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Scholarly collecting of Ancient Peruvian textiles

The Influence on contemporary perceptions of Peruvian Identity and Heritage

Elizabeth Patricia Palacios Ramos

Scholarly collecting of Ancient Peruvian textiles
The Influence on contemporary perceptions of Peruvian Identity and Heritage

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Faculteit der Geesteswetenschappen

To my parents Marina † and Dionisio †

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Preface

The inspiration for this topic goes back to my dissertation research at the Textile Conservation Centre in the United Kingdom, or even earlier to my first encounter with archaeological textiles in my country. The two converged on the Kew Botanical Gardens storage facility, from where I studied an assemblage of archaeological fragments collected in the 19th century. Later, in a display at the Pitt Rivers Museum, my attention was drawn to the origin of a fragment which stated Arica as Peruvian. Is heritage subjected to territory limitations? These experiences of identity and borders have forged this thesis.

In a nation with a subjugated past, I recognise that the view of heritage in foreign museums is tarnished by the meaning of dispossession that they represent. This view has been overlooked over time in the quest for impartiality in studies. The nation has overcome its past; however, the symbolic view of heritage carries the early Republic metropolis attitude. The sense of appropriation continues to be felt in the permanent display of textile heritage on the home pages of foreign museums' websites. I wonder what we know about this heritage, either locally or internationally, and what the limits to it are. I am certain that we need to keep the discussion alive about the trajectory of the collections, the impact of the collecting methods in conjunction with geopolitical circumstances. Foreign and national organisations are intertwined in seek of a better understanding and protection of heritage, focusing on accessibility and even restitution, where appropriate.

This thesis is written in the hope of expanding questions about textile heritage, identity construction, and the interpretation and perception of cultural objects..

Chapter 1: Introduction — Collecting, knowledge and the Ancient Peruvian Textile

Those Ancient Peruvian textiles that still exist have survived through burial traditions and environmental conditions. Through their physical complexity past civilisations, development, environmental management, and identity have been studied. At the same time, research about the process of collecting expands discussion about colonial impact, independence and dependence of European/Western validation, trading of cultural products, institutional narrative, national identity construction, the evolution of art, the consolidation of disciplines, cultural management, and heritage protection policies. The collecting process has shaped the image of Ancient Peruvian and Pre-Columbian textiles, with displays of fragmentary and detached objects obscuring their burial origins and original uses while providing inaccurate (or even absent) provenance information in many cases. Questions of belonging and identity transcend our immediate experience of them, since in the process of appropriation and symbolisation of the historical past, they became entities of representation**.** This research focuses on how the scholarly collecting influences on our perception of these textiles in terms of heritage and identity.

The web surrounding the formation of collections and the narrative the present has shaped our understanding of these ancient textile objects by normalised accumulation, or relegated control in heritage. Maria Bovisio showed that those first curious collected objects became representation of the Andean civilization in the 19th century, integrated in a classification system, and into historical value terms at the turn of the 20th century. While interest in their aesthetics notably increased, the progressive view became a practice of colonial possession, the incompatibility with European periods and the representation of the past made them timeless objects (M. A. Bovisio 2014). This research starts from here to question what these objects mean and how they are perceived in Peru. How the collecting process confines and shapes them to

become activation tools for self-identification in national platforms or to international audience through opposition, as used to in the early 19th century and the formation of the Republic of Peru. It shows that ancient Peruvian textiles transit as one of the unique highlights of Peru, from scholarly concerns to social spheres.

Accumulation and appropriation are associated with Western collecting, in the practise, objects become the other participating in the formation of Western identity through a domination relationship setting a historical narrative (Clifford 1988, 115-251). The collections aim will direct and validate the object's interpretation; thus, the bias of curators and historians directs the purpose of exhibitions (Maroevic 1997). The bias and features of collections show layers of arbitrary relationships formed by interpretation generated from the object's limits created by detachment.

The influence of collecting has prevailed in textile aesthetics and understanding over time. Textiles collecting developed from the spoliation of indigenous graves in the 16th century into the trading of antiquities and scholarly interest in the following centuries. Segregating funerary assemblages, the categorisation and circulation of their content as sources for knowledge production has reached further to digital platforms which broaden appropriation and detachment into new digital products today.

Scholarly interest and the participation of scholarly networks served to legitimate the spoliation of ancient remains at the hands of antiquities traders in the 19th and 20th centuries. While the culture of collecting embeds value in objects within new settings, the features of early collected textiles permeate to shape an accepted heritage corpus. This process occurs through the establishment of categories and representational value, since the textiles are perceived as autonomous and individual, and as a constituting final output even when they are fragmented. Thus, the interventions of collectors shaped objects both physically and symbolically. The multiple layers of interpretation have been influenced by actions of agents who were involved in collecting, trading, storing, theorising, and disseminating ancient Peruvian textiles. Such agents include looters, diggers, traders, scholars, travellers, antiquarians and amateurs, museums

curators, and civil servants. The versatility of textiles facilitates layers of interpretation and significance that are not mutually exclusive, enabling those distinct roles according to the collection to which they belong; for instance, production chain, or aesthetic sources.

