telling Lothrop the AMNH had agreed to lend the IAR start-up funds, he apologized for not being able to pass on to him other specific information, because negotiations were still ongoing. He could say, however, that by law it was not possible to pay Tello directly, because he was not a U.S. citizen, but that if he behaved, something could be worked out. Vaillant also responded to Tello at this time, and diplomatically addressed the issue of the responsibilities of the IAR's Peruvian counselor, as well as the issue of the IAR's participants following the laws of Peru. He gave Tello the names of these participants, and asked him if he could get their visitation periods extended to a year. Finally, Vaillant told Tello he was looking forward to seeing him again, and renewing their friendship.

To continue, Vaillant wrote to Valcárcel on 9 May, enclosing a copy of the IAR's contract. He informed him that he had sent the contract to the State Department for its transmission to the Peruvian ambassador, and eventual delivery to the appropriate authority in Lima. He went on to tell him that he had not yet heard back from the State Department. He also told him that he had contacted the Peruvian consul General in the United States, and had been told applications by IAR representatives for a year's

stay in Peru should be sent to Tello, and that he had done so in the hope arrangements could be made before the directors of the various projects sailed. Then, after essentially saying that he hoped everything would go smoothly, because it would be to the benefit of both countries, he closed by saying he would be in Lima in early June, and passed on his best wishes, as well as those of his wife, Bennett, and Strong (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

The following was published in the 11 May edition of *The New York Times*:

The educational department of the Grace Line announced yesterday that the response of American students to this year's roster of educational cruises to South America was unprecedented, and that additional cruises had been added for students and post-graduate workers interested in Chile and Peru. Approximately 400 students are expected to leave on three such voyages scheduled to depart from New York within the next few weeks. Almost all of these will take courses in Chilean and Peruvian institutions during their stay-over periods in port. . . . The first cruise to leave here will depart on June 6, on the Santa Elena On June 20 another group . . . will leave on the Santa Clara . . . and a third . . . will sail on the Santa Lucia on July 3. For these special classes at the Second Annual Summer School of San Marcos University have been arranged. Some of these will stay as long as forty-two days in Peru (Anon. 1941ii).

Vaillant sent a letter to Lothrop on 14 May, copies of which were sent to Bennett, Means, Strong, and Tozzer. At the outset, he told Lothrop how great it was to be able to communicate with him by airmail when, at the same time, he (Lothrop) was communicating directly

with Scott and Tozzer. Vaillant then told Lothrop he should have by then already heard from these two about Newman who, he added, had told him he could leave for Peru in August. Vaillant then told Lothrop that he had not yet heard back from the State Department regarding the blanket application (for the IAR). Then he told him that he could appreciate his state of mind, because of the unsure nature of the IAR's dealings, but explained that it had been necessary to resolve all sorts of problems, and that finally the AMNH had signed the contract, and he expected Rockefeller would also do so that day. In closing, Vaillant told Lothrop that he was looking forward to seeing him (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

Kroeber sent a letter to Strong, also on 14 May. In matters pertinent to Peru, he told Strong that he and McCown had decided the latter would focus his seasonally dependent research on the highland areas around Cajamarca and Huamachuco and the coastal area from Pacasmayo northward, the latter work extending the northern-most work done by Bennett.²³⁰ Finally, he told Strong, he had been impressed with Willey's work to date, and that he was glad he was getting the opportunity to work in Peru (National Anthropological Archive, Smithsonian Institution, William D. Strong Papers, correspondence).

²³⁰ McCown later wrote, "The program of field work that was planned for Project Nine-A . . . was to make a reconnaissance of sites in one section of the northern sierra The presence in the Museum of Anthropology of the University of California of a collection of antiquities from the region of Huamachuco provided . . . a starting point . . . Strong had interested himself in the Huamachuco collections . . . he abandoned his plan . . . in view of the projected survey to be made under . . . Kroeber's direction. There was, however, more contemplated . . . we envisaged a first reconnaissance beginning on the coast in the area of the Moche and Chicama valleys and penetrating into the highlands by means of the trans-andine highway which runs from Trujillo to Huamachuco and Cajabamba, with a second survey to extend to Patatz on the far side of the Marañon River" (McCown 1945:223).

Means wrote to Vaillant on 15 May to thank him for sending copies of Lothrop's 4 May letter and his 14 May reply. He told him he had gotten the impression, from reading the former letter, that Lothrop wasn't happy, and he attributed this in part to Tozzer's ambivalence about matters Peruvian. He then said he, Bennett, Kidder II, Lothrop, and Strong all got along quite well, and followed this with the remark that the arguments at the annual meeting in Philadelphia could be attributed mainly to Kroeber and Tozzer. Next, Means asked Vaillant how he should advise Rowe, who was in a bit of a quandary because if he accepted his Harvard scholarship to work in Cusco, he would not be able to take part in the IAR's program. How much, he asked Vaillant, would Rowe be getting from the IAR, and would it be sufficient for him to postpone his Harvard fellowship for a year? After closing, Means had one final question. He asked Vaillant if he had heard from Valcárcel since leaving New York on 16 April because he had not (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

Vaillant received a letter from Tozzer dated 16 May in which had been enclosed a copy of a letter (dated 5 May, specific contents unknown) that Scott had just received from Lothrop as well as a copy of Scott's reply. Tozzer began by saying Lothrop had laid out in his letter a fine program of work for Newman, and that he had said he wanted Newman and his wife in Peru as soon as possible. Tozzer then told Vaillant that Newman was in Washington, where he expected to talk with Stewart, who had just returned from Peru. Next Tozzer asked Vaillant to provide Newman and his wife with letters (of introduction), as he had done for Rowe, and to provide them as well with an initial payment to cover their travel expenses. He added that he understood her travel expenses would come from her husband's salary (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

Tozzer must have delayed sending the above letter to Vaillant for a day or so, because the letter Scott wrote to Lothrop was dated 17 May. In any case, Scott's letter to Lothrop was long and detailed. Scott began by telling Lothrop that his 5 May letter to him gave him a better understanding of things. Scott told Lothrop that Vaillant had sent to him a copy of the 4 May letter that he had received from him (Lothrop). Scott also told Lothrop that Vaillant had also sent to him a copy of his (Vaillant's) response. Scott then told Lothrop, that he assumed that in sharing copies of these letters, Vaillant wanted him (as well as Tozzer) to answer the questions that he (Lothrop) had posed in his 4 May letter.

Scott then addressed these questions. He first told Lothrop that he should be the one to set up Project Eight, because if they did so at the Peabody Museum, they would only confuse matters. Then he told Lothrop that Vaillant had come to the Peabody Museum a week previously, and that they had discussed matters. At that time, he continued, Vaillant had said that the IAR was going to handle all of the (Harvard) projects, that the AMNH was going to handle financial matters and deal directly with project supervisors, and that all involved institutions would be responsible for publishing reports that contained a separate statement listing all the other reports that resulted from the Rockefeller committee grant.

Next Scott told Lothrop that Newman had gone to Washington to speak with Stewart who had just returned from Peru where he had worked with skeletal collections,²³¹ mentioning

²³¹ The following was published in the 15 June 1941 edition of the *Columbus Dispatch* of Columbus, Ohio: "Mummies of a strange priestcraft of old men with grotesquely distorted heads, wrapped in elaborately embroidered and dyed woolen robes, were studied this spring in Peru by Dr. T. D. Stewart, Smithsonian Institution anthropologist. This collection was obtained a few years ago by Dr. Julio C. Tello, anthropologist of the University

the fact that Newman hoped to work under Stewart at the Smithsonian Institute after the IAR's project had ended. Scott then told Lothrop that he assumed from what he had said in his letter that Newman was going to have to unwrap mummy bundles and he (Scott) wondered if it would be possible for someone else to do this work. In this way, he explained, Newman would then have time to work with more skeletal collections, adding that Hooton thought

of San Marcos, under the sands of the desolate Paracas peninsula on the southern Peruvian coast. The strange mummies with their beautiful wrappings are the outstanding feature of this culture, one of the oldest known in Peru. The woolen robes in which they are wrapped still are in a fair state of preservation after many centuries of burial and show a skill in the art of weaving and decorating that has hardly been exceeded in the New World. Elaborate decorative effects were employed with geometrical design and highly conventionalized pictures of men and animals in almost every color of the rainbow. Many of the designs on the robes look like the products of ultramodern artists, Dr. Stewart said. The bodies were first partly dismembered, possibly mummified by a smoking process, and then wrapped in these robes. They were all found either in artificial caves or in subterranean mausoleums. The mummies from the mausoleums are of elderly males. This leaves professor Tello to believe that they constituted a special class, probably a priesthood. The robes may have been the ones they wore in life. They also wore turbans with gold tassels, and gold necklaces and bracelets. Most curious was the distortion of their heads. Apparently when they were children tight bands were drawn around their skulls. This resulted in very high, sloping foreheads and very tall, narrow heads. Nearly 500 mummies have been found. Dr. Tello, who is making an intensive study of them, has placed on exhibit in his museum in Lima some of the finest of the textiles. Dr. Stewart measured the bones and brought back specimens of skin and hair which have been submitted to American experts in order to determine, if possible, blood group and racial relationships. The age of the Paracas remains is unknown but these people must have preceded by many generations the relatively newcomers, the Incas, who were found in Peru by the Spaniards. Dr. Stewart studied other Peruvian anthropological collections, including those covering the so-called Mohicas [*sic*] and Cupisniques cultures, also pre-Inca" (Anon. 194100).

it would be a good idea for Newman to work only with skulls. Scott then told Lothrop that he gathered from his letter that Project Eight could be considered the Paracas project, in which Tello would assume a prominent role. All arrangements for this project, he then told Lothrop, had to fall on him. As for the many questions related to the publication of the results of the project, Scott told Lothrop, this was something that he and Vaillant could discuss once the latter arrived in Lima. In any case, he added, both he and Vaillant thought the Peabody Museum should actually do the publishing. After asking Lothrop to send him details of his future discussions with Vaillant in Lima, Scott then said there was uncertainty about when Newman would be able to sail, given his other commitments, but, he went on to say, a tentative date of departure had been set for 15 July, and he agreed that, because of her editorial experience, his wife should accompany Newman.

Then Scott addressed the needs of Marion Tschopik. He told Lothrop they (he and Tozzer) hoped he could arrange to provide her with up to \$1,000 to help cover her living expenses, an idea he reminded him that Tozzer had brought up in a letter to him (date and specific contents unknown). Scott then said he hoped Marion's work could be coordinated with the work of Kidder II. Scott asked Lothrop to speak with Kidder II about this after Kidder II arrived in Lima. He then stated that he certainly did not have in mind the thought that their individual projects interfere. Scott then addressed another matter that Lothrop had asked about in his letter to Vaillant. He told Lothrop that all Project Eight details needed to be worked out between him and Vaillant, from whom he could get an answer as to whether the Peruvian government, San Marcos, or (Tello's) Museum of Anthropology could contribute. He added that the Peabody Museum would not be able to do so. Scott then pointed out that Project Eight

allotted \$3,000 for publication, while all other projects had allotments of \$1,500. Finally, Scott told Lothrop that the Peabody Museum was eager to publish the results of the Paracas work (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

Strong wrote letters to Kroeber, Lothrop, Tello, and Valcárcel on 22 May. He began his letter to Kroeber by acknowledging receipt of his dated the 14th and then apologizing for not being able to work with him at the University of California, because he was instead going to Peru where he had wanted to work for years. He next told Kroeber that he thought his plan for McCown's work in Peru looked good, and he told Kroeber to have McCown contact him care of Grace Lines Incorporated in Lima if he needed him to do any advance work on his behalf. Then, after making comments unrelated to the IAR's upcoming work in Peru, Strong asked Kroeber to write to Tello with a letter of recommendation for McCown and himself (National Anthropological Archive, Smithsonian Institution, William D. Strong Papers, correspondence).

In his letter to Tello, Strong began by saying he assumed Lothrop had informed him that the IAR's plan had been approved. Strong then told Tello that he had only just learned he would be able to sail two weeks earlier than he had thought, and, as a result, he would be arriving in Lima on 5 June aboard the steamship *Santa Lucia*, adding that Willey would be arriving on the ship to follow. Strong then told Tello he was looking forward to seeing him again and working out a field agenda that would be in accord with his own agenda, as well the agendas of others. He explained that he was especially interested in working in refuse heaps and shell mounds, and that he hoped to begin work at Ancón, and, from this place, conduct work elsewhere on the coast both to the north and to the south. Hence, he told Tello, he wanted to

get together with both him and Lothrop to get their advice in advance of applying for permits. Next Strong told Tello that he was very pleased he had agreed to accept the invitation sent by the Archaeological Institute (of America) to lecture at Columbia University during the winter. He told him he had written to the (chair of) the program committee of the (American) Anthropological Institute (Association) to see whether arrangements could be made to have him speak at their Christmas (annual) meeting. Strong closed by telling Tello that he was counting on his advice, and by saying that he was looking forward to returning to Peru (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

As for his letter to Lothrop, Strong began by saying to him that he had not written sooner because he knew he had more than enough to contend with as it was. However, he then said to Lothrop, he had been privy to correspondence that he had exchanged with Vaillant who would be flying down to Lima. Strong then told Lothrop that he knew he was aware that the money had been approved for the IAR's projects, and then said he would be sailing the next day,²³² and would arrive aboard the steamer *Santa Lucia* on 5 June. Strong continued by telling Lothrop that he hoped he would be in Lima at this time to help him. Then Strong

²³² The following was published in the 25 May 1941 edition of the New York Times: "Three American anthropologists sailed for Latin American countries Friday on the Grace liner *Santa Lucia* to study the civilization of the Incas and the Mayan civilization of Central America. Dr. Wendell C. Bennett, Yale University, said that 'the two civilizations are basically the same, although they differ in details. Scientists have long suspected that traces of the connection between the two civilizations exist, and that if it is to be found at all, it should be done on Colombia, which lies between the two districts'. Also on board was Dr. William D. Strong of Columbia University, who will study the Inca civilization of Peru. Another passenger was Dr. Herbert J. Spinden, Curator of the American Indian Art and Primitive Culture of the Brooklyn Museum who is going to South America to deliver twenty-five lectures" (Anon. 1941jj).

reminded Lothrop that it had been his idea that, once he arrived, they would talk over the matter of the permits with Tello and Valcárcel, adding that Willey and Bird would be arriving by ship on 19 June. Next Strong told Lothrop that he wanted to first work at the Ancón shell heaps, and later work at those situated at Supe, Ica, and Paracas. He then said to Lothrop that he knew from his letters (to Vaillant) that he was planning to work at Paracas. He closed by apologizing for his rushed state, said he was writing to both Tello and Valcárcel, and asked Lothrop to make him a reservation at the Hotel Bolivar in Lima (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

Finally, in his letter to Valcárcel, Strong opened with the statement that the IAR had received approval for its plans to work in Peru, and that he would be sailing two weeks earlier than planned aboard the steamship *Santa Lucia* to arrive on 5 June. He told Valcárcel without further explanation that he had decided to move up his departure date, while leaving Willey and Bird to follow on the next ship to sail. Then he told Valcárcel that he had enjoyed seeing him the past month, and that he looked forward to seeing him again. Strong closed by telling Valcárcel that he hoped he and his colleagues would be able to advise him, and that he had decided to wait until that time to discuss the matter of what sites he hoped to work at and the specifics regarding permits (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

Like Strong, Vaillant also penned a number of letters on 22 May. First, he wrote an official letter on behalf of the IAR's executive committee to Roy C. Andrews, the director of the AMNH. In this letter, he thanked him on behalf of the IAR for all that he had done to advance the IAR's undertaking with the Coordinator of Commerce and Cultural Relations between the American Republics (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH). Second, Vaillant sent

a letter to Means in which he said he was enclosing information relative to Rowe's Harvard fellowship, adding that he did not know how anxious Harvard was about the matter, and that he thought Tozzer expected the IAR to pay for Rowe's expenses. He then told Means that he had had an abrupt change of plans, and would be leaving by plane the next day, but without his wife, who had to stay because of family illness. He also told Means that Bennett and Strong planned to sail the next day, that he expected to talk with Lothrop in Lima, and that he would not be returning until July (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH). Third, Vaillant wrote to Lothrop and told him that two days previously he had learned he would be traveling the following day, and looked forward to seeing him in Lima on 6 June. He added that his wife had traveled to the Southwest to be with her ill mother, and hence would not be accompanying him to Peru (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH). Finally, Vaillant apparently also wrote to Tozzer on the 22nd (contents unknown).

As it so happened, Lothrop wrote to Vaillant on 22 May while aboard the Grace Line steamship *Santa Elena*. He began by thanking him for sending him both a cable and a letter. He then reminded Vaillant that he had told him he would be unable to come up with financial estimates (for Project Eight) until he knew its exact nature, hence he needed him to answer the questions he had posed. Next he told Vaillant that he had assumed from his letter that he would not be arriving until after 1 June and, for that reason, they (presumably he and his wife) were traveling up the coast and planned to return overland to Lima in ten days to two weeks time. He then told Vaillant that he had again spoken to Tello about how much money would be available for publishing (the Paracas volume), an amount that he thought would allow them to do a fine job. Finally, he told

Vaillant that Kidder II had arrived (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

On 25 May Valcárcel penned an official report to the director of artistic education and cultural extension in the Ministry of Education. This was a detailed account of his recent travels in the United States that he then published in the journal of the National Museum. Accordingly, mentioning only pertinent information, Valcárcel wrote that, at the invitation of the American State Department's Division of Cultural Affairs, he had sailed from the Port of Callao on 15 January, and had arrived in New York on 27 January where he had interacted with Vaillant, Strong, and Bird. On the 30th he had gone to Washington D.C., where he had interacted with Leland, Kidder, and Moe. On 11 February he had traveled to Yale University in New Haven, Connecticut where he had interacted with Bennett and the Peruvians Muelle and Garro, who were there studying on Guggenheim fellowships. From this place, he had gone to Cambridge, Massachusetts where he had visited the Peabody Museum, and there he had talked with Scott, Tozzer, and Kidder II. He had also gone to the nearby city of Boston, where he had spoken with Means. Then he had traveled westward, and had first stopped off in Chicago, where he had spoken with Cole, and then had continued on to California where, at Berkeley, he had interacted with Kroeber, McCown, and Olson, while in Los Angeles he had spoken with Hewett. Next, he had started his return journey eastward, and had gone to New Mexico, where he had spoken with Spier at Albuquerque and with Fisher at Santa Fe. Then, after stops in Mexico (City) and Louisiana, he had returned to Washington D.C., and there he had spoken with Stewart at the Smithsonian Institution. Finally, he had returned to New York, where he had spoken with the President of the Archaeological Institute of America (Valcárcel 1941).

In its 27 May edition, *El Comercio* published a report sent from Huaitará that said the governor had returned from the District of Tambo, carrying with him two of the Incaic artifacts that had been retrieved by some workers while excavating in a cemetery for the purpose of constructing a church. The report went on to state that the metal objects that had been found had been placed on display in the office of the sub-prefect (Anon. 1941kk).

Tello visited the ruins of Pachacamac on 28 May, and again on 30 May, on the latter occasion accompanied by Rojas (Huapaya 2009b: 316–317).

It was on 28 May that Kroeber responded to the 22 May letter he had received from Strong. He wished him good luck and said, yes, he had written to Tello on his behalf (date and contents unknown). Kroeber sent his letter to Strong care of the Grace Line's headquarters in Lima (National Anthropological Archive, Smithsonian Institution. William D. Strong Papers, correspondence).

As it happened, it was also on the 28th that Tozzer wrote to Lothrop. He told him he had just that day received the letter he had written on the 22nd (contents unknown). After telling him he had heard from Mary Kidder that her husband had arrived in Lima, he went on to try to allay Lothrop's concerns about Project Eight. He told him the project was well conceived, that he (Lothrop) was in charge, and that Vaillant had been concerned only because they had not received any information from him. Tozzer then went on to tell Lothrop that Newman had received his travel money, and was leaving the next day for Washington, where he planned to speak with Leland. He told Lothrop that he was pressing Newman and his wife to leave for Peru as soon as possible after the first of July. Then he told him that Vaillant had said that, while Newman had to pay for his wife's travel ex-

penses out of salary, once in Peru she could be paid for her work. As for Marion Tschopik, Tozzer went on to remind Lothrop that he had told him Vaillant thought he could give her \$1,000 (from his Paracas project salary), or some other money out of this project, or even some money out of the project directed by Kidder II. Tozzer then said to Lothrop that he was trying to get her the \$1,500 fellowship that Rowe was forced to decline, but, while he had no concrete news to report, he was doubtful it would happen (Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology Archive, Harvard University, Alfred M. Tozzer Papers, accession no. 41-10, box 1, folder 16, correspondence).

So, as time grew short, everyone involved in the IAR's Peruvian projects made final plans to take part in the new venture. Regarding Vaillant, he sent a copy of the contract to the State Department that it was supposed to forward to the Peruvian ambassador for eventual transmission to the proper authorities in Lima. While he had not yet heard back from the State Department, he had heard back from the Peruvian consul general who had told him all applications to work in Peru should be sent to Tello, so he did so. Vaillant communicated with Means. The questions of whether Rowe would actually be getting an IAR fellowship and, if so, whether it would be enough to allow him to postpone his Harvard fellowship to work in Cusco concerned Means. This was at least partly resolved, because Vaillant sent Rowe a letter of introduction (meaning he got the IAR's fellowship), a letter that Tozzer also wanted for Newman who, after speaking with Stewart in Washington, would be sailing with his wife on 15 July. However, there still remained the issue that Tozzer was under the impression the IAR was going to pay Rowe's expenses. Finally, Vaillant's travel plans were in a constant state of flux. First he learned he would be leaving sooner than anticipated. Then he learned that he would be traveling without his wife. Finally, he

apparently decided to fly rather than sail, and this meant that he would not be accompanying Bennett and Strong aboard ship. Vaillant wrote to Lothrop and told him he would be arriving in Lima on 6 June.

As for Strong, he wrote to Kroeber and asked him to send a letter recommending both McCown and himself to Tello, which he did. Strong also told Kroeber that, once he arrived in Lima, he would be glad to do whatever he could to assist McCown. Strong also wrote to Lothrop, Tello, and Valcárcel in Lima. He told all of them that he would be arriving on 5 June, and that Willey would be arriving aboard the next ship, but specified to Lothrop that Willey would be arriving on the 19th, and specified to Valcárcel that Willey would be arriving with Bird. Strong also told all three of them that he wanted to speak with them upon arrival about where he wanted to work, and how he should go about getting his permits. He specified to Tello that he wanted to work at Ancón and at other like sites on the coast, while he specified to Lothrop that he wanted to work at Ancón, Supe, Ica, and Paracas.

Vaillant was still bothered by the fact that Lothrop had not kept him abreast of his Project Eight preparations, despite telling Lothrop he was pleased that airmail facilitated communication between them, and that communication was also facilitated by the fact he was privy to letters he (Lothrop) had exchanged with Scott/Tozzer.

As for Lothrop, he was concerned because he still did not really know what Project Eight was all about, though he did think it revolved around Paracas, and, specifically, the publication of Tello's Paracas material. As such, he found it difficult to provide an estimate of costs, though he had once again spoken to Tello about the matter. While Tozzer tried to allay Lothrop's concerns about this, Scott complicated things by

making a number of suggestions. He wanted someone other than Newman to open the Paracas mummy bundles, so as to allow him time to work on other collections, and Scott passed on Hooton's suggestion that Newman focus on skulls. Scott told Lothrop that Project Eight belonged to him, and that he was responsible for making all arrangements prior to Vaillant's arrival, at which time they could discuss everything. Scott relayed to Lothrop that the Peabody Museum, while eager to publish Tello's work on Paracas, would not be able to help out in the event publication costs rose above the amount budgeted. He pointed out to Lothrop that the IAR had budgeted twice the amount for publication relative to all other projects, and said it would be up to him (and Tello) to explore additional funding sources like the Peruvian government, San Marcos, or the Museum of Anthropology to make up the difference.

Among other matters, Scott told Lothrop that Newman and his wife were tentatively scheduled to depart on 15 July and, while Newman had to pay for his wife's travel expenses, once in Peru she could be paid for her work. As for Marion Tschopik, he told Lothrop that he believed her work could be linked with that of Kidder II, though he wanted Lothrop to coordinate this (now that Kidder II had arrived in Peru). Scott reminded Lothrop that, while the museum was trying to find some money to help her with her living-expenses, and while he was still working on another source at Harvard, Marion could be given \$1,000 out of either Project Seven or Project Eight funding.

Amidst all of this, two other matters came up. First, Strong told Tello he was glad he had accepted the invitation of the Archaeological Institute of America to lecture at Columbia University, and he told him he was trying to make arrangements to have him speak at a year-end anthropological conference. Second, Means

pointed out that Tozzer really wasn't very committed to Peru, that he (Means), Bennett, Kidder II, Lothrop, and Strong all got along, and that the arguments that had taken place at the annual meeting in Philadelphia could all be traced back to Kroeber and Tozzer.

Then there was the participation by Valcárcel in matters pertinent to the IAR and its plans to conduct research in Peru. It is clear from correspondence that not only was Valcárcel aware of these plans, but that as a member of the National Board he was actively engaged in discussions about how best to put forward plans that would meet the needs of both the board and the IAR. While Tello was likely unaware of this, he would likely have learned of the details of Valcárcel's report on his travels in the United States not long after it was submitted. As such, Tello would have learned that with the exception of Lothrop who was in Peru, Valcárcel had interacted with all the members of the IAR, with most of the students who would be taking part in the IAR's Peruvian projects, and with a number of key individuals on the Rockefeller committee with whom the executive committee and especially Vaillant was negotiating. This, taken in conjunction with Tello's apparent growing anti-American sentiment, his increased influence in overseeing matters archaeological in Peru relative to Valcárcel, and his unhappiness at being merely the IAR's counselor should have been clear signals that Tello's willingness to help the IAR should not be taken for granted.

BACK IN PERU

June–October 1941

Tozzer wrote to Clarence Haring²³³ on 2 June and, among other things, told him Rowe

²³³ "Clarence Henry Haring . . . taught Latin American History and Economics at Harvard from 1923 to his retirement . . . He died in Cambridge on September 4, 1960" (Brinton 1957).

had declined a (Harvard) fellowship and instead was taking part in the IAR's program, as it had received \$110,000 from the Nelson Rockefeller Foundation (Rockefeller committee). Tozzer went on to say Kidder II was in Peru, and would be joined by Rowe, and that, despite the fact Peru was upset with the United States over the former's boundary dispute with Ecuador,²³⁴ he felt things would be fine because Lothrop was in Peru. Finally, Tozzer said Lothrop and Tello were trying to convince him to go to Peru in 1942 when he had sabbatical leave, but that he doubted he would (Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology Archive, Harvard University, Alfred M. Tozzer Papers, accession no. 41-10, box 1, folder 16, correspondence).²³⁵

It was reported in the 6 June edition of *El Comercio* that Mejía and Abelardo Santisteban had been sent by Tello to conduct archaeological work in the southern region of Huaitará on behalf of the Museum of Anthropology (Anon. 1941mm). On the same day, this newspaper published the results of an interview that had taken place at the Bolivar Hotel with Herbert J. Spinden (Figure 17) of the Institute of Art of

New York University. It was noted that he was President of the American Anthropological Society (Association) as well as a curator of the Brooklyn Museum, and that he was connected to both the Harvard (Peabody) Museum and the AMNH. Furthermore, it was noted he had come to Peru to give a series of lectures, and to collect information on, and material for, an exposition of Latin American art to open at the Brooklyn Museum on 12 November (Anon. 1941ll).

The following day, 7 June, another interview, this time with Vaillant, that had taken place at the Hotel Bolivar, was published in *El Comercio*. It was reported that Vaillant, who was president of the IAR, had arrived by plane the previous day, and had been interviewed during the afternoon in the company of Lothrop, Strong, and Kidder II. It was evident from the published account that Vaillant had been at his diplomatic best, and had said all the right things in order to cultivate Peruvian interest in the work to be done by members of the IAR (Anon. 1941nn).

Tello penned a formal letter dated 9 June to Vaillant as the head of the IAR. He began by stating he was taking the opportunity to communicate with the IAR, given that its principal directors were in Lima. In brief, as director of the San Marcos Museum of Archaeology, he requested he be made a corresponding member of the IAR's committee, to be accorded all the rights and privileges of other members. He asked to be credited as principal co-author of all publications resulting from the IAR's work at sites he had previously explored. In the event that these requests were granted, he continued, he wanted authorization to publish in Spanish a short history of the origin of, and works undertaken by, the IAR, so that the Peruvian public would be made aware of how the work of the IAR directly affected the historical interests of Peru. However, he noted, if the IAR did not grant his requests, he would renounce his formal

²³⁴ In April 1940 "Ecuador announces her willingness to arbitrate her border controversy with Peru provided that fidelity in the negotiations be guaranteed" (Whitaker 1942:203). Then, during May, "The United States, Argentina, and Brazil present a mediation proposal to Ecuador and Peru" (*ibid.*:206). During June "Ecuador and Peru notify the United States that they will accept the offer of Argentina, Brazil, and the United States to mediate their boundary dispute, but Peru makes reservations that virtually void the acceptance" (*ibid.*: 207).

²³⁵ War erupted on July 5, 1941 between Ecuador and Peru (Werlich 1978:223). Relations between Peru and the United States became strained, given the American desire to establish peace in Latin America as a deterrent to foreign intrigue. There was also a recent history of antipathy for America on the part of Peru. "The administration of General Benavides had been cool in its relations with the United States while showing an affinity for the fascist regimes of Franco's Spain and, especially, Mussolini's Italy, where the president had served as military attaché" (*ibid.*:225).

association with it. This, he explained, he would not do out of resentment, or lack of consideration or respect for members, for they had always demonstrated a frank and broad friendship. In any case, he concluded, he would still collaborate with the IAR in an unofficial capacity, and in a mutually convenient way (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

It was probably around this his time that Vaillant submitted to Tello an undated memorandum of understanding between the IAR and the Museum of Anthropology concerning the publication of the latter's Paracas collection entitled "Institute of Andean Research Paracas Project". There were a number of stipulations: that these institutions draw up and sign a contract clearly defining the obligations that each of the institutions guaranteed to perform; that the names of both institutions would appear on Tello's monograph while, given the uncertainty of where Newman would publish his work, Newman agreed to credit Tello in his preface; that 1,500 copies of Tello's monograph would be published; that distribution would be based upon a list jointly prepared by the two institutions; that undistributed copies would be divided between the two institutions; that all payments would be made before 1 June 1942; that both parties agreed to complete their responsibilities prior to this date; and that approval of the National Board was needed before the agreement became valid.

In addition to these stipulations, the memorandum of understanding suggested responsibilities for both institutions. Regarding the IAR, it was proposed that it agree to do the following: furnish the services of the physical anthropologist Newman for the six months he planned to be in Peru; publish the results of Newman's studies, probably through the Peabody Museum, which had offered the use of its statistical equipment; furnish the services of Mrs. Newman to assist her husband and act as editor; give to the

Museum of Anthropology before 1 June 1942 the sum of 40,000 soles, or its equivalent if exchange rates changed, to be used for printing, binding, and the like; if mutually agreed, finance the cost of additional excavations at Paracas; finance the cost of metallurgical studies; and undertake botanical studies. As for the Museum of Anthropology, meaning Tello, it was proposed that he agree to do the following: provide before 1 May 1942 a monograph dealing with his excavations at Paracas and subsequent studies of material recovered; supply suitable illustrations to accompany the text of his monograph; make all necessary contacts with printers, binders, etc. upon receipt of IAR guarantee to pay costs; consult with Mrs. Newman regarding editorial policy, format, typography, etc. with the understanding that she would only be giving her professional advice and all final decisions would be made by Tello; provide Newman with prompt access to skeletal material, a space to work, and an assistant (Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology Archive, Harvard University, Samuel K. Lothrop Papers, accession no. 996-20, box 6, folder 2, Paracas Project [1941-1942]).

A series of articles of note were published in *El Comercio* during the latter half of June. On the 17th it was reported that the North American archaeologist Spinden would be giving a talk on how primitive man discovered the Americas. This would take place on the 19th in the Salon of the San Marcos School of Letters (Anon. 1941pp). Also on the 17th, a detailed report on the investigations Mejía and Santisteban had undertaken in the region of Huaitará was provided. In addition to working at the famous temple of Huaitará, they had worked at the ruins of Wiracocha Percca and Incawasi (Anon. 1941qq). Two days later, on the 19th, it was reported that Willey had arrived the day before, and that at that time he had been interviewed. Unlike the case of Vaillant, Willey had posed for a photo, but as in the case of Vaillant,

he had acquitted himself well by providing diplomatic responses to questions put to him (Anon. 1941rr).²³⁶ Then, on the 20th, an account of Spinden's talk was provided, notably mentioning the fact that Tello had spoken prior to Spinden, in effect providing the audience with an introduction (Anon. 1941ss). Finally, on the 22nd it was noted that future talks by Spinden would take place at the same locale on 23 June, 29 June, and 1 July (Anon. 1941tt).

Mason wrote to Wissler at the AMNH on 17 June. He began by telling him he had recently written to Cole regarding the matter of the Rockefeller committee giving grants to the IAR. Mason went on to tell Wissler he had received a letter from Cole's secretary informing him that Cole was in California, and she had suggested that he instead write to him (Wissler) given that he was in charge at the AMNH while both Vaillant and Bennett were in South America. Mason then got the matter at hand. He informed Wissler he had been asked by the president of the University of Pennsylvania, serving then as interim head of the University Museum, to learn details about the IAR's dealings with the Rockefeller committee. Mason went on to say he had never seen any published reports, and wanted to receive as much information as possible, including especially an answer as to why the IAR had completely ignored the University Museum, adding that the president would, in a few days time, have to respond to questions posed by the university's Board (of Trustees) on the matter (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

²³⁶ Willey later recalled that he and his wife Katherine, as well as Bird and his wife and two sons, had departed New York on 6 June aboard "the new Grace Liner, S.S. Santa Elena . . . a gorgeous and glistening vessel, inside and out. . . . Passengers numbered over 200 . . . we stopped off at Salaverry, the port facility in northern Peru. . . . We were met by guides and taken to the great Chimu ruin of Chan Chan. . . . After Chan Chan we went to the Hacienda Chiclin. . . . In Lima, Katherine and I put up at the Gran Hotel Bolivar" (1988:149–154).

Wissler responded the following day and told him he would not be able to provide much information, because the IAR was separate from the AMNH, and that it had been functioning so for a number of years. He went on to say he was not a member of the IAR and his chief function was to oversee the financial side of the IAR as the AMNH had agreed to provide advanced funding for its ongoing projects. He closed by telling Mason that Vaillant was expected to return in early July, and his letter would be forwarded to him at that time (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

It was on 23 June that *El Comercio* published a detailed report on the meeting of the National Board convened at four in the afternoon on the 20th. Attendees included Tello and Valcárcel. Among other matters, the Board approved the report of the Inspection of Monuments Commission on restoring the ruins of Tambo Colorado that had been requested by the Ica Board. In addition, the Board took note of the installation of the Junín Board; it decided to see to the matter of advising the head of the Trujillo Board to seek strong action on the part of local authorities to defend the ruins of Chan Chan; it heard a report on discoveries made at Tres Cruces and at Tingo in the Department of Arequipa, and it took note of letters it had received recounting discoveries of sites in the Provinces of Huacane and Paucartambo. In addition, the Board resolved to approve the request of the IAR to undertake archaeological explorations throughout the country; it sent a report to the Cusco Board on a request involving a private collection of artifacts; it named an individual as honorary inspector of archaeological ruins in the Pisco Valley; and it named Flores García as the inspector of ruins for all valleys in the northern part of the country, while at the same time giving him a paid position at the Museum of Anthropology. The Board also resolved to notify the proper authorities overseeing road and irrigation works in the vicinity of the ruins of

Tambo Colorado, to see to it that this work did not infringe upon the boundaries of the site. Finally, the Board resolved to notify the Ministry of War to limit military exercises in the vicinity of ruins in the Magdalena district as well as ruins in other parts of Lima (Anon. 1941uu).

Tello wrote to Kroeber on 24 June (although it was not sent until 18 July). He told him that two days earlier Vaillant, as the IAR's representative, had received authorization from the National Board to conduct archaeological investigations in Peru. He went on to say that, although the resolution had not yet been published, he thought the Americans (representing the IAR) already operating in Peru would be treated in a cordial way. He went on to say he and Strong had interacted a number of times, and that the latter was pleased with the sites he had seen. Tello told Kroeber he would be glad to see to McCown's needs. He then asked Kroeber if he could come to Peru, and perhaps give a series of talks at San Marcos (Bancroft Library Archive, University of California, Berkeley, Alfred L. Kroeber Collection, correspondence).

Willey's report for the month of June provided information regarding his activities since his arrival in Lima. On the 19th he and his wife, as well as Valcárcel, were guests at the Mexican ambassador's beach house in the Mala Valley, south of Lima, that was situated near archaeological sites. On the 20th Willey went to the site of Ancón with Bird and Strong, and, on the same day Vice-President Rafael Larco Herrera left his card. On both the 21st and the 22nd Willey was again a guest of the Mexican ambassador in the Mala Valley, and this provided him an opportunity to explore sites. Then, during the morning of 25 June, Willey and Bird examined a collection of gold artifacts that was for sale, while in the afternoon they went with Lothrop (and Strong) to the museum at Magdalena where they briefly examined the Paracas

collection. They also met with Tello who invited him (Willey) and Strong to excavate in the midden around Pachacamac's Temple of the Sun, so they could practice their stratigraphic techniques. They accepted and made arrangements to go to Pachacamac the following day. The four of them, Willey, Strong, Bird, and Tello, left for the site at five o'clock in the morning. Tello gave them a tour, and they were suitably impressed by the size of the site. Tello spoke along the way, and discussed his sequence of occupation, noting that Chavín pottery had not yet been found. Willey returned to Lima at nine, because he had a bad cold, while Lothrop had driven back to Pachacamac in the afternoon, and took Strong and Bird to see the sites of Cruz de Hueso and Bandurria further to the south.²³⁷ Once again, Willey (and the oth

²³⁷ As Willey later recalled, "Our original field plans had called for beginning at Ancon or Supe, in the shell mounds at these places . . . these plans were changed when Tello issued us an invitation to work at Pachacamac. Strong had been telling Tello of the pressing need for refuse-heap stratigraphy in Peruvian archaeology, and so the latter finally countered with a request for a 'command performance' where he could observe just what we had been doing all the talking about. We were in no position to refuse. Tello took us out to Pachacamac, a great and imposing ruin about 20 km south of Lima, and showed us a real refuse heap, a black, shaggy-looking pile on the slope below the great Inca Temple of the Sun. He, Tello, was then excavating and restoring a complex of buildings on another part of the site, and he made a group of his workmen available to us for our efforts" (1988:88). As for Strong, he wrote a couple of years later "Thanks to the generous invitation of Dr. Tello, who for several years has been carrying on revealing and extensive excavations at Pachacamac, the great ruined city 30 kilometers south of Lima, it was possible for Dr. Strong and Dr. Willey to make a deep stratigraphic cut at this famous site. This cut, made in a large refuse heap outside one entrance of the Temple of the Sun, revealed at the top 2 meters of abundant Inca refuse including associated late local styles, while below this there were 8 meters of deposit containing a ceramic style designated as Pachacamac Interlocking. . . . In addition, in the lowest stratigraphic blocks occurred traces of a third and earlier style best known as Chancay White-on-Red. This very early sequence of styles had not previously been demonstrated at Pachacamac" (1943:26). The previous year Strong had written "As a result of the

ers) visited Tello's museum on 27 June and on the 28th Lothrop took him, Strong, and Bird to Vista Alegre up-valley from Lima to see another site. Finally, on the morning of 30 June, Tello took Willey and Strong to the ruins of Manko Marka in the Lima area, and then to the ruins of Cajamarquilla up-valley. After lunching with Tello, only Strong and Bird accompanied him to the Magdalena museum to attend the meeting of the Association (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH)²³⁸

On 30 June *El Comercio* published a notice that the Association would be meeting that day. Speakers were to be Valcárcel on the subject of North American collections of Peruvian artifacts, Mejía on recent work done in the Chukurpu and Chincha regions of Huaitará and Pisco,

invitation of Dr. Tello, who for several years has been intensively excavating at Pachacamac, it was possible for Dr. Strong and Mr. Willey to make a deep stratigraphic cut at this very famous coastal site. . . . The depth of this Pachacamac deposit, some forty feet, and the great abundance of potsherds from all levels convincingly demonstrates the great possibilities awaiting the refuse heap-potsherd stratigraphic method which, until the present, has rarely or never been successfully employed in Peru" (Strong 1942:182–183).

