

Jorge von Hauenschild

From Amateur Collector to Professional Archaeologist in a Remote Corner of Argentina



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Abstract The von Hauenschild collection was one of the founding collections of the Museo de Antropología, a university museum at the Facultad de Filosofía y Humanidades, Universidad Nacional de Córdoba, located in Córdoba Capital, central Argentina. The collection is one of the largest at the museum with over 4000 objects from the nearby province of Santiago del Estero, a place almost unexamined by Argentinean archaeologists since the early works initiated by the Wagner brothers in the 1920s. Santiago has been seen as a marginal place in the national Argentinean history and perceived as an impoverished and remote place, but during part of the early 20th century, Santiago was thriving, especially at the time of the large railroad constructions in the country. Santiago was also the home of the German-born engineer, Jorge von Hauenschild for 30 years. He formed the “von Hauenschild Collection” by excavating pre-historical tombs in the province in his quest for archaeological treasures. The collection has been almost untouched since the death of von Hauenschild in 1951. Research on the history of the collection shows the trajectory of von Hauenschild from a mere amateur to a professional archaeologist. Beginning as a collector of curious things, he transitioned into a modern archaeologist performing systematic archaeological investigations.

During the early part of the twentieth century, in a remote province in Santiago del Estero, Jorge von Hauenschild (1877–1951), a German immigrant to the South American continent, awakened an interest in the local archaeology of his new homeland. Over a 20 year period, von Hauenschild collected local archaeological objects from his new home province in Santiago del Estero. The collection grew to comprise 4000

objects. Today this collection forms part of the Museo de Antropología, a university museum at the National University of Córdoba (UNC) in central Argentina. The von Hauenschild Collection consists mostly of archaeological objects from the province Santiago del Estero, but some ethnographic objects also form part of the collection, as well as an extensive correspondence, photos, drawing, books and maps all belonging to von Hauenschild and donated to the museum after his death. Today this collection is seen as one of the founding collections at the museum and it is also one of the largest within the museum's care. The collection remained nearly untouched for 50 years before intense work was initiated. A large part of the information gathered about the life of von Hauenschild comes from his personal archive, where both personal correspondences and official letters can be found alongside several unfinished documents designated for publication, but also various newspaper-clippings from his lifetime. This personal archive is located in the archive of the Museo de Antropología, UNC in Córdoba. This paper includes reference to materials in the personal archive of von Hauenschild, hereafter referred to as PAH. When possible, specific reference is made to the holdings within the collection; however, in cases where the documents have no number, reference is made to the archive in general. This material has been used to reconstruct von Hauenschild's life and the history of his collection with the museum. The collection has been practically untouched since von Hauenschild died. As a result, a lot of information about the collection has been lost due to the changes within the institution (renaming of the institution, its change in focus, and subsequent closure before reconstruction and re-opening).

From Germany to a Remote Corner of South America

In 1877, Jorge von Hauenschild (originally Georg) was born in village of Tscheidt, Upper Silesia, in Germany, an area populated with both Polish and Germans, and a much disputed area. His father, Max von Hauenschild, was a landowner and district administrator in the Cosel district. Jorge was early marked out for a military career and entered the cadet school, Walstatt; and later Lichterfelde; in Berlin at the age of 15. In 1895 he obtained the rank of lieutenant, but soon afterward, in 1903, he abandoned the career and began to study engineering in Dresden where he studied for five years.

In 1908, von Hauenschild emigrated to Argentina, where his first employment was as an engineer at F. C. al Pacífico, a train company in Buenos Aires. Later, he also worked as an engineer in various infrastructural construction companies, mostly in Southern Argentina. In May 1909, he married Paulina Runge (1888–1972) in Mendoza. They never had children. In 1920 he obtained employment at the *Departamento Nacional de Higiene* in a campaign against malaria in Santiago del Estero. He worked closely with the province of Santiago del Estero on differ-



Figure 1. Jorge von Hauenschild (left) and unknown person in the field. Construction of the water management system in Río Dulce. Photo from the collection of photos belonging to the von Hauenschild collection. Image courtesy of the von Hauenschild collection at the Museo de Antropología, FFyH, UNC.

ent engineering projects, mostly to do with hydraulic engineering. He moved to La Banda in Santiago, where he spent much of his life. In 1925 von Hauenschild received a contract from the General Department of Irrigation to perform catchment studies of the water of Río Dulce in Santiago. He worked until 1926 on various works of irrigation and water management in Río Dulce. In 1926 he managed to get new employment at the *Escuela Industrial de la Nación de Santiago del Estero*¹ as a teacher, a job which he held until 1948 when he went to Córdoba. Given that many of the archaeological settlements are found near water, von Hauenschild must have encountered various archaeological objects during his time in the field, experience which would have also provided a good understanding of the local terrain.

The Archaeological Heritage of Santiago del Estero

The archaeological heritage in the Santiago del Estero province in Argentina was not thoroughly investigated compared with many other regions in Argentina. Dif-

difficult heritage laws and their application in the province resulted in few archaeological expeditions. The first scholars to actually show interest in the archaeological heritage in Santiago del Estero were Emilio Roger Wagner (1868–1949) and Duncan Ladislao Wagner (1864–1937) who are known as the Wagner brothers (Martínez et al 2003, 2008).