The relations between the textile objects within the original assemblage have been modified in the primary encounter, while the relations with the outer layer are lost when extracted; from then on, the interpretation of materiality depends on each interested party**.** The implications of their actions, and how these were presented to their target audience in the late 19th century influenced changes in the significance of textiles during the 20th century and beyond. Recognising the traces of those primary interventions will deepen our understanding of the influences of scholars and museums acquisitions over time, as we can view them as continuous. The representation and narrative of the past are mutable, whereas appropriation is not. While ancient Peruvian textiles have been detached, stored, exhibited, and became a source of knowledge production. Locally, any intervention on them; such as a travel exhibition, might be sensitive, or felt as an aggression since it resembles an exploitative past and the difficulty to face it. Simultaneously, they are perceived and used as tools to reinforce nationalism and identity. By addressing the oversight in research exploring interventions and narrative in foreign dissemination platforms and in management and use in Peru, this research extends the understanding of the influence of collecting shaping archaeological textile objects to be part of a social life by representation of national identity and heritage.

Knowledge about the relevance of textiles in the Andean civilisations has been produced since the 19th century, e.g. Rivero (1827), supported by collections locally and abroad, excavations by local and foreign scholars. To some extent, different disciplines have influenced how these detached objects have been treated, while the features of the textiles have also limited the scholarly interpretation. Therefore, it is relevant to question the implications of knowledge production about ancient Peruvian textiles, their features, its leverage in the circulation of objects and how this has influenced the descendant country's approach to its own heritage. The

influence of such institutionalised knowledge fuelled the understanding of the Andean to the detriment of local knowledge and enclosed persisting traditions as representations of the past. Flores Galindo has shown that holding back the contemporary Andean has sustained the ideal Andean in social and academic spheres (Flores-Galindo 2010 (1986)). His view is seen today in the uses of textile traditions, e.g. national tourism campaigns. It means being limited, aligned, and validated by the confines of ancient tradition.

Textiles as a topic of study are part of cultural and social discussions. This has been shaped by collecting methods in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, in the encounter with markets, disciplines, museums, Universalist and imperialist geopolitics. Although the pre-Columbian collecting has been addressed, the meeting-point between collecting and the understanding of objects has not necessarily addressed the influence of shaping the content of textiles collections in perception as an entity in the process, even though interventions moulded them physically and symbolically. The impact of these methods of collecting can be understood through visual fundamentals analysis. The approach in this study has been inspired by understanding objects in their meaning and materiality, both of which are funded in the arts and conservation disciplines which I am familiar with. This research aims to understand the collecting and interpreting ancient Peruvian textiles by scholars, and their influence on the descendant country's experience of heritage. It is led by the research question How does the process of collecting and interpreting scholarly collected Ancient Peruvian textiles influences their understanding in today's experience of heritage?

The genuineness of the ancient Peruvian objects as symbols of an existing nation was sustained in the Viceroyalty's reordered hierarchy, ensuring their acknowledgement for Westerns and locals. These objects still have social impact as textile heritage and in political discourse. The experience of ancient textiles as identity tools is exerted by the meaning of a present absence. I claim that the modification of the identity of textile objects by the collecting practice enabled the formation of this paradox. Collecting created autonomous entities, which I name singularities,

from objects, elements, or fragments, they were shaped by detachment and delimitation. While their significance remains, the confluence of the textiles in a variety of relationships formed a supra-entity. The modification resulted in new relationships and narratives, enabling the transformation of meaning and roles, e.g. historical development in museums dissemination platforms, while in national discourse they become imaginary possessions. This reveal that the entity mediates the contemporary through a value of authenticity, showing that heritage is a dynamic experience.

Why Scholarly Collecting of Ancient Peruvian Textiles Matters Today?

This research seeks to explain how the scholarly collecting of ancient Peruvian textiles influenced perceptions on the descendant country's identity and heritage. The currency of this topic is validated by the continuous representation and enactment of appropriation through current digital platforms, for instance, in which the tangible is an idea, a symbol and a concrete digital reality. Thus, the absence becomes present through the appropriation of their image and generation of metadata.

Through art, ancient Peruvian textile objects reached the pinnacle of a detachment process as autonomous entity, which obscures their connection with the past. In the 20th century, Ancient Peruvian textiles entered a new stage of appropriation aligned with the pursuit of a new aesthetic. The clash between Western aesthetics shown in the Soldi-Colbert de Beaulieu's publication *Les arts méconnus: les nouveaux musées du Trocadéro* (1881) had shifted. This focused attention on the 'primitive' and the appropriation of formal elements. It reinforced the notion that isolated objects hold identity within themselves, that is, that the entity has its own voice. Exhibitions, such as, *Indigenous American Art* at The Burlington Fine Arts Club (1920) in London, and *Les arts anciens de l'Amerique in the Pavillon de Marsan*, *Palais du Louvre* in 1928 were fundamental to this narrative.