²³⁸ Perhaps Vaillant was unaware of the 'after-hours' activities of Strong and his companions. Willey later reminisced: "Jackie, Katherine, John, Dunc, and I went to restaurants in Lima frequently during those first two weeks in Lima, including the basement Grill Room of the Hotel Bolivar, the city's most fashionable after-hour bistro. Sam and Eleanor Lothrop were also habitués of this nocturnal spa. Dunc was a real nightclub enthusiast . . . Duncan also responded very positively to other aspects of Peruvian life, including the cuisine. Unlike me, he must have had an iron stomach and intestinal tract. He rarely suffered from the 'turista complaint', a definite advantage for a field archaeologist. He greatly enjoyed a day in the field with Tello. We would travel around from one archaeological site to another, stopping, usually well into the afternoon, at some very beaten-down-looking place, either in the slums of Lima or in some small town. After two or three jolts of Pisco . . . we might move on to some sevice . . . a bowl of *chupe* . . . and a plate of fried guinea pig. All the while we were being regaled by Tello with anecdotes from his career in archaeology and politics" (1988:86–87).

respectively, and Tello on the importance of the ruins of Tambo Colorado (Anon. 1941vv).

During the month of June, Tello was occupied daily with work being done on his behalf at Pachacamac. Most of the time he issued instructions in Lima, but on nine occasions he went to the site to see what had been done, and, on the spot, had issued new instructions. Normally he went to the site early in the morning, with one or more of his museum staff. Interestingly, on the 18th he is reported to have brought two unnamed Americans (Kidder II and his wife?), and, on 26 June, he brought Strong (and Willey and Bird?) with him, and some unnamed Americans with him the following day (Huapaya 2009b:320–328; 2009c: 320–331).

The fourth and final talk given by Spinden took place at San Marcos, and it was published in full in the 2 July edition of *El Comercio*. In the accompanying report it was noted that Tello had once again provided introductory comments (Anon. 1941ww). In this same newspaper edition a report on the meeting of the Association that had been held at six in the afternoon the day before was provided. Attendees included Tello, Uhle, Valcárcel, Carrión, Mejía, Ccosi, Pulgar Vidal, and Rojas. It was also noted that, among others, including diplomats, Spinden, Strong, and Willey (actually Bird) had also attended. Valcárcel first spoke about collections of Peruvian artifacts he had seen in the United States, and Tello subsequently complimented Valcárcel on his presentation. Mejía then gave an illustrated talk about his recent explorations with Santisteban in the regions of Chukurpu and Chinchas. They had explored the Temple of Huaitará, the ruins of Inka Wasi fifteen kilometers to the east, and various *chullpas* or above ground stone burial chambers seen in the Wiracocha Perca region and in the communities of Tambo, Santiago de los Chocorbos, and Cordova. Next Tello spoke about the importance of the ruins of Tambo Colorado, and the

work that was being done there and elsewhere on his behalf by staff of the Museum of Anthropology. Tello told his audience that recent discoveries made at Tambo Colorado, Pachacamac, Cerro Azul, and other places confirmed the vast distribution of the use of Cusco-style cut stone in the sierra and along the coast. He also pointed out that on the coast this construction material preceded the use of uncut stone, that was then followed by the use of adobe. He then noted evidence for the problematic reuse of the cut stone in later constructions at places such as Pachacamac, Huánuco Viejo, and the ruins of Paredones in the Nazca Valley. The meeting adjourned at eight (Anon. 1941xx).

In its edition published on 5 July *El Comercio* provided an account of the activities of the San Marcos summer school for the period 18 June through 2 July.²³⁹ Inclusive of American teachers, graduate students, and other students, totals of twenty, six, four, and three individuals had come from the universities of Yale, Columbia, Harvard, and New Mexico, respectively. Carrión had given an elementary course in Peruvian archaeology (Anon. 1941yy). On 7 July readers of *El Comercio* were informed of the return of the Paul Fejos led Wenner-Gren Expedition to Iquitos after months in the Amazonian hinterland (Anon. 1941zz).

²³⁹ The following advertisement had been published on page 295 in Volume 15 of the *Bulletin of the Pan American Union*: "The University of San Marcos . . . offers a summer session in collaboration with the Catholic University of Lima, the Peruvian-American Cultural Institute . . . and the Touring Auto Club of Peru. Special courses in pre-Columbian and Spanish colonial civilization will be given. The teaching staff includes . . . Julio C. Tello. . . . Saturday afternoons and Sundays will be reserved for excursions to such points as the most important pre-Inca and Inca ruins and the Huaylas Valley, Tarma, Huánuco, Tingo María, Cusco, and Arequipa. Expenses: \$25 per week for room, board and class attendance, and the weekly excursion; or \$15 for class attendance and \$6 for the excursion" (Anon. 1941ttt).

It was also on 7 July that Vaillant finally responded to the letter Mason had sent to Wissler. He told him the University of Pennsylvania Museum should not feel slighted in not having been included among the benefactors of the Rockefeller committee-sponsored research. This was because the IAR felt it would be better to keep everything in-house, besides, he told Mason, it was thought that he and others at the Philadelphia museum were already sufficiently busy. He ended by telling Mason that he was enclosing a listing of the IAR's projects he felt would be of interest to his museum (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

Three days later, on 10 July, Vaillant wrote to Tello. He gave him his belated thanks for all he had done for the IAR, and particularly his help in clearing the way for the IAR to receive approval from the National Board. He also personally thanked him for all he had done to help him while he was in Peru. He told Tello he had been very much impressed by the potential his country held for archaeological research, and how pleased he had been to see first-hand the work he was undertaking, adding it had been one of the best experiences in his life. In his closing remarks, he told Tello that his proposal (to be made a corresponding member etc.) would be taken up at the December meeting of the IAR, and he was sure matters would be worked out to his satisfaction (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

Vaillant also wrote a short letter to Valcárcel on the 10th. His tone was warmer and much less formal than the one he had penned to Tello. Vaillant thanked Valcárcel for all he had done during his time in Peru, for both him and the IAR. He told Valcárcel that, through cooperation with him and Tello, the IAR was building a foundation to advance knowledge of Indian heritage. He closed by saying he regretted not being able to spend more time in what he characterized as the wonderland that was

Peru (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).²⁴⁰

On 14 July Vaillant submitted a formal report to John E. Abbott, director of the Division of Art of the Coordinator of Commercial and Cultural Relations between the American Republics, on Project Eleven, including work being undertaken in Mexico, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, Chile, Nicaragua, and Mexico. From this may be extracted the following information relative to his travel as far as Lima. He left New York on 23 May and flew to Venezuela by way of Miami. He landed in Caracas on the 25th and then went to Colombia, arriving in Bogota on the 30th. There, among others, he interacted with Bennett. He next flew to Ecuador and landed in Quito on 4 June in advance of Collier. He then flew to Peru, and landed at Lima on 6 June where he met with Lothrop, Strong, and Kidder II. Complications arose regarding the issuance of permits, and they were not issued until after he left. Bird and Willey arrived the day after he left, while both Newman and McCown had yet to sail. Vaillant finally returned to New York on 3 July (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

Appended to this report was Memoranda C, a two-page assessment. This dealt with what Vaillant saw as the problems that existed for the establishment of cultural ties between the United States and Latin American countries. In particular he stressed the point that academics, and especially those in the fields of anthropology and archaeology, were well suited to advancing this agenda, because those representing these fields of inquiry understood how things were done in these countries. In this regard he made

²⁴⁰ Years later Willey wrote this about a discussion he had with Vaillant in 1942: "We got around to talking about Peruvian archaeology. He had driven around for a few days to look at the coastal sites on his rapid trip there. He told me he didn't like it—the archaeology there, that is. As he put it, 'there was such a horrible feeling of death' about it all" (1988:118).

the point that the IAR's work during the past years had done much to foster good relationships both in general, and in particular. He continued in this vein, essentially extolling the benefits of having the Rockefeller committee continue its support for the IAR's work in Latin America (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

Vaillant next sent a memorandum to Abbott on 30 July that dealt with proposed changes to be made to Project Eight. He began by telling him that he and Lothrop had that day discussed making changes relative to the publication of a book on Tello's Paracas collection. Lothrop, he went on, had suggested, given the current exchange rate of 6.485 soles to the dollar, that 5,000 soles (\$771) of the allotted 40,000 soles (\$6,168) for the publication part of the project be set aside as a contingency fund. Vaillant then directed Abbott's attention to an attached payment schedule that provided \$5,200 (33,722 soles) for Newman, \$4,500 (29,182.50 soles) for Tello, and \$2,300 (14,915.50 soles) for Lothrop, the latter two amounts, he pointed out, being sufficient to cover the \$6,800 (44,098 soles) in publication costs. What he wanted, Vaillant continued, was approval for the use of most of the project's money (all but that designated for Newman) to fund the publication (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

On 25 July *El Comercio* reported that during the afternoon, Carrión would be speaking to her summer school students at San Marcos on the subject of Peruvian literature (Anon. 1941aaa). Then, on the 27th this daily reported that, among others, Tello, Carrión, and Gieseke had the previous day taken summer school students, as well as students from the School of Guides, to the ruins of Pachacamac. Tello had served as guide, and had especially shown them where work had recently been done (Anon. 1941bbb). During July, Tello often went to Pachacamac, in fact seventeen times, normally with one or more

members of his museum staff, and at times with Strong and other Americans (Huapaya 2009c: 332–346). However, on two occasions, he went there only with his wife (*ibid.*: 335, 340).

Strong and Willey later reported (1943:21) that they (and perhaps one or more other Americans) had taken two trips with Tello to the South Coast and, each time, among other sites, they had visited the ruins of Paracas. The first trip had occurred during the period 15–17 July, while the second was made during the period 29 July to 3 August. Willey also made note of travels made by Strong in the company of Tello, in his August report to Vaillant. Specifically, he told Vaillant that during the last few days of July Tello had taken Strong to Ocucaje (in the South Coast Ica Valley). Tello had also taken Strong on the 24th to the ruins of Cerro Azul (at the mouth of the South Central Coast Chíncha Valley (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH). Elsewhere (Huapaya 2009c: 345), it had been reported that on the morning of 24 July Strong and two other North Americans (probably Willey and Corbett) had gone to Pachacamac seeking Tello, who only arrived after Strong and companions had left, while on the 29th Tello and Strong headed south in the company of Carrión, Rojas, and Santisteban (*ibid.*:346).

On the first of August readers of *El Comercio* were informed of the arrival the previous morning of the Swiss philanthropist Axel Wenner-Gren aboard his yacht, the *Southern Cross*. A photograph of Fejos standing next to Wenner-Gren and his wife was provided. In the long companion article based on an interview with Wenner-Gren, it was noted that he had said his purpose in coming to Peru was to see first hand the discoveries that had been made by the Fejos-led expedition, and that he (and his wife) would be departing for Cusco on 5 August (Anon. 1941ccc).

On 3 August, readers of *El Comercio* were provided a report on the meeting of the directorate of the Peruvian North American Cultural Institute that had taken place on 31 July. At this meeting Giesecke had been elected secretary, while Tello and Valcárcel were among those who had been elected members of the governing body (Anon. 1941ddd). There followed, beginning on 4 August, a series of other reports in *El Comercio* dealing with various subjects, the first saying that Carrión would be lecturing to her summer school archaeology class on the subject of mythology and religion (Anon. 1941eee). In its afternoon edition that day, it was reported that Fejos, Giesecke's son, and other members of the Wenner-Gren expeditionary team had arrived in Cusco (in advance of the Wenner-Grens; Anon. 1941fff). On the 6th it was reported that Carrión would be talking to her Peruvian archaeology students that afternoon on the subject of the three epochs of Peruvian prehistory, with an emphasis on Chavín (Anon. 1941ggg). That same day, a report was published on a luncheon aboard the *Southern Cross* that had been given the previous day in honor of President Prado (Anon. 1941hhh). On the 8th it was reported that during the afternoon, Carrión would be talking to her summer school archaeology students on the subject of the classic epoch Moche and Nazca cultures (Anon. 1941iii), while on the 9th it was reported that the summer school students would that day be going to the ruins of Paramonga (Anon. 1941jjj). Finally, on the 11th, it was reported that the Wenner-Grens had arrived in Cusco (Anon. 1941kkk).

Tello sent a short note to Weitzer at the AMNH on 5 August. This was in response to what she had sent to him on 22 February. He said he had received the photographs and notes that had been sent to him relative to (the opening) of one of the Paracas mummy bundles that Rockefeller had arranged to be sent to the United States. He closed by thanking both her

and Bennett (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

Vaillant wrote to Strong care of the American embassy in Lima on 7 August. He had big news. He and his wife had sold their New York home, and were looking forward to becoming established in the outskirts of Philadelphia. He made passing reference to his new job (at the University of Pennsylvania; National Anthropological Archive, Smithsonian Institution, William D. Strong Papers, correspondence).

In response, Strong wrote back on 16 August. He apologized for not having written earlier, but said there had been little to report, and that subsequently, since beginning work twelve hours a day at Pachacamac, he had found little time to do so. After briefly describing the work at Pachacamac, he told Vaillant he was happy for him and his wife, but sad they would no longer be in New York. He then reported that Newman and McCown had arrived on the 14th, and the next day he had taken them to Pachacamac, while on the 16th he had hosted them and Tello at his house. He went on to say that, since neither Tello nor Vaillant had anyone in mind, it had been decided to make use of John Corbett,²⁴¹ given he was already planning on staying in Lima, and, as such, he was going to be paid the nominal salary of \$50

²⁴¹ According to Willey (1988:86) “When Katherine and I arrived in Peru. . . . We purchased an automobile and made a number of excursions along the coast. . . . Junius Bird accompanied us on some of these trips, and we also added another member to our party, John M. Corbett. Duncan [Strong] had met John in Lima during the time he was there prior to my arrival. Corbett had been a student of Edgar Lee Hewett’s at the University of California in Los Angeles. He had gone to Ecuador on an archaeological expedition. . . . When this work was over he, and his wife, Jackie, had come down to Peru for a look around.”

to cover his living and field expenses (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).²⁴²

Vaillant wrote to Lothrop on 15 August and said he had spoken with Abbott, and that they had agreed to give him (Lothrop) authorization to proceed with Project Eight. Vaillant went on to tell Lothrop that a contract would be drawn up for the publication of Tello’s report on Paracas. In closing, Vaillant told Lothrop he was attaching a copy of his memorandum to Abbott that provided the breakdown of the project’s budget and its schedule of monthly payments (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

The editor of *El Comercio* published as a single piece, with an introduction, three letters in its 22 August edition. This included a letter to the editor that Tello had written on 21 August. In this letter Tello requested the publication of two other letters, one that he had sent to Germán Luna Iglesias, and the other the response he received from Luna. Tello’s letter to Luna was dated 20 August. His purpose in

²⁴² Willey later wrote, “Duncan, John Corbett, and I began by cutting a great swath through the Pachacamac refuse pile—the ‘haystack’ as we came to call it. With the remarkable preservation of the Peruvian coast, this Inca refuse consisted largely of only slightly decayed or desiccated vegetal matter—corn stalks, other plants, peanut shells, old rags, and so forth. There was, of course, an awfully [*sic*] lot of pottery in it, all apparently Inca and much of it polychrome. . . . The refuse was also dusty beyond belief. We and the workmen went around all the time with handkerchiefs or mufflers tied over our noses and mouths, and in the late afternoon, on our return to Lima, we had the appearance of Welsh miners after a long day in the pits. The midden was pretty odorous too. Luckily, we encountered only one burial in it which we deposited in Tello’s field lab located about a half-mile from our dig. We transported it—a horrifically-smelling, brown-stained, and slightly sticky mummy-bundle—in the back seat of our Pontiac sedan, with Corbett and I on each side of it. Duncan wisely exercised seniority and rode in front with Lucio, our trusty chauffeur, who was highly disapproving and afterwards had to work for two days to get the smell out of the car’s upholstery” (1988:89).

writing, Tello began, was to thank Luna for his generous donation of 7,754.96 square meters of land, a large salon, and other existing structures situated in the Buena Muerte part of Magdalena, and contiguous to the Museum of Anthropology. Tello continued by saying the donated land and structures would be used for the remainder of his life as the seat and home of an institution charged with conserving, studying, and teaching students about evidence illustrative of the history of ancient Peru, work that, in part or in total, would be passed on to San Marcos. Tello then thanked Luna for his public spirit, his remarkable patriotism, and the confidence he had shown in his scientific endeavors. He closed by telling Luna that, in the end, he would be very satisfied if he could achieve his long held desire of being able to contribute, in a modest way, to the promotion of Peru through knowledge of its past. In response, Luna wrote to Tello on 21 August. He told him he strongly admired his work, because he had the rare gift of harmonizing an unflinching enthusiasm and a tenaciously fruitful discipline. He went on to say he hoped future generations would come to admire and take pride in the total splendor of the art, intelligence, and abundant beauty of the nation's indigenous heritage (Editor 1941b).

The next day, the 23rd, this newspaper published two articles of interest. One dealt with the activities of secondary school students from the Alfonso Ugarte High School. Among other things, during the afternoon, they had visited the Museum of Anthropology, where Tello had greeted them, and where Mejía had spoken to them about the Paracas culture (Anon. 1941lll). The other was a report from Chavín dated the 22nd which touted the tourist draw of the famous ruins of that name and, hence, the urgent need for the government to construct a tourist hotel. In addition it was noted that the ruin's famous Lanzón monolith was in danger, and needed immediate attention

by the Ministry of Education (Anon. 1941mmm).

During the month of August Tello visited the ruins of Pachacamac eight times, including on his return from the south with Strong and members of his museum staff. Most of the time he went to the site with members of his staff, but on four occasions he did so by himself (Huapaya 2009c:347–359; 2009d:361). Speaking of Pachacamac, Willey provided information in his report for the month of August that he sent to Vaillant. He stated that the entire month had been spent excavating at Pachacamac²⁴³ and that as of the first of the month, Corbett had been added to the staff with part of the funding allotted for a local assistant being diverted to cover part of his expenses. This, he wrote, had been done because neither Tello nor Valcárcel had been willing to assign an assistant. Willey went on to explain that Corbett, who had formerly been working for the School of American Research in Ecuador, was vacationing in Peru, and planned to stay for several months. As such he had agreed to accept the offer to work as assistant supervisor for the next five or six months, but that he could become part of the supervisory team in the event that Tello or Valcárcel did recommend an assistant (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

McCown noted in his first report to Vaillant that he and Newman had taken the opportunity

²⁴³ According to Willey: "The Inca 'hay' was several meters deep in places, but toward the bottom of the slope we soon struck an underlying deposit of sandy, semi-consolidated soil which contained sherds of a non-Inca genre. . . . After we completed our initial Pachacamac excavation, and had exposed a profile through the Inca 'hay' and the underlying sandy stratum, on down to sterile soil, we set about with a more carefully controlled stratigraphic cut, in effect, a one meter-wide slice. . . . This took some time and, in fact, was not finished until after Duncan had left to return to the United States on the first of September. John Corbett and I completed it and closed our work at Pachacamac. Tello was not particularly dazzled by our 'refuse-heap stratigraphy'" (1988:89–90).

to visit the Larco Museum at Chiclín (in the Chicama Valley) on 12 August, before arriving in Lima on the 13th. Then, on an unspecified date, Tello and Strong had taken him (them?) on a daylong trip south of Lima. Along the way they had visited sites in the Mala, Chilca, and Cañete Valleys. In the latter valley they had explored the ruins of La Centinella, Cerro Azul, Cerro del Oro, and Húngara. Finally, McCown reported that Strong had agreed to allow him to work at Pachacamac, in order to gain experience (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

To summarize, during this three-month period, Tello continued to be focused on work being conducted on his behalf at Pachacamac. He issued daily instructions either in Lima or at Pachacamac during the many occasions he went to the site. He also continued to be actively involved in meetings of the National Board, the Association, and the Peruvian-North American Cultural Institute. However, Carrión appears to have taken up the slack as Tello stepped away from active participation in the university's summer school program. It was during this period Tello sent Mejía on two southern expeditions; he set Strong and Willey up to work at Pachacamac; and he very gratefully accepted Luna's generous donation to expand the size of the Museum of Anthropology. At the same time Tello was generous with his time, and he interacted with the many visitors who arrived in Lima, including Spinden, who had come to give a series of lectures at San Marcos. In this regard, he tried to convince Kroeber and Tozzer to also come to Lima, and give a series of lectures, something the latter was reluctant to do.

As for the IAR's Peruvian field program, participants slowly, but surely, arrived in Lima, and Tello gave all of them due attention. In addition to taking them to Pachacamac and other sites in and around Lima, he took them southward to see sites including Paracas. Tello

helped the IAR obtain National Board approval of its proposed field-work, but he gave the IAR a formal request to be made a corresponding member of the IAR's executive committee. He also requested that he be made principal co-author of all publications resulting from work at sites he had previously explored, and he requested that he be allowed to write a short history of the origin of the IAR and its subsequent activities. In the event that these requests were denied, he said, he would discontinue his formal relationship with the IAR, but would still informally be of assistance. In addition, Lothrop proposed changes to Vaillant regarding Project Eight, changes that would permit a major emphasis on the publication of Tello's work on Paracas. Vaillant passed this request on to Abbott, who gave his consent. It was during this period, too, that Vaillant had to gently respond to Mason's disappointment that the University of Pennsylvania had not been included in the IAR's Rockefeller committee sponsored field-work, while Corbett, one of Hewett's ex-students, became a part of its Peruvian coastal project directed by Strong. Finally, it seems likely initial correspondence between Mason and Vaillant ultimately led to the latter's decision to accept a position at the University of Pennsylvania.

To continue, on 5 September, Strong wrote two letters to the head of the National Board. In one letter he stated the area of work he was directing for the IAR would encompass that part of the coast bounded by the Supe Valley to the north and the Mala Valley to the south of Lima, respectively. This work, he explained, would at first include continued stratigraphic excavations at Pachacamac. Then, during the next six months, other sites would be explored, and both test pitting and stratigraphic excavations would be undertaken to help establish a relative chronology for this part of the coast (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH). In his other letter, Strong informed the members of the

National Board that Willey had helped him with his excavations at Pachacamac during the past month. He then briefly described this work, and then requested permission to send the material results of this work to the United States, where experts in diverse fields could study it (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH). Regarding Pachacamac, Tello went to this site on 10 September, and then again daily from the 12th through the 14th. In each case, he went with one or more members of his museum staff, although on the twelfth he also went with two unnamed North Americans (Huapaya 2009d: 367–369).

An unsigned letter dated 16 September that originated from the office of the Division of Anthropology at the AMNH was sent to all members of the IAR. It was stated in this letter that Vaillant had asked to be distributed an attached report that had been sent to the coordinator's office. It was noted that acceptance of the report had automatically allowed the IAR to bill the government for the start-up money borrowed from the AMNH, and that this money had just been received. Also attached was a progress report apparently written by Vaillant, and dated 15 September. Included in this report was the following information regarding on-going work in Peru: Director of Project Four (Three) Strong was on his way back to New York after he and Willey had dug a deep trench at Pachacamac, resulting in the discovery of a two-meter deep layer rich in Inca material atop layers of two earlier periods; as for Project Seven, Kidder II had been in Peru since the end of May, while Rowe had arrived at the end of July, and the two of them were currently working in or near Arequipa; regarding Project Eight, Newman had arrived in Lima late in July and Lothrop had briefly returned to New York during the summer, and had sailed back to Lima on 12 September; finally, in Lima, Lothrop would make coordinator-approved arrangements with Tello concerning publication of his

Paracas material (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

Kidder II wrote to Vaillant on 17 September and told him he had received Vaillant's memo (progress report) and was fine with it. He then told Vaillant that he was sorry he had not received the letter he had sent to him from Peru in July, because it contained details on the work he had done in the field. He continued by saying he was going to write a short account that he hoped could be included in the project's overall report if the Peabody Museum could come up with funding, but that, in any case, he planned to send a copy of it to Giesecke, who was anxious to receive it, as well as a translated copy to the National Board. Kidder II then made a number of suggestions. Among others, he suggested that Marion Tschopik be made assistant director of Project Seven under Rowe's supervision. He also suggested that Valcárcel be made honorary director of this project. This idea, he explained, had received support from unnamed individuals in Lima, and, as such, he had actually broached the idea with Valcárcel, who had been clearly pleased, although he had tried not to show it. He had acted thus, Kidder went on, because he had learned Valcárcel felt Tello was taking an active part in Project Eight as Lothrop's co-director, and he felt left out (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

A report received from the town of Chavín the day before was published in the pages of *El Comercio* on 14 September. It was noted in this report that a request formulated by Deputy Estremadoyro to safeguard the Lanzón monolith (inside the principal mound) at the ruins of Chavín had been received, and that this request contained the statement that danger threatening this monolith merited the immediate attention of the Ministry of Education (Anon. 1941nnn).

Corbett noted in his report to Vaillant for the month of September that Tello had taken him to a number of ruins in the Lima Valley including Mangomarka and Cajamarquilla and that later on he had taken him and Spinden to Pachacamac (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH). It should be noted that Corbett wrote to Vaillant on 21 September. Among other matters, he told him that he and Willey were about done at Pachacamac, and would soon move to Ancón. He also told him that Kidder II had been in Lima on the eve of Strong's departure, and that a number of parties had been held for the two of them (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH). Regarding the ruins of Pachacamac, Tello and Mejía went to this site on 18 September to inspect the work being done, while during the afternoon of the 21st Tello went to Pachacamac, accompanied by a group of North Americans (Huapaya 2009d: 370–371).

Willey wrote to Strong on three occasions toward the end of September. On the 18th, he reported, among other things, that he and Corbett had been working daily at Pachacamac, that is, until he took a day off to write to him this letter and work in the lab. He told Strong that, the day after he had left for home, he and Corbett had been provided a new crew to work at the site (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH). In his letter dated the 26th, Willey told Strong there was nothing new to report on the work at Pachacamac, except to say that Newman was now helping out. He went on to tell Strong that Lothrop had arrived, that Spinden had sailed two days later, and that Kidder II had sailed (for the States) a day after that (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

Finally, on the 28th, Willey wrote that he had recently spoken at length with Tello, and had told him excavations at Pachacamac should end in about two weeks, and that he (and Corbett)

would next move to Ancón. Tello, he told Strong, had no problem with the move to Ancón, and seemed pleased, because he was experiencing a labor shortage in his work at Pachacamac. Lastly, Willey told Strong that Lothrop and Tello had been discussing Project Eight and, because Newman was going to continue to work with him (and Corbett), he gathered this project would be slow in getting started (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).²⁴⁴

Tello went to Pachacamac with Carrión and Espejo the morning of 28 September (Huapaya 2009d:373). Vaillant responded to Corbett on the 21st. In his brief letter, he told him he had spoken with Strong, and had heard nothing but good things about him. He closed by telling Corbett that he and his wife were looking forward to seeing him and his wife (in Philadelphia), and that they hoped to have a guest room at their new locale by then (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

Wayne Faunce, the Executive Secretary of the AMNH, sent an official letter to Vaillant dated 30 September. In essence, he told Vaillant

²⁴⁴ According to Willey (1988:203), "In Lima, in the months between June and December of 1941 . . . Sam reveled in what I am sure he thought of as fascinating international intrigue. . . . He was a habitué of the Gran Hotel Bolivar, Lima's leading 'Grand Hotel', in the European sense of that 'Grand' designation. There, at 6:00 PM every evening, except Sunday, the city's elite convened for cocktails and intensive social interaction. This was known as the 'vermouth hour' in Lima society. . . . By some cynical observers, the room where the 'vermouth hour' rituals took place, the Grand Rotunda, on the ground floor of the hotel, was, for these 'vermouth occasions', referred to as the 'snake pit'. . . . The *Corps Diplomatique* was . . . well-represented. In those early months of World War II, when things looked perilous for the Allies and when America's possible entry into the hostilities was still uncertain, Lima still had its large contingents of German and Italian Embassy people. In addition, the Axis also had its sympathizers among the Peruvians. Sam would point the diplomats and their associates out to Bud Newman, John Corbett, or to me."

that at a meeting held on the 25th, the museum's trustees had regretfully decided to accept his resignation as of the first of October, so that he could accept the offer to become the head of the University of Pennsylvania's (anthropology) museum. However, Faunce told Vaillant, in view of his distinguished and valued service, the trustees had unanimously decided to appoint him Honorary Curator of Mexican Archaeology, also effective the first of October (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

It was on 1 October that Strong wrote to Tello to thank him and his staff for the going-away party they had given him, especially singling out Carrión. He went on to tell Tello that he expected him stay at his place when he came to New York in November. He then asked Tello to send him his travel plans, so he would know what ship he was on, adding that he might have to attend a meeting in Texas while he was staying with him, but that the apartment was his to use in any event. He closed by telling Tello he had received a letter from Willey, who said things were going well at Pachacamac, and he asked Tello to give his regards to Lothrop (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH). That same day, the first of October, Tello went to Pachacamac. He next went to this site on the 8th along with Mejía (Huapaya 2009d: 375).

McCown also took pen to paper. He was in Trujillo when he wrote a letter to Moe at the Guggenheim Foundation on 8 October. The purpose of his letter, he said, was to inquire how best to obtain funding to allow Kroeber to travel to South America. He told Moe that Kroeber had declined to come to Peru, despite being director of the IAR's Project Nine, as a way of saving money. Yet, continued McCown, Kroeber had underestimated what his presence meant to the Peruvians who spoke of him so highly, something that both Lothrop and Vaillant could attest. In fact, McCown went on, he had spoken to both of them, and they had

agreed that a visit by Kroeber would be of considerable help in fostering a better understanding between North Americans and South Americans. He closed by telling Moe that Kroeber would have a half sabbatical beginning January 1942 (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

PROBLEMS ARISE

October 1941–February 1942

Lothrop sent a distressing cable to Vaillant on 10 October. He told him Project Eight was dying, and that Newman was in a desperate state, because money due had not yet been received (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH). On the 11th Lothrop sent a second cable to the AMNH asking that funds for Newman be sent to the Grace Lines, and that the money for him and Tello be sent to the Royal Bank of Canada. He added that the contract for the publication of Tello's book would not be signed for months (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH). Then, on 12 October, Lothrop wrote a letter of explanation to Vaillant. He began by telling him that Newman was living on borrowed funds, because he hadn't received money for several weeks, and his income was then limited to his project salary, adding that lack of money had also caused Willey to shut down his project. Lothrop then said Tello was actually using his own money to proceed with the Paracas work while, as for himself, he was also out of money, given he was overdrawn at the bank. Next Lothrop directed Vaillant's attention to the schedule of payments, and pointed out that Newman should have been receiving money on a regular basis. But he had not, he went on, and as a result, he had been forced to borrow from friends who had given all they could. As for Tello and himself, he continued, they should have received \$1,200 by 1 October, but had not. This was a problem because, even though Tello's manuscript had

reached an advanced stage, the lack of funding made it impossible to make arrangements to have it printed. Then there was the problem that lack of funding made it impossible to do field-work, and as a result, none was planned. Lothrop then essentially pleaded with Vaillant not to let the IAR's work in Peru stagnate, and told him they were working against time, and that bureaucratic difficulties both inside and outside Peru could prove to be a real problem. He closed by saying Newman and his wife had separated, and she would not be coming to Peru to join her husband, and this meant someone else would have to do the editing for Project Eight (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

In October Newman was also in contact with Vaillant. He wrote to him ostensibly as a two-month report on the 12th. He began by telling Vaillant that both his equipment and McCown's had been held up by customs agents for six weeks, because of a law that stated that temporarily imported scientific instruments were not to be released until receipt of a bond or duty. It had cost him 24 soles, he wrote, but added that McCown had been forced to pay 600 soles. Newman then told Vaillant he had spent the previous five weeks with Willey and his crew excavating skeletal remains at Pachacamac, during which time 120 burials had been removed, and, as a result, he had 60–70 adult skulls awaiting his attention. Work at Pachacamac, he went on, would soon be finished, and now that he had his instruments he would next begin working on the Paracas material in a large laboratory in the Museum of Anthropology's main building. This space, he went on, had been provided by Tello, who had an interest in all things medical—deformation, pathology, trephination, and mummification—and this meant he had more to do than anticipated, though Tello was himself taking the lead on the latter two sub-studies and Lothrop expected to

get someone else to help with general pathological matters.

Newman then said he was hoping to go to Arequipa, Cusco, and Chicuito at Christmas time with Willey, and that he also hoped to visit the Tschopiks, and work with the skeletal material they had collected. He also told Vaillant he had the previous week taken over Corbett's residence that was a ten-minute tram ride from the museum, and that it had space for a study and auxiliary lab. Newman then got into the matter of the financial difficulties he and others had been experiencing. He told Vaillant the money situation had become critical, and that, except for Lothrop's generosity, things would be even worse. He then said he and his wife had separated, and planned to divorce, but that she had agreed to send Lothrop samples of paper, color plates, etc. so that the Paracas Project could proceed, adding that he had made arrangements to have the promissory note for his wife's passage applied to his salary. Finally, he asked if it would be possible to draw money ahead of schedule so that bills due the first of the month could be paid (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

Tello visited Pachacamac with a companion the morning of 12 October. He did not return again until mid-November (Huapaya 2009d: 377).

Vaillant responded to Lothrop on 13 October, and began by saying he had received both of his telegrams, and was unsure what to make of them. He went on to say Newman had drawn most of his money before departing, and had arranged to have both his maintenance and salary funds paid to him via the New York office of Grace and Company. He then pointed out to Lothrop he had made no request for funding, and hence had not received any, and that it was his understanding that he had to report on the status of the Paracas Project before any money

would be released for Tello. In any case, Vaillant wrote, he would see to it \$900 would be sent out that day. Next Vaillant said he had heard Newman's wife would not be going to Peru, and wondered what effect this would have on the Paracas Project. He also inquired as to the effect Tello's plan to speak at the meeting of Archaeological Society would have on the project. After expressing concern changes might have to be made, he commiserated with Lothrop, telling him he understood his was the most difficult project of all (Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology Archive, Harvard University, Samuel K. Lothrop Papers, accession no. 996-20, box 6, folder 3, Paracas Project [1941-1942]).

Willey wrote to Strong on 13 October and told him that he and Corbett had essentially ended their work at Pachacamac on the 10th, that they were working in the lab, and that they would send material to him soon. He went on to say he had decided to save 58 soles, and not send field notes to him by air. He then said he and Corbett had scouted out Ancón and the Chancay Valley and that, while he had wanted to work first at Ancón, he was leaning toward Supe and Chancay, because they were further north, and he wanted Corbett's help before he left. He closed with two complaints. He reminded Strong he had not heard from him since his departure, and he told him because October funding had not yet arrived, the project was in danger (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

Francis Jay (at the AMNH) wrote to Lothrop on behalf of Vaillant on 19 October. He began by telling him Vaillant's mother-in-law had died that morning in Tucson, and, as a result, until Vaillant returned, he would have to act in his stead. He then told Lothrop he was aware \$900 had been cabled on the 12th to the Royal Bank of Canada in Lima, and that by now he should have received Vaillant's letter penned

to him on the 13th, adding that the \$900 represented monies scheduled to be sent to him on the first of the months of September, October, and November. Jay then turned to the matter of money due Newman. He told Lothrop that at Newman's original request, amounts due him for the months of July and August had been deposited in the Harvard Trust Company in Cambridge, Massachusetts, and the amount due for October had been deposited in the New York office of Grace and Company. Jay then told Lothrop he had written to Newman, and had suggested he write directly to a named individual if he instead preferred to have his money deposited in the Lima branch of the Royal Bank of Canada.

The day before, 18 October, Newman had written to Vaillant. He told him Lothrop had received his (13 October) letter the day before, and had asked him to respond. He said his October expense money had that day been deposited in his Grace account, as had Willey's, hence ending their crisis. Newman went on to detail his financial predicament. He said that in June he had been sent \$250 to cover expenses, such as that needed for equipment, but that this expense had actually amounted to \$300, and, he said, he had withdrawn \$200 in traveler's checks just prior to departing on 1 August, but that his bi-monthly checks had been sent to his wife. As a result of this, he had been forced to draw from his expense funds, and owed \$120 that he would repay from his salary. He added that he intended to make use of personal funds to cover the late arrival of future IAR checks. Newman then turned to other matters. He told Vaillant that Tello had assigned him two women to clean up some of the Pachacamac skeletal remains, and that he planned to use one of these women as a recorder. He told him he was still waiting for Tello to assign him other workers before beginning work on the Paracas material, though, he added, this additional staff might not include an assistant. Then Newman apologized on

behalf of himself and his wife for her not taking part in Project Eight, and told him she planned to send samples of paper, color plates, and other such things. He concluded by reiterating the point that his financial situation had been rectified, and he promised his (final) report would be submitted by 1 June 1942 (Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology Archive, Harvard University, Samuel K. Lothrop Papers, accession no. 996-20, box 6, folder 3, Paracas Project [1941-1942]).