Several of the first-generation archaeologists in Argentina — such as Francisco P. Moreno (1852–1919), Samuel Lafone Quevedo (1835–1920), Adán Quiroga (1863–1904) and Juan B. Ambrosetti (1865–1917) — were aware of the archaeological heritage in Santiago del Estero but never took notice of it (Martínez et al. 2003, 2008; Taboada 2011). The Wagner brothers were the first to show and disseminate their discoveries and to attempt to demonstrate the importance of the archaeology in Santiago del Estero.

Despite their mistaken understandings of the origins of Chaco-Santiago civilization (Wagner and Wagner 1934, Martínez et al 2003, Ocampo 2005), the Wagner brothers were the first to excavate the tombs in a systematic way, although modern archaeologists would have seriously criticized the ways in which they worked at the time. Archaeological contexts were destroyed and scientific information lost. They excavated several hundred tombs, yet there is no information, maps, drawings or other records of the archaeological sites that were excavated, neither is there information about the manner of the excavations, presenting issues of archaeological praxis. Von Hauenschild criticized this openly in 1941 (*El Indio* 15 February 1941, PAH document 118).

The practice in the last part of the 19th century and first part of the 20th century was to find “beautiful” objects or “museum pieces” that could be put on display in museums or in private collections. Many objects, such as broken pottery and bones, were discarded. Attention was paid to acquiring objects for collections, which in many cases were associated with the collectors who wanted to fill their personal curiosity cabinets, a place where strange objects and extraordinary items were displayed to the public, this giving the collector a particular social status.

At the time, stratigraphical excavations were seldom done. Most excavations were simply done with a shovel. Many objects, as noted above, were discarded. If human remains were found, sometimes they were saved, but most often thrown away. Of those body parts saved, usually attention was paid to the cranium, but entire skeletons were saved only in very few cases. While a hundred years ago archaeologists would excavate 200 tombs in a number of months, using these techniques; today work progresses very slowly as attention is paid to all materials found on site. Excavating a tomb might take up to a week, or even longer, depending on the circumstances, and such activity provides the archaeologist access to much more detailed information about past societies. Such new methods and improved tech-

niques provide the modern archaeologist with a range of new information that can help to make better interpretations and clarify questions about our past.

After the Wagner brothers had drawn attention to the Chaco-Santiagueña civilization, several scholars became interested in the archaeological heritage of Santiago del Estero. One of these was von Hauenschild who a couple of years later started his own explorations. In addition to von Hauenschild, Dr. Henry Reichlen (1914–2000) from the University of Fribourg in Switzerland, came to Santiago del Estero in 1938 (PAH documents 107, 108, 109, 111, 114) to explore the archaeological heritage of the province. The architect Héctor Greslebin (1893–1971),² professor of archaeology at the *Instituto Nacional del Profesorado Secundario*, went to Santiago del Estero to study its prehistory in 1931. While there, Greslebin visited the Wagner museum and several private collections, among them the collections of von Hauenschild, Rafael Delgado, and Dr. Jorge Argañaraz (PAH document 50). He also conducted some excavations in Beltrán (El Indio 15 February 1941, PAH document 118).

In addition to the academic elite, the public was interested in the prehistory of Santiago del Estero. The public was interested in how the archaeological remains unearthed in Santiago del Estero were interpreted and followed the scholarly discussion in the 1940s (Ocampo 2005:115). Investigations or expeditions, as they were called at the time, were made in the 1940s by Antonio Serrano (1899–1982), who served as Director of the *Instituto de Arqueología, Lingüística y Folklore*, “*Dr. Pablo Cabrera*” at the UNC. (Von Hauenschild later became employed there as *Ayudante Investigador*.) Investigations in Santiago del Estero have been carried out by others including Víctor Núñez Reguiero, Roque Manuel Gómez (1970; 2009), José Togo,³ and more recently by Constanza Taboada.

Other Collectors in Santiago del Estero

Von Hauenschild was not the only one who did archaeological excavations and collected archaeological artifacts. As mentioned above, the Wagner brothers did extensive work in Santiago del Estero, especially around Mistol Paso in the Department of Avellaneda where they lived. The Wagner brothers’ collection was later donated to the *Museo Arcaico de Santiago del Estero* where Emilio Wagner got a position as director and Duncan was vice director.⁴ Other collectors worth mentioning during the same epoch, who owned large collections were Rafael Delgado (1889–1957) and Dr. Jorge Argañaraz, which both belong to the intellectual elite of Santiago at the time (PAH document 50). Today we can find at least part of the Argañaraz collection at the *Museo de Antropología*, UNC in Córdoba where the von Hauenschild collection is also located.