The post war academia challenge led to a renewed recognition of the Pre Columbian art; in the new terms it was separated from the ethnographer privilege (Williams 1985, 62-64). In 1938, George Henri Rivière, sub-director of the Musée de l'Homme, opened a new perspective for non-western artefacts, replicated in Europe and USA. This was the consummation of studies carried out since the late 19th century regarding the formal visual features (Laurière 2012, 11, 12). Textiles on various dissemination platforms reinforced a narrative of independent entities, by a distorted view of the past and their functionality. The segregation of assemblages and objects replays a detachment process, as noted in current exhibitions[1] and recent exhibitions I discuss here.

This research is inserted in the discussion of interpretation of ancient textiles concentrating on the influence of such emerging autonomous units through collecting. Ancient Peruvian textiles transit scientific and aesthetic paradigms as part of museum collections, both as data sources and aesthetic experiences through their perceived innate shape. According to Maria Alba Bovisio the Pre-Hispanic aesthetic dimension recognition is set up beyond their religious, historical, trading or exoticism; which results in a paradox, their progressive vindication repeats the colonialism while grouping them within other foreign objects from non-Western origins (M. A. Bovisio 2014, 21). This research brings attention to the strengthening of national identity over the value of the Ancient Past, drawn upon colonial legacies, through the borders created to textiles as a category and representation to explain the contemporary perceptions of textile heritage in the descendant country and its recognition as an absent possession.

In the collecting process, museums house collections from dubious provenances. In many cases, they address their colonial past and promote accessibility. This is not necessarily the case for ancient Peruvian textiles collections which dubious provenances are legitimated by

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[1] *Anni Albers: Constructing Textiles*, exhibition curated by Nina Zimmer and Julia Marchand, Zentrum Paul Klee, Bern, Switzerland, October 11, 2024–February 22, 2026. *A Traveling Thread: Told by Sheila Hicks and Monique Lévi-Strauss*, exhibition curated by Isaline Saunier, Musée du Quai Branly – Jacques Chirac, Paris, France, September 30, 2025–March 8, 2026.

commercial transactions or scientific interests. Museums do not directly address the provenance of collections obtained through geopolitical advantage. This research intends to further raise awareness on this topic, since perspectives on textile heritage differ according to the context of the possessor.

The textile tradition is part of the Peruvian identity. The widespread appreciation of Peruvian textiles has served to reinforce Peru's national identity and its historical past, thereby unifying a diverse country divided by geographical influence and the remnants of segregation from its colonial past. As autonomous entities due to their qualities of relatability, recognition, and originality, they are acknowledged both nationally and internationally. Historical collections show the entangled formation of narratives surrounding heritage. Ancient Peruvian objects were part of the main metropole collections across Europe, as noted by Johann Schmeltz (1896). I have identified more than thirty collections of Ancient Peruvian objects and over two dozen museums containing Ancient Peruvian textiles in Europe (Appendix A). Regardless of their size, the list of collections is not exhaustive. Even though the Peruvian government declared a prohibition on exporting archaeological remains in 1822, declaring national ownership over them, and still in force today. A nation enmeshed in warlord battles during its early years, corruption, and lack of future vision, could not stop the spoilation of its heritage by a well-established market and digging by both locals and foreigners, either for academic pursuit or commercial benefit.

Ricardo Elia identified three sources for un-provenience archaeological objects in collections, objects looted from archaeological sites; fake objects, from previous collections, and stolen objects (Elia 1997, 92). Many of the un-provenience objects extracted and plundered were purchased by museums and scholars during expeditions in the 18th and 19th centuries. Collecting has evolved from the Viceroyalty collecting when archaeological complexes were plundered. Despite the awareness of regulations in scholarly circles, the mobilisation of objects has continued to this century. The influence of conflicted collecting practices remains even today

(e.g. Aguilar Diaz 2011, Alva 2001). The extraction of textiles has continued to uncouple descendants from their heritage, while segregation of knowledge production, limited or no accessibility to collections have limited and biased research and created political sensitivities at the same time.