Willey also sent out a letter on 18 October, though his was to Strong. Among other matters, he told Strong that he and Corbett had the Pachacamac material ready to ship to him, and he told him that Newman had begun working on the Pachacamac skeletal remains. Willey also informed Strong that their money had finally arrived that day, so they would not have to postpone work for a week, and, in fact, they planned to revisit Chancay soon. He closed by saying there was an increasing anti-American sentiment in Lima (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

Two days later, on 20 October, Lothrop wrote to Vaillant and began by thanking him for his letter, presumably the one written on the 13th. He went on to say he understood that Newman and Willey were to use their expense money to cover their living and working costs but, he added, Newman had been forced to pay for all his Peruvian travel expenses and had spent all his money, because he had not received scheduled funding. Lothrop then said he was himself in debt, and could not aid Newman, explaining further that he understood Newman planned to make a new financial arrangement with his wife who, he added, had been expected to contribute her knowledge of editing, but would now limit her role to mailing both engraving and printing samples. He then added that if this material did not arrive on the next

ship, other arrangements would have to be made.

Having first discussed pressing financial matters relevant to Newman, Willey, and himself, Lothrop then turned to a discussion of Tello and relevant money matters. He told Vaillant that Tello was in the process of taking his Paracas collection out of storage, and was looking over his collection of drawings and paintings to see what else needed to be done. As a result, Lothrop continued, Tello had created a workroom in a large exhibition hall, and had assigned half a dozen members of his staff to undertake repairs, so he needed money to pay for artists, draftsman, and the like, as well as for supplies. He added that Tello planned to have everything well under way by the time he (Tello) left for the United States. So, he said, he did not care how the money was paid, as long as it was paid on schedule, because there was a strong anti-American sentiment in Lima, and he did not want to commit himself to anything he could not live up to. He reminded Vaillant that the scheduled first of the month payments to Tello were \$300 for September and October and \$400 for November, and added that he would give Tello \$600 of the (cabled) \$900 as soon as it arrived. Lothrop then said he hoped future payments due him and Tello would arrive on time and that, as he understood it, San Marcos was going to handle Tello's money. As for a book contract, Lothrop told Vaillant he hoped to have a preliminary estimate of costs soon, and that work on illustrations could start in a couple of months, but that he doubted a final contract could be made until March or April of 1942, noting that it might be necessary for the IAR to send its own paper, but that in such case he was sure the matter could be worked out.

Lothrop then turned to other matters. He told Vaillant that Newman was working with non-Paracas skeletal material to gain experience, and that the next day he planned to begin

taking measurements of the Paracas collection though, he added, it had been difficult for Newman, because only just now were they experiencing sunny weather in Lima, after a string of often very damp days. In any case, he wrote, things looked promising, because a number of mummy bundles had just arrived at the museum from a warehouse, and the opening of a bundle was scheduled for the next day. Lothrop then told Vaillant he and Tello had looked over the bulk of the Paracas material, and had come to an agreement on a general layout for the book. Tello, he went on, planned to write a general account of the Paracas site(s) and the excavations that had been conducted at them. Then he planned to put together a general discussion of Paracas art and its place in Peruvian history. Finally, he planned to completely describe a single mummy bundle and the contents contained within, and complement this with other material for the purpose of comparison. Both he and Tello were in agreement, Lothrop continued, that this would be all that funding would allow, but that they were satisfied this would offer a good account of Paracas. Lothrop then said he envisioned three volumes; the first would contain the text and line drawings, the second would contain halftones and plates, while the third would be published by the Peabody Museum and would contain Newman's work. Lothrop closed by telling Vaillant that he would write to him again in a couple of weeks, and provide preliminary estimates on format, text size, how many illustrations had been done, and how many more still needed to be done (Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology Archive, Harvard University, Samuel K. Lothrop Papers, accession no. 996-20, box 6, folder 3, Paracas Project [1941-1942]).

It was on 20 October that Jay wrote to Newman. He began by informing him that Mrs. Vaillant's mother had passed away, and it would be about a week before Vaillant returned from

Tucson. Jay then turned to financial matters and provided Newman an account of payments that had been made to him. He told him two deposits of \$193 had been placed into his Harvard Trust Company account, one each for the months of July and August. These deposits, he explained, comprised his (monthly \$150) salary, minus \$50 (monthly) for the loan covering his wife's passage to Lima, and the \$93 balance of his (monthly travel) allotment. He went on to remind Newman that he had taken most of the money in his account before departing, but that because his wife had not gone to Peru, he would receive money back that had been set aside for her passage; hence his salary would return to \$150 monthly. Finally, he asked Newman if he wanted to change to the (Royal) Bank of Canada in Lima, and suggested he request changes be made if the current financial arrangement was not working to his satisfaction (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

Lothrop went to Pachacamac the morning of 10 October accompanied only by a black dog (Huapaya 2009d:376). Espejo, Flores, and Mariano González, the latter two being natives of Chavín, undertook an exploration of the Chavín region, beginning the second half of October (Espejo 1951:139). On the 17th they discovered monoliths decorated in the Chavín style at the site of Gotush (Espejo 1955:125) and that same day they discovered the ruins of Pikuto (Espejo 1959:133). On 22 October Newman, along with Mejía, Ponce, and two others, began the process of unwrapping Paracas mummy bundle number 142, and this work continued without completion the following day (Sotelo *et al.* 2012:282–284). Also on the 22nd, Lothrop and two others made a late morning visit to Pachacamac (Huapaya 2009e: 383–384). The opening of the bundle was completed on the 27th (Sotelo *et al.* 2012:284).

Lothrop also penned a letter on the 25th to Tozzer. He opened by apologizing for not having

written sooner and for not having connected with him when he was stateside. He went on to tell Tozzer the Paracas project was at a standstill, something he said he had already reported to Scott, adding he was unsure of the Institute's plan for the project and, as such, he asked Tozzer to keep him apprized of pertinent actions made by the executive committee. Lothrop essentially closed by saying Tello was being cooperative and that he thought Tello would do his best, but that getting the project completed on time was going to be hard (Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology Archive, Harvard University, Alfred M. Tozzer Papers, accession no. 41-10, box 1, folder 16, correspondence).

Willey wrote to Strong on 25 October and began by acknowledging receipt of his letter dated the 15th (specific contents unknown). Among other things, he told him he and Corbett would soon begin work in the Chancay Valley. He noted that they had twenty-one boxes of Pachacamac material ready to ship to him, and they would begin doing so in a few days. Finally, he told him that October funding had reached them on the 18th (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

Corbett wrote to Vaillant on 28 October and began by apologizing for not having answered earlier his letter dated 29 September (specific contents unknown). He told him that he, his wife, and Willey were working and living in the Chancay Valley, after having finished their work at Pachacamac two weeks before. He closed by telling Vaillant that he and his wife would be returning to New York in mid-January, and that he would be attending Columbia University (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

It was reported in the 29 October edition of *El Comercio* that an archaeological expedition commissioned by the Museum of Anthropology

had discovered a number of ruins in the Chavín region. It was specifically noted that carved stones, five of them being monoliths decorated in the Chavín style, had been found at the site of Gaguish (Gotush?) six kilometers from the ruins of Chavín. A megalithic city named Picutu (Picuto) had also been discovered 4,500 meters above sea level (Anon. 1941000).

Vaillant wrote to Lothrop on the 30th. He thanked him for his just received letter, said he was glad to know that money had arrived, and said he had received a letter from Newman in which he had explained his problems. Vaillant then explained what had happened to foul up the Tello payments. He told Lothrop it had been his understanding that, before any payment was to be made, he and Tello were to have signed a contract, and that the Paracas Project was dependent upon this. He went on to say that they were bound by the fiscal year ending July 1942, that it would be hard to secure more funding beyond that time, and that, as such, it would be difficult to implement any changes. After saying he was very leery of relying upon others for funding, he told Lothrop that he would make arrangements to have the money designated for Tello sent. Vaillant then told Lothrop confidentially that he dreaded the thought of not having any publications come out of the IAR's work after the long round of negotiations that had been held with Washington officialdom. Vaillant then told Lothrop that he appreciated the fact that Lothrop could not control matters in Lima, and he promised he would do whatever he could to help him, but that he was concerned non-compliance with contractual obligations could put an end to the IAR's government-sponsored work (Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology Archive, Harvard University, Samuel K. Lothrop Papers, accession no. 996-20, box 6, folder 3, Paracas Project [1941-1942]).

Willey again sent in a report, this for the month of October. He indicated that he and Corbett had worked at both the (on site) Pachacamac field house and the Magdalena museum from the 11th to the 20th. During this time, he explained, they had prepared twenty-one crates for shipment to New York, while special finds were given to Tello to be stored in a designated place at the museum. They had delivered to Tello, at his request, complete provenience information. Then, Willey went on, from the 21st to the 24th he and Corbett had investigated sites between Lima and Supe, some of which, Willey added, he, Strong, and Bird had investigated earlier in July. On the 26th, he continued, he and Corbett had made arrangements to stay at a small resort hotel in the Chancay Valley. He concluded by saying they had then excavated at one site in the valley, that they had already begun work at another, and that they had decided to travel to Lima on Fridays and spend the weekends there (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).²⁴⁵

Lothrop wrote to Vaillant on 2 November and told him Project Eight was not doing well. Newman, he wrote, had come down with a bad cold, and the winter weather had made it impossible to dry out the mummy bundles, but, he added, Tello had assigned eight of his staff to work on the Paracas material, and Newman had been assigned two others. As for the samples Newman's wife had promised to send, Lothrop said, they had not yet arrived, and this was a big problem, and, Lothrop said, although he and Tello had spoken at length with the best printer in Lima, and should have an estimate of costs in

a few days, the printer had a number of German employees, and he had thought it prudent to ask the American ambassador if the IAR could sign a contract with this firm. Because he had not yet heard back on this matter, Lothrop added, he would have to hold off proceeding. Lothrop did pass along some positive news, however. He said work being done at the Peabody Museum on food remains and analysis of blood samples (taken from the bundle opened at Harvard by Kidder II and his students) was progressing. Lothrop also passed along the news that exciting discoveries of two new sites in the Chavín area had been made by one of Tello's assistants, and he conveyed the news that many new Pachacamac discoveries had been made just a few days past, including a new cemetery (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

Willey then wrote to Strong on the 6th, and among other matters, told him he was planning to bring Valcárcel out to see his excavations in the Chancay Valley, and then take him to dinner. He added that he had also invited Tello, but he was away from Lima, and would, therefore, make arrangements to have him visit at a later time (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

Notice received the 12th from Huaraz was published in the 13 November edition of *El Comercio*. It was reported that Tello was in that city, and was headed for Huallanca, and then Chimbote. It was further stated that he had just returned from working at Chavín, and that the local prefect had accorded him every convenience. It was also stated that, rather than work at the ruins of Chavín, it was probably Tello's desire to see the newly discovered Chavín period sites that had sparked his travel (Anon. 1941ppp). Tello subsequently gave two visitors a tour of Pachacamac on the 13th (Huapaya 2009e: 382) so it is clear he promptly returned to Lima via Chimbote.

²⁴⁵ Willey (1988:207) later wrote: "As the 1941–1942 year wore on, I had more opportunity to discuss archaeology with Sam [Lothrop]. He visited our house in Lima. . . . In turn, I was invited to the Lothrop residence in San Isidro, a suburb of Lima. . . . Besides this, Sam and Eleanor became the sort of official hosts for our Andean Institute group, entertaining us at lunches, dinners, and cocktail parties . . . my relationships with Sam warmed up considerably."

On 15 November Newman wrote to Vaillant and began by saying he was sending along a copy of a memo he had written on his Paracas skeletal work that he had given to Lothrop, but was reluctant to give to Tello. He told Vaillant that since writing his memo, he had finally voiced his concern about having little to do, and as a result he had been given thirty bundles of bones taken from unwrapped Paracas mummies to work on. This material, Newman told Vaillant, though he suspected included only ten skulls, would keep him busy for three to four weeks, and, thereafter he planned to join Willey and Corbett for another six to eight weeks. This was because the process of opening new mummies was very time-consuming, and because he would have nothing else to do at the Museum of Anthropology while Tello was out of the country. Newman added that he had not spoken to Tello on the matter of working with Willey and Corbett, because he was concerned it would be received as a complaint, but that he had spoken with Lothrop about it, and he had agreed to his working outside Lima, as long as he understood the Paracas work took precedence. Newman went on to tell Vaillant that Lothrop had made arrangements for him to work on non-Paracas skeletal material in the North Coast Chiclín museum that Stewart had not studied, but he wondered if he would have time to do so. He then asked Vaillant if he thought he could do work outside the purview of the Paracas project if it did not undercut this project. That is, he would not undertake a study of the Chiclín material until he had completed his study of the Paracas material. In closing, Newman told Vaillant his financial problems had been resolved, that he had opened an account at the Royal Bank of Canada in Lima, and that funding was coming in on time (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

In his memo, Newman stated Tello had told him that his staff would unwrap an estimated

twenty-five to fifty Paracas mummy bundles in the back of the Museum of Anthropology, but that this work would probably not begin until after the first of December. Newman said he would not be required to be present during the process of unwrapping, and that he would be able to examine the skeletons on Saturdays after coming in from the field, at which point he could turn them over to his assistant for cleaning. He estimated his field-work would end the first of February, and that it would take him no more than six weeks to study both the Paracas material and the material recovered by Willey and Corbett. Finally he said, following Tello's preference, the Paracas study would be descriptive, with an emphasis on deformation, mummification, pathology, and trephination, adding that most of the Paracas skulls were deformed, and that he doubted there would be enough material to make a racial study (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

In his letter dated 17 November, Lothrop again gave Vaillant discouraging news on the progress of Project Eight. He referred Vaillant to the memorandum of understanding, and related letters dated the previous June, in which it was stated that Tello had to sign a contract with a printer, that Lothrop was to sign a contract with Tello as representative of the IAR, promising he would be given money to pay the printer, and Vaillant was to give Lothrop legal authority to so act as representative. The fact that legal authority had not been received meant the project was at a standstill, and this was unfortunate because a printer with German employees had been found, the American embassy had given its approval to use this printer, and Tello was ready to begin sending illustrations to the printer. Lothrop briefly shifted gears and told Vaillant that Newman was working on basic Paracas material, and he also had worked on material recovered from Willey's Chancay excavations. Then Lothrop returned to the matter of the Paracas Project and said he had

done everything he could at his end, but felt the project would fail if a greater effort was not made in New York to prevent delays that could last for months. Lothrop then admonished Vaillant for not sending money directly to Tello, and pointed out that he had found it necessary to give Tello part of the money he had received only after he had been forced to communicate via costly cables. Lothrop ended by essentially telling Vaillant that, while working with Tello was problematic, working with him was even more so (Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology Archive, Harvard University, Samuel K. Lothrop Papers, accession no. 996-20, box 6, folder 3, Paracas Project [1941-1942]).

Vaillant wrote to Lothrop on the 18th. He thanked him for his 2nd November letter, apologized, said he had since made proper arrangements, and said that he hoped money due had arrived. He then turned to the matter of Tello's upcoming visit, and said arrangements were being made with him to give a lecture at the University Museum (in Philadelphia), and that he was trying to make arrangements with the AMNH to have him received in the proper fashion. Next he told Lothrop he was sorry Newman was sick, felt bad about the delay with the printer, but felt it had been appropriate to ask for embassy approval. He closed by saying Strong was hard at work on material he had received from Peru (Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology Archive, Harvard University, Samuel K. Lothrop Papers, accession no. 996-20, box 6, folder 3, Paracas Project [1941-1942]).

Tello went to Pachacamac with Carrión and another member of his museum staff on 18 November (Huapaya 2009e:383), while Lothrop gave a pair of visitors a tour of the site on the 22nd (*ibid.*:384). On 27 November it was reported in *El Comercio* that the archaeological expeditionary team commissioned by the Museum of Anthropology had returned to Chavín,

after having explored important ruins in the District of Huanta (Anon. 1941qqq). It was later reported by Espejo (1951:144–146) that 5, 13, and 11 sites had been found in the San Marcos, Chavín, and Huantar districts of Ancash, respectively.

Strong wrote to Tello on 25 November. He began by telling him the (annual) meeting of the American Anthropological Association would be taking place in Andover, Massachusetts just before the (annual) meeting of the Archaeological Institute was to take place in Hartford, Connecticut. Strong said the Anthropological Association's membership was keen to have him give a lecture the evening of 28 December. He went on to tell Tello that he had checked, and this would not conflict with any events scheduled by the Archaeological Institute, but added that the final decision was his. Strong then went on to tell Tello the Association did not provide honoraria for speeches, but because the two locales were so close, it should not matter. After saying he thought giving the lecture would provide him with the opportunity to interact with all the anthropologists at the Andover meeting, Strong asked Tello to let him know if he was willing to give the lecture, so that he could arrange to have a formal invitation sent. Strong went on to tell Tello it was hoped that something providing remuneration could still be arranged, and that Vaillant would be writing him on the matter. He then told Tello that he expected him to arrive on 26 December, and asked if he would confirm this, so he could greet him at that time. Then he said to Tello that had heard from the Archaeological Institute that he would be arriving with his daughter, and that this was a problem, because he had only a single bedroom, but that he would be happy to rent her a room at a small but nice hotel only four blocks from his apartment. He reminded Tello that he had told him that he would later be going to Texas to attend a meeting, and said that at that time he and his daughter would be

more than welcome to make use of his place. Upon his return from Texas, he said, they could make further plans (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

In his report for the month of November, McCown said he had spent the 16th through the 18th at the site of Huamachuco, after which time he had moved four kilometers to the north to begin work at the ruins of Viracochabamba. On the 20th he closely examined these ruins and decided where to excavate. He then excavated from the 21st to the 27th and returned to Huamachuco on the 29th (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH). Willey wrote to Strong on 22 November. Among other matters, he said Newman had finally gotten the Paracas material out of storage, but not until after he had strongly complained (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

On 30 November McCown again wrote to Moe at the Guggenheim Foundation headquarters in New York City. He began by thanking Moe for writing to him on 17 November (specifics unknown) and expressed his pleasure at the good news regarding Kroeber contained within. McCown went on to say that he understood financial support would be contingent on Kroeber's plans for work in Peru, adding that they had corresponded on the matter (date unknown) and felt March through May would be the best time for Kroeber to undertake a survey of West Coast South American archaeology with visits to Quito, Ecuador, then to Lima, Arequipa, Cusco, and back to Arequipa in Peru, before heading to northern Chile. Kroeber, McCown told Moe, would then return to Lima, travel up to Trujillo, and from this city head back to the United States. McCown then told Moe that the IAR had on-going projects in each of these countries, including four in Peru, and that Kroeber planned to visit each for a few days to the benefit of both him and project participants. McCown told Moe that Kroeber was

then teaching a seminar in Peruvian archaeology, and he suggested to him that Kroeber could give talks in Lima at San Marcos, and at both the National Museum and the Museum of Anthropology, as well as in the provinces at the Universities of Arequipa, Cusco, and Trujillo. Finally, McCown told Moe that Tello had told him he was disappointed Kroeber had not been able to come to Peru with other members of the IAR, and McCown passed on to Moe the news that Tello would be paying an extended visit to New York (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

Tello responded to Strong on the last day of November. He told him that, despite various concerns including the cost of undertaking the trip with his daughter Grace, he had originally planned to sail on 4 December, to arrive in New York on the 16th, but that they now planned to depart on the Grace Line steamship *Santa Elena* on the 18th, and would arrive in New York the morning of the 29th. He went on to tell Strong that he was scheduled to dine with members of the Archaeological Institute in Hartford the night of the 30th. Unfortunately, he said, this meant he would not be able to attend the meeting in Andover on the 28th, where he thought the IAR might also hold its annual meeting. He then said he had wanted to attend this latter meeting, at which time Vaillant had told him matters of interest to him would be discussed. After expressing his appreciation to Strong for his offer to stay at his place while in New York, Tello told him the work at Pachacamac had produced new results, and that Espejo had found new and interesting monoliths in the Chavín region. The previous day, he then said, he had met with Willey, and had come away very satisfied with his work in Chancay, adding that he thought he would visit the place where Willey was working before he moved on to work at Ancón. Tello closed by telling Strong he was looking forward to their reunion, and by saying he hoped it would be possible for him to see

some Peruvian collections during his visit (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

Vaillant wrote to Lothrop on 1 December and enclosed a formal document addressed to Lothrop dated 29 November that he had signed on behalf of the administrative committee. In his letter, he told Lothrop he was sorry he had become so upset, and that upon receipt of his letter dated 17 November he had called a meeting of the committee. The committee, he went on, hoped the enclosed letter could be of use in his dealings with Tello. He told Lothrop he could show it to Tello, or to his assistant (Carrión) in the event either of them was confused about the original intent of the project. Vaillant then advised Lothrop to read over the attached document with care, so that he understood the amount of money available for publication. After telling Lothrop he understood he was in a difficult position, he said he wasn't sure what else they could do to help him (Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology Archive, Harvard University, Samuel K. Lothrop Papers, accession no. 996-20, box 6, folder 3, Paracas Project [1941-1942]).

In his formal document, Vaillant began by saying he was responding to Lothrop's letter dated the 17th. He then said the administrative committee consisting of him, Bennett, and Strong had met that day to review pertinent Project Eight correspondence and accounting documents in order to see if the New York office had properly handled its responsibilities. Vaillant then provided Lothrop a detailed point-by-point account of the committee's findings summarized below.

Project Eight had originally been allotted \$12,000, and this had never been changed. Newman had been provided \$5,200, with \$1,800 designated for salary, \$1,600 for expenses, \$300 for materials, and \$1,500 to cover the cost of publication of his report by the

Peabody Museum. Following initial payment difficulties, caused by Newman's domestic problems that were out the IAR's control, he now promptly received monies due. Lothrop and Tello, as the project's director and counselor, respectively, had originally been allotted a total of \$6,800, with \$2,300 to cover Lothrop's expenses and the remaining \$4,500 to cover Tello's work, inclusive of \$1,500 to meet publication costs. Because of United States government restrictions, Lothrop was to administer all funding. Following talks in Lima, and later in New York, Lothrop had requested changes. He had suggested that an agreement be signed by the Museum of Anthropology and the IAR that called for most of the above \$6,800 to be allotted toward the publication of Tello's work on Paracas. Specifically, in terms of the (then) current exchange rate, funding would not exceed 35,000 soles, with a contingent fund of 5,000 soles. This proposal specifically stated that this money was to be used for the *publication* of Tello's illustrated Paracas manuscript to be submitted on or before 1 May 1942, and it made no provision for costs related to the *preparation* of this manuscript.

The executive council (of the National Defense Advisory Committee on Art) in Washington, D.C. had then approved the requested changes, and had obtained permission to proceed from the (office of the) Coordinator of Inter-American affairs through its agent John A. Abbott. Lothrop was subsequently so informed in a letter written by Vaillant dated 15 August 1941. Upon his return to Peru in September, it was Lothrop's responsibility to advise the IAR on the progress of the project. At his urging the amounts of \$900, \$1,000, \$1,450, and \$300 were sent by the National City Bank of New York to the Royal Bank of Canada in Lima on 14 October, 12 November, 24 November, and 24 November, respectively. This was done despite the fact that Lothrop had sent word that a final contract would not be signed until March

or April 1942. The IAR's administrative committee agreed to continue to send payments at specified intervals for the balance of \$3,150. It was the understanding of the committee that issuance of the final payment provided Lothrop with legal authorization to sign the publisher's contract prior to 1 June 1942. However, in the event he felt obligations incurred in the amended agreement could not be fully satisfied, Lothrop had the authority to return to the original agreement which involved field-work and the allotment of no more than \$1,500 toward the cost of publication (Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology Archive, Harvard University, Samuel K. Lothrop Papers, accession no. 996-20, box 6, folder 3, Paracas Project [1941-1942]).

Strong wrote to Willey on 2 December and, among other matters, asked him how he, Lothrop, and others were doing with Tello. He said he had written to Tello twice (dates and specific contents unknown), but had not yet received a response, adding this did not surprise him. He then asked Willey to write to him and let him know what was happening, so that he could talk things over with Tello when he was in New York (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

Lothrop replied to Vaillant on 4 December, thanked him for his letter, and enclosed the formal document. He said things were moving slowly. He told Vaillant bids from two printers had been received, and a decision would be made the next day on which to accept. After this a contract would immediately be signed, work on the color plates for the Paracas volume would begin at once, and this would proceed while Tello was out of the country. So, he said, it seemed likely the Paracas work would get printed, although printers in Lima were notorious for not getting things done on time. As such, he suggested it might be a good idea to work through a bank, and have the bank pay

the printer when the work was completed. Despite the fact that prices had risen, he continued, he felt that with the \$1,200 he had in the bank and what was left of the money he had given to Tello for museum expenses, they could get published on fairly good paper 1,000 copies of a book with 200 pages of text, 200 text figures, and 75 color plates. Lothrop then told Vaillant that Tello planned to arrive on 29 December, would be speaking at Hartford the night of the 30th, and should be in Andover on the 31st. He then asked Vaillant if he could facilitate Tello's travel from Hartford to Andover so he could attend the Institute's meeting, adding that he would be bringing his daughter with him. In closing, he reminded Vaillant they had agreed to change Tello's title within the IAR to reflect his being the director of two museums, adding that Tello definitely expected a change to be made, and he should talk this over with him (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology).

On 9 December it was reported in *El Comercio* that Espejo had left Chavín for Lima (Anon. 1941rrr). On the 15th it was reported in this Lima daily that the news Tello had been made a member of the Academy of Physical Sciences was celebrated in a solemn ceremony in his native community of Huarochiri (Anon. 1941sss). It was later reported that Tello had taken his wife to Pachacamac the afternoon of 7 December and on the 10th had returned unaccompanied (Huapaya 2009e:388). This same source also reported that on the 17th Tello visited these ruins along with Mejía and another museum employee (*ibid.*:390).

Vaillant wrote letters to both Tello and Lothrop on 11 December. In his letter to Tello, he reminded him that they had spoken in Lima about changing his status within the IAR from being its Peruvian counselor to becoming a member of the Executive Board (Committee). This, he said, was a matter that could be dis-

cussed at the annual meeting, and *if a vacancy was available* (italics added), he could be made a member. Vaillant then asked Tello to provide a statement of what he wanted. Having concluded the reason for his writing, Vaillant then told Tello he was looking forward to his lecture tour, and that it had been arranged for him to speak at the University Museum in Philadelphia, and that another speaking engagement was being arranged for him in New York. He then told Tello he had heard he was considering not coming because of the war, but hoped this was not true. He closed by telling him he had been hearing that the IAR's projects in Peru were going well, and he appreciated all he had done to facilitate this (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

In his letter to Lothrop, Vaillant said he had just heard that Tello did not want to go to New York, and that this complicated matters regarding when to hold the annual meeting, because he and Strong had to go Texas to attend meetings after Christmas. Still, he said, a vote could be taken regarding his desire to be made a member. He then said he and Strong had gone over the IAR's minutes and correspondence, to refresh their memories as to why Tello had not been made a member, and had found that it had been his expressed wish to hold some other position (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).²⁴⁶

The following day, 18 December, Lothrop wrote to Vaillant and said he and Tello had signed a contract with the printer, and that he would send a copy. He then said they had made an initial payment of 8,228 soles to cover half the cost of publishing a book containing 208 pages of text and 24 color plates. A further payment of 4,114 soles would be made when the

galleys were finished, and the same amount would again be paid when the whole book was finished. This, he said, still left about half the appropriated funding that would be used to include text figures, and hopefully many more color plates, given that they had reserved paper for a total of ninety-six plates. Lothrop then told Vaillant that Tello had unwillingly cancelled his planned trip because of transportation problems, but that this had had a beneficial effect on the project, because he promised to keep the printer busy with color copy starting the first of January, with an end date of the first of May. After saying he would send paper and printing samples to him, Lothrop confessed to Vaillant he was not completely satisfied with the contract, but that it had been necessary to act with haste, because once war had been declared, prices had risen twenty-five percent overnight, and the estimates they had been given were only good for two days. Next Lothrop told Vaillant the contract did not guarantee a timely completion. But, he continued, the printer they had selected had been very anxious to take on the job, and had submitted a bid a quarter below the amount submitted by his competitor, on all types of illustrations, paper, typesetting, and binding. After saying the printer had plenty of paper in stock, Lothrop said everything was in the hands of Tello and the printer, while all he could do was urge Tello along, and help him set out the illustrations. He ended by saying Tello's immediate plan was to set out everything he intended to include in the book, see what still needed to be done, and then establish a schedule and stick to it (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

Tello sent a note to Vaillant as head of the IAR on 19 December. He stated that it would be most advantageous for the IAR to make him a member of its committee, given that the IAR was essentially Indian or Peruvian in nature, and given that he was a representative of San Marcos. Tello then reminded Vaillant that, on

²⁴⁶ In his 11 January 1937 letter to Bliss, Bennett recalled that Tello had been very anxious to become a member of the committee.

a number of occasions, he had said to ex-secretary Bennett, and most recently to him (Vaillant) in Lima, that he felt the position of counselor was merely honorific or nominal (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

In his report for the month of December, McCown noted he had conducted excavations at, and in the vicinity of, the ruins of Cerro Campana beginning 3 December. From the 6th through the 10th, he had conducted a reconnaissance of the Cajabamba region. He had then returned to Huamachuco on the latter date, and on the 11th had examined the ruins of Cerro Amaru, including the part that had previously been dredged by Uhle. Then during the period December 12th to the 14th, he had packed and moved to Trujillo, where he had stayed for three days. On the 18th, he had begun his trip by car to Lima, and had stopped along the way to see the ruins of Punkurí in the Nepeña Valley. He had then spent the night in Huacho, and the following day had visited Willey, Newman, and Corbett in the Supe Valley. He had finally reached Lima on the 19th. In this capital city, Tello had very graciously arranged a working space for him in the Museum of Anthropology, where he had begun an in-depth analysis of the archaeological remains and photographs he had brought from the field (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

On 22 December Vaillant sent a letter to all members of the IAR on behalf of the administrative committee (indicating that at some point during the year the short-term executive committee had become the long-term administrative committee). He stated that, given that the meeting of the American Anthropological Association was to be held in Andover, the meeting of the Association for the Advancement of Science was being held in Dallas, and given that two of the IAR's members were in the field working on its behalf, it would be impossible for the committee to meet and have

a quorum. Hence, the administrative committee consisting of him, Bennett, Means, and Strong sought proxy approval of decisions to be made by them at the meeting to be held on the 27th. Vaillant then stated that, due to the special relationships that had been developed by the executive/administrative committee with the Coordinator of Inter-American affairs and the AMNH, it was felt that the current members of this committee should continue serving for another year, and requested approval by proxy. Finally, Vaillant stated, a copy of the minutes of the meeting would be sent out to members as soon as possible (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

Vaillant responded to Lothrop on the 23rd, and conveyed his pleasure at how well things were working out for Project Eight, particularly the contract, and the fact that Tello's cancellation had been a blessing in disguise. He then advised Lothrop he would be receiving information about the upcoming annual meeting, including a proxy form. He said the existing administrative committee would continue, given their involvement with the AMNH and Washington (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

Willey also wrote a letter on 23 December, his going to Strong. He told him that work had been completed at two sites in Supe, that Corbett planned to sail home the first of the year, and that his own plan was to spend the holiday week until after the first of January in Lima. After this, Willey told Strong, he would begin work at Ancón with the help of Newman, who had also helped at Supe. In fact, he said, Tello was fine with the idea of Newman working with him, as was Lothrop. As for Tello, he told Strong, he had canceled his planned trip to the States, and that this was something he suspected he had been glad to do. Willey also made the point of telling Strong it had been Tello who had been the cooperative one concerning the

shipment of the excavated (Pachacamac) material to him, and that Valcárcel had merely followed his lead (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

Finally, on 27 December, some of the members of the IAR met to make decisions regarding the functioning of the IAR during the upcoming year. Proxy votes had been received from Cole, Kidder, Kidder II, Kroeber, Spier, and Tozzer. These votes served to reappoint Vaillant and Bennett to the positions of president/treasurer and secretary, respectively, and to reappoint these two plus Means and Strong to the IAR's administrative committee. This committee then informed the membership, including Lothrop, by telegram, that the annual meeting of the IAR had been rescheduled to meet on 11 January (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH). So, of the eleven members of the IAR, six had sent in their proxies, and one was in Peru, leaving only four, Bennett, Means, Strong, and Vaillant, who comprised the sitting administrative committee, presumably in attendance at the December meeting.

In brief, Tello was as usual quite busy. He continued to keep an eye on work being done at Pachacamac, including what was being done by Willey and Corbett. Tello also began the process of working on the Paracas material that was at the heart of Project Eight. In this regard, he made himself, his staff, and his museum available to Newman, so that he could begin his analysis of skeletal material; his purpose being to keep Newman busy while he was out of the country. This trip to the United States was to have given Tello the opportunity to attend major year-end anthropological and archaeological conferences, and both Strong and Vaillant were kept busy with plans to make his stay as eventful and profitable as possible. Had he gone, Tello would have had the opportunity to make his case at the annual meeting of the IAR that he be made a full-fledged member. But all this

planning went for naught when Tello, perhaps out of concern for increasing naval conflict in the hemisphere, cancelled his plans and remained in Lima. For a variety of reasons, attendance at this annual meeting was limited to a handful.

Vaillant was also kept busy with other matters related to the IAR. He was the recipient of, at times, troubling reports from Lothrop, Willey, and Newman. Money problems plagued them all. This was mostly the result of misunderstandings between Lothrop and Vaillant over the changes that had been made relative to Project Eight, compounded by personal changes in the lives of both Vaillant and Newman. Both Lothrop and Newman expressed concerns about the pace of the work being done on the Paracas material, though Tello seems to have been making a conscious effort to speed things up.

But there were other matters of concern. Vaillant feared project reports would not be received until after the deadline, and he likewise feared the IAR would not get government funding for the following year. Then there was the rising anti-American sentiment in Peru, and this had caused Lothrop to successfully seek embassy approval for a print shop owner he was considering. There was also the concern that Valcárcel felt that he was being marginalized, while Tello was a principal participant in Project Eight, the result being that Kidder II suggested to Vaillant that Valcárcel be made an honorary director of his project. Despite all these concerns, there were positive signs as well. McCown succeeded in getting Moe to agree to help Kroeber visit IAR work locales in Ecuador, Peru, and Chile early in 1942, and Lothrop was beginning to get a handle on how to structure Tello's book on Paracas, and decide who would publish it, when, and at what cost.

R.C. Hunt, President of The Viking Fund, Inc. wrote an official letter dated 3 January to

Tello as Director of the Museum of Anthropology at Magdalena. In this letter he informed Tello that, at the meeting of the Board of Directors held 23 December, it had been decided to grant him \$10,000 to undertake an expedition to the Valley of the Vilcanota River aimed at conducting archaeological and anthropological research at the sites of Puyu Payta Marka, Sayaq Marka, Intipata, Choquesuysuy, Chachabamba, and Runcuracay that had been recently discovered by the Wenner-Gren Scientific Expedition. Hunt went on to inform Tello that how the money was to be spent was to be at his discretion, provided that it be used only to pay for wages, salaries, purchases, and the scientific publication of results. Hunt then told Tello \$3,000 was being transferred to his name to cover costs of preparation, asking, in return, that he acknowledge receipt, and provide notification of when and how he wanted the balance to be sent. Finally, he asked him to provide, at his convenience, periodic financial accounts, as well as reports on his investigations (Paredes and Dalen 2016:441).

This official letter had been enclosed in a letter that Tello received from Fejos also dated 3 January. In addition to offering his congratulations, Fejos told Tello the initial \$3,000 was being transferred to him via the Central Hannover Bank and Trust Company. Fejos went on to tell Tello he would be sending him all the materials connected with the finds he had made over the past two years at the sites in question, including site cross-sections and topographic maps, as well as a general topographic map of the region. He told Tello he would be sending his report, in which he would provide the physical description of the ruins discovered by his expedition, as well as Rowe's report on IAR work at two other small sites. Fejos then told Tello it had surprised him when he learned that he had decided not to come to the United States to undertake a university lecture tour. Because of this turn of events, he explained, he

had prevailed upon the Viking Fund to transfer the \$3,000 startup funding. He then repeated the restrictions that had been placed on the use of the funding that Hunt had provided in his letter, explaining that these restrictions were necessary, because the charter of the Viking Fund provided that grant money could only be used for scientific purposes. He then told Tello that, a few days before he had left Peru, the pottery sherds collected during his recent field season had been crated and grouped by site, and then turned over by Albert Giesecke Jr. to Valcárcel at the National Museum. This, he explained, was something the license he had been issued by the government required him to do; adding that he didn't think there would be any problem in getting access to the material. After telling Tello he thought Dr. Lowther, a member of his team, was still in Peru conducting work in the Santa Valley, Fejos essentially closed by telling Tello that he doubted he would be returning to Peru in 1942, and asked him to be patient, because it would take time to get together the field notes and photographs he had collected during the past two field seasons (*ibid.*: 441–442).

Lothrop wrote to Vaillant on 5 January. He told him Project Eight was moving along, albeit slowly. He went on to say Newman had actually been doing some work on the Paracas skeletons, but that he had mostly been working with Willey. Lothrop then told Vaillant that Tello had been sick with the grippe and that he was now laid up after having been bitten, possibly by a scorpion or a black widow spider. In spite of this, he went on, he and Tello had just spoken at length, and he could report the latter had finally prepared an outline of his manuscript. Lothrop then told Vaillant he thought this was a breakthrough for Tello, because he had been considering several schemes. Lothrop added that, at his suggestion, Tello had decided to break his manuscript into three main sections, these being a description of the ruins and exca-

vations at Paracas, a description and illustration of typical artifacts that had been found, and a description and discussion of deities found on discovered textiles. The advantage, Lothrop added, was that Tello could draw from his previous studies, and could make use of already prepared illustrations. Finally, after saying Tello was going to try to produce about a hundred color plates by doing eight a week, Lothrop provided Vaillant with an outline of how the book was shaping up. In addition to specifics on page and type sizes, he said there would be 208 pages in total, inclusive of front and back blanks, while the total number of figures would be 200–300, and the total number of color plates would be 100. The deadline for the proof, he wrote, would be 1 May, and advance payment would be 8,228 soles (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

Means wrote to Vaillant on 7 January in response to a letter Vaillant had penned on the 5th (specific contents unknown). He told Vaillant he had been ill, and would not be able to attend the annual meeting of the executive committee. He also told him that, for health reasons, he thought it best for him to resign his position on the administrative committee (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

The meeting of the IAR's administrative committee was held on 11 January 1942, at the AMNH. The undated minutes of this meeting were sent to members, and were signed by Vaillant, Bennett, and Strong, who were the only ones to attend. Attached to the minutes was a financial statement for the IAR that was prepared by the AMNH. This statement showed a balance of \$1,307.04, with \$307.29 of this amount deposited in its account at the National City Bank of New York. The minutes stated it had been voted to have the IAR pay the costs incurred by Bennett, Strong, and Vaillant in holding the meeting. In addition, it was stated that, in an attempt to reduce expenditures, it

had been decided to focus more on non-archaeological endeavors in 1942. It was noted that delicate negotiations (with officialdom in Washington) were currently ongoing. Members were also told Tello's request to be elected a full member of the IAR had also been discussed at the meeting, and it had been decided to table the matter for two reasons: because it was felt the IAR's delicate position while under government contract meant it would be best not to make changes until the contract terminated, and because it was felt the matter should be decided by the membership as a whole. Finally, it was noted in the minutes that the paper entitled "Recent Archaeological Research in Latin America" that Strong had presented on 30 December at the Dallas meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Science was to be published in the journal *Science*. In regard to this publication, it was noted it had been voted to add to this paper a list of all of the participants in the IAR's Latin American program, and that copies of the published work would be distributed to interested parties (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).²⁴⁷

While the meeting was being held at the AMNH on 11 January, Willey was writing a letter to Strong. Among other things, he told him he had at least 100,000 sherds to classify and count from his work at sites in the Chancay and Supe Valleys. He also said Tello had his hands full working with the Paracas material, and that Kidder II had decided he had enough material to work with, and, rather than go back into the field, he would be staying with Newman, and would then sail home on 26 February. Finally, Willey said Newman was working with

²⁴⁷ It was noted on the first page of the published paper that Strong had delivered his talk as the retiring vice-president and chair of the Anthropology Section of the American Association for the Advancement of Science (Strong 1942:179). The paper he presented provided details about the still ongoing work being conducted by the IAR throughout Latin America, including the names of all of the participants.

non-Paracas skeletal material, and would be helping him work at Ancón before going into the highlands to work with the Tschopiks (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

It was on 12 January that Tello responded to Hunt. In addition to officially acknowledging receipt of his letter, Tello told Hunt the generous grant would allow him to undertake something he had hoped to be able to do for years. That is, to explore the (Vilconata) region in anticipation of finding the remains of an ancient civilization of high order (Chavín). He went on to tell Hunt he would be setting up a small dedicated office at his Magdalena museum where he could see in one place when he came to Peru all the historical and archaeological material relevant to the (Vilcanota) region made available to him (by Fejos). Tello then told Hunt he had met the day before with Dr. Lowther, who had agreed to tell him everything he knew about the region. Tello also told Hunt that, for the time being, he planned to concentrate on collecting material for his upcoming expedition, preparing his plan of action, and assembling his research team, and that only after the rains let up in the highlands in April or May would he undertake an exploration of the entire region. Tello closed by giving his heartfelt thanks to Hunt for the honor he felt in being allowed to undertake investigations on behalf of the Viking Fund (Paredes and Dalen 2016:442–443).