Negation of the Archaeological Heritage in Santiago del Estero

During the 1930s, the intellectual elite of Buenos Aires were working with Argentinean prehistory at two prestigious universities in Argentina, the University of Buenos Aires (UBA) and La Plata Universities which house research institutes *Museo Etnográfico de Juan B. Ambrosetti* and *Facultad de Ciencias Naturales y Museo de La Plata*, respectively. Due to centralization and economic resources, most of the archaeological research projects are located in Buenos Aires, although investigations are done in other provinces of Argentina. However, those working with prehistory in Argentina did not consider the archaeological heritage of Santiago del Estero important. In a conference organized in Buenos Aires in 1939 where the prehistory of Santiago del Estero was discussed, the mounds — which are prehistoric burial tombs — were considered natural formations by some of the scholars and the associated heritage were considered of minor importance.⁵ Von Hauenschild and a few others, including the Wagners, understood the significance of the archaeological remains left by the people that once populated the area. Von Hauenschild, in fact, criticized the point of view of the academic elite in Buenos Aires. (See, for example, PAH document 115 and *Relaciones* 1940.)

The scholars in Buenos Aires opposed the view of the Wagner brothers and their ideas about the civilization of Chaco-Santiago. The conference program, in fact, seems to disclose an indication that pre-selection occurred in order to marginalize the Wagners' point of view (Martínez et al 2003: 242). The Wagners were also criticized by the archaeologists in Buenos Aires due to the lack of photos, maps, plans, field diaries, and scientific relevance of their fieldwork.

Intellectual Elite in Santiago del Estero

The Wagner brothers did send collections to France from Santiago del Estero, especially to the Musée d'Ethnographie du Trocadéro, which was the first ethnographical museum in Paris, founded in 1878. It was here that Georges-Henri Rivière, with the help of Alfred Métraux, George Bataille, and Paul Rivet, organized the first popular pre-Columbian exhibition in France in 1920. The Wagners sent ceramics from the Chaco-Santiago civilization, helping the Trocadéro museum to strengthen and construct the European social image of “The Other.” At the Trocadéro, most of the objects were displayed as art objects. They were displayed as exotic examples of art from the New World for their aesthetic values and not for the cultural “native” context (Ocampo 2005:104).

In 1924 Emilio began working at the museum in Santiago, and was appointed director in 1927; his brother was appointed vice director and thereby they strengthened the links with the Trocadéro museum in Paris and other European museums collecting ethnographical/archaeological objects from South America. The Wagners



Figure 2. A showcase with objects from the von Hauenschild collection exhibited at the Industrial fair in Buenos Aires. First published by *La Prensa* (12 April 1934). Image courtesy of the von Hauenschild collection at the Museo de Antropología, FFyH, UNC.

collected a huge number of items for the institution. In 1934 the museum in Santiago held 17,000 objects; later, the collection grew to 65,000 (Ocampo 2005:106).

With the help and guidance of the Wagner brothers, however, von Hauenschild became interested in the prehistoric inhabitants of the province of Santiago del Estero. The correspondence between von Hauenschild and the Wagners reveals the extent to which rifts were forged among those with interests to in Santiago's archeology. Von Hauenschild had developed a friendly relationship with Duncan moreso than with Emilio. In a letter from 1934 (PAH document 65) written in a friendly tone, Duncan Wagner asks von Hauenschild to show him some tombs. Another letter from 1936 to the Museum of the American Indian indicates that von Hauenschild still had intimate contact with the Wagners, asking the museum to contact the Wagners in order to acquire artefacts from Santiago for their collection (PAH document 92). A change in relation is noted in a letter from von Hauenschild to Antonio Serrano. In response to a query by Serrano to come and visit the museum in Santiago, von Hauenschild indicated that he had developed a friendship with the late Duncan Wagner, but had no relationship with Emilio (PAH document 129).



Figure 3. Jorge von Hauenschild in his private museum in his house in La Banda, Santiago del Estero, 1937. First published by *Mundo Argentino* (24 of November, 1937). Image courtesy of the von Hauenschild collection at the Museo de Antropología, FFyH, UNC.

An Interest in Archaeology Awakens

Around 1925, von Hauenschild became interested in the prehistory of Santiago del Estero, at about the time that the Wagner brothers started their investigations in Santiago. Having settled in Santiago del Estero in 1904, they began studying the material culture. The ceramics unearthed in Santiago del Estero were “documents” of an ancient unknown civilization which they called the “Chaco-Santiagoña Civilisation” (Martínez et al. 2003, 2008). The Wagners made their way into the elite of the Santiago province. Their reputations grew in popularity, both in intellectual circles and among the common folk, because of their discoveries. Meanwhile von Hauenschild started to perform his own excavation along the left margin of the Río Dulce. He began first in the company of the Wagners and then he undertook independent investigations in 1928 (Lindskoug 2008a; 2008b). During these interwar years, it is easy to imagine how strained relations might be between the Wagner brothers (of French heritage) and the German-born von Hauenschild. The opinion of von Hauenschild regarding Duncan and Emilio is obvious through the PAH, while the opinion of the Wagners is evident in several of their preserved writings (Martínez et al 2003).