Although this study does not discuss the foundations of repatriation,[2] I would like briefly to address the limitations of the proposals. Discussion about the return and management of cultural heritage in foreign museums seems to establish its bases on origins and a historical debt of abuse.[3] The traces of origin need to be proved to claim return of material culture,[4] which legitimate the wrongdoing in the process of collecting, as if their origin is in doubt, if such proves are insufficient. The descendants' communities were neglected, which cut off the traces of origin, leaving a window in which archaeological objects cannot be linked directly to a community. The international legislation passed on national legislation that protects property regardless of provenance. The participation of national and academic institutions in the spoliation and circulation of heritage that became political instruments cannot be ignored, nor the fact that they are beyond the reach of descendants. This research aims to keep the discussion ongoing because a common ground must be found in opposition to the obliviousness of some museums about their Ancient America collections.

This research transcends the topical study of textiles since their recognition and relevance have surpassed the study of the Andes. The Textiles entity, which I distinguish as a supra-entity in this research, embodies symbolism of the past, authenticity, and differentiation in contemporary Peru. It addresses classification and re-identification of textile objects through

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2 The Peruvian government's task of stopping trafficking continues, albeit with limited implementation. In 2021, the Netherlands returned ancient objects, including textiles, on the request of the Peruvian government; the collection originated from illegal excavations and was put on sale through an action house.

3 See Vanessa Tünsmeyer, R*epatriation of Sacred Indigenous Cultural Heritage and the Law – Lessons from the United States and Canada (*Cham: Springer International Publishing: 2020).

4 See for instance *The Principles and Process for Addressing Claims for the Return of Cultural Objects* (2019) Stitching Nationaal Museum van Wereldculturen.

scholarly collecting methods. The results seen in academic research and dissemination have framed interpretation and perception and continues influencing heritage and national identity. This research addresses the overlooked in study of collecting of ancient Peruvian textiles regarding representation in digital museums platforms, visual fundamental analysis digital platforms, and extends studies by outlining the mechanism and medium of continues influences of 19th practices in contemporary scenarios.

Ancient Peruvian Textiles: The Object and the Field

The Ancient Peruvian term and concept embody successive cultural developments. This section addresses the origin of the objects subject of this research to better understand the relationship between the historical context and contemporary understanding of heritage. It is followed by on overview of their materiality and funerary traditions as a source of textile objects.

The Incas expanded through Tupac Yupanqui conquests: the head of the royal family led the state; administrative units controlled ethnicities; while community relocations and education of rebellious lords' children in Cuzco enabled continuity (Moseley 2001, 9,10). The Andean organisation was dual, based on complementation and opposition, with society reflecting kinship through reciprocal relations, while dual dynasties *Hanan – Hurin* dominated in the Inca Empire (Yaya 2012; Rostworowski 1983). The evolving Andean icons persisted in textile production (Carlson 2016).

Early texts about religion and worldview were explained through the hierarchical character of Catholicism; the Andean cyclical view is expressed differently through myths that incorporate gods as simple organisers. The contradictions in early chroniclers' writings favoured historical actors, as texts complied with the social order (Pease G. Y. 1992, 57-92). While the Andean system and organisation were broken by the Spanish invasion, the cosmovision persisted, and its influence can still be seen today. The understanding of heritage has been

influenced by historical narratives. This study focuses on the instrumentalization of heritage and a dual understanding of the past.

Pease notes the historical context and significance of the name 'Peru' which appeared in the 1526 expedition contract by Francisco Pizarro, Diego de Almagro, and Hernando de Luque, was associated later to the *Tawantinsuyo*. During the invasion and settlement, 'Peru' represented the Viceroyalty in the Inca Empire land (Pease G. Y. 1992, 124-127, 129). Hence, the identification of ancient textiles as Peruvian seems logical, since it encompasses several cultures within the Andean Pacific coast, not only the Inca Empire, the last indigenous civilisation. Although the ancestors of the Incas were studied in the 19th century, ancient textiles were initially identified as Inca and later classified as Ancient Peruvian, pre-Columbian or pre-Hispanic by scholars. The identification of the Republic of Peru as Inca (or *Tawantinsuyo*) descendant has remained consistent. The continuous discussion and presence of textiles from the political to the social and academic spheres since the 16th century is due to the relevance of textile objects in asserting hierarchy in the Andean civilisation; hence their inclusion in transcendental cultural manifestations.

Interest in textiles was expressed in chronicles which highlighted their significance and the elegance of their craftsmanship, creating a lasting allure. Cieza de León's text notes, "…The dresses …, some embellished with gold, silver, precious stones, and emeralds, even bird feathers, while some were just blankets. … truly have an advantage to those of Spain" (de Cieza de León 2005 (1550), 281).[5] Ancient Peruvian Textiles had symbolic and trading value, as well as utilitarian use. Their relevance has been widely reported in the literature. John Murra portraits their value noticing that the textile storages occurred in various cities of the Empire as *Xauxa* and Cuzco, and alongside the main paths. Textiles were a primary feature of Andean culture and

5 "... Los vestidos…, unas pobladas de argentería de oro, otras de esmeraldas y piedras preciosas, y algunas de plumas de aves, otras de solamente la manta. … verdaderamente tienen ventaja a las de España." (de Cieza de León 2005 (1550), 281).

were highly regarded as symbols and commodities. The system of producing and storing textiles conserved fine fabrics, as well as fabrics for battle campaigns. During invasion, clothing and symbols from the Inca elite were seized, including tribute items stored in *tambos*, which were burned by Inca armies to prevent the enemy from using them (Murra 2014, 107-130). Our understanding of the textile tradition has been reconstructed through early chronicles and anthropological, ethnological, and archaeological research. The question posed in this research provides a perspective for understanding the implications of a resulting textile materiality. Historical context, trading networks, and textile production related to social and economic organisation are delved in specific case study in this research.