It was also on the 12th that Vaillant wrote to Tello to inform him his request to become a full member of the IAR had been tabled at the annual meeting for lack of a quorum, and because it was thought best not to change things until the current government contract expired in June. He went on to explain that U.S. law was very complicated, and that change might adversely affect the permission the IAR had received to publish the book on Paracas—a work, he said, they were confident would be the

crowning achievement of the IAR's publications resulting from its Latin American program. After assuring Tello that the IAR had every desire to publish his book, Vaillant told him that, in anticipation of his 1941 visit, they had arranged a number of extra lectures for him to give. He added that they had been sure he would have been a great success and, hence, they had all been very disappointed, but understood, given wartime conditions, why he had decided not to travel. He closed with warmest good wishes from all (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

That same day, 12 January, Vaillant wrote to Bennett (specific contents unknown) and enclosed a copy of the letter he had just written to Tello. Bennett responded on the 16th and told him that he thought his letter to Tello was fine, and that if it did not work, then they would just have to get others to help make Tello understand. Bennett went on to say he didn't think it would be a good idea to send Tello a copy of the financial report the AMNH had prepared for the IAR, because he thought it would only confuse him (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

Of interest, Vaillant had also been in contact with Means. This was in the form of a short letter he had written on the 14th. In addition to expressing concern about his health, Vaillant told Means the meeting of the administrative committee had been held in his absence, and that they had decided not to approve Tello's request because they had concluded the letters they had received from him were what he characterized as nothing more than random irritation (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

The previous day, the 13th, Tello and Mejía had gone to the ruins of Pachacamac to assess ongoing work and to issue new work orders (Ccosi 2010:21).

On 21 January Vaillant wrote to Lothrop and began by congratulating him on moving the Paracas Project along. He then got to the decision made at the meeting with regard to Tello's request that he be made a full member of the IAR. He told Lothrop there had been a lack of quorum, and that a membership meeting would be held in the spring to consider the matter, once they knew if the IAR would continue to function as something other than an organization on paper. Vaillant then told Lothrop that Tello wanted to be listed as co-author on published reports on sites visited by members of the IAR where he had previously worked. He went on to say he felt Tello's request was extraordinary, and, because he was concerned it would anger those who had not seen his letter, he had not told others about it (in the minutes of the meeting). He then told Lothrop he hoped he approved of the way the matter had been handled, and closed by saying, without explanation, that Tello might possibly come to the States in the future (Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology Archive, Harvard University, Samuel K. Lothrop Papers, accession no. 996-20, box 6, folder 3, Paracas Project [1941-1942]). It is unclear if, by this, he meant Tello had already indicated he might do so, or that a new invitation might be tendered.

Vaillant also wrote to Tello on 21 January. He began by saying he was enclosing a copy of the minutes of the meeting of the administrative committee of the executive committee of the IAR. He told Tello they had decided to incorporate as a report the address Strong had delivered at the meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Science that would be published in the journal *Science*. He also told Tello they were enclosing a list of the people the IAR had sent to Latin America and were enclosing a copy of Schedule A that indicated the resources available to the IAR and a copy of Schedule B that indicated the transactions the IAR had undertaken with the Coordinator of

Inter-American Affairs. Vaillant then told Tello that the members of the administrative committee appreciated the confidence he had shown them and they hoped he would not hesitate to express any criticisms he might have regarding the ongoing program in Peru. As chairman of the IAR Vaillant closed by sending his best wishes to Tello and by stressing the sincerity of his words (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

On 24 January Newman wrote to Strong. He told him he had spent the past two weeks working with Willey and Corbett at cemeteries in the Supe Valley, and that, as a result, he had acquired twenty-three intact adult crania although, he lamented, three days looking with Willey for an appropriate cemetery at Ancón had proven futile. As for intact adult skeletons, Newman said, he had fourteen, though he had hoped to find as many as twenty, and would continue looking during at least part of the week to come. So, he said, he hoped to complete his field-work by the first of February, he hoped to have all his crania measured by the first of March, he hoped to have all of his numbers calculated by the first of April, and, after all this, he would write like mad to make sure he mailed out his manuscript by 15 May.

Newman then turned to a brief discussion of his primary work, and said he had eighteen Paracas skeletons to work with, and that he hoped to finish up with twenty-five to thirty Paracas crania at San Marcos soon. He also said Tello had delivered twenty-six Paracas colored plates to the printers, and had his staff working on more. He said, Tello had told him he would be going on a vacation soon, after which he planned to concentrate on writing his manuscript. He then said Tello had told him he would soon have Mejía or someone else work on processing more of the unwrapped Paracas skeletons. Newman then admitted to Strong he wasn't sure how many more skeletons he could

include in his work, given how much time had elapsed.

Newman then told Strong that Willey was doing great work at Ancón, Chancay, and Supe, and he said the two of them had been so busy that their social life had suffered greatly, but, he added, he had gotten together with Lothrop and his wife at least weekly, usually for an afternoon drink.²⁴⁸ As for McCown, he said he had been staying with him since 19 December, but that, because he had previously made arrangements to have someone else move in with him, he would soon be moving out. He then commented that Kroeber and his wife would be arriving in Lima on 3 March, that McCown planned to fly back to Berkeley on 16 March, and that Willey planned to leave Peru about the first of May. As for himself, because Scott had assured him there was sufficient funding, he planned to stay for a while and work two to three months with the Tschopiks before heading for home in August or September (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

Willey also wrote to Strong, his letter being dated 25 January. He said he was replying to the letter he had received dated the 6th (specific contents unknown). He told him he and his wife had decided to fly home, and he would see

²⁴⁸ Regarding Lothrop and the bar at the Hotel Bolivar, Willey later wrote (1988:204): "During the day, Sam frequently maintained himself at a central window table in this same bar. It was a key position. Entrance to the bar, from either the hotel Rotunda room or a door leading to outside the hotel, could be monitored effectively from the window table. In addition, one could keep a pretty good eye on passerbys rounding the corner into the Colmena from the Plaza San Martin. Just who and what to look for, always stuck me as more of a problem, but then I wasn't in the know. Armed with a Manhattan . . . Sam remained faithfully at his post during the long pre-lunch cocktail hour. Newman, Corbett, and I used to call this strategically placed table 'the office'; but, I should add, that in spite of such smart-aleck wisecracks among ourselves, we all enjoyed 'reporting in' at the 'office' and never refused to raise an arm ourselves when invited to by the generous Sam".

about changing his ship tickets for plane tickets that he understood had to be done six weeks in advance. He then said he and Corbett had been working at Ancón for two weeks, and planned to continue doing so until the end of the month, when they would finish their work in the field. He then admitted there was a much stronger Chavín presence at Ancón than he had thought, with pottery of this period being much more elaborate than what they had found at Supe. He also admitted he had learned that test pitting at Peruvian coastal sites was a lot more time-consuming than he had expected.

Like Newman, Willey also passed along information about others. He said he hadn't seen Tello in a while, but that he was going to ask him over when field-work was finished. He also said he had recently met Uhle at the National Museum, and had invited him to visit Ancón the following week, adding he had heard that Uhle was trying to raise money for field-work. Lastly, he said Kroeber and his wife would be arriving in Lima on 3 March, and they would be staying in Peru for eight weeks (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

Lothrop responded to Vaillant on 29 January. It was a plea that the members of the IAR make Tello a full member. He told Vaillant that Tello had received his official letter in which he had been told he would remain in the position of counselor, and that upon reading it he had exploded with fury, and had threatened to resign from the IAR. Lothrop then said it was only after he had spent the better part of the day urging Tello to hold off from taking such drastic action that he had finally agreed to wait a month. He pointed out to Vaillant he had the proxies to make this happen, and he pointed out, while Tello's title meant little to the IAR, it meant a lot to him. Lothrop warned Vaillant that Tello was in a position to harm the progress of all the IAR's ongoing Peruvian projects. Lothrop then explained to Vaillant that Tello

felt he had been mistreated. He told him Tello felt promises had been made to him that had not been kept. He went on to say Tello hated the title of counselor, because this was the same title Giesecke held in the American embassy, and that, as such, he was simply ranked by the IAR as a native assistant. Tello, he said, felt he deserved to be treated better. Then Lothrop suggested that, as had originally been agreed upon, Strong change his listing of Tello as counselor in his (upcoming) *Science* article to co-director.²⁴⁹ In his concluding remarks, Lothrop told Vaillant that Project Eight was proceeding nicely, that the printer had the copy for twenty-six of the color prints and that he had promised to provide the first proof that evening, adding that the copy for twenty-four more plates was ready. He then said they hoped to actually go to Paracas for a few days during the week to come.²⁵⁰ He ended by apologizing to Vaillant for being the bearer of bad news, but, he pointed out, because he was in Lima, it was not in his power to put things straight (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

As it happened, 29 January, the same day Lothrop wrote to Vaillant, the latter wrote to Tello. Vaillant told him he was enclosing a copy of the minutes of the 11 January meeting of the executive committee, a copy of a list of all participants in the IAR's ongoing projects, and (against Bennett's advice) a copy of the financial statement that the AMNH had prepared for the IAR. He told him the paper Strong had presented at the meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Science was to be printed in *Science*. He closed by telling

²⁴⁹ Unfortunately this did not happen. Specifically it was written, "Regarding the central and southern coasts of Peru, two projects are being undertaken. One of these (Project 8) is under the directorship of Dr. S.K. Lothrop, assisted by Counsellor Dr. Julio Tello, with Dr. Marshall Newman as supervisor" (Strong 1942:182).

²⁵⁰ The trip to Paracas was probably what Newman referred to in his letter to Vaillant as Tello's vacation.

Tello they all greatly appreciated the confidence he had shown in them, and he should not hesitate to register any complaint (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

Julian Steward wrote to Tello from the Smithsonian Institution's Bureau of American Ethnology on 28 January. Steward informed Tello he would be editing a handbook of South American Indians and he would like him to serve as the critic and consultant for whatever was written on Peru. Steward also asked Tello to write a 4,000-word article. Steward suggested that, given his work on Chavín, Tello write on the question of the origins of Peruvian civilization, but left it up to him decide on a topic. A modest remuneration of one penny for each word, he said, would be paid. He then told Tello his name would add to the prestige of the undertaking, and it would be a shame if his well-known research were not to be included. Steward then referred to an enclosed outline, and told Tello that Bennett had been chosen to be the general editor for articles dealing with the Andean Highlands from Colombia to Chile.²⁵¹ Steward also reminded Tello of the times they had interacted when he was in Lima, and said he hoped he would see him at an upcoming congress to be held in Santiago, Chile. Finally, he said he had recently seen Strong, and passed along his regards (National Anthropological Archive, Smithsonian Institution, Julian H. Steward Papers, records of the *Handbook of South American Indians*, correspondence).

Strong sent a letter to Willey on 5 February and first told him there had been no meetings of the IAR's administrative committee, so he could not specifically advise him about living expenses for the final months of his stay in Peru. He then told him that, as he interpreted the contract with the government, living expenses included

²⁵¹ This would include all of Peru, and especially the sites of Chavín and Pukará, which Tello most certainly would not have liked.

food, rent for housing, laboratory costs inclusive of both rent and assistant costs, chauffeur costs, and costs otherwise work-related. He also told Willey he thought he would have enough money to stay into May, and he was fine with the idea of his return travel by air. Next he addressed the issue of what artifacts to send, where, and when. He told Willey that Tello would more than likely divide what had been found, but what he did not choose to keep should be boxed together and sent to him care of the AMNH. Strong then said to Willey that he was inclined to put off shipment until the war was over, although adding he thought it might be best for him to first discuss the matter with Kroeber (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

That same day, the 5th, Strong wrote to Kroeber and said, in part, he had been very surprised, but also very pleased, to learn from sources in Peru that he and his wife would be going to that country. He told him he hoped he could meet with them if they passed through New York (National Anthropological Archive, Smithsonian Institution, William D. Strong Papers, correspondence). Kroeber responded to Strong on 9 February and confirmed he and his wife would be traveling to Peru, not out of New York, but by airplane out of Los Angeles at the end of the month. He told Strong he would be spending eight weeks there with the objective of seeing as many sites and collections as possible. He then said he hoped the war wouldn't interfere with these plans and he hoped he would have the opportunity to see Willey (National Anthropological Archive, Smithsonian Institution, William D. Strong Papers, correspondence). He was undertaking a trip to Peru on behalf of "the Committee on Inter-American Artistic and Intellectual Relations, consisting of Frederick P. Keppel, Henry Allen Moe, and David H. Stevens" (Kroeber 1944:5), though it is unclear if this was the same as the Rockefeller

committee made up of the same three individuals.

Then on 10 February Strong again wrote to Kroeber. The topic was what he characterized as Steward's vague idea of organizing an international Latin American anthropological society primarily for the purpose of publishing works in its own journal. Steward, he told Kroeber, had asked him to write to him about this, with the thought that he could discuss the idea with Tello and Valcárcel in Lima. He added that Steward planned to bring up the idea in countries he planned to visit. Next Strong brought up the touchy issue of Tello's anger about not being made a member in full standing of the IAR. He referred to concerns Lothrop had expressed in his letter to Vaillant on this matter and, while saying he had his reservations about conceding on the issue, he thought Tello had the upper hand. He suggested to Kroeber he try to broker the issue with Tello in Lima, after first communicating with Vaillant. Strong closed by telling Kroeber to give his warmest regards to Tello and Valcárcel, as well as all the Americans representing the IAR (National Anthropological Archive, Smithsonian Institution, William D. Strong Papers, correspondence).

On 3 February Tello, accompanied by Espejo, visited the ruins of Pachacamac for the purpose of inspecting work being done on his behalf. Before leaving, he issued new work orders (Ccosi 2010:23). In its edition dated 11 February the Lima daily *El Comercio* published a report on a special meeting of the Geographical Society of Lima to be held during the evening two days hence, in honor of the discovery of the Amazon River. It was reported that this special meeting was held every three years, and that this year geographers and scientists to be honored included Tello, Wenner-Gren, and Fejos (Anon. 1942a).

In brief, Tello was the recipient of news both good and bad. Out of the blue he was notified

he had been granted \$10,000 by the Viking Fund to spend as he wished on a continuation of the exploration that Fejos had recently conducted in the southern highlands. He was asked by Steward to contribute toward a handbook on South American Indians, but, and this was a big but, he was notified by Vaillant that, because of a lack of quorum at the annual meeting, it had been decided to table his request to become a full member of the IAR. Tello was furious, and threatened to quit the IAR, because he hated being considered the IAR's counselor, telling Lothrop it was demeaning. Lothrop contacted Vaillant, and pleaded with him to hold a vote, telling him it took him all day to calm Tello down and to get him to hold off resigning for a month. Vaillant wrote back, and provided him with two reasons other than lack of quorum that had led to the decision to table Tello's request—his extraordinary and concerning demand he be listed as co-author for all IAR publications resulting from work at sites where he had previously worked, and the committee's on-going negotiations of a delicate nature in Washington to secure continuing funding for the IAR, which they felt necessitated a delay until the spring before holding a full meeting of the IAR. Vaillant was not being entirely open with Lothrop, as was demonstrated in his letter to Means, who had decided for medical reasons to resign from the administrative committee. In his letter to him, Vaillant made it clear he considered Tello's co-author demand unworthy of consideration.

Despite all this consternation, those out of the know in Peru proceeded apace with their various projects, and most were making plans to return to the States as their work had begun to wind down. Newman was working with more and more Paracas skeletal material; Tello had sent to the printer a batch of color plates and had his staff working on more; and Tello had decided he wanted to include in his book a

discussion of the deities portrayed on the Paracas textiles.

KROEBER GETS INVOLVED

February–June 1942

Vaillant wrote to Kroeber on 12 February and told him that Tello's request to be made a member of the executive council (executive committee) had been tabled at the meeting in New York. Vaillant explained that Tello had given him an official memorandum, in which he had requested this action, and in which he had stated his desire to be made principal co-author of publications resulting from work by members of the IAR at sites where he had previously worked. Vaillant told Kroeber he had decided not to bring these matters to the attention of the membership until the full meeting of the IAR, because he felt they needed to be discussed by all, and that for this reason, he had decided it would not be fair to make use of the proxies he had in hand. Vaillant then told Kroeber that Lothrop had informed him Tello had reacted strongly to his letter, in which he explained why it had been decided to put off decisions on his requests until June. Given this, Vaillant said to Kroeber, he wanted his advice. He asked if he felt Tello should be elected a member of the committee and table his (other) demands, or whether he wanted to discuss the matter with Tello when he arrived in Lima (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

Kroeber responded to Vaillant on 16 February. He asked to be sent to Berkeley by the 24th the following: a full copy of what Tello had written when he had made his request, the answer given to him, and a summary of the discussion on the matter at the 11 January meeting, assuming a record had been made. Otherwise, he said, he could be reached at the University of California at Los Angeles on the 26th or the 27th. Kroeber then told Vaillant he

was not in favor of granting Tello the right of co-authorship, and would tell him so when he got to Peru. Then Kroeber told Vaillant he had at first been puzzled by his reference to Tello wanting to be made a member of the IAR's Executive Committee, because he had been under the impression that the executive committee presently consisted of Vaillant, Bennett, Means, and Strong, but, he said, that upon reflection, he realized the IAR's letterhead listed the entire membership of eleven as comprising its executive committee, so he understood, though he then wondered what this implied about other members. In any case, Kroeber went on, he was in favor of Tello being made a member of this committee, and thought other such requests made by non-Americans could be addressed on a case-by-case basis. He continued by saying he did not think there would be a problem with the federal government, because the IAR was a private corporation of individuals, but he did think there would be a problem if Valcárcel applied for membership. This, he said, would be problematic, and if necessary he would discuss it with both Tello and Valcárcel, but he would not do so until he had spoken first with Lothrop, and had come to an understanding of the official standing in Peru of both men. Before closing, Kroeber then asked Vaillant whether the IAR had been incorporated in Washington, D.C. or in the State of New York, and, in either case, if there was an issue with corporations including aliens in its membership. He ended by telling Vaillant he was sending a copy of his letter to Strong (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

Vaillant wrote back to Kroeber on 19 February, and made reference to the items he had requested, excluding a written summary of what had been discussed at the January meeting that had been sent separately, and should have already been delivered.²⁵² He then said the IAR had been incorporated in the State of New

²⁵² Unfortunately this appears not to have survived.

York, and that aliens could be made members.²⁵³ He also explained the organization was technically the Andean Institute, and the original members who had attended the December 1936 meeting in New York had decided to give themselves a special name—the Executive Committee. He then addressed a point he was trying to convey in his letter dated the 12th. He explained he felt they could make Tello a member of this committee and ignore his other demands, and then tell him of his election without acceding to his other demands (especially co-authorship). He then admitted he was worried Tello's election might be construed as acceptance of his other demands (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

Vaillant also touched base with Lothrop. He wrote to him on the 20th and admitted how distressed he had been to receive his letter in which he had said how angry Tello had become upon learning his bid to become a member of the IAR had been tabled for lack of a quorum. Vaillant then told Lothrop that he knew Tello would react badly, but that the three who had attended the January meeting (he, Bennett, and Strong) had been concerned they could have been overridden for abuse of power had they used the proxies in hand and decided to approve Tello's request. Vaillant then reminded Lothrop that, during the discussions the two of them had engaged in with Tello in Lima about the latter's request to be made a member of the IAR, he (Vaillant) had said he would bring it up before the committee for a vote, and that it was not a decision he, as president, could make. He then told Lothrop he had corresponded with Kroeber on the matter, that he had sent Kroeber pertinent documentation, and that he would defer to him as to whether to call for a vote by mail, or whether to hold off until he could discuss the

²⁵³ It will be recalled that, in his letter to Tello dated 19 January 1937, in which he justified his being appointed the IAR's counselor, Bennett said *federal law* required all members of a corporation to be U.S. residents.

matter with Tello in Lima. Vaillant followed this with an apology, telling Lothrop he was indeed sorry to have put him in such a situation.

Vaillant then shifted to another topic. He told Lothrop things were not looking good, and he did not think the IAR would be getting funding from the government for the next fiscal year. This, he said, was because of the war and the reluctance of Congress to fund such projects. He went on to say that, while they were not giving up the fight, the fact there had been two or three unspecified changes in Washington did not bode well. In closing, Vaillant said he (now) understood Tello's position and the reasons for his negative reaction, but by the same token, Tello needed to understand the legal and emotional realities they faced in the United States (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

Willey wrote his next report to Strong on 3 March. He began by saying Tello was anxious for him and Corbett to send their report to the National Board, a report, he admitted, they had yet to submit, despite having finished writing it up a couple of weeks previously. This, Willey explained, was because he was anxious to hand-deliver it to Tello, but every time he had gone to the Museum of Anthropology to do so, Tello had been absent. Willey then said that, as Tello had requested, the report was not a technical one, that it covered all of their field-work, that it was thirty pages in length, and that it included photographs. Willey also told Strong that McCown would be leaving in two weeks, that Rowe ought be in Lima in a week or so on his way north (home), and that everyone was awaiting the arrival of Kroeber in a few days (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

McCown submitted his bi-monthly report for the months of January and February. He wrote he was working at the Magdalena mu-

seum every day, and had learned to his surprise there was much more involved in working with the sherds he had collected in the highlands than he had expected. For this reason, and because shipping schedules were unpredictable, he said, he was becoming increasingly dubious he would be able to ship part of his collection to the United States and study it there before the 1 June deadline for his final report. Hence, he had decided to forego any further field-work, and would instead stay in Lima and complete his study of the collection, and, toward this end, he had paid off his assistant and his driver. He then went on to say he would have to include copies of the plans of the structures he had mapped at sites and submit these, along with his report, to the National Board. Then, after saying he would be shipping out that part of his collection that was permissible as soon as he could, he said he planned to leave Lima for Berkeley on 16 March (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

Once again, this time in its 3 March edition, the readers of *El Comercio* were told that torrential rains were threatening the ruins of Chavín (Anon. 1942b). Then on 7 March, it was reported in this daily that, after a long absence, Kroeber, along with his wife, was about to arrive in Lima aboard a Panagra flight (Anon. 1942c). The following day, this Lima newspaper published a photograph of Kroeber deplaning (Anon. 1942d).²⁵⁴

²⁵⁴ As Willey later recalled, "Kroeber, accompanied by Theodora, arrived in Lima . . . in . . . 1942. At that time I was finishing up my digging at Ancon and living in Lima; John Rowe was still in the South Highlands . . . and Ted McCown . . . was in Lima, having just completed his survey in the North Highlands. Ted brought Kroeber out to our house in Lima the night after he arrived. We went right to business. I had been looking forward to it. I was able to show him sherds, grave lot collections, and stratigraphic profiles from my excavations. . . . He went over everything very carefully. . . . Here I was, my first time in Peru, finishing up what had been a six-month stint of hard fieldwork, and presenting my offering to the 'head of the Peruvianist archaeological establishment'. He knew I

Kroeber wrote to Vaillant from Lima on 15 March, and began by saying he had spoken with Tello on three occasions. He then definitely recommended that Tello be elected a member of the IAR's executive council (committee) as a representative of San Marcos. He went on to say Tello had apparently forgotten his demand regarding co-authorship of IAR publications,²⁵⁵ adding that Tello had said it would not be right to do so, and had even gone so far as to say there must have been a misunderstanding. After providing this interesting commentary, Kroeber next provided Vaillant with a draft of a statement he recommended the IAR place as a dedication page either before or after the title page in all of the publications resulting from the IAR's 1941–1942 work in Peru. He told Vaillant the statement would please Tello, but he left it up to him to make changes. In essence, this statement credited Tello with coming up with the idea of founding the IAR, and likewise noted the importance of his decades of research in Peru, the results of which served as the foundation of the subsequent work of others like those representative of the IAR.

Kroeber next told Vaillant he had not been able to confer with Lothrop, because Lothrop had apparently already left for the United States to press the federal government to continue its support of the IAR. This brought him to the subject of IAR funding. He told Vaillant that since arriving in Lima, he had been thinking about the idea of creating a separate source of foundation-based funding for the organization. He went on to elaborate. He suggested the IAR establish a permanent or long-term archaeological research center in Peru, on land deeded to the IAR by Tello, that was situated adjacent to

deserved and needed a formal encomium, and he gave it to me. The effect of Kroeber's visit was inspirational for all" (1988:182–183).

²⁵⁵ This is reminiscent of Tello dropping his objections concerning Collier's proposed participation in the IAR's 1937 field season.

his Museum of Anthropology at Magdalena (and that had been donated by Luna to Tello). Tello, he said, owned the land, and he said the center would have four to five work or study rooms that were comfortable, but inexpensive. Kroeber went on to say the center would have a resident director, perhaps rotating, and that it would act as the headquarters for American students. Though the center would not have its own library, he continued, students would have complete access to the museum's library, and (more importantly) at the center these students would be able to avail themselves of (a critical data base made up of) complete copies of Tello's voluminous and detailed field notes.

Kroeber then admitted that Tello had his own interpretation of the data that appeared to outsiders as dogmatic, but he then implied that this would be offset by the advantage of the rapid publication of information contained within Tello's database. Resulting publications, Kroeber said, could include the most important of the detailed and illustrated descriptive materials jointly selected by Tello and the (student) researcher(s), but with only Tello being shown as author. However, he said, publications could also include analyses and interpretations of the same, perhaps as appendices, which would be signed only by such student researcher(s). If possible, he continued, printing would be done in Peru, but, in any case, the center would act as distributor. The resultant publications, he said, could include quality half tones if the IAR were to furnish the center with really good paper, adding that Peruvian draftsmen were as good as those in America, and cost only a quarter as much.

Kroeber next asked Vaillant to present his plan to the IAR's administrative committee. His plan, he explained, was based on the fact that Tello was, at that time, the only dynamic force in Peruvian archaeology, and that his was the best archaeological museum in Peru. He

then stressed Tello had a huge amount of written and illustrated data, and he characterized Tello as indefatigable, with a mind that was both keen and sharp. He also expressed his fear that upon Tello's death, his collection would deteriorate, and his notes and other written materials would simply fade away if the IAR did not act. So, Kroeber summarized for Vaillant, if the IAR (with foundation support) were to underwrite the formation of the center, it would accomplish four things: assure continuity of the IAR's work in Peru; save Tello's (artifact and archival) collection; provide a model for intercultural scientific cooperation; and promote Inter-American relations. Having said this, Kroeber once again pressed Vaillant to put the idea before the administrative committee, and said, if they approved it, then perhaps they could sound out individuals like Stevens, Moe, or Keppel (all serving on the Rockefeller committee) who also represented private foundations in Washington.²⁵⁶ Then, he went on, if these individuals did not oppose the idea, he would himself move the idea along in Peru before leaving on 29 April. He added that he did not see his idea as conflicting with the hoped-for renewal (of IAR support out of Washington) but rather as supplemental to it. Kroeber then told Vaillant he had only discussed his idea in a sketchy and tentative way with Tello, in order to draw out his thoughts on the matter. He closed by saying he thought Tello would live up to his side of the bargain (the deeding of land, for example), and asked Vaillant to cable him a provisional answer (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

Kroeber again wrote to Vaillant, this time on 18 March, to inquire if he had put into motion the election of Tello, or the idea of the IAR setting up a permanent research center in Lima that would be linked with Tello's museum. He

²⁵⁶ The Carnegie, Guggenheim, and Rockefeller Foundations, represented by Keppel, Moe, and Stevens, respectively, all had offices in New York City.

said he was anticipating a response, and that, while he had worked out some details and had even thought of others, he would continue to wait for his response (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

Strong wrote to Willey on 19 March and complained he had been so busy with his teaching at Columbia and working on the Pachacamac material at the AMNH that he had not been able to find the time to write sooner. Then, after going into detail about the various problems that still needed to be resolved regarding the data recovered for Project Three, Strong told Willey he assumed he would be talking this over with Kroeber (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH). As it happened, Willey wrote a letter to Strong on the 20th, and informed him he had just airtailed his completed manuscript for the work done at Ancón. He told him it would be delivered to Grace and Company in New York City, and they would then notify him of receipt, adding with a bit of anxiety to keep an eye out for it. Willey then told Strong he had submitted his report to the National Board, and Tello seemed fine with it, so much so he had asked for permission to have a translation published in Lima.²⁵⁷ Then Willey told Strong that Kroeber and his wife had arrived, that he had seen them several times the past week, and that they were now out of town.²⁵⁸ Finally, Willey asked Strong to check with the bursar's office (at the AMNH) because February expense money had not yet arrived

²⁵⁷ There is no evidence this was ever done.

²⁵⁸ According to Willey (1988:183), "Kroeber's knowledge of the Peruvian field was staggering. With his fascination with style, he had a great visual memory. He could recall specimens from digs or museum tours of years back, comparing them, as we talked, with pieces we had seen a few hours previously in our tour of Lima museums . . . He spent a good many hours with his friend Tello, talking over old times. Kroeber also took time to explain to me some of Tello's ideas about Peruvian archaeology. . . . Besides Tello, Kroeber also met and talked with some of the younger Peruvian archaeologists."

(IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

Vaillant wrote to Means on 20 March with copies going to Cole, Kidder, Kidder II, Spier, and Tozzer. He informed Means that Kroeber had written to him and had urged members to vote and elect Tello a member of the IAR's committee as a representative of San Marcos. He went on to tell Means (*et al.*) that he, Bennett, and Strong (the acting administrative committee) were absolutely in favor of the idea, and asked that he/they return the card he had enclosed indicating endorsement (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

Means responded by returning the enclosed post card with his endorsement and by writing to Vaillant on the 28th. As it happened, Vaillant had also sent to Means a copy of Kroeber's recent letter to him. In addition to confirming his vote in favor of Tello's election, in his letter Means indicated he liked Kroeber's idea about having the IAR dedicate the series of publications resulting from its current work in Peru to Tello, though he felt Kroeber's suggested dedication needed editing. Means also addressed Kroeber's idea of getting foundation support to help the IAR set up a permanent research center in Lima. He suggested to Vaillant that he contact someone called William Bell Dinsmore, perhaps the author of *The Architecture of Ancient Greece* (1950). He told him a couple of years past the two of them had conversed on the subject of the Archaeological Institute of America setting up such a center, and since then the war was creating havoc for this organization in its operations outside Latin America. In his closing remarks, Means said he agreed with Kroeber that it was very important to help Tello publish his enormous amount of data, and that, as he was no longer young, and yet still spent a lot of time in the field, Tello would probably not be able to do so himself (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

As head of the IAR, Vaillant sent an official letter to the Passport Division of the Department of State, dated the 26 March, requesting that Lothrop be allowed to return to Peru to continue his supervision of Project Eight. He noted that the IAR was undertaking a program of research with funds provided by the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs and coordinated by the AMNH (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

Willey wrote to Strong on 28 March and, among other things, told him that Newman was planning on returning to the States on 8 May, which he noted would be a few days before he and his wife planned to leave. He also made reference to Newman taking a new job at the National Museum in Washington (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

That same day, 28 March, Vaillant sent both a telegram and a letter to Kroeber at the Gran Hotel Bolivar in Lima. In his telegram he told him Tello had been elected (to the committee), but that future dealings between the IAR and the coordinator's office in Washington looked dubious (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH). In his letter, Vaillant told Kroeber there were eight votes in favor of Tello's election, that there had not been any real concerns²⁵⁹ raised to his being elected, and that there was no possibility of continuing the IAR's work in Peru (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

Willey wrote to Strong on the final day of March and told him Tello had joined him and his wife for lunch that day, and had brought up

²⁵⁹ There were, at that time, eleven members of the IAR. If eight voted for Tello, that left three votes unaccounted for. Kroeber was in Lima and would not have voted in person, but he was clearly in favor of Tello's election, as was Lothrop, who was in transit. This leaves one unknown individual whose vote was unaccounted for, so there was a minor problem of not securing a unanimous vote in favor of Tello's election.

two matters of note. First, Tello had indicated an interest in purchasing Willey's car if he could buy it at a discount, because of his connection to the IAR. Second, Tello had all but asked him to serve as his assistant on a four to six month expedition to Cusco and its surrounding region that would be funded by the Wenner-Gren Viking Fund. Willey went on to ask Strong if he should sell his car to Tello at a discount, given he had others willing to pay a higher price. Then he said he had declined the offer to participate in the expedition, and was passing along Tello's inquiry to him to ask if there was anyone else he could recommend. Finally, Willey told Strong that Tello had agreed to take his laboratory furniture, with the proviso that it be made available to the IAR if it was needed in the future (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

In April President Prado was greeted by President Roosevelt upon his arrival in the United States (Whitaker 1943:219).²⁶⁰ Lothrop's wife Eleanor shortly thereafter wrote in *The Inter-American Monthly*:

A new high point in Peruvian-U.S. relations was reached on the occasion of President Prado's visit to the United States. . . . For the four weeks that the President was gone, public enthusiasm continued. News-

reels of the visit were widely circulated, while not one day passed without the *Comercio*, Lima's leading newspaper, exhibiting a full-page spread of Pardo's activities. . . . During the presidential absence, although there was a certain amount of apprehension, the political scene remained calm. Those members of the Cabinet and certain influential citizens whose leanings are towards the Axis, having failed to prevent the trip, subsided with occasional mutterings (E. Lothrop 1942:45).

Hence, this was a most propitious time for Kroeber and other American intellectuals to visit Peru.²⁶¹

Carl Sauer taught geography at the University of California at Berkeley and had gone to Peru like his colleague Kroeber, but in his case he had done so on behalf of the Rockefeller Foundation.²⁶² In his letter to the Foundation sent from Lima dated 3 April, he wrote in part:

²⁶¹ "In April all Axis diplomats, plus hundreds of undesirable Germans, were deported. Two boat loads pulled out crammed with passengers and weighted down by so much baggage that the struggling porters could barely get it on board. Shopkeepers at last had their field day. The Germans especially had transferred all their Peruvian money into staple products, and for days before their departure had combed Lima to stock up on gold and silver, jewelry, underwear, and woolen goods of all kinds. To sustain them on their return to their fatherland they bought so much lard, sugar, and coffee that retail merchants temporarily ran short. When the German diplomats finally left, the Peruvian government heaved a sigh of relief. The Germans and Japanese had been interned for almost three months at Los Angeles, a small resort hotel some twenty miles from Lima where they had vacationed at government expense. Italians had been left at liberty and had made no trouble of any kind" (E. Lothrop 1942:44-45).

²⁶² According to Strong (1942:180), Kroeber and Sauer co-directed the IAR's Project 1 focused on northeastern Mexico, but this may have changed, because the IAR's administrative committee later reported (Bennett *et al.* 1943:223) that Kroeber was the sole director of what had become Project 2.

²⁶⁰ During January 1942 Peru severed relations with the Axis. In February it turned over its border province of El Oro to Ecuador in a brief ceremony attended by representatives of the U.S.; while during this month the Peruvian and Ecuadorian legislatures approved the treaty protocol. In March the Peruvian president was granted extraordinary powers for national defense and the Peruvian Foreign Minister Solfy Muro announced the successful conclusion of a U.S. Lend Lease loan in the amount of twenty-nine million dollars to go toward national defense. In April the U.S. established a credit of twenty-five million dollars in favor of the Central Reserve Bank of Peru to assist in financing purchase in the U.S. of materials for public works in Peru and to buy surplus Peruvian rubber. In May President Pardo went to the U.S. to speak with President Roosevelt (Whitaker 1943:211-219).

From Cuzco, where I last wrote, we went to Arequipa. By chance, the Kroebers were at the latter place when we arrived. They were planning to return to Lima by plane, having come up to Arequipa in a car bought for the Andean Research Institute. This gave us a chance to make the trip in here at leisure and in comfort in their automobile (West 1982:79).

Kroeber and his wife had previously visited a number of South Coast sites including the ruins of Ocucaje in the Ica Valley, Tambo Colorado in the Pisco Valley, and Paracas on the peninsula of that name (Kroeber 1944: 36–41). They were south of Lima during the period 17–25 March (*ibid*: 5). On 8 April *El Comercio* reported that Kroeber was in Trujillo on the North Coast (Anon. 1942e). Accompanied by Muelle, Kroeber explored the North Coast as far as the Lambayeque Valley during the period 11–18 April (Kroeber 1944:5).²⁶³

²⁶³ Sauer also visited the North Coast. He included the following in his 1 May 1942 letter to the Rockefeller Foundation. “We made Trujillo the first day up from Lima. The place is disappointing. It shows almost no signs of colonial existence, and as a modern center is being replaced by Chiclayo, which has the advantage of being farther from Lima and having the largest and latest reclamation area tributary to it. Trujillo, therefore, has this unrelieved seediness of the town that had good business, lost it, and has nothing else. Here, also, we began to see the yellow eyeballs of the malarial country, and I suspect hookworm may help in the droopy postures. The University of Trujillo is a poor little college isolated as far as I could see, and I found not a thing there that would suggest the sort of stirring you get in Arequipa or Cuzco. . . . From Trujillo we visited the Larco hacienda at Chiclayo. These brothers, educated in the United States, have formed a remarkable archaeologic [*sic*] museum on their hacienda. . . . We tried to get to the old highland town of Cajamarca. Unfortunately, when we got to the end of the railroad line in the mountains there was no automobile available and we did not have the time to wait over until a car might come across the mountains from Cajamarca. So we came down the mountain again and went onto Chiclayo, and thence to Piura. Here we spent two nights that I shall never regret, in spite of the ferocity of the bed bugs” (West 1982:91–93).