The First Explorations

Von Hauenschild’s first explorations were done in Quiroga⁶ about 14 km north of La Banda, continuing north to Chaupi Pozo. South of Quiroga, von Hauenschild



Figure 4. (above) Map of the province of Santiago del Estero with some of the sites mentioned in the text. Map by author.

found an extensive archaeological site extending close to the irrigation system La Cuarteadá. Here, he discovered traces of two important “pueblos.” The largest was in Quiroga and the other in front of Chaupi Pozo and a smaller settlement in between these two sites (PAH document 78, 79).

The first archaeological surveys were done in a zone around 200 km from the “settlements of Chaco” alongside the left margin of the Río Dulce. An area of around 50 km was explored from SE to NW. Several indications

Figure 5. (below) Jorge von Hauenschild (right) in the field at the Río Dulce. Photo from the von Hauenschild collection. Image courtesy of the von Hauenschild collection at the Museo de Antropología, FFyH, UNC.



were found that the area had been occupied earlier. The topography of the settlements revealed the location of former rivers. Von Hauenschild stated in an interview that "... the very large settlement, up to 100 hectares, with perfect organization and well marked streets oriented according to the four cardinal points" was found and investigated (PAH document 82).

After this, von Hauenschild managed to locate several archaeological sites. He worked extensively at Acosta, Quiroga, Chaupi Pozo, Bocatoma, La Cuarteada, Vilmer, Soria, and Bajadita. Most objects in the collection originated from these sites.

From Amateur to Professionalism

Von Hauenschild's early fieldwork can be viewed as the activity of an amateur private collector in search of the treasures of ancient civilizations. Over time, von Hauenschild continued with extensive fieldwork. Subsequently, his way of working in the field changed, as noted in his correspondence with the archaeological society of Argentina and international professionals.

First, he created his own museum in his house in La Banda. By 1934, this museum, the *Museo Arqueológico y Paleontológico del Ing. Hauenschild*, housed a collection of over 2000 objects, mostly ceramics and lithics (Lindskoug 2008a). By 1948, the holdings had increased to over 4000 objects. In addition to growth, better documentation indicated a move toward increased professionalism. Von Hauenschild also had an interest in the diffusion and extension of his collection; he said in a newspaper interview that most visitors to the museum were school children and visiting tourists (Lindskoug 2008a).

Von Hauenschild's attention to professionalism can be read in his private correspondence. In a 1934 letter, Alfredo Castellano urged von Hauenschild to take photos of the finds, map the site, make drawings of the sections and the stratigraphy, and take samples from every layer during the excavation of the archaeological sites. Seven years later, von Hauenschild argued in a newspaper article that to perform excavations, all modern scientific methods must be used, such as comparative archaeology, palaeontology, geology, and ethnography (*El Indio*, 15 February 1941, PAH document 118). In the same article, he openly criticized the Wagner brothers for how they worked in the field, indicating that their poor methods resulted in significant loss of scientific information. The Wagners had excavated several hundred tombs but there were no records about the excavations. In fact, the Wagner museum does not even possess a complete catalogue of the objects found.

Von Hauenschild continued in his critique, indicating that his own professionalism can be glimpsed through descriptions he made of archaeological sites in the field. These were recorded in his publications of 1941 (*El Indio* no. 7, 15 April



Figure 6. Surrounded by archaeological objects from his excavations, Jorge von Hauenschild in his study reading *La Civilización Chaco-Santiagueña* by the Wagner brothers. First published by *Mundo Argentino* (24 of November, 1937). Image courtesy of the von Hauenschild collection at the Museo de Antropología, FFyH, UNC.

1941, PAH document 122). Von Hauenschild had obtained a great knowledge of geology and of the importance of the stratigraphic layers for the interpretation of the objects. A geological cross section was also made in proximity to the archaeological remains. Von Hauenschild described poor conservation of human remains, noting that most often the only thing remaining at archaeological sites is a greyish powder. His last publications reflected high standards for the time (von Hauenschild 1949b, 1951).

Von Hauenschild sent several objects for analysis to different specialists throughout Argentina. He used the latest archaeological methods to extract information from the objects found in the excavations. He let José Imbelloni analyze the collection of craniums (Hauenschild 1949b: 49). He sent other human remains to be analyzed by Carlos Rusconi in Buenos Aires around 1933 or 1934 (PAH document 68) and also an animal-bone flute, which was classified as *gunaco* (Hauenschild 1943b: 132). In 1946, von Hauenschild contacted Amparo Tartaglia in Córdoba to perform analyses of ceramic material to determine the provenance of the

clay source (PAH document 181, 182, 185, 186, 187). He also sent material to the *Dirección de Minas Geología y sus Industrias, Córdoba, Laboratorio Químico* to obtain information about the chemical composition of the ceramics in the collection (PAH document 294). Von Hauenschild sent beads or part of a necklace to Martín Doello Jurado to determine its provenance (von Hauenschild 1943b: 132).

Such analyses, requested by von Hauenschild and performed by others, indicate that von Hauenschild was moving toward a greater professionalism. This path clearly distinguishes him from his contemporaries. To have others analyze the mineral content in ceramics was an uncommon practice by the archaeological community in Argentina, including the Wagner brothers.