The textile tradition in Central Andes dates back approximately ten thousand years. The influence of ideology and transmission of information and technology from *Chavín's* textile production (400-200 BC) [Early Horizon] into further periods (Concklin 1978), was possible due to people's mobility across the Andean cordillera in a vertical economy, in this period of exchange, the process of twining textiles was replaced by heddle weaving (Moseley 2001, 170-196). While in the Later Intermediate Period, textiles were mass-produced and the elite maintained its status by monopolizing production (Moseley 2001). Cotton and fish from the coast were exchanged for wool from the highlands, large-scale trading caravans took place ca. 1000 BC, while small settlements denote the routes of expansion. By 500 AC, *Wari* [Middle Horizon] settlements in the highlands had been established and the commercial system continued to the coast (Roelofs 1988, 68). Various materials and technological advancements facilitated the creation of valuable objects for hierarchical differentiation and political purposes. They are shown by manufacture and adornments.

Textile objects were made mainly from cotton produced on the coast and camelid fibre from the mountains, while bast fibre was sometimes combined (Stone-Miller 1992; Fung 1988). The production system, cotton yarn production, and wool fibre process required great labour and enormous organisation (Lugtigheid 1988, 60; Roelofs 1988, 70, 71). This shows the

entanglement of social and economic organisations. Camelid fibres include llama family types, guanaco, and vicugna. During the Spanish invasion, the use of camelid fibres was restricted to alpaca and vicugna (Dufour and Goepfert 2019, 13-17). Objects and garments were embellished with metal leaves, feathers, marine shells, and precious stones. The use of feathers reveals the occurrence of trading, communication, networks, and agreement on the significance of particular materials (Giuntini 2019). Feathers from coastal and highland birds were used differently than the ones from the rainforest (King 2012, 12,13). A mixture of leaf fibres and cotton produced coarse threads for footwear, tools and mummies wrapping (Engel 1963;Vallejos Arce 1977; Roque, Cano and Cook 2003).

Early examples of twines and twisted bast fibres from Tillandsia, Puya, and Furcraea were found approximately 10000 years BC. Twisting two elements was the start of the traditional technology of fibre production, which later incorporated cotton and camelid fibre (Moseley 2001, 104). The earliest twined cotton was found on the Peruvian north coast around 2500 BC, alongside knotted strings (Bird, Hyslop and Skinner 1985). A single-element technique developed into multiple elements, with horizontal, vertical, and waist looms advancing technological development. Discontinued, complementary, and supplementary warp and weft weave methods were practiced, producing techniques such as twill, weft face, wrap face, double fabric, interlaced, gauze, open work, tapestry techniques, and variants such as outlined, eccentric, and reticular. Non-loom techniques such as braiding, knotting, embroidery, and sprang continued to be used. Being a four-selvedge weave one of the stamp features of Andean textiles. It should be noted that these terms are commonly used in academia, since their classification has been mainly from the perspective of Western textile knowledge. I am compelled to use them. This standardisation refers to thread movement without linking intentionality. It is important to note that the language used for communication shows an established relationship between the speaker and the audience, as well as the creation of an artificial reality compelled by decades of knowledge on the subject.

The techniques used associated to a chronology and narrative period referred to in this text accords with the development of textile production following the texts from Bird, Hyslop and Skinner (1985); Stone-Miller (1992); Fung (1988); Pollard-Rowe (1984), they are synthetised using the Duccio Bonavia Periodicity (1991) in Appendix B.

The study of dyes and techniques helps delineate cultural periods and traditions, as well as relations in expansion areas. A varied dying technique were used, organic and mineral dyes were used, while the original hue colours of cotton from white, shades of brown, shades of yellow to greenish were also employed (D' Harcourt 2002 (1934; Yacovleff and Herrera 1935; Gutierrez Usca and Puelles Linares 2012; Ugent and Ochoa 2006; Devia Castillo 2019; Wouters and Rosario-Chirinos 1992). These features are extended in Appendix B.

Textiles and Funerary Tradition

Textiles were fundamental in funerary traditions, and garments, accessories, symbolic objects, and wrappings were preserved in burial bundles and graves. This section summarizes the characteristics of Andean funerary traditions to understand the origin of most textiles in collections. Thus, understanding the transformation of value of textile objects by detachment from funerary beliefs to their aesthetics, yet standing with autonomy in collections.