Tello also took part on day one of this trip (*ibid*: 43).²⁶⁴

Sauer next wrote to the Rockefeller Foundation from Lima on 20 April. He had this to say about Tello:

Tello is a national institution all by himself, and there is more work going on in his museum with a higher class of personnel than I have seen anywhere else. This old Indian is really as good as the tales are told about him, and if he falls short by some academic standards, I’ll still maintain that he is the greatest archaeologist in the New World, and I’ll argue the point in detail if someone wants me to. Also I am inclined to think he is the cornerstone of social science in Peru . . . obviously he is the key figure about whom to erect any program of human studies relating to Peru. I still think the Andean Institute muffed its opportunity here woefully this past year, because it was thinking of jobs for Americans and benefits for American Institutions. I’d like to have the chance to plead Tello’s case sometime when archaeology can be viewed in a better perspective than this year (West 1982:87).

On 8 April Vaillant wrote to Tello and told him that he had been elected unanimously to the Institute’s committee as a representative of San Marcos. He closed by telling him the mem-

²⁶⁴ “Dr. Tello was kind enough to accompany us on our first day’s trip north. Just beyond the railroad station Doña Maria, between kilometer 90 and 91 on the highway, we turned off east for four and a half kilometers, at first across sandy pampa, then up a broad, flat quebrada called Teatino. . . . There are . . . just visible above the ground, many rows of laid stones, averaging perhaps 1 to 1.5 meters in length, and containing four or five uncut rocks. These all run in the same general direction, southwest to northeast, and mark the northwest or down-valley edge of the graves. Of these graves, at least two hundred have been opened by huaqueros, and four by Dr. Tello” (Kroeber 1944:43).

bers looked forward to his continuous counsel and cooperation (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

Strong responded to Willey on 14 April and told him to tell Tello he could not think of anyone else to recommend as an assistant for his expedition. He also told Willey he could sell his car at a discount to Tello (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH). Willey updated Strong on the car situation in his letter to him dated 23 April. He told him he spoken with Kroeber about the matter because time was growing short, and he had two prospective buyers other than Tello. Willey said Kroeber had suggested that he offer the car to Tello for the modest sum of 5,000 soles as a friendly gesture and professional courtesy. Willey then told Strong that his highest offer had been 7,000 soles and, given the fact the car was still in good shape, though needing a pair of tires, he ended up selling the car to Tello for 6,500 soles the previous day; what Willey said he thought was a fair deal (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

Willey then wrote again to Strong on the 25th telling him to be on the lookout for his Chancay manuscript he had just sent via airmail and was submitting as his doctoral thesis, that is if the IAR agreed. He also said he had left the (Ancón) necropolis and half the Chancay material with Tello, and that he had packed the remainder for shipment. He said he was in the process of getting the paperwork completed for shipment, but that the actual shipment could take months (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

El Comercio had announced on 24 April that Kroeber would be giving a talk on the methods of Peruvian archaeology at 6:30 that evening in the salon of the San Marcos School of Letters (Anon. 1942f). The next day, on 25 April, this

Lima daily provided a report on this talk.²⁶⁵ Tello had given a well-received introduction to Kroeber, who had in turn expressed his appreciation for Tello's remarks. Kroeber had then begun his talk by saying the goal of archaeology, like history, was to investigate the development of civilizations in a determined place, with historians studying documents and archaeologists studying monuments and artifacts, these studies hence forming complementary databases. Kroeber had then shifted to a discussion of the method of the science of archaeology and the difficulties involved in its application, and followed this with a discussion of its particular application in Peru. In this regard he paid tribute to Uhle's ground breaking stratigraphic excavations at Pachacamac, and Tello's important discovery in the highlands (of Ancash) of stratigraphically distinct (Chavín and Recuay) cultural layers (Anon. 1942g).²⁶⁶

Beyond these general comments on Kroeber's talk by a newspaper reporter, it is well to

²⁶⁵ An "important landmark resulting from Kroeber's 1942 trip was the lecture on 'The methods of Peruvian archaeology' which he delivered at the University of San Marcos . . . in Spanish and which . . . contains Kroeber's only general statement on research methods in archaeology. . . . Kroeber emphasizes the importance of working in small sites of homogeneous culture in order to establish some cultural units before attempting to work out the chronological problems of large and complex sites" (Rowe 1962:406). Later, in 1942, the University of San Marcos published Kroeber's paper in the journal *Letras* (Kroeber 1942), while an English translation was published in 1963 in the inaugural volume of the journal *Ñawpa Pacha* (Kroeber 1963).

²⁶⁶ Willey attended this event. He later wrote (1988: 184): "The high point of Kroeber's Peruvian tour was a lecture he gave at the University of San Marcos near the end of his stay. He spoke to a packed house on 'Los Metodos de la Arqueologia Peruana [sic] . . . His Spanish, while not fluent, was measured and impressive. Sitting there in the darkened, cathedral-like hall . . . and looking at Kroeber, his distinguished bearded face illuminated by the small reading light on the speaker's lectern, I reflected on the fact that our country could not have been better represented in Peruvian academic circles."

consider some of what Kroeber actually said translated into English. Specifically, at the onset of his talk, he had this to say:

It is an honor to speak in a hall of the oldest University in the New World. . . . It is a pleasure to express what was noticeable from the first days of my arrival: the enormous progress which has been achieved in the development of Peruvian prehistory and archaeology since my last visit to this country. An active group of archaeologists—Drs. Valcárcel, Tello, and their assistants; Sr. Larco Hoyle operating as a freelance . . . these have assembled masses of new data. . . . Entire new civilizations of the past have been discovered . . . cultures not only pre-conquest in period, but pre-Incaic in almost every instance. The recently determined cultures of Pucará, Casma, Nepeña, Cupisnique, Cajamarca, the Marañón have been added to the record of those which were novel only fifteen or twenty years ago, such as Chavín and Paracas. All this addition to our knowledge of the intricate ancient past of the native race has been achieved by Peruvian scholars. There truly is an infinity for the visitor to learn. One consequence has been the attraction not only of tourists, but of students and investigators from abroad. It may be illuminating to compare the conditions of today with those which existed when I first arrived in Peru in 1925. At that time, seventeen years ago, there was not one North American or European archaeologist on Peruvian soil. Max Uhle, the true founder of scientific archaeology in the Andean region, had left Lima for Chile and Ecuador; it is a pleasure to recall that he is again here, enjoying a ripe old age as an honored guest. . . . Some years ago my fellow countryman, Philip Ainsworth Means, had spent some time in Peru, but he too had returned. In

that period, we archaeologists arrived here from abroad intermittently— one or two in a decade. By contrast, this one last year has brought five or six of my compatriots to your hospitable shores, to participate in the current investigations and excavations. Were it not for the World War, this number would, no doubt, have been increased by the presence of Europeans as well (Kroeber 1963:62).

Later on Kroeber had this to say:

In this task of unraveling the past into a comprehensible story, archaeology and history, of course, go hand in hand. Their purpose is identical: the understanding of the major currents of human development as they have actually occurred. The difference is only in material and, therefore, in the techniques employed. History outlines the primary words of formally written down documents; archaeology the tangible objects physically surviving from the past” (*ibid*:63).

Kroeber then addressed specifically the problems faced by archaeologists in Peru.

The problem of Peruvian archaeology accordingly is to trace as far as possible the historical development of man and his cultural manifestation in the Peruvian region. . . . Away from deposits of basura, reliable stratifications are much more difficult to establish. A later grave may have been sunk into the ground next to an older one, but to a greater depth, or an old tomb may have been reused in a later time . . . there is the added difficulty that the pre-Columbian natives were addicted to the habit of rearing massive and voluminous structures, sometimes wholly of adobes or worked stone, but other times consisting of walls of adobe or stone containing fill of earth.

This filling of the earth, in turn, may have occasionally been taken from more ancient basurales that happened to be conveniently near the subsequent constructions thus causing an apparently contradictory collocation . . . ancients had almost a passion for building, rebuilding, and moving large masses of material . . . to be reliable, a stratificatory exploration should remove a fairly considerable volume of soil, which requires patience, time, labor, and funds: and all this without prospect of reward of attractive or beautiful objects. These circumstances explain why . . . discoveries of legitimate stratifications of consequence have been few in Peru. . . . The archaeologist cannot suspend all operations until such costly stratification investigations have been undertaken. He has at his control a vast amount of discovered material and information on the prehistory of Peru which it is his desire, we might say his duty, to explain as best he may— provisionally. . . . How shall he proceed? One method is that of stylistic relations” (*ibid*: 64– 68).

Kroeber ended his talk by asking those contributing to the archaeology of Peru to do so in a cooperative manner. He said:

I should like to make a plea that no quarrels over nomenclature be allowed to distract the progress of archaeological determination. . . . what Sr. Larco calls Cupisnique and Dr. Tello Chavin, which are certainly mainly the same thing; or the most recent finds at Ocucaje, which, whether made into a cultura Ocucaje or denominated as cultura Paracas-Cavernas, still remain strikingly alike. . . . It is well to remember . . . that in all science theoretical generalizations are transient. They die, in time, or are modified beyond recognition, or perhaps persist but only with new

weighing and altered significance. The one thing that is permanent in archaeology . . . is the gradually accumulating body of organized and relational facts which is the product of no one worker, but an indefinite number of collaborators striving toward the same ends” (*ibid*: 71).

On 25 April it was also reported in *El Comercio* that the Association would host a reception in honor of Kroeber at the Museum of Anthropology at 6:30 that evening, at which time he would be speaking on the cultural interrelations of Central and South America (Anon. 1942h). Readers of *El Comercio* were then provided with a synopsis of the event and of Kroeber’s talk in the pages of its edition dated 26 April. Kroeber was met at the museum by its director, Tello, and by other members of the Association who then together undertook a detailed examination of the museum and contents on display. They then went to the conference room, where they were met by the rector of San Marcos, the Colombian ambassador, the dean of the School of Letters, members of the school’s faculty, and various distinguished Peruvian scientists, artists, and intellectuals. Tello then made brief introductory remarks, in which he expressed his gratitude that Luna Iglesias had donated land for the expansion of the museum, and in which he introduced Dr. Pulgar Vidal. The latter, in turn, introduced Kroeber in flattering terms.

Following introductory remarks, Kroeber began with a focus on the Mayan culture of Central America. He said the study of Mayan chronology made it clear there were cultural interrelations between Central and South America, but that there remained wide gaps in this chronology.²⁶⁷ He then shifted his focus to

²⁶⁷ While Tello would have agreed that cultural influence from Mesoamerica was felt in western South America during the settlement of the coast and neighboring highlands, unlike Uhle he did not feel Mayan civilization

the American Southwest, and particularly New Mexico, where he said much work was being done, but that the evidence to date offered little to help archaeologists trying to understand the development of ancient civilizations. This, he said, was because sufficiently old ruins had yet to be discovered, because writing was absent, and because of the essential absence of pottery decorated with pictorial representations. However, he said, he did hold out hope that this region of the United States could yet offer important clues, given the emergence of tree-ring dating as a research tool. This essentially ended his presentation. Subsequently, two films were shown, one dealing with the ruins of Chavín de Huantar. This was followed by a cocktail reception at which Tello and Kroeber saluted one another (Anon. 1942i). Subsequently it was reported in *El Comercio* on 28 April that the rector of San Marcos would be hosting a reception at seven that evening in honor of Kroeber and two other visiting North American professors (Anon. 1942j). The following day, the 29th, *El Comercio* reported on this reception (Anon. 1942k).

Willey again wrote to Strong, this time on the 28th. He advised him he had just sent via airmail a box containing all of the photographic negatives for Project Three, the photographic and specimens catalogues, all of his field notes except for those dealing with Chancay and Pachacamac, a map of the Pachacamac excavations, and all of his receipts for the period June 1941 through March 1942. He then specified he would be shipping forty gasoline boxes containing both the Ancón and Supe shell mound collections, and part of the Chancay collection. Willey said, though it appeared everything had been all set for shipment, problems had arisen, and he had been told by Tello that shipment

might actually take place after he had sailed for home. Willey then said Lothrop had returned to Lima and had agreed to buy the furniture Tello was to have been given, but that everything was okay, because Lothrop had arranged with Tello to donate the furniture in the future to the Magdalena museum. He also said Kroeber had read his Chancay manuscript, and had seemed pleased; that Kroeber's conference had been very successful; and that Kroeber and his wife were leaving for home the next day (29 April). Finally, as to his own travel plans, Willey said he expected to be in Miami on 12 May (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

On six occasions during the month of April Tello took the time to monitor the work being done on his behalf at the ruins of Pachacamac. He did so alone on the eighth, the thirteenth, the sixteenth, and the twentieth. On the 23rd he did so in the company of Mejía, while on the 29th he went with a woman who was awaiting the departure of Kroeber and his wife (Huapaya 2010:45–55).

Fejos wrote to Tello on 1 May. He began by saying Rowe had visited him at his office a few days earlier, and that from him he learned that he (Tello) would be leaving on his trip to the Vilcanota Valley either the end of May or the beginning of June. Fejos then told Tello he assumed from this that he would be in need of additional funding, and, in anticipation of this, he needed to receive a short memo from him before he could actually authorize such funding, because he, in turn, had to submit a month-ending report on the Fund's activities. Fejos went on to tell Tello additional monthly memos could either be submitted by him, or by one of his assistants. He then shifted topic, and told Tello that he was about done writing up the report on his field-work, and would soon send a typed copy together with topographic plans for each site. He then briefly discussed the difficulty he was facing in having to select from the thou-

spread to this area. Instead Tello argued for the independent development of Andean/Peruvian civilization. See the discussion of the Lima session of the 1939 International Congress of Americanists presented earlier in this work.

sands of photographs he had taken which ones to include in his report.

Fejos then focused his comments on Rowe. He told Tello that Rowe had informed him he planned to return to Peru by air in early June, and would be in Cusco not long thereafter. Fejos then told Tello that Rowe had an intimate knowledge of all of the sites he had cleared on his recent expedition, and he reminded Tello that Rowe had been the one to excavate the only two sites visited by the expedition, these being Choquesuysuy and Sayaq Marca. He then told Tello that Rowe was diligently at work at the Peabody Museum, getting ready for his return trip, and that he was trying hard to buy books and instruments for the new archaeological department at the University of Cusco, with the limited budget of 1,000 soles that had been set by Dr. (Rector) Chaparro. He added he had put in a good word at the Viking Fund to make sure funds would be made available to help Rowe make the necessary purchases. He essentially closed by telling Tello two things; first, how sorry he was that he had cancelled his lecture tour, as they could have gotten together in New York and, second, to send his letters by airmail because of delay caused by (wartime) difficulties (Paredes and Dalen 2016:443–444).

Tello responded to Fejos on the 8th with a fairly lengthy memo. He began by saying he had spent the past three months engaged in making arrangements with the government, and with the university, so that he could be free to dedicate five months to the upcoming exploration of the Vilcamayo region. He then said he thought he would be leaving Lima on 10 June and would spend some time in Cusco, roughly the 15th through the 20th after which time he would begin the first phase of his work, which would be to visit the recently discovered sites. He said he expected to return to Cusco at the end of July, and from there he would send his first field report and a plan for the second phase of his

work and estimated costs. He explained he thought the preliminary work was necessary, because much of the information he had was historical information from the colonial epoch onward and, he did not have a clear idea about how to proceed. This being the case, he said, he needed to actually go into the field, and from what he learned there he would then be able to prioritize where to excavate.

Tello went on to say that since the beginning of the year he had been collecting geographical, ethnological, and archaeological information for the region in which he would be working including (Hiram) Bingham's publications. He thanked Fejos for everything he had sent, especially the topographic plans for the ruins of Puyu Payta Marka, Sayac Marka, and Choquesuysuy, as well as the photographs and cuts, but asked that he also send topographic maps for Intipata, Runcuracay, and Chachabamba, as well as the entire area he had explored, in addition to the final report. He then said that, as soon as he had completed preparations, he would submit his first report. Next Tello said he would be selecting his team members with care, and that he was finding it very difficult to get photographic material because of scarcity and high cost, but that things would work out. He added that he had received permission from the university to conduct the expedition; that excavations at Pachacamac would be ending; that beginning 1 June work would be restricted to the reconstruction of one of the principal structures under the direction of an architect; that the university and the museum he directed would be cooperating with the expedition's finances; and that it was possible that the (San Marcos) School of Letters would be contributing to the expedition by making it possible for two students to take part. In closing Tello asked if the name of the expedition should be The Second Wenner-Gren Scientific Expedition to Hispanic America (*ibid.*: 444–445).

Kroeber wrote to Tozzer on 9 May and said he was pleased with what he had seen in Peru. He then said he was in favor of having the IAR seek institutional, meaning foundation, as opposed to coordinator, support to establish a school (of archaeology) in Lima. He said he thought a five to ten year grant totaling fifteen to twenty thousand dollars that allowed for both excavations and publishing would do. He explained that Tello had land and a half-finished structure, and that he would give the IAR the former, and could probably get money to finish the latter. He went on to tell Tozzer he had sent an outline of his ideas to Vaillant in March, and had written a second time after returning from his trip to Peru, but that he had not yet gotten a response. He said he had learned Vaillant was in Mexico, and wondered if he had notified the members of the IAR by mail about his plan as well as his recommendation that Tello be made a member. He then asked Tozzer for his reaction to his plan, and to the idea of making McCown a member (Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology Archive, Harvard University, Alfred M. Tozzer Papers, accession no. 41-10, box 1, folder 16, correspondence).

Vaillant had actually written a short letter to Kroeber dated 7 May. He said he was very much interested in his ideas about future work in Peru. He then said he had just returned from Mexico, and was feeling depressed by the war. He admitted he did not know where to turn to get money for the IAR, and he said he was even more concerned about the lack of availability of young personnel of good quality. He then told Kroeber he was glad his trip had been a success, and thanked him for all that he had done. He closed with the snide comment that he hoped Tello would enjoy making use of the IAR's present capital of \$300 (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

In its edition dated 10 May, *El Comercio* published a story on a visit to the ruins of

Pachacamac the previous afternoon by a group that included members of the American Embassy and members of the Peruvian-North American Cultural Institute. Tello served as guide (Anon. 1942l).

Strong wrote to Kroeber on 12 May in response to the letter he had received from him dated the 4th (contents unknown). He began by telling him he had heard from Willey that his (Lima) talk had been highly successful, and said he was very interested in hearing all about his trip. He told him he thought the IAR had accomplished a lot in Peru during the past year, but that he wanted his assessment.

The tone of Strong's letter then became more serious. He said there was little possibility the IAR would be getting future funding, in part because the coordinator's office had shifted its focus to projects of more direct value to national defense. The other reason, he said in confidence, was because Bennett and Vaillant were definitely against Tello. Strong then told Kroeber he shared his view that Tello's cooperation was the key to the IAR's work in Peru, and because of this, he was quite willing to support the idea of establishing a permanent program there. However, he added, apathy on the part of Bennett and Vaillant, let alone active opposition to Tello, led him to doubt movement in this direction would come from them. He then told Kroeber he did not think they would actually oppose such a move, and he suggested to Kroeber that he take it upon himself to begin negotiations and to expect others to give their support. Strong then told Kroeber he would be assuming the role of executive chairman of a new ethnographic or ethno-geographic board in Washington, D.C., and that this appointment would serve to hamper his participation in IAR business in the foreseeable future.²⁶⁸ In closing,

²⁶⁸ It was subsequently reported in the *American Anthropologist* that Strong headed a newly created ethnogeographic board. "The Ethnogeographic Board is an extra-govern-

he asked Kroeber to send him detailed information regarding his proposed work in Peru, and promised to do what he could to set his plans into motion (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

Kroeber wrote to Tello on 13 May and apologized for not having advised him earlier that wartime restrictions meant all papers and documents sent to the United States were being examined. As such, he told Tello, he strongly suggested that he send along with his English version of his manuscript on Chavín culture²⁶⁹ an official document either from the Peruvian government or the American embassy attesting to its content. He added that he had been very pleased to read the manuscript while in Peru. He closed by telling Tello how good it had been to once again interact with him, and by thanking him for his advice and suggestions (Bancroft Library Archive, University of California Berkeley, Alfred L. Kroeber Collection, correspondence).

Tozzer wrote back to Kroeber on the 15th with disappointing news. He told Kroeber he did not think funding could be raised in support of

mental agency created and sponsored by the National Research Council, the American Council of Learned Societies, the Social Science Research Council, and the Smithsonian Institution. It is concerned with war and post-war problems in ethnogeography, the study of human and natural resources of world areas, particularly with communities and cultural regions outside the continental United States. Its function is to act as a useful clearing house between the above institutions, their numerous affiliated scientific and educational organizations outside of Washington, and the civil, military and war agencies within the government. The Director of the Ethnogeographic Board is Dr. William Duncan Strong" (Anon. 1943o:163).

²⁶⁹ The paper Tello presented on Chavín in Mexico City in 1939 was published in 1942 in the acts of the International Congress of Americanists (Tello 1942b). It would seem Kroeber had read this publication while in Lima, and had suggested to Tello that he create an English translation to be published in the United States.

his proposed plan to create a school in Peru. He then added that he thought there were both pro-Tello and pro-Valcárcel factions within the Institute, and that these two were not compatible. He did say, however, he thought Tello had been voted in as a member of the Institute, and that he agreed with the idea of making McCown a member as well (Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology Archive, Harvard University, Alfred M. Tozzer Papers, accession no. 41-10, box 1, folder 16, correspondence).

Kroeber received a letter from Vaillant dated 20 May. Vaillant referenced receipt of Kroeber's letter dated the 15th (contents unknown). He went on to say that he, Bennett, and Strong had informally discussed the idea of setting up a school in Peru, but that he had not seriously looked into the matter given the attitude of the coordinator's office that he characterized as being cold. He also mentioned the (wartime) travel limitations and the absence of a long-term plan on the part of this office. He then told Kroeber he was personally opposed to the idea of a formal school, and its overhead costs. Instead, he favored the idea of funding an individual, but would not put forth a plan toward this end. He closed by saying he wasn't particularly upbeat about the future (of the IAR) but that things might get better in a few months time (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

It was also on the 20th that Fejos wrote back to Tello. He began by acknowledging receipt of Tello's 8 May letter, with the comment that this letter, and the one he had sent dated the first had crossed one another. He then told Tello that his recent letter had not come at a better time, because its arrival coincided with a board of directors meeting that very afternoon, and it had been received with great interest. He went on to tell Tello that he knew he would need money soon, and the fund had cabled \$3,000. He added that he would be sending, by air

express the next day, all of the photographs and topographic plans he had for the Vilcanota River region to be explored, noting that the former were grouped by locale, and the latter showed the scale and name of the location. He told Tello the board of directors had agreed with his proposed name for the expedition. After suggesting to Tello he incorporate into his expedition the services of a professor conducting research on a Quechua dictionary on behalf of the fund, Fejos essentially closed by telling Tello that he was sorry he felt it necessary to suspend his excavations at Pachacamac, but that he understood why (Paredes and Dalen 2016:445).

Lothrop wrote to Vaillant on 22 May in response to his cable (date and contents unknown). He said he had been unable to answer collect because censors would not allow it. He then gave Vaillant the good news that Tello's manuscript would be completed on schedule, but, he added, although the necessary analyses had been done, the appendices on metallurgy and food plants had not yet been received (from Harvard). He went on to tell Vaillant a contract with Empresa Gráfica Scheuch S.A. had been signed on 10 December 1941, in which the format and basic prices for Tello's book were set, and that an updated contract had been drawn up, approved by a lawyer, and signed 12 May 1942. He then provided a listing of contractual points inclusive of the printing of 1,000 copies of Tello's book, and what had proven to be a hard to negotiate penalty, or loss of bonus, if the complete edition was not delivered by 30 November 1942. He told Vaillant a payment of 17,298 soles, or fifty percent of the total publication cost had been made at the time of the signing of the new contract, that twenty-five percent would then be paid upon completion of the printing, and that the final twenty-five percent would be made upon completion of the binding, with funds being drawn from the Royal

Bank of Canada, where they were being held in escrow.

Lothrop then referred to an attached final estimate of Project Eight costs (totaling 44,076.16 soles) that included Newman's expenses, and an editorial bonus for Tello's employees. He stressed that the amounts shown were estimates, and that, upon receipt of the remaining IAR funding and final discussions with the bank, he would provide updates, adding that the IAR might be due a refund. He then said no provision had been made for mailing, because they hoped to use the Peruvian government frank, and neither had there been made a provision for the bulk mailing of 250 copies of the book to the United States. He asked Vaillant to send him a mailing list at his convenience. In closing, Lothrop told Vaillant that the printer was proceeding slowly, because he was extremely anxious to do a good job, but that they were prodding him to work faster. He also said that, while the quality of the work was not what would be expected in the United States, it was being done at one-sixth the cost (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

On 26 May, Vaillant, Bennett, and Strong mailed a note and attachment to Lothrop, and to all other Peruvian project directors. In the note, they said the attachment consisted of a copy of a suggested dedication to Tello that Kroeber had written, to be used for all of the IAR's Peruvian projects. They closed with the strong recommendation that Kroeber's wording, or one with similar sentiments be used (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).²⁷⁰

²⁷⁰ With a couple of minor adjustments, the dedication suggested by Kroeber was used. It read as follows: "To Dr. Julio C. Tello of the Universidad Mayor de San Marcos in Lima and the Museo de Antropología in Magdalena, this monograph is dedicated, in recognition of the fact that the founding of the Institute of Andean Research was the result of stimulation and suggestion by Dr. Tello during his visit to the United States in 1936; and in appreciation

That same day, the 26th, Kroeber wrote to Tozzer. He began saying he was glad they had done the pushing (probably to vote Tello a member of the IAR), but he then told Tozzer that he had an over-simplified view of the Tello-Valcárcel relationship. He explained that they got along fairly well, given the politics involved, and that, rather than distinct pro-Tello and pro-Valcárcel factions in Peru, there were instead distinct pro-Tello and anti-Tello factions in the U.S., and especially so within the IAR. He said he could enumerate them, and told Tozzer he thought he was neutral on the matter. He then proclaimed himself pro-Tello because, despite his personal and scientific flaws, Tello was the only living dynamic force archaeology had in Peru, with the exception of Larco Hoyle, who needed no financial aid. Kroeber went on to tell Tozzer that Tello knew more about the archaeology of Peru than everyone else put together, and that he had written up much of it, noting that he had seen twenty-five books of field notes and one hundred and twenty folders of typed data. This information, he pointed out, was unique and it would be lost after Tello's passing if nothing were done to save it. In closing, Kroeber told Tozzer that he believed each institution (university) should do what it could on its own, but that the IAR could do things individual institutions could not. Kroeber also noted that McCown had received notice to report for the draft (Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology Archive, Harvard University, Alfred M. Tozzer Papers, accession no. 41-10, box 1, folder 16, correspondence).

also of the importance of his decades of archaeological exploration in his native country. These explorations have served as a basis for the archaeological investigations which the Institute of Andean Research, as well as other North American institutions of learning, have been able to provide for a series of younger scholars in recent years, to the mutual enhancement of the intellectual interests and cultural linkage of Peru and the United States" (e.g. McCown 1945; Strong and Willey 1943).

On 27 May Scott responded to Vaillant *et al.* and told them he would see to it that the Tello dedication would be included in the Peruvian monographs published by Harvard. He also told Vaillant that Newman had written in mid-April to report he would be in the United States about the first of June, and, hence, he was expected to be at the Peabody Museum not long after that (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

On 28 May Vaillant responded to Lothrop and congratulated him for his monumental achievements. He said he would cable the money. He also told Lothrop he thought sending a mailing list to him would be wise idea. He went on to say he thought the (Tello) volume would be an asset to the IAR, because it would serve to demonstrate in a dramatic way what the IAR had accomplished. Vaillant added that he was unsure what the future held for the IAR, but that he felt it had been wise to focus on a number of smaller projects that could be completed in time, rather than a single large one that would have been cut back by the nation's entry into war the previous December (Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology Archive, Harvard University, Samuel K. Lothrop Papers, box 6, folder 1, Institute of Andean Research).

Scott sent another letter to Vaillant on the 28th in which he admitted to second thoughts about using the Tello dedication. He said they (Peabody Museum staff and especially Kidder II) expected to continue to be involved in Peruvian archaeology, and were concerned that, by dedicating the monographs to Tello, they risked insulting others who might later be in positions of authority. After saying he thought other (representatives of the IAR) probably held the same view, he said the Peabody Museum was closely connected with Tello, and had named him honorary curator, but that it still seemed

risky to rely only on him (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

During the month of May Tello went to Pachacamac seven times to inspect the work that was being done there on his behalf, and to issue new orders. He went there with Espejo on the 2nd, and then by himself on the 5th, 8th, 13th, and 21st. He also visited during the afternoon of the 26th in the company of the Colombian ambassador, while on the 29th he visited with two male companions (Huapaya 2010:58–73).

It was on 1 June that Lothrop sent a letter to W. H. Duff, the manager of the Royal Bank of Canada in Lima. He stated his desire to purchase a letter of credit in favor of Empresa Gráfica T. Scheuch, S.A. located on 183 Amazonas Street that had been contracted by the IAR to publish a book. He went on to say that he and Tello had signed contracts with this publisher that authorized individual payments by the bank only upon receipt of a certificate (of compliance) signed by either him or Tello. Specifically, payments were to be made in the amounts of 8,099 soles each upon completion of the printing and binding, respectively, and 2,378 soles if the book was published before 30 November 1942. However, if this deadline was not met, this latter payment would be made payable to the IAR in dollars at the current exchange rate. Lothrop then noted his enclosure of a check in the amount of 18,576 soles plus a commission fee of 92.88 soles and a stamp tax of three soles for a total of 18,671.88 soles (Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology Archive, Harvard University, Samuel K. Lothrop Papers, accession no. 996-20, box 6, folder 3, Paracas Project [1941-1942]).

Vaillant responded to Scott's 28 May letter on 5 June. He opened by admitting he had delayed answering, and then said the dedication had been Kroeber's idea to, as Vaillant colorfully explained, cover up Tello's snottiness, adding

that Tello had claimed publication rights to all sites he had visited in Peru. He then told Scott that he could split the dedication between Tello and Valcárcel, though he did not care. He closed by saying he was not keen on wooing Tello, but that others felt it was the wise thing to do (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

On 5 June Tozzer wrote back to Kroeber. It was a short letter. He began by thanking him for sharing his feelings about Tello, feelings, he said, that he held as well, citing as an example his support of Tello since he had been one of his students and, more recently, in his being named Honorary Curator of the Peabody Museum. He closed by noting his impatience with the attitudes that some of the younger archaeologists had brought back with them from Peru (Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology Archive, Harvard University, Alfred M. Tozzer Papers, accession no. 41-10, box 1, folder 16, correspondence).

Lothrop wrote to Vaillant on 7 June and acknowledged receipt of his letter dated 28 May and another letter (date and specific contents unknown). He said Tello could not be expected to dedicate his book to himself, and said that, as he understood it, the title of Tello's book was Paracas, and, given the fact it had little to do with textiles, he could not be expected to change it to the assigned title. He then admitted that these were essentially minor details, but that any changes would complicate things with the printer, given that the contract to print had long ago been signed. He pointed out that, according to his agreement with Tello, at the top of the title page would be shown first the name of Tello's Museum of Anthropology and then the name of the IAR and that, while he had not yet discussed it with Tello, he guessed it would be necessary to sign a new contract to include publication of a new page to carry the new suggested title, in Spanish. Lothrop then

told Vaillant as soon he received signatures from the printer and the bank, he would submit his final expense accounts, probably in a few days, adding that he had legitimately paid himself \$75 to cover operating expenses, and as a cushion against the unforeseen. He also told Vaillant there would be a bill for legal advice that he would take care of. He closed by saying the copy of the agreement with the bank that he had enclosed showed a bonus payment to the printer in the event that it met a deadline, but that he doubted this would have to be paid, and that the IAR would likely get a refund (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

Kroeber sent an official letter with enclosure to Vaillant as head of the IAR on 13 June. He said the enclosure, copies of which he was sending to Bennett and Strong, was a plan for the IAR, based on his recent observations in Peru, to ensure financial support for continued work in that country. He went on to say he felt his plan would not only continue the development of the IAR's archaeological work in Peru, but also serve to foster international good will. He then stressed the importance of having the IAR establish a permanent (American) presence in Peru, in part because single institutions (universities ?) simply could not develop larger initiatives by themselves. Kroeber then told Vaillant that, following discussion by the administrative committee, he wanted it to present his plan to the entire membership, save Tello, and also informally to the coordinator's committee. Tello should not be told about it, he said, because of references made to him in the plan, and because he would be a beneficiary if the plan were to be put into effect. After saying that he was sending his formal report on his recent Peruvian trip to Moe, Kroeber closed by telling Vaillant he was entrusting his plan with him, and hoped that he would succeed in making it happen.

Kroeber's nine page suggested plan of action on the part of the IAR began with the statement that it was assumed the coordinator's office was not in favor of supporting another major year long program, but that it was hoped it might be inclined to support a more modest and concentrated program. Hence, it was recommended that the IAR submit a plan that included more direct participation on the part of Peruvians in archaeological exploration, fuller publication of data collected by Peruvians, and active support of Tello.

Kroeber then provided detailed comments on each of these three recommendations. Regarding the first, he stated it was implied that the (members of the) IAR would provide direction. He said Peruvians in general lacked the scientific expertise acquired by Americans and Europeans, but that there were talented and interested individuals who could make significant contributions with IAR guidance. He then said the absence of adequate government funding for archaeological field-work on the part of museums and universities in Peru was a serious problem that might be ameliorated if the IAR were to stimulate opportunities for these talented, albeit untutored, individuals, and thereby demonstrate to government officials the need for reliable economic support. IAR funding need not be substantial, he noted, because the rate of exchange was six soles to one dollar, so \$1,000 could go a long way, especially so if travel were to be restricted to local transportation, and salaries were to conform to local standards. While recipients would be the ones to disburse the funds, Kroeber said, outright grants either to individuals, or to institutions was not suggested. Instead it was suggested the IAR identify problems it felt were important, and then invite Peruvian participation in solving them with the help of financial support.

Kroeber then directed attention to Appendix A, in which he first identified talented

individuals in the northern and southern parts of Peru, and the specific problems they could address with IAR support. Following this, he entered into a discussion of his second suggestion that the IAR help Peruvians publish primary information. He pointed out the tendency of Peruvian archaeologists to publish in the press, and to publish grand syntheses without supporting data. He noted the need to assist in the publication of analytical descriptive reports in the fashion of those published in Europe and the United States so that those interested need not base their understanding of what has been learned in the field and in the laboratory through hearsay or through on-the-spot studies of museum collections in Peru. In Appendix B, Kroeber said it would be wise for the IAR to publish primarily or entirely in Spanish, in part because many Peruvians struggled to read English, while all American Peruvianists read Spanish. Kroeber advised that printing be done locally in Peru, given that the cost was a third of what it would be in the States. He praised the work of Peruvian pen-and-ink draftsmen, yet conceded the substandard quality of Peruvian publications, especially the illustrations, that was the result of poor workmanship. Another problem was the use of coarse screens in the creation of half tones, the contributing factor being the use of lower quality plate paper as a cost-saving measure. He suggested the use of good quality imported paper and finer screens as a way to induce improved workmanship on the part of engravers. He suggested the IAR provide assistance for the publication of articles in the journal of the National Museum²⁷¹ or for the publication of a series of monographs put out by the institutions representing participants in IAR field-work. He went on to say that, while it normally took a year for the results of field-work to be ready for publication, Tello had a number

of manuscripts all but ready to go. He added that the International Congress of Americanists would soon be publishing without illustrations the paper he had presented in Lima in 1939, but that Tello had told him that the university had agreed to republish it as a book,²⁷² and that he thought he had enough funding for many illustrations. Given this, Kroeber suggested that the IAR provide additional funding to increase the number of illustrations, or, preferably, improve the quality of the paper and engraving. He closed this discussion with the suggestion that the IAR spend \$100 to create a translated version of this book.

Active support of Tello was the focus of the third objective of Kroeber's proposed plan for the IAR. He began his comments by saying it was understood some Americans disliked Tello, as did many Peruvians, but that he was nearly universally respected, even by some of his detractors. Tello, he noted, had created all of the principal archaeological museums in Peru save that of Larco Hoyle. The (archaeological section of the) National Museum (under Valcárcel), he said, was essentially the same as the national museum Tello had created, and directed before his dismissal (in 1930). As for Tello's San Marcos Museum of Archaeology, albeit cramped, it had grown, and was important. And as for Tello's Museum of Anthropology at Magdalena, it had a number of impressive exhibition halls, contained unparalleled collections, and was staffed by well-trained and motivated individuals. Kroeber added that many of the staff members were essentially uneducated because, to his credit, Tello had made a practice of hiring and training underprivileged Indians in his long struggle against national apathy. Kroeber then said Tello was energetic, and had explored all parts of Peru, and knew at least as much about the archaeology of his country as did all others, native and foreign combined. He stated Tello had committed much of this knowl-

²⁷¹ Taking his own advice, Kroeber published in 1942 with Muelle, on pages 1-24 in volume nine of the *Revista del Museo Nacional*, a detailed and well-illustrated discussion of Lambayeque paddle decorated pottery.

²⁷² This never happened.

edge to paper, and said he had seen at his museum at Magdalena twenty-five bound volumes of field notes including sketches, maps, plans, etc. as well as 130 folders containing typed manuscripts. Kroeber then stated what he said was obvious, that Tello's interpretations of his data needed to be taken with a grain of salt. Some were wrong, and others were simply fantastic but, he stressed, it should be the goal of the IAR to get Tello to publish his data, and not be concerned about his interpretations.

Kroeber then shifted to a discussion of Tello's desire to establish an American Institute at his Magdalena museum. Yes, he said, this would serve to enhance Tello's prestige, but this should not be used as an excuse to oppose the idea. He said Tello had been given the land next to the museum by a Peruvian benefactor, who had insisted that the deed be in Tello's name, only to revert to the university upon his passing. The lot, he said, was formerly part of a hacienda, and it contained a number of one-story adobe structures, one of which Tello was prepared to turn over to the IAR. Flooring, roofing, partitioning, plumbing, and some windows were needed, but, in the event the IAR agreed to the idea of a permanent school, Tello thought he would be able to secure government funding to fix up three or four rooms, or even the entire building, with either the title to the building being given to the IAR, or else the IAR would only be charged a nominal rental for its use. In addition, Tello would supply one or two rooms in his museum as a headquarters for the IAR. Kroeber then said Tello hoped the IAR would send him fellows to work directly with him, but it was his advice not to do so. He said this would not be a good idea, because Tello tended to demand complete subordination, so it would be better if the young Americans they sent to work with Tello for a year or two retain their State-side institutional association, or work under the immediate direction of the IAR's on-site representative.