Dealings with the Argentinean Archaeological Community

The year 1942 marks a turning point in von Hauenschild's life. During this year von Hauenschild wrote to several university departments of anthropology, archaeology, and ethnology, indicating his desire to find a new home for his collection and a new job for himself (PAH document 123, 124, 125). His reasons for actually selling the collection were not stated. He turned to *Instituto Miguel Lillo at Universidad Nacional de Tucumán* (UNT), the most prestigious university in northwestern Argentina at that time. In turn, they directed him to the UNT's *Instituto de Antropología*.⁷ UNT's *Instituto de Antropología* began discussions to buy the collection; however a change of rector (and his administration) at the university halted the process.

For several years, von Hauenschild tried to get employment at UNT. The political situation in Argentina was very unstable, leading to a turbulent climate in the academic world. Finally in August 1946, von Hauenschild hired as *Organizador de la Sección Arqueología, Aux. del Segundo grado at the Instituto de Antropología, Facultad de Filosofía y Letras*⁸ with a salary of 300 pesos per month (PAH document 195, 196, 197, 198, 199). Here, he worked alongside Antonio Serrano, the director of the *Instituto de Arqueología, Lingüística y Folklore "Dr. Pablo Cabrera," UNC*. In December of that same year, von Hauenschild quit his job at UNT (PAH document 203, 204). According to an undated document in the archive, von Hauenschild quit for several reasons: first, he had finished organizing a large part of the collection;⁹ second, there was a lack of space for his work; and third, there was not enough time to complete the work at hand (PAH document 271).

In 1947, von Hauenschild was in close contact with Serrano in Córdoba about employment at the Institute there. This time the hire was approved but it couldn't be implemented until sufficient money could be gathered. When von Hauenschild got the job in Córdoba, it took several months until he actually moved. Serrano wrote him several times and asked him to come to Córdoba to take charge of his



Figure 7. A stereotypical image of an archaeologist at that time showing Jorge von Hauenschild smoking a pipe in his private museum in La Banda. First published by *Mundo Argentino* (24 of November, 1937). Image courtesy of the von Hauenschild collection at the Museo de Antropología, FFyH, UNC.

post. During this time, von Hauenschild remained in contact with UNT about a possible position at that university. In December 1947, Osvaldo Luis Paulotti, interim director at the *Instituto de Antropología* UNT, urged von Hauenschild to accept the position in Córdoba, indicating that he would try to create a post in Tucumán (PAH document 234). Paulotti also indicated that, while the budget hadn't been approved, there was activity toward hiring professors from abroad despite the climate at universities during a turbulent and unstable political environment in Argentina. In March 1948, Paulotti wrote von Hauenschild again about a post as associate professor of Prehistory and Archaeology with a salary of 800 pesos per month (PAH document 243). However, von Hauenschild, never left Córdoba, where he continued to work until his death in 1951.

Von Hauenschild and the Instituto de Arqueología, Lingüística y Folklore “Dr. Pablo Cabrera” in Córdoba

The first contact with the *Instituto de Arqueología, Lingüística y Folklore “Dr. Pablo Cabrera,”* UNC was a postcard indicating that Antonio Serrano had received two publications von Hauenschild had sent him (1943a, 1943b) (PAH document 126). Soon after, Serrano wrote to von Hauenschild and offered to publish an article, in the Institute’s series “Publicaciones” about the archaeological heritage in Santiago del Estero. Serrano gave him free rein with the extension of the article and also offered that the Institute in Córdoba would pay for photos or drawings of the material (PAH document 128). Serrano was also interested in obtaining some objects for the museum collection. Serrano’s goal was to obtain specimens from all over the country for his Institute, but especially from the center of the country. Von Hauenschild indicated that this request could be arranged if Serrano would undertake a journey to Santiago del Estero, where he might easily obtain archaeological objects (PAH document 129). Serrano not only asked if he could obtain material for the Collections but also asked von Hauenschild to talk to Emilio Wagner, Director of the Museum in Santiago, so that Serrano might examine their collections when he comes to Santiago del Estero. He told von Hauenschild in a letter that he intended to create the best research center in central Argentina in Córdoba. (This exchange demonstrated the nature of collecting in the 1940s when archaeological heritage was seen as a commodity that could be bought and sold.)

In 1944, Serrano contacted the Rector of the UNC to create a position for von Hauenschild and to buy his collection (PAH document 143, 144, 145). Serrano pushed for these actions until 1947 when his proposal to purchase von Hauenschild’s collection was approved, and Serrano also pressed for von Hauenschild to be hired as Assistant Investigator of the *Instituto de Arqueología, Lingüística y Folklore* (PAH document 227; Ferreyra 2006:126). The securing of the position was straightforward: Von Hauenschild was paid a monthly salary of 350 pesos. Subsequently, Serrano urged von Hauenschild to come to Córdoba and take charge of his post, which he did in January or February 1948. As to the collection, however, Serrano had asked the university for 10,000 pesos to purchase the von Hauenschild; but the funding proved problematic. After a long struggle with the university system, the payment was completed in 1948.