The use of fibres in burials can be traced back to Chinchorro burying (ca. 7000BC – 1500BC) (Peters 2014, 3, 4). In the Andean tradition, the deceased was positioned in a seated and flexed posture, concealed in a cylindrical bundle, with symbolic elements placed over the eyes or in the hands. The body was encased in multiple layers of cloth and stuffed with fibres, leaves, or cotton. A false head, crafted with fabric or clay, stuffed with fibres, and embellished with other materials to form a face, was placed atop the bundle. The bundles were dressed in an outer layer and surrounded by offerings according to the rank of the deceased (Vreeland Jr. 1998 (2nd edition), 163, 164, 166; Eeckhout 2019). Standardised icons and representations of local identity were shown in the outer layers (Peters 2014, 13). Wrapped, flexed bodies in bundles were also

found in the Early Horizon Paracas burial tradition (Tomasto-Cagigao et al. 2015; Tello and Mejía Xesspe, Paracas: Primera Parte 1959).

Mummy bundles were portable and integral to social life: they were present in ceremonies and political decisions as symbols of their descendants' status. They received offerings for the afterlife: for instance, weaved boxes containing supplies and tools for women (Eeckhout 2019, Peters 2014). These Middle Horizon practices (portability and preservation of bodies and textile preparation) and the influence of *Wari* and *Tiahuanaco* lasted until the 16th century, while the funerary tradition was still in use until the early 17th century (Peters 2014, 13-15; Vreeland Jr. 1998 (2nd ed., 154).

Plain cotton cloths were placed in contact with the body, while more elaborate fabrics constituted the outer layers (Yacovleff and Muelle 1934, Bennett 1938, Tello 1959 cited in Vreeland Jr. 1998 (2nd edition), 160, 161). For instance, a *Paracas* Necropolis bundle could contain more than a hundred associated specimens – mostly offerings and dressing attires – placed within wrapping layers (Aponte Miranda 2006). Burial textiles offer valuable insights into mummification practices and elements used in dyeing or embalming (Degano and Colombini 2009). Mummification in the Andes occurred naturally due to the dry coastal conditions or low temperatures in the highlands. Natural processes with intentional actions occurred when the internal organs were removed. In contrast, non-natural mummification occurred when foreign agents were added and internal organs were removed (Vreeland Jr. 1998 (2nd edition)).

Funeral ceremonies included preservation processes and mourning rituals. The Inca funerary ceremonies were imposed by *Topa Ynga Yupangue*; which featured performances and parades, to indicate the absent presence "*la presencia de lo que está ausente*" (Betanzos 2004: 9, 10 cited in Ramos 2014). Burials in public spaces symbolized the absent, while the adoption of Christianity by the elites led to abstract spatial representations (Ramos 2014). The Andean tradition sought the continued existence of their lords. The manipulation of bundles caused segregated items and the relativisation of meanings, transforming human remains into

commodities, traditions into subjective fragments, and their value focused on tangibility. The uncoupling of materiality and relationships in the collecting process led to the creation of new roles, relationships, and meaning.

Desacralisation and Commoditisation of the Ancient

The scholarly collection of Ancient Peruvian textiles is founded on the early looting of graves from the Colonial and Viceroyalty periods. Looting under Spanish rule from the late 16th century was regulated and encouraged. Cultural monuments and objects were seen as economic revenue, at the same time to eliminate their symbolism. Between 1536 and 1579, regulations were introduced to excavate and tax findings in *Huacas*, burial graves, and monuments (Libro VIII, Titulo XII: De los tesoros, depósitos y rescates 1841). During the 16th and 17th centuries, Spaniards recorded locations and concessions making digging an organised practice (Luque Tavalan 2012). The influence of these laws and practices endured within the practice of collecting.

Zevallos states that the. Companies were formed to excavate huacas, despite the 1549 prohibition, even *Curacas*[6] requested excavation permits, while the Concilio Limense (1567) established penalties for looters although the Catholic Church did not consider Indigenous burials sacred. The documented lootings made locations known to future travellers and huaqueros, highlighting their profitability (Zevallos 1994). Looting revealed funerary bundles' human remains and textile objects, including wrapping layers and offerings, later translated into more sophisticated studies through museums, as noted in accession books. Eventually, methodologically excavated graves would be used in disciplines practice in the 19th century**.** The

6 Or Kuraka, local leader and link between communities and goverance, as well as having administrative role and religious authority, through his power the reciprocity system in the Inca Empire was exercised. About the Inca Empire, María Rostworowski de Diez Canseco, Historia del Tahuantinsuyu (Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 1988).

collecting process, in conjunction with discipline consolidation shaped varies relationships among objects, as seen in their categories and topic of study. Thus, displaying colonial practices within a postcolonial order.