Next Kroeber addressed the Tello-Valcárcel relationship. He said one could not expect active cooperation, given their political and official history, but that they were civil with one another, outwardly cooperated, and got along better than one would think, because each understood overt antagonism would be against their individual interests. He characterized Valcárcel as honest, fair, wise, sound, not someone who would fight for a cause, or for others, and not one to make trouble for the government. Kroeber said Valcárcel was not an archaeologist, and had accomplished nothing in the realm of archaeology, but, despite this, he warned the IAR not to ignore him. In the corresponding Appendix C, Kroeber provided a partial listing of important collections contained in Tello's two museums. For the Museum of Anthropology in Magdalena, he listed the Paracas collection, the collection of Chavín stone sculpture, and part of the Callejón de Huaylas collection, while for the San Marcos Museum of Archaeology he listed the casts of the Cerro Sechín stone sculpture (found in Casma in 1937), artifacts found during the 1937 Marañón Expedition, and the remainder of the Callejón collection.

Kroeber then provided a discussion of budgetary matters with specific figures being provided in Appendix D. Under the assumption that the IAR wanted to establish a permanent school lasting a period of five years or so, he felt it needed a resident director to be annually rotated or reappointed, a native secretary, and one or two rotated fellows. The annual cost would be \$20,000, covering salaries, transportation, and funds for exploration and publication. Appendix D provided \$3,000–\$4,000 for three to four excavations or explorations by Peruvians, \$2,000–\$3,000 for publication, \$4,000–\$5,000 for the director's salary, and \$1,000 in expenses including travel, for a total of \$10,000–\$13,000. On the other hand, assuming the IAR wanted to establish an educational

program on an annual basis, he said a resident representative of the IAR could be set up at the Magdalena museum, whose function would be to direct or guide Peruvian research and publication, at an annual cost of \$10,000. Per annum, the budget in Appendix D provided \$4,000 to support excavations by Peruvians, \$3,000 for publication, \$5,000 for the director's salary, \$600 for transport to Peru, \$600 for the secretary and office, \$1,000 for travel inside Peru, and field expenses, \$1,800–\$3,600 for the salary of one to two fellows, \$600–\$1,200 for fellow travel expenses, \$1,200–\$2,000 for fellow field expenses, and \$1,200–\$2,000 to cover fellow publication costs inclusive of translation and drafting, for a total of \$19,000–\$23,000. Fortunately, he said, they already had Lothrop in Peru, who could take on the role of resident director. Kroeber went on to suggest that, while the coordinator's office in Washington was unwilling to support a repeat of the IAR's 1941–1942 program, it might be willing to experiment with a more modest program for the fiscal year 1942–1943, and, if successful, this might serve as the basis for a longer-term program. In any event, he urged the members to advocate for the uniqueness of the IAR in being able to promote scientific archaeology, and, at the same time, foster international relationships as a part of the national war effort (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

On 16 June Vaillant wrote to Lothrop in response to the letter the latter had sent on the 7th. He began by telling him the dedication was simply a blanket form, and did not pertain to Tello's book, that he could ignore the assigned title, and keep the one Tello wanted, and that if the printer objected to the reverse title page and wanted too much to include it, to forget the whole matter. After telling him he was doing a great job, Vaillant then told him he had received from Kroeber a proposal to continue working with Tello, that he was studying with great interest. He said he liked the proposal, but

that he was unsure how it would be received by the coordinator's office, because archaeology could be considered both art and science (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

Briefly, matters that had been brewing since the very beginning of the IAR had finally come to a head. Tello had continually pressed for an answer as to why he had been designated the IAR's counselor, rather than its field director, but there had been hints from the very beginning that what he had really wanted was to be made a member in full standing. In 1936 he was operating under the shadow of Valcárcel, and had little choice but to accept his assigned role within the IAR, but, by 1941, he was again head of the nation's museum of archaeology, and he was again in control of the practice of archaeology in Peru. As such, the IAR, and more specifically Vaillant as its leader, was no longer in a position to simply dismiss him, because it needed his approval to carry out its government-sponsored work in Peru. Tello, a seasoned politician, had seen his opportunity, and had "requested" that he be made a full member. He had also made other such requests, including one that Vaillant found particularly offensive, so much so that he and Bennett, who had also born the brunt of Tello's negotiating tactics, used it as an excuse to delay a vote on Tello's membership request. This had infuriated Tello, and only Lothrop's cajoling had kept him from actually terminating his relationship with the IAR. Lothrop contacted Vaillant and pleaded Tello's case with him to immediately undertake an election.

The IAR was in the process of fracturing over its relationship with Tello at the very moment that it needed to demonstrate unity. Vaillant, Bennett, and Strong, who made up the IAR's administrative committee, were in the process of trying to get the Rockefeller committee to continue its funding for the IAR, and the Tello matter was becoming a distraction. Kroe-

ber, who was on the eve of departing for Peru, was asked by Vaillant to intervene. After meeting with Tello in Lima, and assessing the matter, he, at once, also advised Vaillant to act. A vote was taken by mail, and Tello was elected, but Kroeber wanted more.

Kroeber had always been impressed with Tello, and felt that he was by far the best archaeologist in South America. His single complaint about Tello had been that, in part for lack of funding, he had failed to publish in detail the results of his work. As such, Kroeber's goal had been to get the IAR to help Tello publish, and not worry about Tello's interpretation of the data. Other than at official engagements, he met with Tello on three occasions while in Lima, and came away very impressed with the huge amount of data that he controlled. He feared, however, what might happen to this data after Tello's death. He formulated a plan to assure not only the continuous study of this archive, but also its study by individuals representing the IAR. He envisioned the creation of a permanent or long-term research center on land deeded by Tello, adjacent to his Museum of Anthropology. He also envisioned foundation-based funding for the IAR, so that it could provide continuous support for this center.

Kroeber asked Vaillant to present his idea to the administrative committee, and if approved, asked that it be sent it out to the entire membership for consideration. He also asked Vaillant to informally broach the matter to the Rockefeller committee. He provided Vaillant with talking points to try to persuade this committee: the proposed creation of a research center would provide a model for inter-cultural scientific cooperation, and it would serve to promote Inter-American relations. Kroeber tried to assuage Vaillant's concerns, and said his proposal would not be in competition with the IAR's current plan put forth to the Rockefeller committee, but would instead be supplemental

to it. Kroeber even went so far as to send to the members of the administrative committee a very detailed plan centered on helping Tello. For his part, Vaillant wrote to Lothrop, and commended him on the job he was doing on the Paracas book project. He also mentioned the proposal that Kroeber had sent. He said that he was studying it with great interest, and that he liked it, but he then expressed doubt that the representatives of the Rockefeller committee would feel the same way.

TELLO SHIFTS AWAY FROM THE IAR

June 1942–1943

In addition to a copy of the above detailed program that he sent to Vaillant, Kroeber sent to Strong on 13 June a letter marked confidential. He began by advising him that he had just sent off his Peruvian program to Bennett, Vaillant, and him and noted that he felt his was a good plan, but that he had a concern about Lothrop that he did not wish to express to the other two. His problem, he said, was that the other two had said Lothrop was a social drinker, and could not function otherwise. So he was concerned, that, despite the fact Peruvians considered this normal behavior, Lothrop was incapable of concerted effort, and would look for the easiest way to get things done. Kroeber then admitted that Lothrop had been in the States during most of the time he was in Peru, and that he only saw him three times during the latter part of his stay, so he could not judge his behavior for himself, especially given his outward appearance of normalcy. Then, he said, there was the rumor that he was in the navy, probably with an expense account, perhaps even with a salary, and, though one had to assume any American in a Latin American country might be called upon to provide intelligence, if

this were true²⁷³ it would be inappropriate for the IAR's Peruvian representative to be hiring spies, because it would make it a front for espionage, and not a genuine scientific organization. He added that if this rumor were true, he did not think Moe or any foundation would want to have anything to do with the IAR. Kroeber then admitted that at this point all this was hearsay, but said he was hesitant to back Lothrop, because of all the rumors swirling about him that he had heard in Lima.

Kroeber then told Strong he would feel better about the matter if he, Bennett, or Kidder II were to return to Peru and represent the IAR. He asked Strong not to show his letter to either Bennett or Vaillant, but to feel free to discuss with them its contents to see how they reacted. He told Strong he could share with the administrative committee his absolute recommendation that his program be deferred, or even scrapped, rather than entrust it with the wrong person. He then asked Strong if Lothrop was even actively involved in field-work, saying he thought he had only done a fortnight's worth of survey in the Piura Valley (on the far North Coast) during the past six months; his concern being that the budget for his proposed program might be used by Lothrop to fund his social drinking. Is there an alternate to Lothrop other than someone young and inexperienced, he asked, and then answered his own question by suggesting Spier, whom he said was devoted to science and in Tello's favor, in fact, adding, that it was at Tello's request that he was made a member of

the IAR in the first place. Kroeber then mentioned to Strong that he had alluded to (actually named) Lothrop in his proposal, but that he now wanted to withdraw his suggestion, unless he, Bennett or Vaillant felt otherwise. He went on to say the period between Christmas and Easter was the crucial time to have a representative in the field, because it was during this period that Peruvians took their vacations, and could undertake excavations (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

Kroeber also sent a note to Tello on 15 June. He told that him he and his wife had returned home on schedule, that he had been working hard on the report of his just concluded trip to Peru, and that he had not forgotten what they had discussed about the future of Peruvian archaeology. He went on to say he had not yet been able to put a plan into action, but that he would continue to try. Kroeber closed by telling Tello how good it had been to interact with him, and especially how good it had been to have him as a companion on the first day of his trip north of Lima (Bancroft Library Archive, University of California Berkeley, Alfred L. Kroeber Collection, correspondence).

It was announced in the 12 June edition of *El Comercio* that the San Marcos executive committee had adopted a number of accords. Among these was that Carrión would be teaching a class on archaeology in place of Tello during the inaugural session of the summer school (Anon. 1942m).

On 15 June Tello sent Ccosi to Pachacamac as a replacement for Huapaya. The latter left the following day for Lima (Huapaya 2010:79). On the 17th Tello visited the site twice, earlier with two unidentified men, and later at 6 P.M. with Mejía, Espejo, and Huapaya. Then, on the night of the 19th employees and students at San Marcos feted Tello and his expeditionary team, an event that lasted until ten. On the 20th Ccosi

²⁷³ The rumors were true. "The FBI produced 280 pages of documents pertaining to . . . the Harvard archaeologist Samuel Lothrop. Lothrop's FBI file establishes that during World War I he indeed spied for Naval Intelligence. . . . What is more, World War II saw him back in harness, serving in the Special Intelligence Service (SIS), which J. Edgar Hoover created within the FBI to undertake and coordinate all intelligence activity in Central and South America. . . . Lothrop was stationed in Lima, Peru where he monitored imports, exports, and political developments" (Price 2000:24).

received his final instructions from Tello. On the 21st Tello and his team departed from Lima (Ccosi 2010:28–30), this team consisting of Mejía, Espejo, Huapaya, Ponce, Rojas, (and two San Marcos students) Manuel Chávez Ballón²⁷⁴ and Lizardo Guillén. They left for Huancayo in a Chevrolet truck at 8:45 A.M. (Mejía 2014: 31) and finally made it to Huancayo at eight in the evening (Chávez 2014:369) where they checked into the Hotel International (Huapaya 2014:298).

Carrión wrote to Fejos on 22 June to report that Tello and his expeditionary team had departed from Lima the day before. She said the team included new personnel with vast archaeological experience whose names Tello would send. She told Fejos that Tello planned to follow the Mantaro-Apurímac route with the aim of stopping at sites like Tambo in Jaura, Wari Willka in Huancayo,²⁷⁵ Ashangaro (Azángaro) in Huanta, Wari in Ayacucho, Wilkas Huaman (Vilcashuaman) in El Pampas,²⁷⁶ Kurapampa in Andahuaylas, and Saywite in Abancay,²⁷⁷ all of which were expected to shed

light on the existence of Cusco type cut stones (like those he had unearthed at Pachacamac). She then explained that Tello had been forced to postpone the start of his expedition because of the scarcity of tires and vehicles suitable for interior exploration. She also said Tello had received the second payment of funding, that he had been busy making arrangements with the university and the government, that he had continued to enlarge the museum's archive of material relevant to the expedition, and that he had left her in charge of the museum's office dedicated to the expedition. She then said Tello had phoned that night from Huancayo, to tell her the team had inspected the ruins of Tambo de Jauja, and that the next morning they planned to go to Ashangaro. Carrión closed by telling Fejos she would be serving in Tello's stead, and she would be glad to pass along any requests he felt necessary (Paredes and Dalen 2016:446).

Kroeber wrote a short letter to Strong on 1 July, and told him he now approved of having Lothrop as the IAR's representative in Peru, that is, assuming the administrative committee was going forward with his proposed project. He explained he had changed his mind after having corresponded with Tozzer. He then said that what would be required of Lothrop would be considerable supervision both at the start of excavations, and just before the work ended. Kroeber said he had received a letter from Bennett (date and specific contents unknown) in which Bennett had told him he had a number places in mind for excavation, suggesting to Strong that he too might have some places in mind. Kroeber closed by telling Strong that he and the other members of the administrative committee should consider sounding out Moe before proceeding any further with the proposed project, adding essentially that what the future held was unknown (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

²⁷⁴ Manuel Chávez Ballón had graduated from both the University of Cusco San Antonio Abad and the University of San Marcos, spoke both Quechua and Aymara and knew the geography of the Urubamba region (Paredes and Dalen 2016:460–467).

²⁷⁵ The ruins of Wari Willka are four kilometers south of Huancayo (Chávez 2014:373). They were discovered early in 1931, and were later visited that year by an expeditionary team led by Tello that included Carrión, Mejía, and Lila O'Neale (Mejía 2014:69).

²⁷⁶ "One of the places most favored by the Inca was Vilcashuamán. . . . Great efforts were expended on the construction of the city. . . . A few vestiges of the old structures survive. . . . The most important are the Temple, the Usno, and the 'palace', all constructed in the classical Cuzqueño style around a large trapezoidal plaza" (Lumbreras 1974:226).

²⁷⁷ The ruins of Saywite are 45 kilometers from the city of Abancay on the way to Cuzco and at an elevation of 3,500 meters above sea level (García 1968:307).

Kroeber also wrote to Vaillant on the first of the month. The content of the body of the letter did not pertain to the business of the IAR, but as a post-script he told Vaillant that he withdrew his objection to having Lothrop act as the IAR's on-the-spot representative for his proposed project. However, he said, he thought the funding agency should be made aware that Lothrop was rumored to have a separate (government) source of funding (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH). Vaillant responded on the eighth. He referred to Kroeber's proposed project as the Tello project, and told him Lothrop would be coming to the States in December. This, he said, put the project in jeopardy. Vaillant then pointed out that Tello currently had Wenner-Gren funding for fieldwork, and suggested to Kroeber the IAR consider giving a thousand dollars to support the National Museum's journal (*Revista del Museo Nacional*) as a way of allowing it to expand the size of its issues, and to allow for the publication of more reports. In this way, he said, the IAR could shift away from backing one individual (Tello), which he thought dangerous, and instead support an institution (Valcárcel's National Museum; IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

It was reported in *El Comercio* on 3 July that Tello had come to the city of Ayacucho after having visited the important ruins of Wari²⁷⁸

²⁷⁸ Tello had a strong interest in things Wari. In 1931 he, Carrión, Mejía, and the American Lila O'Neale had been the first archaeologists to make finds at the ruins of that name (Tello 1959:7). They found at Wari fragments of cut stone, some in the form of columns, cornices, altars, and others in the form of pumas or serpents. They also found fragments of pottery in various forms reminiscent of early pottery found in the Callejón de Huaylas. Examples of this pottery they shipped back to Lima for study inclusive of oversized vessels like those that had been found at the site of Pacheco (in 1927; Tello 1931). At Pacheco, situated near the site of Kawachi in the Nazca Valley (Paredes 2014:59), oversized thick-walled ceremonial vases richly decorated with painted figures had been discovered (Tello 1959:6), vases that had been deliberately smashed (cere-

and that he intended to travel to Cusco (Anon. 1942n). On the same day Carrión wrote to Fejos. She told him she had received a wire from Tello dated the 2nd, in which he told her he would send him his first report from Cusco but, given the importance of what he had just found, he did not plan to go to Vilcashuamán²⁷⁹ until the 14th. She also told him Tello had seen a building with cut stone, two examples of which he had sent to the museum, that he was now working at the site of Wari, that test pitting done at Konchapata had led to the discovery of thousands of sherds of fine pottery making up large jars similar to ones on exhibit at the museum, and that they expected to receive on the 11th twenty cases of these sherds that would then be restored and classified (Paredes and Dalen 2016:446).

Fejos responded to Carrión on 13 July and said he had that day received her letter. After expressing his thanks for writing to him and expressing his pleasure at Tello's discoveries, especially at Konchapata, he asked her to provide him with the location of Tambo de Jaura and of Wari. He then told her he was sending to her by airmail a copy of the first rough draft of his report, and asked that she forward it to Tello, adding he hoped she had already received the photos of various ruins that he had sent on 22 May (*ibid*:447).

Kroeber wrote a joint letter on 13 July to Bennett, Strong, and Vaillant as the members comprising the administrative committee. He said he had heard good things about Lothrop from Tozzer, but that he had heard from Strong that the members of the committee felt otherwise. So, he concluded, Lothrop was out. He moniously) (*ibid*: 9).

²⁷⁹ "Vilcashuamán, sometimes called Vilcas, is mentioned at some length by Captain Pedro de Cieza de León who visited it within twenty years of the Spanish conquest . . . a large proportion of the structures is indeed in the Incaic style of architecture" (Means 1931:109).

said, he had heard from Bennett that Lothrop planned to return to the States by Christmas, and that this would be a critical time for the proposed field-work. He then said Kidder II hoped to join the army, and that he supposed Bennett and others would not be able to get away, so he suggested Spier as an alternative, in part because he was on good terms with Tello, in part because he worked well with students, and in part because he was occupied only four months during the year. He added, however, that he would abide by the judgment of the committee on his candidacy. As for Vaillant's suggestion that the IAR give a thousand dollars to Valcárcel in support of his journal, Kroeber gave his assent, but he wondered both if this would be enough, and if the IAR had more to give. He closed by telling the committee he would agree with whatever they decided, by lamenting his distance from the East Coast where decisions were made in Washington, and wondering if the war would have a serious impact on archaeology (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

On 16 July readers of *El Comercio* were informed that Tello had given a talk about the ruins of Wari in the city of Ayacucho. It was generally reported that Tello had said his work at these important ruins had proven satisfactory, and specifically it was reported that the mayor had introduced Tello, that a named local physician (who was a collector and amateur archaeologist) had also spoken, and that the stand-in prefect had given closing remarks (Anon. 1942o).

According to his prepared outline, Tello's talk was quite detailed. He spoke during the afternoon of the 14th about the purpose of archaeology in general, and specifically on the makeup of the vast territory of the Inca, bounded on the east by the Amazon and the west by the Pacific. He pointed out that within these confines the ruins of Chavín in the north at the

headwaters of the Marañón were of particular importance, as were those of Cusco, and the ruins of Pukará and Tiahuanaco, situated in a great basin in the south that included Lake Titicaca. He then focused on the Department of Ayacucho, and the important ruins of Konchapatá and Wari, and said the ancients there had produced some of the most notable works of ceramic art in Peru, if not in all of the Americas. Tello then asked a series of questions. Who should be responsible for protecting these ruins? The government? Should the government provide support for the region's three small museums? Tello then asked, without explaining what he meant, if these museums should be developed on a par with libraries and, if not, how should Peru's artistic heritage be preserved? He then essentially argued that local cultural centers, as well as institutions independent of the state, should be developed, and individuals dedicated to the study of archaeology should be sent to Lima or to the United States to advance their education. This, he said, was the path that had been taken in Europe during the Middle Ages, and that had led to the creation of its major institutions. He concluded by saying cultural centers should begin by obtaining collections of artifacts from Lima's museums that had been classified and studied, and that they should make arrangements to obtain books, duplicates of which could be found at the National Library and at San Marcos (Paredes and Dalen 2016:459–460; see also Chávez 2014:389–391).

Carrión wrote to Fejos on 21 July and began by acknowledging receipt of his letters dated 29 June (specific contents unknown) and 13 July. She provided him with information regarding the locations of the ruins of Tambo de Jauja and Wari, and she told him she had only just received the photographs that he had sent, attributing the delay to the war. She went on to say she would be sending the photos on to Tello at Cusco. She then updated Fejos on Tello's activi-

ties. She told him Tello had spent twelve days working at the ruins of Wari, and had discovered subterranean megalithic structures there made of precisely cut stone.²⁸⁰ Regarding this, she quoted a paragraph from a letter (date and some specific contents unknown) she had received from Tello the day before, in which he had written about the discovery of what he said was one of the most stupendous monuments of central Peru, consisting of enormous megalithic tombs. Carrión then told Fejos the previous morning fifty-seven crates containing pieces of fine pottery recovered from sites in Ayacucho had arrived which, in addition to the twenty-five crates previously received, meant that the Museum of Anthropology had thus far received eighty-two crates of artifacts from the expedition. She said she had opened a couple of the just-received crates, and they contained painted sherds of an unusual type that were decorated with fantastic beings (mythological creatures).²⁸¹ She then told Fejos that Tello had gone to the ruins of Vilcashuamán, situated on the Pampas River, an affluent of the Apurímac, and that had been visited by the conquistadores, but added she had not yet received a report from Tello, although she had received a wire (date unknown) from him in which he said he expected to be in Abancay on the 22nd. After saying Tello had told her by letter (date and contents unknown) he was writing up his first report on the expedition, she closed by telling Fejos she hoped she had conveyed to him how pleased Tello was with how the expedition was progressing, and how pleased he was with the support he was getting from the Viking Fund (Paredes and Dalen 2016:447-448).

Vaillant received a letter from Lothrop dated 23 July. Lothrop began by saying he had heard from his wife, Eleanor, that the two of them had had an enjoyable lunch recently. This

pleasantry, he said, and the absence of complaints, led him to conclude that the accounts submitted by the IAR had been accepted. Lothrop then speculated that the IAR would likely be due a \$500 refund. This, he explained, was because he doubted the printer would be able to meet his deadline, and, as such, the IAR should be allowed to keep this money. As for how the process of printing was going, he told Vaillant all he could do was pressure the printer as much as he could to move things along, adding that Tello's people had piles of material that he had already checked and that was ready to be sent. Lothrop then briefed Vaillant about Tello. He told him he had been away for more than a month, and that, as usual, his discoveries were revolutionary. At the (Magdalena) museum, he said, they had opened eighty or so boxes of sherds that had been sent by Tello. He remarked that Tello had found evidence of an architectural period characterized by large and perfectly rectangular vertical slabs, a period that Lothrop said was older than that represented by the fine stonework he had seen when visiting Pachacamac (in 1941). Lothrop essentially closed with warmest regards (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

Vaillant responded warmly on 30 July. He said they were in the process of gradually wrapping things up, but not to count on adding a refund to the coffers of the IAR, because any refund would have to be returned to the AMNH. He went on to caution Lothrop to hold on to the money, in the event something came up at the last moment. He closed by telling Lothrop that Tello's finds sounded wonderful, that Peru offered archaeologists extraordinary opportunities, that he enjoyed lunching with Eleanor, and that he was greatly impressed with the job Lothrop was doing (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

In its edition published on 4 August, it was reported in *El Comercio* that the city of Aya-

²⁸⁰ See Mejía 2014, Figures 60–62, pages 83–84.

²⁸¹ See Mejía 2014, Figure 25, page 49.

cucho's cultural center had proposed the creation of a museum of archaeology, based upon what Tello had said in his recent talk held in the city's municipal building (Anon. 1942p).

Carrión wrote to Kroeber on 6 August. She opened by saying she was doing so at the request of Tello. She explained that Tello had left Lima on 20 June with a team of ten for the Urubamba Valley, passing first through the Mantaro and Apurímac Basins before arriving at Cusco. She added that, at the moment, Tello was working at ruins near Cusco, that he would continue to do so, and that he planned to return to Lima in mid-December. Carrión then told Kroeber she was sending to him the English translation of Tello's article on the Chavín culture (that had been published by San Marcos) and, regarding the illustrations to accompany the article, she said she was in the process of selecting what she felt were the most important and necessary of these illustrations, and that she planned to send them on the next plane, because she expected the cost of mailing to rise (Bancroft Library Archive, University of California, Berkeley, Alfred L. Kroeber Collection, correspondence).

Kroeber wrote to Strong on 7 August. He was apparently responding to information previously received by phone or by letter (date and specifics unknown). He began by giving his approval to what he called the Spier-Valcárcel plan, adding that it was up to Moe and Spier to carry things forward. He went on to say he also felt it was not the time for the IAR to be sending people to Peru to carry out field-work, his idea being that they should instead help to send out three or four Peruvians into the field to undertake excavations that would cost the same as the IAR sending one person to Peru to conduct field-work. Kroeber then provided some thoughts on the Chavín (style) and said he accepted Larco's idea that Cupisnique was the equivalent of Chavín, that Tello was wrong when he said Pukará was Chavín, and that he

was likewise wrong about Sechín, explaining that in his view Sechín was Chavinoid, hence not actually Chavín. But, in support of him, Kroeber said Tello was right when he said both Cupisnique and Nepeña (Cerro Blanco) were Chavín.

Kroeber then shifted gears and spoke of Strong's request that he work for Strong on his board or for some other agency in Washington. Kroeber said he was not looking to be compensated, and that the university would not object to his undertaking such work. He went on to say he was willing to do what he could with his experience, and with the resources provided by the university's library. Kroeber then asked Strong how he felt about the progress of the war effort, given his vantage point in Washington, adding that from afar he was not optimistic. After going on in this vein, he got back to business related to the IAR. He said that, while he agreed Bennett should be relieved of his IAR duties, he (Kroeber) was not the answer, because he had found it difficult in the past, being on the West Coast, adding that he would think about how the IAR operated. He then closed with comments concerning Spier. He said they should wait and see what Moe did regarding him. If Spier were to go (to Peru) on behalf of Moe, Kroeber said, then he should not be on the committee (be viewed as acting on behalf of the IAR; IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).²⁸²

On 13 August, Carrión wrote to Fejos and enclosed a copy of Tello's report dated 25 July. In her letter she told Fejos she had received in the mail the day before his report on the 1941 discoveries he had made, and had immediately forwarded it by airmail to Tello in Cusco. She told Fejos that Tello had been grateful to have earlier received his photographs and site plans,

²⁸² While the nature and extent of any communications regarding planning for the Spier-Valcárcel Project, are unknown, no such project was ever implemented.

because they had greatly facilitated the identification of the ruins of Puyu Payta Marka (Runcuracay). She then went on to quote a part of a letter dated 10 August that she had received from Tello pertinent to the team's finding these ruins on their the first day in the field after their arrival at the base camp.

Tello's report was long and very detailed. For example, as Carrión had said he would, Tello provided details regarding the individuals he had selected to participate in the expedition. Mejía had worked with him as a museum curator for eighteen years, had worked with him in the field on principal northern expeditions, spoke Quechua, and had published articles on archaeology and ethnology; Espejo was a curator at the Museum of Anthropology, had a bachelor's degree in history from San Marcos, spoke Quechua, and had worked in the Chavín region; Huapaya had archaeological and topographical experience acquired during work on the Central Coast, principally at Pachacamac; Rojas and Ponce were graduates of the National School of Fine Arts in Lima, and, during the past five years, they had become specialists in the production of archaeological plans; and Chávez Ballón was also well qualified.²⁸³ In addition to providing a fairly detailed discussion of the team's discoveries prior to reaching Cusco, Tello wrote that he and his 1931 expeditionary team had spent three days working at Konchapata, that twenty-five tons of pottery richly decorated with polychrome mythological figures had just been recovered from Konchapata and sent to Lima, and that the pottery recovered from Pacheco [in the Nazca Valley] in 1927 on display at the Museum of Anthropology was derivative of Chavín and Pukará pottery, both of which were earlier in date than classic Tiahuanaco pottery. He also said the recent discoveries at Huari of stone idols, stone burial chambers, and fine pottery that he called Kollawa was derivative of Tiahuanaco, and that

because, as yet, only a few fragments of Chavín type black ware incised had been found in the fill of the stone burial chambers, more work needed to be done there. Overall, he said, from these two sites they had sent to Lima eighty-four gasoline crates of artifacts weighing 3,164 kilos and he estimated that once the artifacts within were made ready, they would fill about forty display cases (Paredes and Dalen 2016:460–467).

In its afternoon edition first published on 11 August *El Comercio* published a report in which it was noted that Tello and his team were on their way to visit the ruins of Machu Picchu, Phuyu Parta Marca, and Sayac Marca (Anon. 1942q).

Kroeber wrote to Carrión on 3 September to tell her he had received Tello's manuscript on Chavín and that he had forwarded it to Dr. Byers, the editor of *American Antiquity*. After saying he was awaiting receipt of illustrations to accompany the text, he promised he would do everything he could to see to its publication. He then told her to pass on to Tello the news that the plans they had discussed in Peru had not yet borne fruit, and inquired if it was true what he had heard about Tello planning to travel to the U.S. in December. Then, after noting that his report on his recent trip to Peru was finished and being typed, he apologized for the brief nature of his stay in Lima and, especially, for not having had more time to interact with her. He closed with a compliment, saying her monograph (thesis) on Paracas textiles was a work of "high competence" (Bancroft Library Archive, University of California, Berkeley, Alfred L. Kroeber Collection, correspondence).

Tello wrote to Lothrop on 7 September. He began by commiserating with him, and saying he had heard from Carrión that he had been ill for some time. He then said the expedition was proceeding well, and mentioned the crates of artifacts he had sent to Carrión from Ayacucho

²⁸³ No mention was made of Lizardo Guillén.

(in July). He explained that these artifacts had been recovered in the region of the ancient Wanka and Pokra cultures. He then said that on display at the Magdalena museum was oversized Kollawa pottery he had found at Pacheco in the Nazca Valley in 1927. This pottery, he went on, was perhaps the most beautiful ancient Peruvian art ever discovered, as well as the richest in archaeological information, and that within the crates he had just sent were more examples of pottery representing this little known civilization. Tello then told Lothrop that since the beginning of August, he had been engaged in a different kind of field archaeology, one that required the removal of hundreds of trees to discover hidden ruins belonging to the old and mysterious Inca civilization, work that would allow him to better understand the ruins of Machu Picchu and Cusco. He said the two of them would be able to discuss his discoveries at a later date.

Tello then shifted to a different topic. He said he knew Rockefeller would soon be in Lima.²⁸⁴ He reminded Lothrop of Rockefeller's assistance with his 1937 Marañón expedition, and with the Paracas collection, and reminded him, as well, that around three hundred as yet unopened Paracas mummy bundles were being stored in the buildings recently donated by Luna Iglesias. Tello asked Lothrop that if the opportunity presented itself, to point out to Rockefeller all that had been accomplished because of his

²⁸⁴ The following was published in the 25 August, 1942 edition of the *Evening Star*: "Nelson Rockefeller, Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs, will leave within a few days on a trip to Brazil, Chile, Peru and Colombia, his visit coinciding with Pan-American conferences in Brazil and Chile. Details of the trip were arranged by the State Department some time ago to permit Mr. Rockefeller to be in Brazil for the Pan-American Sanitation Conference, which is to be in Rio De Janeiro [sic] September 7–18, and in Chile for the Inter-American Public Health Conference September 10–16. After these conferences Mr. Rockefeller will return to the United States by way of Peru and Colombia, where he will talk with government officials" (Anon. 1942r).

generosity. This was important to him, he said, because he feared Giesecke would try to get Rockefeller to support Valcárcel and his museum. Tello closed by telling Lothrop that he would be in Lima after another month to a month and a half of field-work, that he still had 4,000 soles to work with, that he remained healthy, and that once in Lima he would complete what he had promised to do for the Institute (Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology Archive, Harvard University, Samuel K. Lothrop Papers, accession no. 996-20, box 6, folder 6, correspondence).²⁸⁵

On 28 September, it was announced in *El Comercio* that Tello and his team had discovered the ruins of Wiñaywaina, or eternal youth (Anon. 1942w).²⁸⁶ The team worked there throughout September (Huapaya 2016:311–331; Tello 2016a, 2016b: 97–214). Ccosi left Lima to join the team on 21 September (Ccosi 2010:102).

Kroeber wrote again to Carrión on 2 October. He asked that she tell Tello that he had

²⁸⁵ It was reported in the 16 September 1942 edition of *El Comercio* that Rockefeller had arrived at the capital city the previous afternoon (Anon. 1942s). It had been reported in the 17 September 1942 edition of the *Plain Dealer* that Rockefeller had postponed leaving for Santiago, Chile in order to continue talking with government officials in Peru (Anon. 1942t). It was subsequently reported in the 21 September 1942 edition of the *Omaha World-Herald* that "Foreign Minister Alfredo Solf y Muro declared at a luncheon in honor of Nelson Rockefeller, coordinator of Inter-American affairs, that Peru and the United States are linked more closely than ever as a result of the war" (Anon. 1942v). While there was no mention in *El Comercio* of a visit by Rockefeller either to the National Museum or to the Museum of Anthropology, this daily published a report in its 19 September 1942 edition in which it was noted that Rockefeller had that day made mention of the fact that it had been five years since he had last visited Peru (Anon. 1942u).

²⁸⁶ In his journal entry for 10 September, Tello noted it had been 15 days since work had begun at these ruins (Tello 2016a:46).

submitted the (English translation) of his Cha-vín paper (published by San Marcos) to the editor of *American Antiquity*, who had expressed his delight in receiving it. Kroeber went on to tell her that the editor had accepted the manuscript in principle, and that he had asked him to clear up any problems with the English translation. He then told Carrión that what they now needed were illustrations, and especially some of the ruins of Sechín. He asked if such illustrations had been sent, and, if not, when they would be, adding that it would be wise to send them by air so as not to suffer a long delay. He concluded his letter by saying that he had heard Tello planned to travel to the States upon the completion of his field-work, adding that, if this was the case, it might be safer and just as quick for him to bring the illustrations with him (Bancroft Library Archive, University of California Berkeley, Alfred L. Kroeber Collection, correspondence).²⁸⁷

Fejos responded on 5 October to a long letter he had received from Tello dated 7 September (specific contents unknown). He said he had shared the contents of his letter with the Board of Directors of the Viking Fund at its meeting held on 27 September, and they had asked to forward their delight at his accomplishments thus far, and wishes for continued success. Fejos then agreed to Tello's request that he be allowed to use money remaining after field-work for the purpose of publishing the results of the expedition. Fejos noted that \$9,000 of the \$10,000 grant dated 23 December 1941 had already been sent in equal installments on 2 January, 19 May, and 8 September, 1942, with the final amount available being \$951.66 after taking into account the cost of sending photographs and topographic plans on 22 May. After giving thanks for Carrión's assistance, Fejos told

²⁸⁷ Any of a number of individuals disappointed that Tello had cancelled his plans to travel to the United States at the end of 1941 could have issued an invitation, including Fejos.

Tello that the Viking Fund would be publishing an anthropology series in connection with Yale, and wondered if Tello would be interested in contributing an English version of his museum's publication of the expedition in this new series.²⁸⁸ After discussing topics unrelated to the expedition, Fejos offered his congratulations for work well done, and his thanks for the report on this work (Paredes and Dalen 2016:448–449).

Fejos received a letter from Carrión dated 8 October. She began by saying she had not yet heard if he had received Tello's first report that she had forwarded to him on 13 August, and neither had she heard if the second report he had sent directly from Cusco had been received. She added the war was creating problems. She then briefed Fejos on Tello's current work. She said the team was hard at work removing dense vegetation at sites, and making detailed plans of them. She then thanked Fejos for the \$3,000 recently received, saying she had been notified of its receipt five days previously, whereupon she had immediately advised Tello of its receipt by telegram (*ibid*:449–450).

Carrión wrote again to Fejos on 15 October and began by saying she was glad to have just received his letter dated the 5th, in which he stated he had received the two reports written by Tello. She told him Tello had anxiously telegraphed her from Cusco to inquire if they had been received. Carrión told Fejos that upon receipt of his letter she had notified Tello he had 955.66 soles still at his disposal. She told him the previous day she had received a letter from Tello in which he said he and his team were hard at work exposing ruins for study. In this regard, she referred Fejos to the photographs, drawings and plans she had apparently enclosed with the second report. She also referred to a copy of Tello's recently published work entitled *Origen y desarrollo de las civilizaciones prehistóricas andinas* that she had also

²⁸⁸ No such work was ever published.

enclosed in her last mailing.²⁸⁹ She described it as Tello's synthesis of his past work. Before closing she also told Fejos she did not know when Tello would end his field-work (*ibid*: 450).

In the 7 November afternoon edition of Lima's *El Comercio* it was reported that, in a special ceremony conducted by Rector David Chaparro and attended by many, Tello had been declared doctor *honoris causa* in the University of Cusco's School of Science (Anon. 1942x). During the afternoon of that same day, the expeditionary team left Cusco for the city of Abancay, and took the next day off before heading back to the coast on the 9th. They visited various sites along the way, before arriving at Pisco on the 13th. They arrived at Pachacamac on the 15th and lunched with Carrión and Mejía (who had earlier left the expedition), and then inspected the work that had been done at the ruins before arriving back at the Museum of Anthropology (Chavéz 2016:419–423).

Moe wrote to Vaillant on 13 November²⁹⁰ and referenced an undated letter he had received from the latter (specific contents unknown). He went on to say McCown had written to him about Kroeber's manuscript (date and contents unknown; it was his report on his recent trip to Peru), and that he had spoken on

²⁸⁹ She was referring to the published version of the paper that Tello had presented at the Lima session of the 1939 meeting of the International Congress of Americanists that had been published in 1942 in the acts of the congress (e.g. Daggett and Burger 2009:351).