Von Hauenschild in the International Arena

Von Hauenschild developed many contacts with anthropologists and archaeologists all over the world, as far away as Colombia, the United States, Sweden, Germany, and Switzerland. He also had an extensive network of other investigators in the

same field throughout Argentina and in Chile. Among the most noted are Salvador Canals Frau (1893–1958), Antonio Serrano (1899–1982), José Imbelloni (1885–1967), Alberto Rex González (1918–2012) in Argentina; Grete Mostny (1914–1991) in Chile; Gerhard Lindblom (1887–1969), Sigvald Linné (1899–1986), Stig Rydén (1908–1965), and Magnus Mörner (1924–2012) in Sweden; and Karin Hissink (1907–1981) and Hermann Trimborn (1901–1986) in Germany.

He was in contact with investigators working in Colombia and was very interested in an archaeological find by Dr. Victor Oppenheim in the valley of the river Ranchería, as evidenced by the presence of the newspaper clipping and a companion letter he wrote (*La Prensa*, 1 March 1941, PAH document 119, and PAH document 120). Like many people working in this field during these years, von Hauenschild was particularly interested in diffusion and migration of concepts and technologies. Most anthropologists, archaeologists, and ethnographers thought that cultures and cultural inventions were spread through migration and diffusion when different cultural groups met called the “*kulturkreiste*” school.

Von Hauenschild had also been in contact with museums in the United States. In 1936, The Museum of the American Indian wrote to von Hauenschild after that they had seen his article in *La Prensa* (7 April 1935). They were interested in knowing if von Hauenschild had published any more articles of the ceramics from Chaco-Santiago. They were also highly interested in acquiring ceramic objects for their museum. They asked if von Hauenschild was interested in exchanging of some of his duplicate pieces with material from the Museum’s duplicate collections (PAH document 91). In the same letter, the museum asked if he was interested in the exchange, and if so, invited him to inform them of specimens and areas from which he would like to acquire objects.¹⁰ This was common practice during the first part of the 20th century in museums: museum directors exchanged duplicates or otherwise less desirable museum pieces with other museums. Fortunately, this custom is no longer practiced by museums, per ICOM’s code of ethics (2006).

International Contacts with the Museum World in Sweden and Denmark

Swedish investigators established an early interest in the South American continent, especially Argentina. In particular, museum professionals in the Scandinavian countries viewed these areas, including those where von Hauenschild worked, as uncharted territory. The discoveries of the Wagner brothers had reached many museums in Europe — through donations — which functioned as publicity to lure the museums to purchase artefacts from them. Erland Nordenskiöld, Director of the Ethnographic Department of Göteborg Museum,¹¹ did pioneering work concerning northwestern Argentina, the Chaco region in Paraguay, and Bolivia (Lindberg

1996). Nordenskiöld's disciples from Sweden and the Ethnographic Museum continued to work in these areas and build extensive reference collections from all over the South American continent. Stig Rydén, a disciple of Nordenskiöld, who later became Curator of the Museum after Nordenskiöld's death, worked extensively both in Candelaria¹² and Tiawanaku, Boliva. Von Hauenschild supplied Rydén and the Ethnographic Museum with ceramic samples in 1947.

On May 22, 1947, W. A. Ruysch van Gorkum, Chair at ETHNOS — *Archivo de Etnología, Antropología y Arqueología*, wrote to von Hauenschild (PAH document 208). Van Gorkum told von Hauenschild that he would visit Santiago del Estero, on the 8th or 9th of June, along with Magnus Mörner.¹³ Van Gorkum also contacted Oreste di Lullo (1898–1983) — an intellectual based in Santiago and concerned with medicine, policy, and history — offering Mörner to give a lecture about relations between Sweden and the South American states during the 19th century. Van Gorkum also asked von Hauenschild to send some ceramic samples to the Ethnographical Museum in Gothenburg. Stig Rydén, curator at the museum, had asked for samples from Chaco-Santiago and van Gorkum didn't have any samples to send. This matter was arranged and Mörner brought the samples to Sweden (PAH document 218).

Van Gorkum later sent material to the Ethnographic Museum in Gothenburg as Rydén had asked. This collection arrived in 1948, consisted of 42 archaeological objects from Argentina, only one from Santiago del Estero and single items from Catamarca, La Rioja, Tucumán and Salta. As a collection, they bear the number 1948.1. The object from Santiago del Estero came from *Estacion Fernandez*, a place where von Hauenschild had collected objects. While it's uncertain as to whether or not this very object was collected by von Hauenschild, the possibility exists. As to the possibility of ceramic samples from von Hauenschild, further research might clarify the provenance.¹⁴ In exchange for the collection, an arrangement was made for publication of *Etnologiska Studier*¹⁵ (Fasth 2003:35).

Von Hauenschild had close contact with his Swedish colleagues until his death. They wrote often and exchanged publications. Von Hauenschild was also in contact with Sigvald Linné and Gerhard Lindblom at the Ethnographical Museum in Stockholm. Stig Rydén was later employed at the Ethnographical Museum in Stockholm and there he received more artefacts from von Hauenschild. The collections donated include 1949.10, consisting of 38 objects from Santiago and some publications by von Hauenschild. Collection 1956.1, contains 31 objects, including casts of archaeological objects from the *Museo Arqueológico* in Santiago del Estero.