The transformation of funerary rituals by the Spanish invasion favoured the appropriation of material culture which continued over the Peruvian Republic period (1821-Present). The knowledge, ownership, and continuity of the descendant population have been diminished through violent removal, disruption of purpose, spoilation, and scholarly collection.

Collecting and Trading: New Layers of Interpretation

Collecting was possible by the capitalism system, the political aspirations of the bourgeois elite, and the rationalist, anthropocentric worldview (Hobsbawm 1971, 146-156, 239-311). These processes underpinned the foundation of national museums and academic institutions in the 18th and 19th (Bennett, et al. 2017, Gosden and Knowles 2001). The conviction and ontology of collecting were modified according to subsequent relationships with science**.** Global explorations and the escalating fields of anthropology and archaeology influenced the classification of non-European collections.

Collecting and trading objects created layers of interpretation. This study shows that ancient Peruvian textiles were acquired by museums through nationally sponsored explorations, purchases from private collectors, dealers or auction houses, donations, and exchanges with institutions and individuals. In addition, many textiles were originally part of funerary bundles that were disassembled and mobilised. Many collections share similar patterns in terms of suppliers, original locations, and aesthetics. The circulation of objects responded to market conditions, demand, supply, negotiation, and the national economy; it also had other contingents linked to the value associated with cultural production, such as taste, originality, condition, and projection.

Collecting in 18th century was aligned with imperial powers, global economic order and scientific views (Vos 2007, Ventura 2016, Nuñez 2014). The transatlantic trade created an environment for interchange and knowledge transfer between communities, thereby influencing other related fields (Marples and Pickering 2016, 7-10), such as the antiquities trade. In 19th century, the link between the consolidation of bourgeois elite and market consolidated the demand of collecting excavated pre-Columbian objects (Chirinos Ogata 2018) which circulation was driven by scientific interest in universalism alongside the pursuit of prestige within the metropoles of the imperial power (Diaz Andreu 2007, 171-181).

The portability and obtainability of textile objects made them vulnerable to intervention, and trade, and eventual destruction. The reported examples from the 19th century show the conjunction of tradition, scholarly interest, market, and fragility and historicity of textiles. For instance, Hijalmar Stolpe's recollection of the words of dealer Paul Kiefer, whose clients included the Smithsonian Institution and New York auction houses: "Textiles are cheaper than straw" (qtd. Stolpe 1884) (Steinberg and Prost 2007, 112, 113, 114). And Thomas Hutchinson's words about diggings undertaken by bourgeois landowners "…subsequently has showed me bits of cloth, fragments of net, … wooden knitting needles for making nets, parcels of amber … accessories of burial that had been exhumed with bodies…", he continues "…we collected … small aprons, …, tiny bags of red ochre, like cinnabar …" (Hutchinson 1874, 313, 317). The outcome of diggers and antiquarians' activities shows to be a targeted intervention.

Scholarly collecting of ancient textiles has been dynamic. It shows intertwined practices between scholars, the market, and politics. The intrinsic attributions of museums (accumulation, possession, and representation) as a colonial practice aided by sponsorship implied a demand for collections, whereas textiles became a target of systematisation. The early interventions noted in accession books were later translated into more sophisticated studies through museums. The conjunction between disciplines and collecting shaped varied relationships among objects, as seen

in their categories and topic of study. Detached objects and fragments were re-identified as seen in their roles. Thus, displaying colonial practices within a postcolonial order.

The substantial extraction of objects and human remains involved scientific work and the incorporation of illegally exported items. Regarding the legacy and outcomes in Peru, it led disturbed graveyards and monuments, excavated and shipped objects, studies' outcomes partly disseminated or unknown. In the early 20th century, the participation of local scholars modified the way studies were produced. However, the circulation of ancient Peruvian textiles continued following similar lines. Illegal collection has continued over the 20th and 21st centuries. The methods of acquisition in the scholarly networks are discussed in this research, in the timeframe 1882-1929, pertaining to the creation of autonomous entities through intervention and the paradox of possession and absence.