²⁹⁰ The following was published in the inaugural issue of the journal *Acta Americana*: "On November 14, 1942, the American Ethnological Society celebrated the one hundredth anniversary of its founding by conducting a symposium on culture contact in the auditorium of the American Museum of Natural History in New York. . . . The Latin American part of the symposium consisted of a paper by Dr. Julian H. Steward, Bureau of American Ethnology . . . [with] discussion . . . by . . . Dr. George Vaillant, University of Pennsylvania. . . . Dr. William Duncan Strong, Director of the Ethnographic Board, presided at the Symposium" (Anon. 1943n:142–143).

the phone with Bill Vogt in the coordinator's office about the possibility of providing assistance in getting it published. Because of this, he said, he had asked Kroeber to send a copy of his manuscript, and he did. Moe then told Vaillant that Vogt had informed him that what he needed was a couple of letters from responsible archaeologists approving the manuscript. He added that Bennett had come by his office, and that he had asked him to read the manuscript for this purpose, and that Bennett had replied that the IAR had sufficient funds to publish it, and that he thought this would be a good thing, as Kroeber was a member. Moe then said he had not read the manuscript, and that, as he had no competence in the area, he would not be able to judge it. He ended by telling Vaillant that if he felt the IAR would not be able to publish the manuscript, he would broach Vogt about getting the coordinator's office involved, but that he thought it would entail a complicated process (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH). Vaillant responded on the 18th and, essentially, told Moe that what was needed from him was approval to spend unused money from the IAR's contract to get the manuscript published (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).²⁹¹

Vaillant received a letter from Lothrop dated 21 November. The latter began by telling the former that Tello had returned to Lima and would be getting back to writing up the text for his book on Paracas. Lothrop apologized for not

²⁹¹ Kroeber's manuscript was ultimately published as *Viking Fund Publication in Anthropology* Number 4. In his preface dated 23 February 1943 he wrote, "I received assistance and courtesy from . . . Julio C. Tello, Indian from the ranks and human dynamo, founder of three important museums and discoverer of culture after culture. He knows as much archeology as the rest of us put together. In his views he often stands alone. Where I differ from him, I have said so. . . . But sometimes . . . our divergences are due to misunderstanding or to nomenclature, and most often to information which is unknown to all but him because he has not published more than a fragment of it" (Kroeber 1944:5–6).

getting the book finished on time, and blamed it on Rockefeller, who had recently visited Lima. Lothrop was upset about the way things had gone, though he did not elaborate, and he blamed ignorance on the part of Tello who was unaware that Rockefeller was behind the Wenner-Gren grant that allowed him to conduct his recent work. After saying that he did not blame Tello for accepting the grant and dropping the IAR, he said Tello had as always made important finds, this time three-storied mausoleums made of very large rectangular stones, Tikal-like (Mayan-like) pyramids in the southern highlands, stratigraphic evidence for so-called Inca architecture, and new evidence for the westward spread of culture across the Andes. After saying this, Lothrop, returned to the matter of the Paracas book, and said things would be worked out during the following week, adding that he and Carrión, who he said had been a “jewel”, would keep Tello away from the telephone until the text was finished (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

Vaillant responded on the first of December. He told Lothrop he saw nothing on the horizon for another large-scale project on the part of the IAR, explaining higher taxes on cars were drying up private sources of funding, and the war effort had served to dry up government funding. He went on to say the IAR planned to provide funds for the publication of Kroeber’s report on his recent trip. As for Tello, he said he was glad he had (Wenner-Gren) funding for his work, and that he hoped work on the Paracas book project would continue. Vaillant then commiserated with Lothrop. He told him he thought it was awful he had this project to contend with, in addition to his own work, and that he had been a saint to carry it forward in such a careful and thoughtful way (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).²⁹²

²⁹² The following was published in the inaugural issue of the journal *Acta Americana*: “Complying with the request of the government, that meetings and Societies be limited

In a report from Ilo dated 20 January 1943, and published in the 21 January afternoon edition of *El Comercio*, it was noted that Tello had completed his scientific mission, and that he and his family were on their way to this port city (Anon. 1943a). Given that he was reported to have been accompanied by his family, the nature and extent of his scientific mission is unclear.

Means wrote to Vaillant on 13 January 1943 and complained about his health, the state of the world, his finances, and the fact that he was being required to undertake unpaid community service as part of the war effort. But the reason for his letter was to inquire about the doings of the members of the IAR. He said he had seen Bennett the previous October, and that he knew Lothrop and Rowe were in Peru²⁹³ but that otherwise he was essentially out of the loop, and asked to be updated (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH). Vaillant responded on the 15th. He told Means that Bennett was busy (in Washington) as Secretary General of the Joint Committee²⁹⁴ while Strong (also in

to business purposes, the American Anthropological Association held a single session in Washington, D.C. in December. Dr. Leslie Spier, University of New Mexico was elected President for the year 1943. . . . Elected members of the Executive Committee were . . . A.V. Kidder, Carnegie Institution, and A.L. Kroeber, University of California, Berkeley” (Anon. 1943n:143).

²⁹³ During 1943, “Julio C. Tello, of the Universidad de San Marcos, continued his work of restoration and reconstruction at Pachacamac. Samuel K. Lothrop continued his study of the archaeological sites and collections of coastal Peru. Under the direction of John H. Rowe, archaeological work in the Cuzco region was continued by the Section of Archaeology at the Universidad de Cuzco” (Collier 1946:36). The previous year, during 1942, “Samuel K. Lothrop of the Peabody Museum, Harvard University, made a survey and a special study of collections on the coast of Peru” (Collier 1943:27).

²⁹⁴ According to Willey (1988:131), “In the fall of 1943, when I moved to Washington . . . I saw Wendy several times. . . . He was active on Strong’s Ethnographic Board”.

Washington) was busy with the Ethnographic Board.²⁹⁵ As for the Kidders, senior was busy publishing, while junior was teaching at the Ground School of the Air Force. Tozzer, too, was involved with the war effort, having gone to Honolulu. Vaillant also said that Kroeber was busy working on his manuscript based on his travels in Peru, while Cole and Collier were in Chicago, the latter now working for the Field Museum. He then told Means that the last he had heard from Lothrop was that the Tello book was still unpublished. Finally, Vaillant told Means the IAR had no money, and even if it did, it had no way to spend it (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

Vaillant had also decided to do his part for the war effort. He received a letter from Bennett dated 22 February. After pleasantries, Bennett got down to business that dealt with the IAR. He suggested that Gordon Eckholm be asked to serve as its secretary, given that he worked at the AMNH; he said he would arrange with the coordinator's office to distribute the IAR's publications; but, he told Vaillant, it would be up to him to take care of other matters, even though, in few days time, he would be going down to Peru with his family (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).²⁹⁶ Vaillant wrote back on the 24th and told Bennett he was resigning as the IAR's chairman and appointing him acting chairman. He went on to tell Ben-

nett the IAR's minutes, seal, etc. had been sent to Eckholm (IAR Archive, Division of Anthropology, AMNH).

Clearly the war effort was taking its toll on the IAR, but there was one more matter of business that Kroeber handled. On 12 February he wrote to Tello, and told him that Douglas Byers, the editor of *American Antiquity*, had accepted his article (on Chavín), that he was awaiting receipt of accompanying illustrations, and it would be published in the July issue, assuming the illustrations had been received on time. Kroeber went on to tell Tello that he had finished his report on his recent trip to Peru, and that he hoped to submit it for expected publication in 1943 (Bancroft Library Archive, University of California, Berkeley, Alfred L. Kroeber Collection, correspondence).

At some point during 1943, the IAR's administrative committee published a preliminary report on work done on its behalf during its 1941–1942 program. For Peru it was noted that:

Dr. S. K. Lothrop of the Peabody Museum of Harvard University had under his direction No. 8, a two-fold project, to assist the publication program of the great Peruvian archaeologist, Julio C. Tello, and through the supervision of Marshall T. Newman, to study the physical type of the ancient Peruvians over a period of centuries. The publication project involved the reproduction in color of the magnificent art of Paracas, supplemented by a text by Dr. Tello, who made the discovery. As Peruvian fabrics take a high, if not the highest place among the great textile arts of the world, this volume, which is to appear under the auspices of San Marcos University, should stimulate not only scholarly interest but also the appreciation of artists and designers the world over. The printing of the plates was a slow process, but the volume

²⁹⁵ By this, according to Willey (1988:91), Strong also did his part. "As he was overage for direct military service, the Ethnographic Board duty came as a godsend to him. It put him into wartime communication with his old service, his beloved Navy. He thrived on this, and he continued in this position from mid-1942 until V-J day in 1945".

²⁹⁶ Vaillant's deep interest and knowledge concerning Latin America drew him early into the field of Pan-American cultural relations where he served on numerous committees of the research councils and the State Department. He was a logical choice as the first Cultural Relations Officer to be sent by the United States to Peru, and with his family, he spent the years of 1943–1944 in Lima (Strong 1945:116).

should appear soon. Dr. Newman studied a group of 234 skulls drawn from the entire span of known coastal Peruvian pre-history. Operating with the stratigraphic excavations under Project 3, he was able to secure human materials of known time and culture sequence. He found that, with the exception of a few long-headed varieties in the latest period, the population involved one basic cranial type. Cranial deformation began in the earliest period, but the custom was abandoned in the latest era. A study like this, producing a long historical perspective on Indian physical types from stratigraphic levels, is almost unique in the annals of South American archaeology.

Dr. Theodore D. McCown of the University of California carried out a survey, amplified by excavation, in northern Peru. This project, 9B, was under the direction of Dr. Alfred L. Kroeber. Dr. McCown surveyed several of the great fortresses in the region of Huamachuco and Cajabamba. In addition to these architectural studies, an important contribution to Peruvian archaeology was the isolation of four periods. The massive buildings like the fortress of Marco [*sic*] Huamachuco are early in the series. Another group of semi-fortified hill top settlements suggest the presence of rural contemporaries of the fortress builders. A third class of ruins ties into a period just before the Inca Conquest. A fourth period, represented by the ancient city of Viracochapampa, produced extraordinary data indicating that the city was occupied at the time of the Conquest, although no ceramic material was clearly of Inca type.

Dr. Wm. Duncan Strong, Director, Mr. Gordon Willey, Supervisor, and Mr. John Corbett, Field Supervisor, after several

preliminary surveys, undertook an analysis of some key sites on the central coast of Peru. Their goal was to refine the calibrations on the measuring stick of ceramic sequences in that important region. Dr. Julio Tello, the Peruvian member of the Institute, gave the expedition generously of his time and wisdom. Dr. Strong and his associates carried on excavations at the sites considered the oldest in Peru, the shell heaps of Ancon and Supe. The incised ceramic wares from these sites were different from later types found elsewhere on the coast and have affinities to the early pottery of the Chavin and Cupisnique sites to the north. Over twenty-five feet of refuse attested to the long duration of this important period and it is possible that ceramic sub-types may later be distinguished. The major feat of Dr. Strong and his party was a brilliant demonstration of stratigraphical technique in a refuse heap over thirty feet deep at Pachacamac, the great ruin south of Lima. They revised and expanded the archaeology of coastal Peru by defining six and perhaps seven periods. In the Chancay region a third campaign brought additional material to supplement and confirm this early sequence. A final excavation at Ancon produced thirty graves that, in yielding eighty whole vessels, gave a corpus of evidence that would throw light on sequences derived from broken vessels. The data acquired by this project are complex, but they reveal a method of relatively dating sites for the early periods of Perú that rivals the accurate data amassed for the later stages of pre-Inca and Inca cultures. Valid theory is impossible without such a structure of cultures defined in style, located as to geographical extent, and placed in demonstrable stratigraphic sequences that lead to more exact historical knowledge.

The investigation of Southern Perú was directed by Dr. Alfred Kidder, II, who had Mr. John Rowe as Supervisor and Mrs. Marian [sic] H. Tschopik as Assistant Supervisor. Dr. Luis E. Valcárcel, Director of the Museo Nacional, aided the investigation materially, and two Peruvian assistants assisted in the work. The focal point of the investigation was to trace the relationships between the great Bolivian site of Tiahuanaco and the early cultures along the Peruvian shore of Lake Titicaca. Surface surveys and test excavations indicated that there were local cultures of Pucara type which were influenced by, but were not identical to, Classical Tiahuanaco. Thus there is strong evidence to show that the Tiahuanaco influence, which spread over great parts of Perú, were the passage of an art style rather than the imposition of culture as the result of a political expansion like the Inca. Mrs. Tschopik made a survey, supplemented by minor excavations, to find out the relationship between the great Inca culture and the antecedent Tiahuanaco. Her data suggests a series of local cultures degenerated from earlier proficiency, influenced strongly by the Inca. Her conclusions lead her to believe that time estimates may have to be shortened for the Titicaca region. Mr. Rowe excavated at Cuzco, the center of the Inca Empire, much written about, highly important historically, but never subjected to intensive technical analysis by excavations. He defined an early period, Chanapata, which may be related to Pucara, Tiahuanaco, and Chavin. He also defined Inca pottery in its home site, a task which will facilitate later studies of the Inca Conquest. Mr. Rowe also made some architec-

tural studies of the principal buildings in Cuzco" (Bennett *et al.* 1943:231–234).²⁹⁷

An article published in *El Comercio* on 21 February served to notify the public that a meeting of the National Board had been held the previous day. Among the attendees were Tello and Valcárcel (Anon. 1943b). Unfortunately no details were provided. Then, in its 7 March edition, this newspaper published a U.P. report dated the 6th that had been sent from Chavín. It dealt with the recent torrential rains that had struck the abandoned ruins of that name. It urged the national government to take action (Anon. 1943c).

Tello responded to Kroeber on 18 March. He began by saying he had returned to Lima just a few days before from field-work in the highlands and on the coast. He went on to say he had spent six months in the highlands, and during four of these he had worked at the newly discovered ruins of Wiñay Waina, situated in the jungle, and not far from the ruins of Machu Picchu. Other important sites in the highlands where he had worked included Wari-Wakaurara, Wilkas Waman, and Saiwiti. After saying he had only just scratched the surface in this all but unknown region, he provided some details about each site. Tello then told Kroeber he would later write to him about the massive collections he had accumulated, collections that required both new workshops and new exhibition halls, adding that the government had just a few days past agreed to build new halls of this kind on land that had been donated to him by Luna. However, he went on, what he was really concerned about was safeguarding his archive that consisted of field notes, drawings, photographs, and the like. Tello then reminded Kroe-

²⁹⁷ See Strong (1943:19–28) for a more detailed report on the results of the IAR's four Peruvian projects. See also Mason (1967:22–25) for an up-to-date listing of all of the publications then resulting from the IAR's four 1941–1942 Peruvian projects.

ber of what they had discussed in Lima, the urgent need to create an inter-American archaeological or anthropological institute that would serve as an investigative and educational center. The preparation of personnel, he said, he found ever more difficult to accomplish, and he lamented that there was no hope that he would get any help from San Marcos in this regard and, as such, he was concerned his archive was in danger of disappearing. Tello ended by saying he was doing everything possible to assure the regular and periodic publication of his notes. He added as a postscript, that in a few days he would be sending by airmail the photographs and drawings to illustrate his article on Chavín, and that he would be sending to him by regular mail a copy of the (published version of the) paper he had presented at the International Congress held in Lima (in 1939; Bancroft Library Archive, University of California, Berkeley, Alfred L. Kroeber Collection, correspondence).

Tello also wrote to Fejos, this letter being dated 26 March. Among other things he told Fejos he had become ill while exploring the South Coast and, despite the fact that he had intended to explore the headwaters of the Atiquipa, Ocoña, Moquegua, and Tacna Rivers, this had caused him to cut short the expedition, and he and his team had made it back to Lima on 15 November. Because of this, he went on, he had undertaken a new expedition beginning 27 December which lasted 28 days, and which satisfied his desire to explore this region. Tello then went on to tell Fejos all of the salons of the Museum of Anthropology had been converted into exhibition halls, and the small rustic buildings near the museum were being used to work on the Paracas collection. Finally, he told Fejos the government had just three weeks past agreed to construct three new exhibition halls on land next to the museum that had been donated by Germán Luna Sifuentes [*sic*] (Paredes and Dalen 2016 Appendix 2:454–455).

On 29 March Kroeber wrote back to Tello and told him he had received the illustrations (for the *American Antiquity* article) and that they were in perfect condition. He told Tello he was sure the editor would be pleased with them, but he also said he was sending them to the editor along with his recommendation that not all of them be published, especially the color illustrations, because it would be too expensive. Hence, he told Tello, he was going to tell Byers which of the color plates to publish in black and white, and which he could omit from publishing. After explaining this to Tello, Kroeber then gave him Byer's address so he could contact him directly. Before closing, Kroeber brought up two other matters. First, he told Tello he had received a while back a letter from a member of the Knopf publishing firm in which he was asked his opinion whether they should publish an English translation of the paper Tello had presented at the Lima session of the 1939 International Congress of Americanists. He said he had replied with an enthusiastic affirmative, but had not yet received a reply in return. He asked Tello to give him permission to investigate the matter. Second, Kroeber wondered if the lecture he had given in Lima on the methods of archaeology had been published by San Marcos and, if so, asked Tello to send him at least two copies (Bancroft Library Archive, University of California, Berkeley, Alfred L. Kroeber Collection, correspondence).

The following day, the 30th, a report from Chavín was published in the afternoon edition of *El Comercio*. This had to do with the visit to the ruins of Chavín the previous day of, among others, the departmental prefect, the head of the military in the department, the departmental engineer, the commander of the civil guard, the sub-prefect of Huaylas, along with an unnamed archaeological delegate. Despite torrential rain, they had inspected the ruins, and, afterwards, the sub-prefect offered to speak to the nation's president about naming a guardian

for the ruins, as well as provide funding for its care and cleaning. He had pointed out the special role Lima's *El Comercio* had played in maintaining interest in safeguarding the nation's patrimony (Anon. 1943d). This article was followed by another one that was published in the newspaper's 8 April edition. In particular it was noted that, as inspector general of monuments, Tello had said a guardian would be named, and that money would soon be provided to see to the conservation of the ruins (Anon. 1943e).

Tello finally responded to Kroeber on 3 May. He began by thanking him for all that had done to help him get his article on Chavín published, and went on to say Byers had asked him for a drawing of the cut he had made at Sechín, and said he had provided him with one. Tello then shifted topic and told Kroeber he appreciated what he had said about the paper he had given at the meeting (Lima session) of the (1939 International) Congress of Americanists. Then, mixing topics, he said he would soon be completing his text for his book on Paracas, but that this task was going slowly, because he had been organizing his notes on his work in the Nepeña Valley and at Sechín and, as a result, he would probably amplify all of the parts of this Congress of Americanists paper, and add lots of illustrations. He then said he had not yet heard back from the Knopf publishing house regarding the publication of this work. Finally, Tello told Kroeber he was enclosing one copy of his Lima conference paper (recently published in *Letras*) and he would be sending separately two other copies (Bancroft Library Archive, University of California, Berkeley, Alfred L. Kroeber Collection, correspondence).²⁹⁸

²⁹⁸ Tello was talking about four works. In order of sequence, his paper on Chavín to be published in *American Antiquity*, the possible publication by Knopf of an English translation of the recent (1943) publication of the talk he had given in 1939 at the Lima session of the International Congress of Americanists, the languishing publication of his book on Paracas, and Kroeber's 1942 Lima talk that

Kroeber wrote to Tello on 20 May and began by thanking him for the copy of his published talk on methods in Peruvian archaeology that had just arrived. He then went on to discuss details pertinent to the publication of Tello's Chavín paper in *American Antiquity*, before moving on to a discussion of the proposed publication by Knopf. He said he had received a request from Knopf a while back asking for a recommendation on whether or not to publish an English translation of his 1939 Lima paper recently published in the acts of the International Congress of Americanists and that he had replied enthusiastically in the affirmative, but, he told Tello, he had not yet received a reply, and asked for permission to look into the matter. Kroeber went on to ask Tello for a copy of this publication that he could give McCown, and said he had heard an abstract (review) of this publication would be appearing in the summer issue of *American Antiquity*. Finally, Kroeber mentioned McCown was in the army but, because he was stationed in San Francisco, he was able to use his weekly day off to visit the (Berkeley) campus and keep up on matters of professional interest (Bancroft Library Archive, University of California, Berkeley, Alfred L. Kroeber Collection, correspondence).

Kroeber received a letter from B. W. Knopf dated 18 May in response to his letter (date and specific contents unknown). Knopf apologized for having delayed his response, but said he had long been deliberating before reaching the conclusion that he could not publish (an English translation) of Tello's Origin and Development of the Prehistoric Civilizations of the Andes,²⁹⁹ saying it was not the right fit for the company, and that, though it was both interesting and

had been published by San Marcos in its journal *Letras*. Not mentioned was Tello's proposed manual of archaeology that had already been rejected by Knopf.

²⁹⁹ This was the English translation of the title of the talk Tello had given at the Lima session of the 1939 International Congress of Americanists.

important, he just didn't think there was a market for it. He suggested to Kroeber that he instead see if a university press would publish it. He then said he had asked Tello to write something the general public could readily understand, but he did not know if he would. He went on to ask Kroeber to try to get Tello to do so, and again apologized for not having written sooner (Bancroft Library Archive, University of California, Berkeley, Alfred L. Kroeber Collection, correspondence).³⁰⁰

On 29 May a U.P. report sent from Chavín the previous day was published in the afternoon edition of *El Comercio*. It was stated that the vice-president of the Chamber of Deputies, the prefect (of the department of Ancash), the president of the Supreme Court of Huaraz, the director of the Huaraz archaeological museum, as well as other distinguished persons, had visited the ruins of Chavín. In addition, it was stated that the local citizenry had welcomed these visitors, that the mayor had given a speech of welcome, and that both the vice-president and the prefect had spoken of the special need to protect the ruins (Anon. 1943f).

Tello wrote to Kroeber on 31 May in response to the one he had received from him dated the 20th (specific contents unknown). He

³⁰⁰ So it would seem Kroeber had unsuccessfully pressed Knopf to publish an English translation of the paper Tello had presented at the Lima session of the 1939 International Congress of Americanists. Willey, however, did publish a review of this work in the first issue of the journal *Acta Americana*, not *American Antiquity*. He wrote in part, "In his long and interesting essay Dr. Tello presents in considerable detail, the most recent and complete statement of his interpretation of the prehistory of the greater Andean area. . . . The author sums up area and culture type into four stages of major periods of Andean development. The earliest of these, the First Age, is named after the physiographic cultural region in which he considers the beginnings of Andean civilization took place. This is the epoch of Chincay-Suyo or eastern Andes. It is the era of Chavín of the North zone, a hypothetical pre-Paracas of the central zone, and Pukara in the South zone" (Willey 1943:408-409, 413).

thanked Kroeber for the efforts he had made to get his article on Chavín published. He said he had received a letter from Beyers in which he had been informed only some of the illustrations he had sent would be published, but, Tello added, he hoped by now this had been worked out. He then shifted topic and told Kroeber he thought he had had a misunderstanding with respect to his projected publication by Knopf. Tello then provided an explanation of how he had become involved with Knopf publishing house. He said Mrs. Alfred A. Knopf had been in Lima a year or so ago, when he had been working in the Urubamba region, and that during that time, she had seen some of his manuscripts, and had expressed a very strong interest in getting them published. When he had returned to Lima, he went on, upon learning what she had said, he had pushed himself to work on a (proposal) for a manual of Andean archaeology, based on the paper he had presented at the Lima session of the 1939 International Congress of Americanists. As she had requested, he said, he had sent to her the title of his proposed manual, and his plan of action, and he told her he was ready to write this manual in a non-technical way, so that it would be easily understood by a lay audience, and he told her he would include in this work many illustrations. Tello then told Kroeber he had given her his name as a reference, and ended by referring to copy of the 26 December 1942 letter he had received back from Mrs. Knopf (Bancroft Library Archive, University of California Berkeley, Alfred L. Kroeber Collection, correspondence).

The copy of the letter Tello had enclosed with his letter to Kroeber was one that had been sent to him by Mrs. Knopf on 26 December 1942. This letter did not deal with Tello's proposed manual of Andean archaeology, rather it was one in which she told Tello it had been decided not to publish an English translation of his long and technical 1939 Lima congress work

that had just been published in the acts of the congress. Somehow she had obtained a copy of this published work, and she was apparently responding to a request by Tello that Knopf publish an English translation of it (Bancroft Library Archive, University of California, Berkeley, Alfred L. Kroeber Collection, correspondence). Why Tello even mentioned his proposed manual of Peruvian archaeology in his letter to Kroeber is unknown, but its effect was to confuse matters. In any case, in this December 1942 letter Mrs. Knopf advised Tello it had been decided not to publish a translation of this already published work, because it was too technical, and suggested that he instead try to get a university press to undertake this task. As far as Tello was concerned, the matter was closed, and did not need to be investigated.

A report on a meeting of the National Board held on 18 June was published in *El Comercio* on the 22nd. Among others, Tello and Valcárcel were in attendance. The meeting was focused on matters of concern dealing with archaeological sites in the Lima and Lurin Valleys (Anon. 1943g). Three days later, it was reported in this daily that the Museum of Anthropology and Historical Investigations at Pueblo Viejo (Magdalena Vieja) had been visited the previous afternoon by a number of named American businessmen. There they had been greeted by staff, and had been shown the museum's Paracas, Chavín, Nasca, and other galleries. There was no mention made of Tello (Anon. 1943h). However, in its edition published on 2 July it was reported in *El Comercio* that, among others, Tello and Valcárcel had agreed to continue serving on the board of directors for the Peruvian-North American Cultural Institute (Anon. 1943i).

On 22 August *El Comercio* published an official letter dated the 12th sent from Minister of Education Enrique Laroza to Germán Luna Iglesias at Hacienda Cueva in Lima's District of

Pueblo Libre. In this letter Laroza thanked Luna for his donation of 8,000 square meters of land for the purpose of enlarging the Museum and Institute of Anthropology (Laroza 1943). Then, in its afternoon edition published on 27 August it was noted in *El Comercio* that in an accord made in one of its last sessions, the National Board had declared that all of the authorizations conceded by Law 6834 to undertake archaeological excavations in Peru had expired, mandating, therefore, that no entity or individual could continue without first submitting a request for authorization under the conditions of this law. It was also noted that the Board would next meet in five days (Anon. 1943j). Finally, in its edition published on 8 September, it was reported in *El Comercio* that an event at the Museum of Anthropology hosted by the minister of education, and attended by numerous members of congress, as well as individuals from various intellectual and artistic circles, that had been held the previous evening, served to celebrate the opening of a new hall in which were exhibited the most select and representative objects of art recently discovered in the Ocoña Valley, District of Andaray, Province of Condesuyos, Department of Arequipa (Anon. 1943k).

A report on a recently held meeting of the National Board was published in the pages of the afternoon edition of *El Comercio* on 19 October. The meeting had been held four days earlier, and had been attended by, among others, Tello and Valcárcel. Among other matters, the Board decided to examine the plans for a proposed new stadium in Lima, to see if its construction would endanger archaeological monuments; it decided to ask the Supreme Fiscal Court to issue judgements about the ownership rights of the state regarding archaeological sites; it decided to approve various requests for archaeological explorations; it decided to approve the creation of an archaeological stamp to be used for the obligatory registration of artifacts; it decided to create the

office of the inspector general of archaeological monuments with corresponding functions; it decided to exclude from the appraisal of gold artifacts their archaeological value in those cases where the person who discovered them claimed a percentage; finally it was decided to create a 1944 budget for the Board (Anon. 1943l).

Willey wrote to Tello on 6 November and began by telling him that he had just completed reading his article on Chavín that had been published in the July issue of *American Antiquity*. He went on to congratulate him on the masterful job he had done on what was a difficult Chavín problem, adding that his summary publication was a very important work that would provide many North American archaeologists with their first significant information on the matter. Willey then got to the matter at hand. As assistant editor of the *Handbook of South American Indians*, he asked Tello, as the discoverer of the Chavín culture and its leading exponent, to submit a summary article, 2000–4000 words in length, on Peruvian archaeology focused on Chavín. He went on to point out to Tello that the theme and general content of his *American Antiquity* was what they were looking for, but it needed to be shorter in length, so a condensed version would be appropriate. In his concluding remarks Willey told Tello that he was aware of how extremely busy he was, and yet hoped he would be able to contribute, because his contribution was deemed essential. He ended by saying he was enclosing the formal contract (National Anthropological Archive, Smithsonian Institution, Julian H. Steward Papers, Records of the *Handbook of South American Indians*, correspondence).

Tello responded on 19 November, on Museum of Anthropology at Magdalena Vieja stationery, and thanked Willey for his kind remarks. He then said he had long looked forward to receiving an invitation to contribute, not only to write about Chavín, but also to write

about other topics as well. Having essentially agreed to make a contribution to the *Handbook* Tello then told Willey that the contract had not been enclosed, and that as soon as he received it he would act. An official notice that the enclosure mentioned in the letter had not been found by the U.S. censor when the letter had been opened was likely sent back to Willey to be saved with a copy of his letter (National Anthropological Archive, Smithsonian Institution, Julian H. Steward Papers, Records of the *Handbook of South American Indians*, correspondence). Willey wrote back to Tello on 26 November and acknowledged receipt of his 19 November letter. He told him he was glad that he was willing to contribute one or two articles to the *Handbook*; that in conformance with procedure they needed to know in advance the title or titles of his contribution(s); that they suggested a limit of 8,000 words for one or two articles; that a nominal rate of a penny per word would be paid to him to help cover expenses; and that it would be appreciated if he could send six to twelve photographs or drawings to be included in his article(s). Willey closed by saying both he and Steward sent their best greetings (National Anthropological Archive, Smithsonian Institution, Julian H. Steward Papers, Records of the *Handbook of South American Indians*, correspondence). For whatever reason(s), Tello apparently never responded, and no article by him was included in the *Handbook*.

To close out 1943, it was reported in the 31 December edition of *El Comercio* that Tello was in (the town of) Nazca meeting with some members of the Association for the purpose of visiting a small municipal museum and visiting archaeological zones in the area (Anon. 1943m).³⁰¹ Clearly it had been a very eventful and productive year for Tello, despite his lack of participation in matters concerning the IAR.

³⁰¹ This is the only known mention of the Association in Lima's *El Comercio* during 1943.

Finally, two letters exchanged between Kroeber and Tello toward the end of 1944 serve as a reminder that active participation in the IAR by the latter had ended. Kroeber wrote to Tello on 10 November 1944 and said he hoped nothing he had written in his book based on his work in Peru during 1942 had offended him. Kroeber added that, while he felt he had to be true to his scientific pursuit when writing the book, he hoped he had made it clear how much he admired him. He followed these introductory remarks about his recently published book by telling Tello that he had fallen ill in September 1943, and that since then he had cut back on his activities.³⁰²

Kroeber then updated Tello on his attempt to get Knopf to publish an English translation of his paper that had been included in the published acts of the Lima session of the 1939 Congress of Americanists. He said he had received a letter from Mrs. Knopf about the matter, and that he had lobbied for its publication, with additional text and pictures if desired, because he considered the paper fundamental to Peruvian archaeology. He then said he had heard back from her (actually from another member of the family) with the disappointing news that it had been decided by the company not to go ahead with the publication, because of expected financial loss. Kroeber then moved on to a discussion of their joint desire to create an American school or branch of archaeology in Peru, and he admitted to Tello that, with the passage of time, he had reluctantly concluded this idea would never have been approved by the majority of the Institute's members. He closed with well wishes from him and his wife, and with comments about two of their sons who were serving in branches of the military, and the third who was in line to do so (Bancroft Library Archive, University of California, Berkeley, Alfred L. Kroeber Collection, correspondence).

³⁰² Kroeber suffered a heart attack on 10 September 1943 (Rowe 1962:406).

Tello replied to Kroeber on 30 December and began by apologizing for the tardiness of his response that he explained was due to various circumstances. He then told Kroeber he had read his book with great interest, that he had learned much, and that it had inspired him to continue with his own work. Among other matters, he then said the publication of his Paracas book had been in stasis due to difficulties being experienced by the publisher (Bancroft Library Archive, University of California, Berkeley, Alfred L. Kroeber Collection, correspondence). These difficulties were to continue for years to come. Tello had long since died when his first volume on Paracas was published by the IAR in 1959, due in great part to the indefatigable effort of his long-time assistant Mejía, while the second volume was finally published by the IAR in 1979 with Mejía appropriately shown as co-author.

Briefly, from the latter half of 1942 to the end of 1943, the relationship between Tello and the IAR withered. Unconditional Viking Fund support served to divert Tello's attention away from the IAR's Paracas project because it provided him with the unique opportunity to complete his 1937 search for evidence of Chavín civilization in the highlands of Peru. With the exception of not actually finding such evidence, this field research proved highly successful and led to additional government support for the Museum of Anthropology. Meanwhile, Kroeber pressed the IAR to act on Tello's behalf on twin fronts: to establish a continuing IAR presence at the Museum of Anthropology with the aim of publishing on Tello's collection of field notes; and to see to the publication of Tello's long-promised report on his 1937 "Chavín" research. The war effort served not only to dash Kroeber's plans to have the IAR establish a continuing presence in Lima, it also served to disperse members of the IAR, across the globe. Beyond this, Kroeber was also stymied in his effort to get an English translation of the published version

of the paper Tello had presented at the Lima session of the 1939 meeting of the International Congress of Americanists published (Tello 1942c) because of concern on the part of the publisher that to do so would prove unprofitable. However, to his lasting credit, Kroeber did succeed in getting published in *American Antiquity* in 1943 an English translation of the published version of the paper on Chavín that Tello had presented at the Mexico City session of the 1939 meeting of the International Congress of Americanists (Tello 1942b). Finally, both Lothrop and Tello reported that the effects of the ongoing war had stalled their effort to see to the publication of Tello's report on Paracas, a work that would not see daylight for decades to come.

FINAL COMMENTS

At the beginning of this work, it was stated that the goal was to determine the nature and extent of Tello's involvement with the IAR, including its founding. This is simply stated, but, given its inherent complexity, this proved to be a goal that was difficult to achieve. While it can be stated without hesitation that the IAR was Tello's idea, that he was the inspiration for its founding, and that it was he who secured start-up funding, elementary questions dealing with who, what, where, when, why, and how have necessarily led to a complex story interwoven with human emotion. Hewett was prescient when he warned Tello that an IAR comprised of individuals who put the needs of the institutions they represented first was a potential prescription for disaster. The human element has dominated this discussion. All members of the IAR discussed in this work, including Tello, entered into this enterprise with personal motives, and resultant clashes were to have been expected. Yet, not only did the IAR survive these problems and the disruption caused by a world war, it has flourished. In retrospect, we have unknown members of the IAR to thank for the

foresight to preserve correspondence and documents related to the early history of the organization. By the same token, we have modern day members to thank for honoring the IAR's essential founder. The following quote taken from the introduction to a volume published by the IAR that was dedicated to Tello seems an appropriate way to end this work.

In 1985, the Executive Committee of the Institute of Andean Research (IAR) met at the American Museum of Natural History. One of the items under discussion was how best to commemorate its fiftieth anniversary . . . what project might best reflect both the mission of the IAR and its unique history. . . . In our discussion, we noted the crucial role of Julio C. Tello in the IAR's history and explored the possibility of a commemorative project related to Tello. Although Tello's fame in Peru has grown almost to legendary proportions since his death in 1947, few outside Peru have read his work. Many view his contribution to Andean archaeology and world prehistory on the basis of secondhand accounts or a few easily accessible articles. . . . Not only was Tello a founding member of the IAR and carried out investigations with financial support from it, but, following his death, the Institute played a crucial role in the posthumous publication of two volumes on Tello's research in Peru. Based on these considerations, the IAR Executive Committee decided to initiate a volume in English dedicated to the work of Tello in order to foment a better appreciation of his life and work by the community of scholars and students outside Peru" (Burger 2009:1-2).

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- 1938h Las obras del defensa del histórico Castillo de Chavín. *El Comercio* 20 February, page 11 (Lima).
- 1938i Noticias de Huaraz. *El Comercio* 27 February, page 13 (Lima).
- 1938j Noticias de Huaraz. *El Comercio* 28 February, page 11 (Lima).
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- 1938l Las ruinas y reliquias arqueológicas existentes en los departamentos de Ancash y Cajamarca. *El Comercio* 26 March, page 13 (Lima).
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- 1938n Museo Nacional. *El Comercio* 21 April, page 3 (Lima).
- 1938o Un arqueológico norteamericano hara investigaciones sobre la civilización de Chavín. *El Comercio* 6 May, page 13 (Lima).
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- 1938q Cajamarca. *The West Coast Leader* 17 May, pages II-V (Lima).
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- 1938s Nuevos descubrimientos arqueológicos en la zona de Chavín. *El Comercio* 19 May, page 15 (Lima).

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- 1938u Se descubre una extraña cabeza monolítica en Chavín. *El Comercio* 27 May, page 11 (Lima).
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- 1938w La fundación de Instituto Cultural Peruano-Norteamericano. *El Comercio* 3 June, page 5 (Lima).
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- 1938y Personal. *The West Coast Leader* 12 July, page 17 (Lima).
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- 1938dd Se propone en Chavín construir un hotel de estilo típicamente incaico para turistas. *El Comercio* 15 August, page 14 (Lima).
- 1938ee Se propicia una excursión a las ruinas. *El Comercio* 15 August, page 14 (Lima).
- 1938ff The University of San Marcos. *The West Coast Leader* 23 August, pages 11–12 (Lima).
- 1938gg Chavín espera alguna preferencia para la construcción de un hotel para turistas. Se proyecta construir un museo arqueológico. *El Comercio* 25 August, page 11 (Lima).
- 1938hh Sobre las ruinas de Chavín. *El Comercio* 27 August, page 3 (Lima).
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- 1938jj Hallazgo de una galería subterránea en una huaca de la hacienda "Orbea". *El Comercio* 10 September, page 2 (Lima).
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- 1938qq Es necesidad nacional la conservación de las ruinas de Chavín. *El Comercio* 7 October, page 11 (Lima).
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- 1938tt Se sigue sembrando Chavín de Huanter en áreas arqueológicas. *El Comercio* 14 October, page 11 (Lima).
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- 1939b Sociedad Geográfica de Lima. *El Comercio* 19 January, page 3 (Lima).
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- 1939i The Peruvian Pavilion at the New York World's Fair. *The West Coast Leader* 4 April, page III (Lima).
- 1939j La excursión arqueológica de la Sociedad Geográfica. *El Comercio* 11 April, page 3 (Lima).
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- 1939l Casma: Monumentos arqueológicos de Sechín. *El Comercio* 20 April, page 11 (Lima).
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- 1939p Patronato Nacional de Arqueología. *El Comercio* 18 May, page 1 (Lima).
- 1939q Peruvian-North American Cultural Institute. *The West Coast Leader* 20 June, pages 5-6 (Lima).
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- 1939u El professor Rivet visitó ayer el Museo de Antropología. *El Comercio* 6 July, page 4 (Lima).
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- 1939w Agasajo al Profesor Paul Rivet. *El Comercio* 19 July, page 7 (Lima).
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- 1939aa El XXVII Congreso de Americanistas reunido en Ciudad de México: Breve entrevista con el Doctor Julio C. Tello, uno de los delegados del Perú. *El Comercio* 27 August, page 2 (Lima).
- 1939bb Con el destacado professor Max Uhle. *El Comercio* 2 September, page 2 (Lima).
- 1939cc Delegados Norteamericanos. *El Comercio* 7 September, page 5 (Lima).
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- 1939ff Instalación del XXVII Congreso Internacional de Americanistas. *El Comercio* 11 September, pages 3, 6 (Lima).
- 1939gg En el Museo de Antropología: Recepción en honor de los miembros del Congreso de Americanistas. *El Comercio* 12 September, page 3 (Lima).
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- 1939jj Clausuró sus sesiones el XXVII Congreso Internacional de Americanistas. *El Comercio* 17 September, page 3 (Lima).
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- 1939ll Regreso de la excursión a Ancash organizada por el Congreso de Americanistas. *El Comercio* 30 September, page 3 (Lima).
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- 1939nn Personal. *The West Coast Leader* 24 October, page 17 (Lima).
- 1939oo Importante hallazgo arqueológico en zona de Chavín. *El Comercio* 30 November, page 13 (Lima).
- 1939pp New Government. *The West Coast Leader* 12 December, page 1 (Lima).
- 1939qq Sociedad Geográfica de Lima. *El Comercio* 15 December, page 5 (Lima).
- 1939rr Chavín: Nuevo socio. *El Comercio* 17 December, page 13 (Lima).
- 1939ss Asociación Peruana de Arqueología. *El Comercio* 18 December, page 4 (Lima).
- 1940a Almuerzo en honor del doctor Carlos Villarán rector interino de la Universidad de San Marcos. *El Comercio* 6 January, pages 6, 12 (Lima).
- 1940b Se encuentra en peligro el monumento prehistórico de Chavín. *El Comercio* 11 January, page 11 (Lima).
- 1940c Huaca Cerro Sechín. *El Comercio* 21 January, page 9 (Lima).