The Archives of the National Museum of Copenhagen in Denmark contain correspondence from the 1930s between Director Thomson and the engineer Thor Oluf Andersen. Such correspondence indicates the shared interests between the men. Andersen lived in Buenos Aires, and was a friend of both von Hauenschild

and the Wagners. Along with Andersen, this group was planning an archaeological expedition to Santiago on behalf of the National Museum. The expedition was never carried out, however, in the correspondence Andersen tells Thomson that von Hauenschild always kept a piece of ceramic potsherd in his pocket.¹⁶

The Arrival of the von Hauenschild Collection in Córdoba

It was a problematic task to transport the collection from von Hauenschild's private museum in his home in La Banda, to Córdoba. Most of the objects were ceramic and very fragile. The breadth of the collection — 200 funeral urns, for example — made the transport a risky event, due both to the length of the journey (over 500 km) and the road conditions at the time. To minimize the cost of transportation Serrano wrote to von Hauenschild (PAH document 237) saying that he thought that the collection should be transported in trucks with a lot of straw in order to avoid packing material. Since the collection had over 4000 objects, the transportation was divided into four separate occasions, according to documents found in the archive.¹⁷ The transportation was arranged by Andres Carlos Seeven. The cost of each single transport was 500 pesos; altogether the cost of transportation was 2000 pesos. It was a high cost compared to the monthly salary of von Hauenschild (300 pesos). The transportation was done on the following dates: 28 May, 4 June, 25 June, and 2 July. During the same time as the collection was being transported to Córdoba, von Hauenschild went out on a survey.¹⁸

According to the discovered documents, the trucks were filled with straw to protect the objects. There are no photos or documents concerning the contents themselves, thus it is impossible to know if the objects arrived safely or if some were broken during transport.

The circle was now closed. Von Hauenschild had managed to get a job at a university and his collection was now part of the Institute. He had gone from a mere amateur to a professional archaeologist working at a well-known university. Von Hauenschild died on 2 November 1951 after a long illness. He was buried 3 November 1951 in the cemetery of Carlos Paz where he had lived since 1909 with wife, Paula (PAH document 320). His tomb is simple, unnoticeable, and neglected for years, much like the tombs he had once excavated.¹⁹

The Collection Keeps Growing

A second part of the von Hauenschild collection was donated to the Institute on 23 May 1976 through Emma Weigelt, Paula's sister's daughter (niece of von Hauenschild). This donation was made four years after the death of von Hauenschild's wife



Figure 8. Funeral urns from the von Hauenschild collection, located in Reserva B, Reserva Patrimonial del Museo de Antropología, Facultad de Filosofía y Humanidades, Universidad Nacional de Córdoba. Photo courtesy of the author.

(PAH document 381), and consisted mostly of books, archaeological, and ethnological material. Three lists were found with documents of the registered material, one with the archaeological/ethnological material which consists of 69 items. Far more than 69 items were donated, however, as some objects have the same inventory numbers. In fact, the donation total is closer to 200 items. The collection was in a state of neglect and disorder. Innumerable objects had been decontextualized and exhibited as art, and their heritage had deteriorated.

The Institution, the Collection and the Collector: How the Collection was Collected

The von Hauenschild collection was formed at a time when collecting frenzy was apparent in many parts of the world. European institutions and museums collected to strengthen their dominant position in the world; moreover, a colonial paradigm informs the way in which the collections were gathered and displayed. Political, economic, and social prestige is tightly bound to the collections in many European museums; the *Museo de Antropología*, UNC is no exception. Founded on the same premises and modelled after the European institutions, the museum's first director, Antonio Serrano, wanted to create a center for the study of the prehistory of the Argentinean nation. This feat was accomplished and, through the incorporation of the von Hauenschild collection, the Institute and Museum managed to appropriate an important part of the Argentinean prehistory ignored by the intellectual elite in Buenos Aires.

The von Hauenschild collection consists primarily of ceramics, which is related to the fact that ceramic is one of the materials often best preserved in the archaeological register, along with lithic objects. However, the preference at the time was to collect ceramic “masterpieces” which could offer a collector some sense of social prestige. Such social standing must have been important for von Hauenschild, of German descent, in order to be able to position himself in the Argentinean society, even while pro-European attitudes were present in the Argentinean society and immigrants were welcome there. Yet, due to the international conflicts, attitudes differed: in fact, when Antonio Serrano wrote to the Rector of the university, asking for the establishment of von Hauenschild's position, Serrano noted that the archeologist was of German descent but was also a man of democratic values (PAH document 143, 144, 145, 227). At this time, the discipline of anthropology, most strongly connected to European colonialism, developed as a need to understand, interpret, and dominate “the other” — in this case, the “other” from the Americas.

This era in Argentina was characterized by the establishment of archaeology and anthropology in universities; archaeology is closely related to anthropology. In many cases the Argentinean state invited European scholars to the universities in

Argentina with a desire to Europeanize the country according to the standard of the Argentinean elite. The European immigration was immense in the first part of the twentieth century and was encouraged by the Argentinean government. It was important to a “new” nation and especially after the negation of indigenous rights and extermination of the indigenous people in the conquest of the desert. Influential anthropologists and archaeologists took part and started to collect for the Argentinean university museums (Stagnaro 1993).

Von Hauenschild, a resident in Santiago del Estero for almost 30 years, aimed to strengthen the image of the prehistory of Santiago and to demonstrate reasons for provincial pride in spite of depopulation, deforestation, profiteering, and neglect of one of the culturally rich provinces in Argentina. Early railway projects left many ghost-towns, and the canal projects changed the course of Río Dulce, in which von Hauenschild had taken an active part as an engineer.

Von Hauenschild’s collection can be seen as a scientific collection. As a collector, he was selective and interested in ceramics, as evidenced by his publications and the materials he sent for analysis. He made efforts to keep up with the latest archaeological interpretations and methods to create a new, vivid image of the prehistory of Santiago del Estero. The collection can be compared with many other private collections from the same era that were collected under other paradigms. Von Hauenschild’s aim was to form a scientific collection to answer questions about the prehistory of Santiago del Estero. And while he may have started his path of collecting as a simple grave robber, he ended it as a professional using the modern archaeological methods for that time.

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Notes

1. The Industrial school of Santiago del Estero is sometimes called Escuela Industrial de la Nación in Santiago del Estero.
2. Part of his collection was donated to the Museo de Antropología, UNC.
3. Víctor Núñez Reguiero (1934-2009) never published any of the results of his investigations in Santiago del Estero, but the Museo de Antropología, UNC, where he worked when he excavated

in Santiago del Estero in the 1960s, has a collection with objects from his excavations. See Togo 2008 for investigations about archaeological research and the colonial past in Santiago del Estero.

4. The museum was created in 1917 as Museo Arcaico de Santiago del Estero and has been renamed several times. In 1930 the name was changed to Museo Arqueológico Provincial, followed, in 1952 by the Museo Arqueológico Emilio y Duncan Wagner. Since 1992, it has been called Museo de Ciencias Antropológicas y Naturales “Emilio y Duncan Wagner.”
5. See *Relaciones de la Sociedad Argentina de Antropología*, N°2, 1940, Buenos Aires, where many of the papers from the conference in 1939 were published.
6. “Paraje” in Spanish.
7. Refers to the Institute of Anthropology which was founded by Alfred Métraux as Instituto de Etnología in 1928 and was one of the most prestigious Anthropology departments in Argentina at the time, along with the similar museums or departments at Universidad de Buenos Aires and Universidad Nacional de La Plata both in the province of Buenos Aires. A native of Switzerland, Alfred Métraux studied at Göteborgs högskola (later Göteborg University) under Erland Nordenskiöld. For Métraux’s importance see Muñoz 2003.
8. His title translates as “Organizer of the archaeological section at the Institute of Anthropology, Faculty of Philosophy and Letters.”
9. According to the undated documents, the only things not organized were the small ceramic fragments. This approach is akin to the spirit of the time: archeologists considered fragments of no use. This is not the position of modern day archaeologists who know the importance of such items.
10. If an exchange ever took place, nothing about it can be found anywhere in von Hauenschild’s archive (see PAH documents 91, 92 and 93). Perhaps an exchange took place between the Wagner museum and the Museum of the American Indian, since most probably the museum in the USA contacted this museum. This, however, is the author’s own speculation.
11. The Ethnographical department at the Göteborgs museum later became an independent museum in 1946 called the Göteborg Ethnographic Museum, which closed in 2000, for construction of its new museum, the Museum of World Culture, which opened to the public in 2004.
12. Candelaria is situated in the Salta province in Northwest Argentina.
13. Magnus Mörner was another Swedish scholar interested in Latin American historical development. He had studied Argentina and the Jesuit expulsion from the Misiones area and wrote his dissertation about this historical development (Mörner 1953).
14. According to Jan Amnehäll, Head of Collections at Museum of World Culture, there has been no reference to Jorge von Hauenschild found in the collection (April 2008).
15. *Etnologiska Studier* (in English, *Ethnological Studies*) was a publication from the Ethnographical Museum in Göteborg (Gothenburg).
16. Personal communication from archaeologist Svend A. Buus (December 2010). Letters sent between Andersen and Thomson, 18 September 1936; 21 December 1936; 16 January 1937; 25 January 1937, Archive of National Museum of Copenhagen, Denmark.
17. Found in Plan de Gastos 1948. (Budget 1948). The Archive of Museo de Antropología, UNC.
18. He left on 10 May from Córdoba. The cost of this survey was 300 pesos. See Plan de Gastos 1948. Vale n°5. The Archive of Museo de Antropología, UNC.
19. A visit to the cemetery in August 2008 in Villa Carlos Paz showed that the grave had been abandoned for years; no one had paid for the maintenance for several years according to the administration of the cemetery, which had problems locating the grave. Sección 1, Tablon 7, Fosa 31.

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