- 1940d Exhibición de una película del Callejón de Huaylas. *El Comercio* 27 January, page 2 (Lima).
- 1940e Patronato Nacional de Arqueología. *El Comercio* 3 February, page 2 (Lima).
- 1940f Ica: Se instala el Patronato Arqueológico Departamental. *El Comercio* 20 February, page 11 (Lima).
- 1940g Chavín: Proyecto beneficio. *El Comercio*, afternoon edition, 13 March, page 3 (Lima).
- 1940h Chavín: Interesante iniciativa. *El Comercio* 16 March, page 14 (Lima).
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- 1940l Asociación Peruana de Arqueología. *El Comercio* 16 April, page 6 (Lima).
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- 1940n La expedición científica norteamericana a la hoya del Madre de Dios. *El Comercio* 8 May, page 3 (Lima).
- 1940o Un delegado de la Sociedad Geográfica de Lima viaja con la expedición Fejos. *El Comercio* 9 May, page 3 (Lima).
- 1940p Cuzco: Delegado del gobierno en un expedición. *El Comercio* 10 May, page 15 (Lima).
- 1940q La partida de la expedición Fejos. *El Comercio* 23 May, page 13 (Lima).
- 1940r Suspensión del ingreso a los museos. *El Comercio* 29 May, page 6 (Lima).
- 1940s Cajamarca. *El Comercio* 5 June, page 13 (Lima).
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- 1940u Patronato Nacional de Arqueología. *El Comercio* 23 June, page 3 (Lima).
- 1940v Permanecieron perdidos en la selva los descubridores del caserío de Pínquén. *El Comercio* 26 June, page 13 (Lima).
- 1940w Se ha enviado repuestos para el hidro-avión que descendió en el río Colorado. *El Comercio* 2 July, page 11 (Lima).
- 1940x La excursión al valle de Chillón. *El Comercio* 12 July, page 3 (Lima).
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- 1940bb Descubrimiento arqueológico en Pachacámac. *El Comercio*, afternoon edition, 17 July, page 6 (Lima).
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- 1940dd Las actividades de ayer en la “Escuela de Verano”. *El Comercio* 18 July, page 4 (Lima).
- 1940ee Excursión de los alumnos de la Escuela de Verano a Pachacámac. *El Comercio* 20 July, page 4 (Lima).
- 1940ff Trujillo. *El Comercio* 21 July, page 13 (Lima).
- 1940gg Las actividades de ayer en la “Escuela de Verano”. *El Comercio* 23 July, page 4 (Lima).
- 1940hh Universidad Mayor de San Marcos: Escuela de Verano, programa de hoy. *El Comercio* 24 July, page 4 (Lima).
- 1940ii Federal Post Is Hinted at for Nelson Rockefeller. *The New York Times* 27 July, page 6.
- 1940jj Los recientes descubrimientos arqueológicos en las ruinas de Pachacámac. *Turismo* (July) (Lima).
- 1940kk Las actividades de la Escuela de Verano: excursión a Cajamarquilla. *El Comercio* 4 August, page 3 (Lima).
- 1940ll Asociación Peruana de Arqueología. *El Comercio* 4 August, page 3 (Lima).
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- 1940oo The Day in Washington. *The New York Times* 17 August, page 6.
- 1940pp El Jefe del Estado visitó las ruinas descubiertas en Pachacámac. *El Comercio* 26 August, page 3 (Lima).
- 1940qq Chavín. *El Comercio* 27 August, page 13 (Lima).
- 1940rr Chavín. *El Comercio* 31 August, page 13 (Lima).
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- 1940uu Asociación Peruana de Arqueología. *El Comercio*, afternoon edition, 9 September, page 3 (Lima).
- 1940vv Continúa sus investigaciones en la selva de Madre de Dios la expedición Wenner Gren, que dirige el doctor Fejos. *El Comercio* 10 September, page 13 (Lima).
- 1940ww Esperarse que el gobierno construya un hotel de turistas en Chavín. *El Comercio* 11 September, page 13 (Lima).
- 1940xx Nuevos informes acerca de los descubrimientos hecho por la expedición Wenner Gren en la

- selva del Madre de Dios. *El Comercio* 14 September, page 15 (Lima).
- 1940yy Los miembros de la Sociedad de Ingenieros visitaron las ruinas de Pachacámac. *El Comercio* 16 September, page 2 (Lima).
- 1940zz Sobre la necesidad de obras de defensa para el Castillo de Chavín. *El Comercio* 22 September, page 13 (Lima).
- 1940aaa Chavín. *El Comercio*, afternoon edition, 30 September, page 2 (Lima).
- 1940bbb Patronato Nacional de Arqueología. *El Comercio*, afternoon edition, 8 October, page 2 (Lima).
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- 1940ddd Chavín. *El Comercio* 17 October, page 13 (Lima).
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- 1940hhh Asociación Peruana de Arqueología. *El Comercio* 5 November, page 5 (Lima).
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- 1940jjj To Advise on Program Linking Hemisphere. Groups on cultural relations are named by N. A. Rockefeller. *The New York Times* 15 November, page 14.
- 1940kkk Medidas adoptadas para evitar la desaparición de las ruinas del Castillo de Chavín. *El Comercio* 16 November, page 15 (Lima).
- 1940lll Chavín. *El Comercio* 18 November, page 13 (Lima).
- 1940mmm Chavín. *El Comercio* 22 November, page 15 (Lima).
- 1940nnn Iniciose la construcción de las obras de defensa de las ruinas del Castillo de Chavín. *El Comercio* 23 November, page 23 (Lima).
- 1940ooo Chavín. *El Comercio* 26 November, page 15 (Lima).
- 1940ppp Importantes nuevos hallazgos arqueológicos en las ruinas del Castillo de Chavín. *El Comercio* 14 December, page 17 (Lima).
- 1940qqq De vuelta de las milenarias ruinas de Chavín, el Dr. Tello nos habla de esa fascinante cultura. *El Universal* 19 December, page 4 (Lima).
- 1940rrr La expedición Fejos habria descubierto tres ciudades en la zona de Cerrobamba. *El Comercio* 25 December, page 13 (Lima).
- 1940sss More Inca towns found. *The New York Times* 25 December, page 6.
- 1940ttt Notable descubrimiento arqueológico en la región de Macchupicchu. *El Comercio* 31 December, page 3 (Lima).
- 1941a Notable descubrimiento arqueológico en la región de Machupicchu. *El Comercio* 1 January, page 19 (Lima).
- 1941b El notable descubrimiento arqueológico en la región de Machupicchu. *El Comercio* 4 January, page 3 (Lima).
- 1941c Asociación Peruana de Arqueología. *El Comercio* 17 January, page 3 (Lima).
- 1941d La reunión de ayer de la Sociedad de Arqueología. *El Comercio* 18 January, page 5 (Lima).
- 1941e Los nuevos descubrimientos en la zona arqueológica de Chavín. Las excavaciones practicadas han dejado al descubrimiento los restos de un templo de piedra: Entrevista con el doctor Julio C. Tello. *El Comercio* 18 January, page 19 (Lima).
- 1941f Chavín. *El Comercio* 26 January, page 17 (Lima).
- 1941g Parques históricos nacionales. *El Comercio* 28 January, pages 3-4 (Lima).
- 1941h La creación de parques históricos nacionales: Conversando con el doctor Julio C. Tello. *El Comercio* 29 January, pages 3, 5 (Lima).
- 1941i Patronato Nacional de Arqueología. *El Comercio* 2 February, page 7 (Lima).
- 1941j "La Industria" comenta sobre iniciativa sobre las ruinas de Chan-Chan. *El Comercio* 3 February, page 13 (Lima).
- 1941k Chavín. *El Comercio* 10 February, page 15 (Lima).
- 1941l Celebro session el Patronato Arqueológico Departmental de Ica. *El Comercio* 15 February, page 15 (Lima).
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- 1941p Conversando con el doctor Thomas Dale Stewart. *El Comercio* 13 March, page 5 (Lima).
- 1941q Hallazgo de osario en la campina de Pisco. *El Comercio* 22 March, page 17 (Lima).
- 1941r Arqueológicos norteamericanos que visitan la ciudad de Arequipa. *El Comercio* 24 March, page 17 (Lima).
- 1941s La delegación del Perú a la III Asamblea General del Instituto Panamericano de Geografía e Historia. *El Comercio* 28 March, page 2 (Lima).

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- 1941u Descubren una necropolis de gran valor arqueológico en el Cuzco. *El Comercio* 29 March, page 17 (Lima).
- 1941v Interesante hallazgo arqueológico en una zona entre Arequipa y Tingo. *El Comercio* 30 March, page 3 (Lima).
- 1941w La III Asamblea General del Instituto Panamericano de Geografía e Historia. *El Comercio* 1 April, pages 3-4 (Lima).
- 1941x La III Asamblea General del Instituto Panamericano de Geografía e Historia. *El Comercio* 2 April, pages 5, 7 (Lima).
- 1941y Fue denunciado el saqueo de tumbas preincaicas descubiertas en Tingo Grande, Arequipa. *El Comercio* 2 April, page 15 (Lima).
- 1941z La III Asamblea General del Instituto Panamericano de Geografía e Historia. *El Comercio* 3 April, pages 5, 14 (Lima).
- 1941aa Excursión a las ruinas de Pachacámac y almuerzos ofrecidos a los delegaciones. *El Comercio* 4 April, page 3 (Lima).
- 1941bb La III Asamblea General Panamericano del Instituto de Geografía e Historia. *El Comercio* 4 April, pages 3-4 (Lima).
- 1941cc Las excavaciones en la zona de "Tres Cruces", Arequipa. *El Comercio* 4 April, page 15 (Lima).
- 1941dd La Asamblea General Panamericano del Instituto de Geografía e Historia. *El Comercio* 5 April, pages 7, 18 (Lima).
- 1941ee Asociación Peruana de Arqueología. *El Comercio* 23 April, page 2 (Lima).
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- 1941gg Asociación Peruana de Arqueología. *La Crónica* 24 April (Lima).
- 1941hh La Asociación Peruana de Arqueología: Sesión en el Museo de Antropología. *La Prensa* 24 April (Lima).
- 1941ii U.S. Students Flock to South America. *The New York Times* 11 May, page 43.
- 1941jj Three scientists sail. *The New York Times* 25 May, page S-10.
- 1941kk Hallaron dos objetos de origen incaico en la región de Huaitará. *El Comercio* 27 May, page 13 (Lima).
- 1941ll Conversando con el Dr. Herbert J. Spinden. *El Comercio* 6 June, page 3 (Lima).
- 1941mm Huaitará. *El Comercio* 6 June, page 13 Lima.
- 1941nn Declaraciones del Dr. George Vaillant. *El Comercio* 7 June, page 5 (Lima).
- 1941oo Hundreds of Mummified Priests Studied. *Columbus Dispatch* 15 June, page 26 (Columbus, Ohio).
- 1941pp Ciclos de conferencias sobre arqueología. *El Comercio* 17 June, page 5 (Lima).
- 1941qq Importantes descubrimientos arqueológicos en tres lugares de la región de Huaitará. *El Comercio* 17 June, page 13 (Lima).
- 1941rr Declaraciones del Prof. Gordon R. Willey. *El Comercio* 19 June, page 7 (Lima).
- 1941ss En la Facultad de Letras de la Universidad de San Marcos. *El Comercio* 20 June, page 3 (Lima).
- 1941tt Ciclo de Conferencias en la Facultad de Letras y Pedagogía de la Universidad de San Marcos. *El Comercio* 22 June, page 2 (Lima).
- 1941uu Patronato Nacional de Arqueología. *El Comercio* 23 June, page 2 (Lima).
- 1941vv Asociación Peruana de Arqueología. *El Comercio* 30 June, page 5 (Lima).
- 1941ww En la Facultad de Letras: El doctor Herbert Spinden sustentó su última conferencia. *El Comercio* 2 July, page 4 (Lima).
- 1941xx Asociación Peruana de Arqueología. *El Comercio* 2 July, page 4 (Lima).
- 1941yy La Escuela de Verano de la Universidad de San Marcos. *El Comercio* 5 July, page 3 (Lima).
- 1941zz Regresan a Iquitos los miembros de la Expedición Científica Gren. *El Comercio* 7 July, page 15 (Lima).
- 1941aaa Escuela de Verano: Programa de hoy. *El Comercio* 25 July, page 2 (Lima).
- 1941bbb Excursión a Pachacámac de los alumnos de la Escuela de Verano. *El Comercio* 27 July, page 4 (Lima).
- 1941ccc Nueva junta directiva del Instituto Cultural Peruano-Norteamericano. *El Comercio*, afternoon edition, 1 August, page 4 (Lima).
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Figure 1. Julio C. Tello (viewer's left) with Chickasaw actor Te Ata Fisher in front of Tello's home in Lima's Miraflores neighborhood, 1937.

Image # 290472 courtesy of the American Museum of Natural History Library.



Figure 2. Alfred L. Kroeber c. 1907–1908. Photographer unknown.
Photograph courtesy of The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.
A.L. Kroeber Family Photographs, call number BANC PIC 1978.120-PIC.

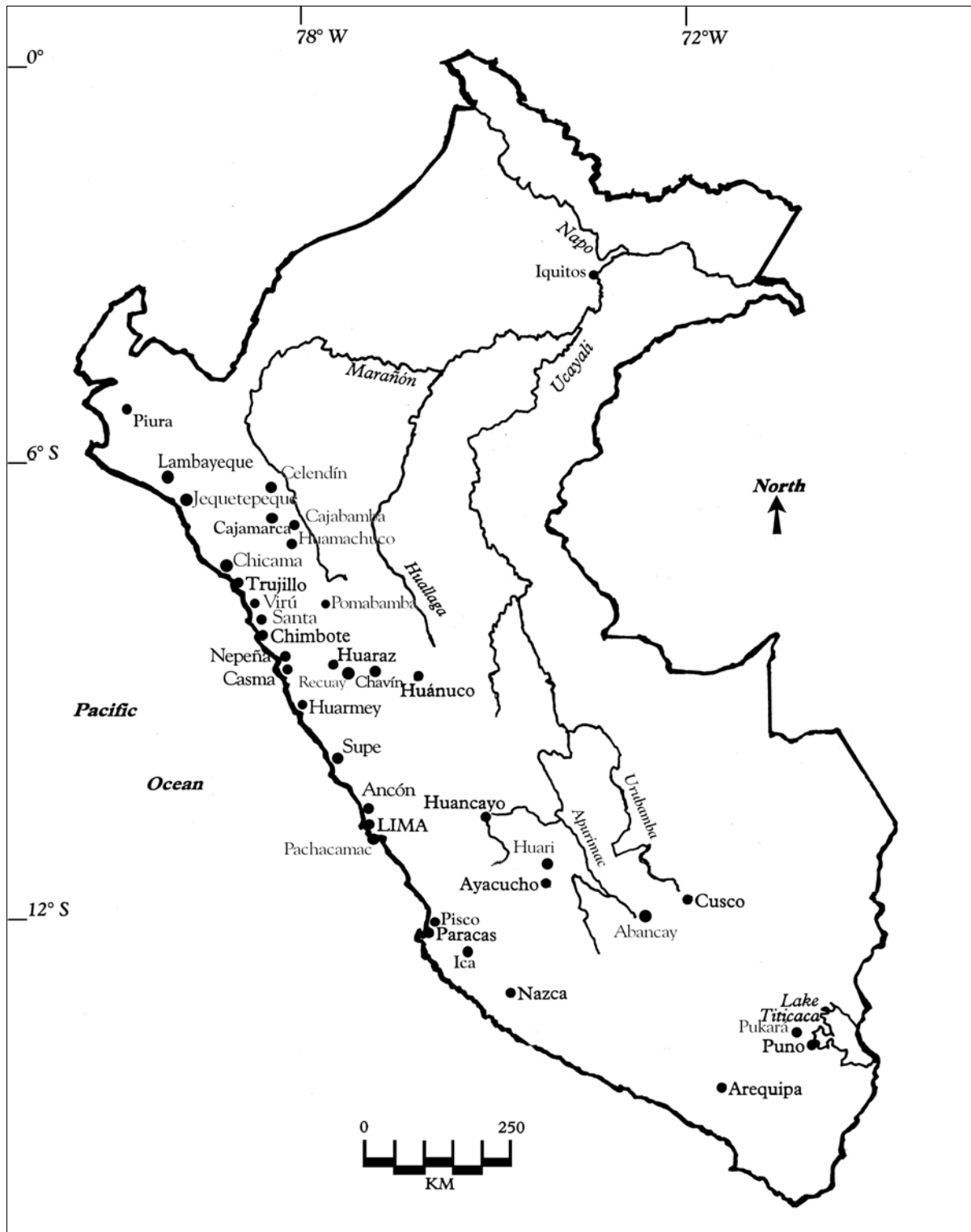


Figure 3. Map of Peru showing selected places mentioned in the text.



Figure 4. Samuel Kirkland Lothrop. Photograph courtesy of the Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University, 2004.1.324.32.



Figure 5. Robert Woods Bliss (1927). Photograph © Dumbarton Oaks, House Collection, Washington, D.C.



*Figure 6: Junius Bouton Bird (viewer's left) and Rebeca Carrion Cachot begin the unwrapping of a Paracas mummy bundle at the American Museum of Natural History (1949).
Image # 261583 courtesy of the American Museum of Natural History.*



Figure 7. Alfred Tozzer. Photograph courtesy of the Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University 2004.1.324.32.



Figure 8. Luis E. Valcárcel, 1923. Photograph in the public domain, obtained via Wikimedia Commons.



Figure 9. Philip Ainsworth Means. Photograph courtesy of the Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University, 2004.1.324.32.



Figure 10. Alfred Vincent Kidder I, c. 1955.

Photograph courtesy of the Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University.



Figure 11. Edgar Lee Hewitt. Photograph by Vreeland Studio courtesy of the Palace of the Governors Photo Archives (NMHM/DCA negative 007380).



Figure 12. Wendell C. Bennett. Image # 326583. Photograph courtesy of the, American Museum of Natural History Library.



Figure 13. Map of the continental United States showing places visited by Tello.



Figure 14. Leslie Spier. Photograph courtesy of the Center for Southwest Research, University Libraries, University of New Mexico, Collection UNMA 152, UNM Faculty Files Collection.



*Figure 15: Donald Collier, Chief Curator of Anthropology and Patricia Padgett, Ernest G. Shinner Foundation scholarship college student summer assistant examine some Ecuadorean pottery (1966).
Photography © The Field Museum, GN80683.*

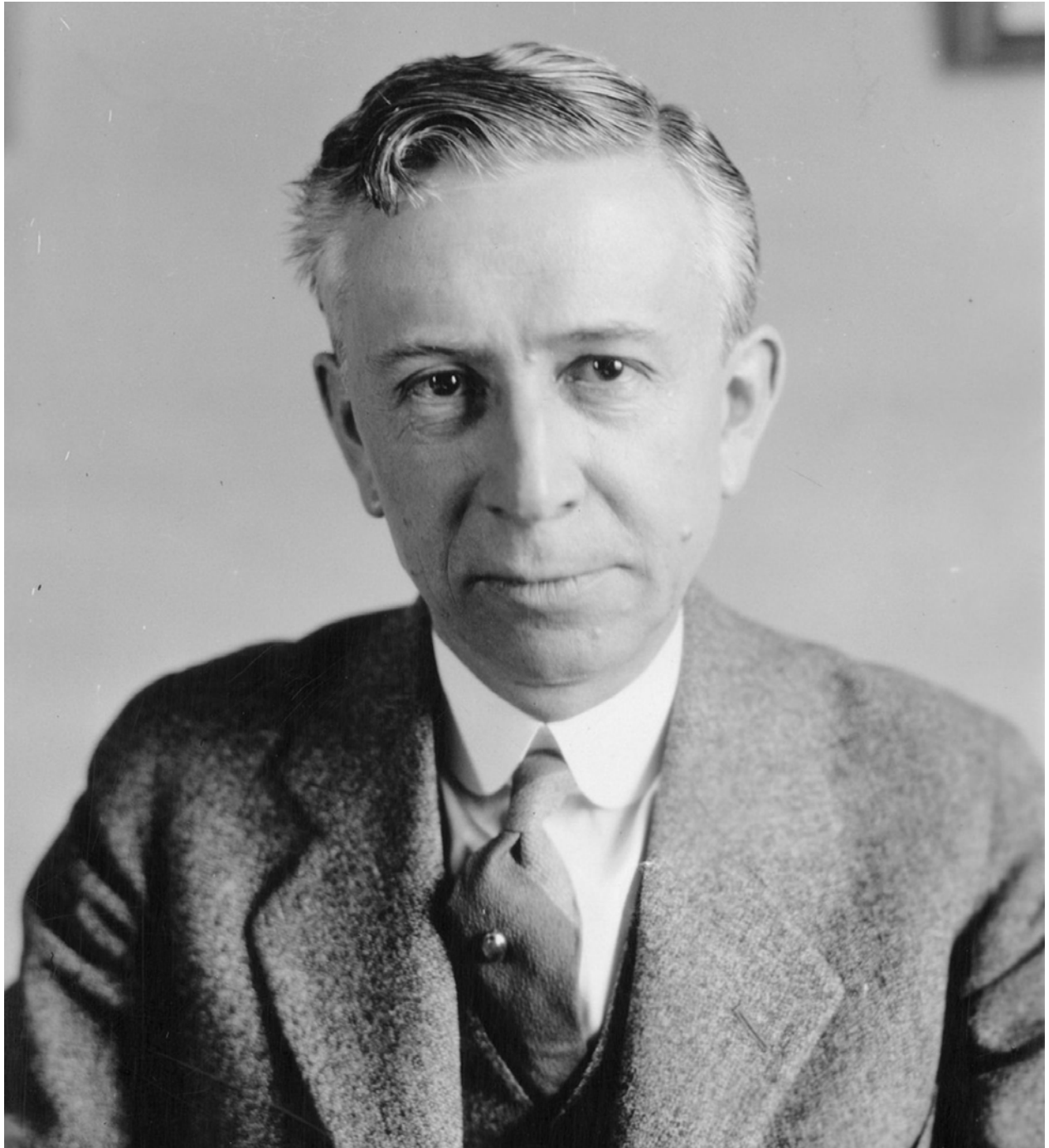


Figure 16. Fay-Cooper Cole. Photograph in the Smithsonian Institution archives, SIA Acc. 90-1058, Science Service Records, 1920s–1970s.



Figure 17. Group of men affiliated with the Peabody Museum. Standing, viewer's left to right: Earnest Albert Hooton, Carleton S. Coon, Herbert J. Spinden, Alfred Vincent Kidder I, Frederick R. Wulsin, Samuel J. Guernsey. Sitting, viewer's left to right: Alfred M. Tozzer, Charles C. Willoughby, Edward Reynolds, and Roland B. Dixon. Taken in the Peabody Museum, 1928–1929. Photograph courtesy of the Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University 2004.1.324.38.



Figure 18. Alfred Kidder II Photograph courtesy of the Penn Museum, image 63131.



Figure 19. William Duncan Strong (viewer's left) and Rafael Larco Hoyle. Photograph courtesy of the Department of Anthropology, Duncan Strong Museum, Columbia University.

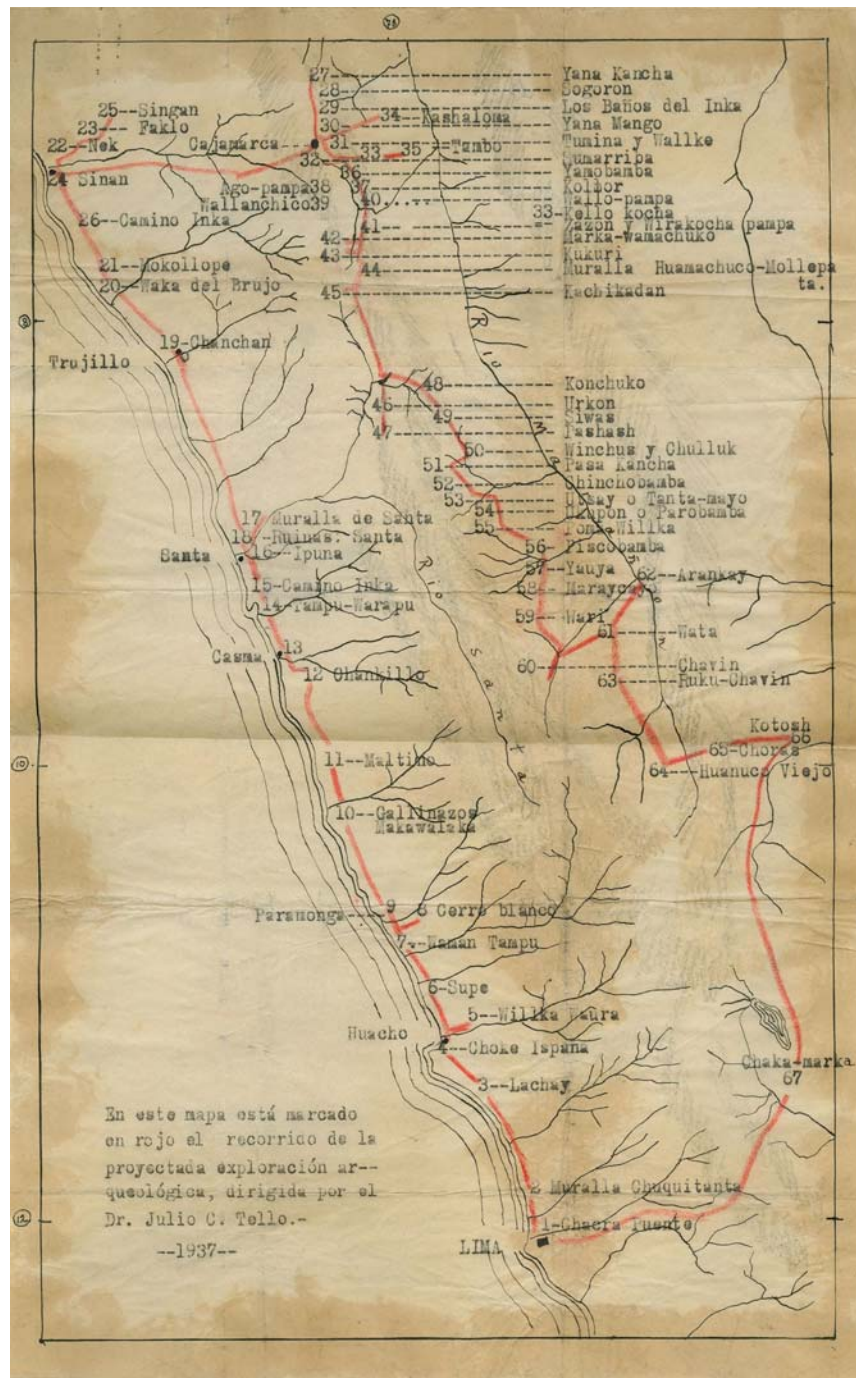


Figure 20. Map of Julio C. Tello's proposed archaeological explorations in 1937 enclosed in a letter from Tello to Samuel Kirkland Lothrop dated 26 May 1937. Map courtesy of the Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University, 996-20-30/11822.6.6.1.

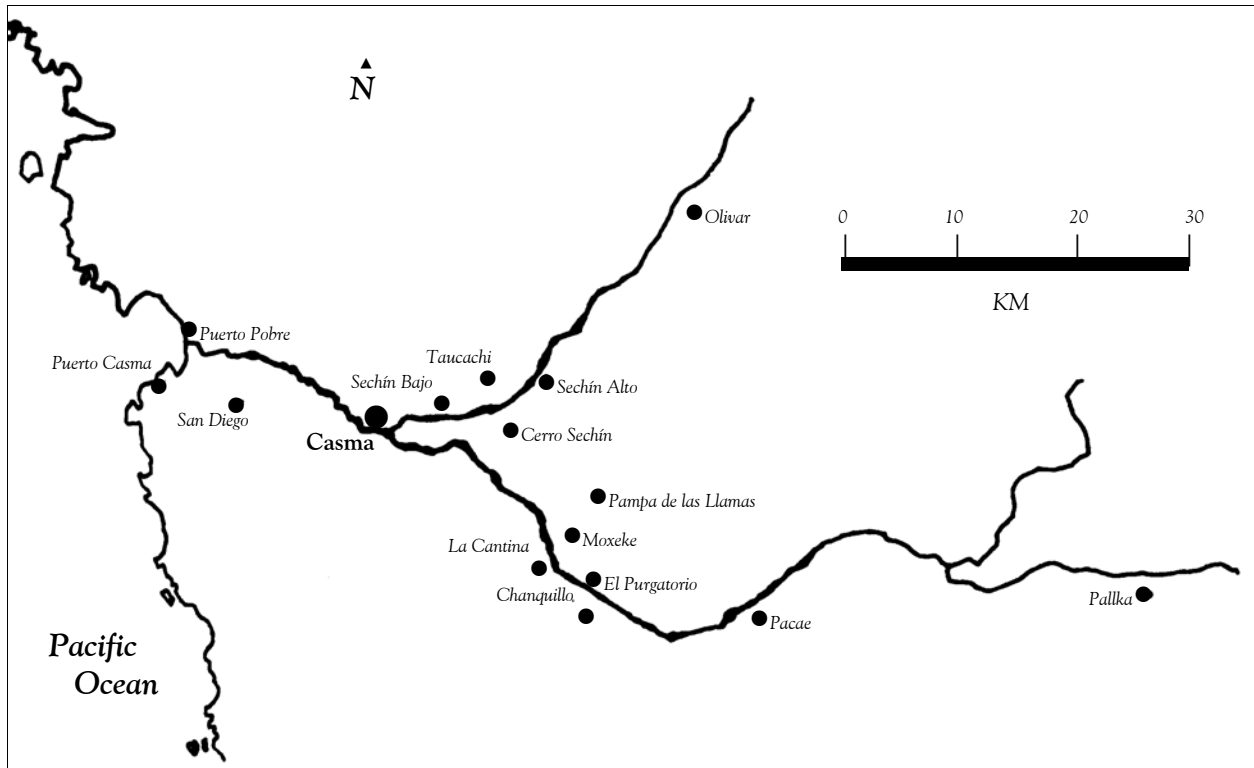


Figure 21. Map of the Casma Valley showing archaeological sites mentioned in the text.



Figure 22. Julio C. Tello (viewer's left, with walking stick) and Toribio Mejía Xesspe (behind him) supervise workmen erecting stones at Cerro Sechín. Photograph by Donald Collier. Image # NNC2_565 (1937 19 4 6) courtesy of the American Museum of Natural History Library.

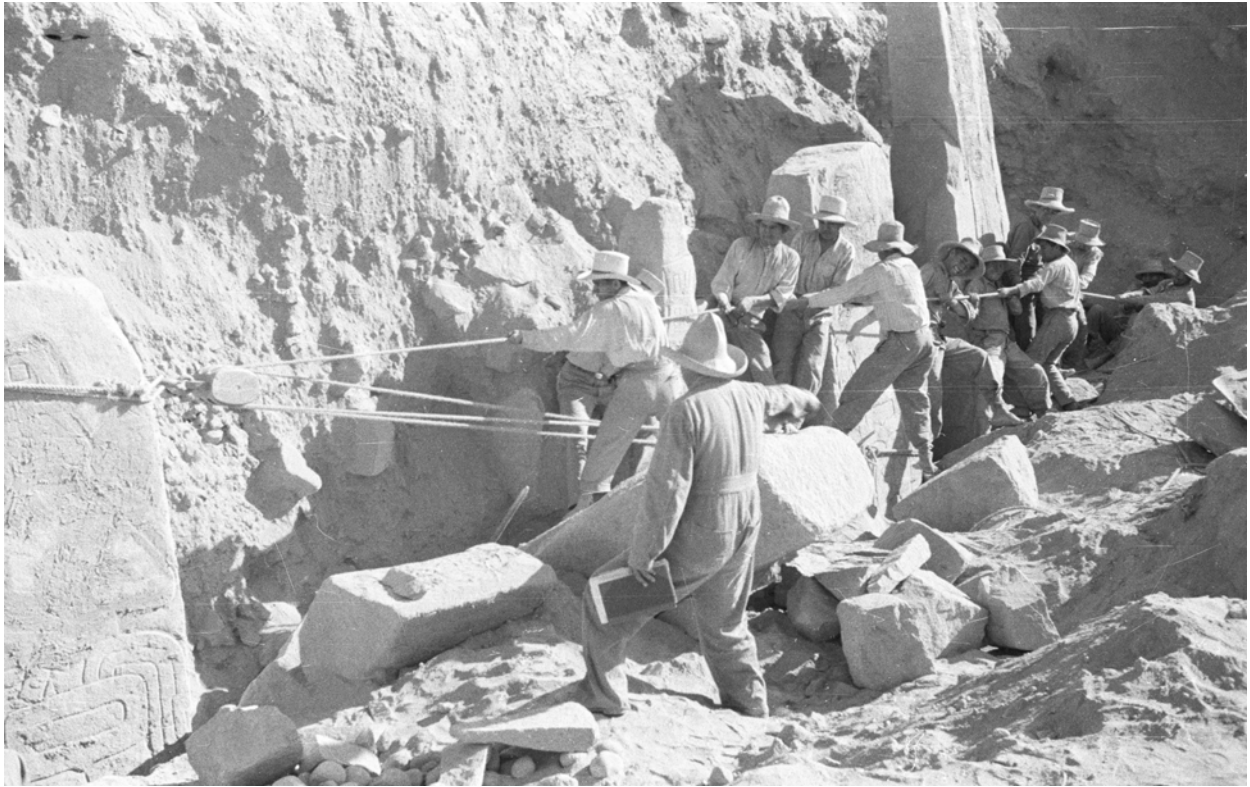


Figure 23. Toribio Mejía Xesspe (center in conical hat) supervises workmen erecting stone at Cerro Sechín. Photograph by Donald Collier, Image # NNC2_568 (1937 19 4 4) courtesy of the American Museum of Natural History Library.

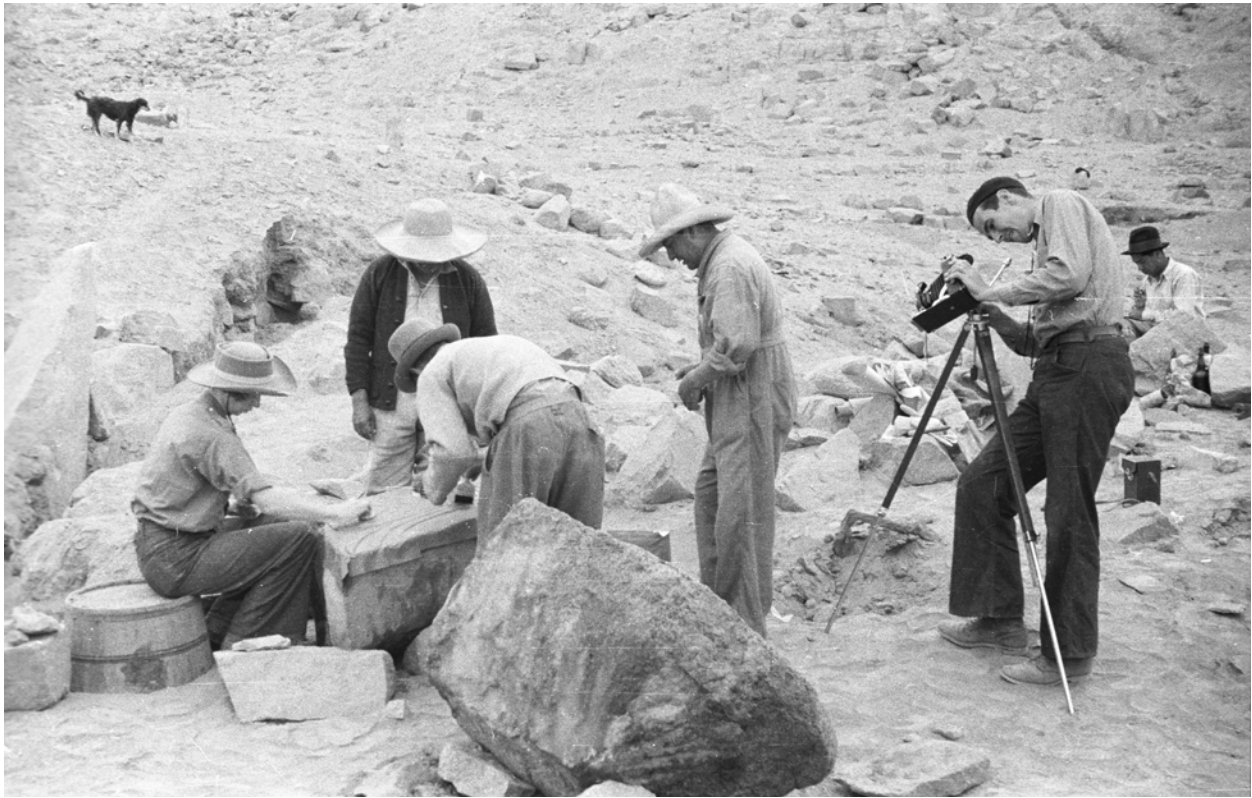


Figure 24. Julio C. Tello (second from viewer's left) and Toribio Mejía Xesspe (fourth from left) supervise the cleaning of one of the Sechín stones by a University of Southern California student (seated) while being photographed by a Yale University student (with tripod). Photograph by Donald Collier, image# NNC2_542 (1937 19 4 14) courtesy of the American Museum of Natural History Library.



Figure 25. Julio C. Tello (fourth from viewer's left) and Toribio Mejía Xesspe (third from left) supervise the cleaning and measuring of Sechín stones by the students depicted in Figure 26. Photograph by Donald Collier, image # NNC2_544 (1937 19 4 16) courtesy of the American Museum of Natural History Library.



Figure 26. Gordon R. Willey, William Duncan Strong, John Corbett [?], and Marshall [Bud] Newman at Pachacamac (1941). Photograph gift of the estate of Gordon R. Willey, 2003, courtesy of the Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University.