European Narratives

Early texts about the Inca Empire by Francisco de Xerez (1528) and Cristobal de Mena (1534) were published in French, Latin, and German, they brought knowledge about the Incas to Europe. Pablo Macera notes an evolution of the European views about Peru: from early chronicles and testimonies of the exoticism of these foreign lands (around 1798 to 1829) to summaries and polemics (1820 to 1830), followed by travellers and scholars' reports, enhancing the enterprise of their explorations (1826 to 1890) (Macera 1999). The 19th-century writing highlighted the treasures and exotic landscapes, pointing out the ignorance and cruelty of previous Spanish governors versus the wonders of the Inca civilisation and the melancholic kindness of the descendant indigenous population. However, early knowledge about the Inca Empire and its predecessors emphasised the views of the invaders and the context in which they lived. Many authors have noted that the historiography of Peru was initiated by these authors and actors of the time, whose accounts of the Spaniards' arrival were biased. The original population was diminished over time as Spain took over (Someda 2001; Lamama 2016, 18,19;

Pease G. Y., 1992, 130,137-139). The image created out of the impact of the encounter and the expectations of the 'victorious' forces predominated over a subordinated nation. Some authors have stated that these foreign constructions were to the detriment of the inclusion of indigenous descendants (Earle 2005; Mendez 1996; Turner 1997). This curious interest in the exotic and a philosophical view of the ancient American civilisation come together in the museum – both physically and representatively, through the structures of collections and the narrative of displays.

The systematization and authority emerged by the understanding of the study of Andean civilisation aligned to European standardized view of the world progress. The evolutionist approach led to the understanding of ancient objects through sequential stages (Palacio-Perez 2013). Auguste Comte's Law of Three Stages (1822) suggested a universal pattern of intellectual and social evolution, successive and inherent lineal stages, in the Positive stage, knowledge is a universal necessity, the result of observation and experiment (Acton 1951 (1842), 291, 296). Darwin's evolution model provided grounds for theories of cultural evolution which then created a framework for collecting. While Imperial collection investments promoted the values of superiority through progress (Owen 2006). These approaches shaped how the original assemblages were segregated into collections.

Scholarly publications in the 18th century asserted that the subjugation of the indigenous population was supported by a natural order, while in the early 19th century, conservative Enlightenment scholars sustained their inferiority. Past civilisations studied past civilisations seeking taxonomical order (Bonavia and Ravines, 1970). The historiographical writing of the Americas was questioned in late 18th century; in late 19th century, when evidence became significative for comparative patterns requiring samples (Cañizares-Esguerra 2001), explaining it in evolutionist terms. Natural science methods have been adapted to probe records and demonstrate theories through remains (Gänger, Podgorny and Kohl 2014).

A diminished image of Latin American nations by the early narrative of the confrontation between the savage and the civilised (Cañizares-Esguerra 2002 91 qtd. in Butler

2005, 4) showed a divide between the northern and southern hemispheres. The neglect of the indigenous population during the Spanish rule continued in independent Peru, building a parallel between the past and contemporary inhabitants. The historiography of the country built by foreign voices contributed to justifying appropriation and accumulation based on a persistent colonial order.

The following sections explain the state of the art, theoretical framework and the methodology to address the late 19th Century and early 20th Century scholarly collecting of ancient Peruvian textiles and the influence of such practice. I justify the use of a qualitative and case-study research guided by the corpus of collections and the historicity of the material extraction of remains grounded in the socio-political context of an invasion, colony and Viceroyalty periods. My positionality derived by my origin, and a selective perception ability originated in visual arts and conservation of textiles background. I believe this comprehensive view will shade light to how the collecting process impacted what we see today.

State of the Art of Collecting and Ancient Peruvian Collections

Colonial and Viceroyalty practices from the 16th century and 17th century reached the Republic of Peru om 19th century. In the Viceroyalty of Peru, looting and collecting were established activities (Zevallos 1994, 13-15). At the end of Spanish rule in 1821, collecting continued in the hands of the elite and transatlantic commercial and scholarly networks. The scale of scholarly collecting of ancient textiles can be traced back to 18th century explorations. Several authors have noted the demand, supply, and incorporation of ancient objects as assets, either through individual endeavours or imperial explorations during the rise of museums. And the close links between early scholars, diggers, and antiquarians through the 19th century. Later those collections became the core of museums in Peru and abroad (Tello and Mejia Xesspe 1967, 37, 73,74;

Ravines 1989; Steinberg and Prost 2007, 113, 114; Riviale 2000 [1996], Tantalean 2016).[7] Nationally sponsored explorations took advantage of established networks (Riviale 2003, 546). Explorers' archaeological and ethnographical collections in natural history museums later became collections in anthropological museums (Ravines 1989, 17; Bonavia and Ravines 1970). This was not an exclusively European practice. In the late 19th-century, the dynamic between looters, traders, and wealthy buyers is also observed in collections of Ancient Peruvian objects in the United States (Schuster 2018, 90-93). In the second half of the 19th century, networks for exchanging knowledge and trade were established, scholars were in continuous contact with their European counterparts (Gänger 2013, 402-408; De la Puente Brunke 2008; Nuñez 1937).

As seen above the commoditisation and intervention of Ancient Peruvian objects from the colonial and Viceroyalty periods to the Republic were researched through historiographical approaches, discussing the formation of institutions through the lenses of movement, or provenances and market relationships. To the latter theories regarding objects biography, practical history and commoditization have been of used. Likewise, through the lenses of post-colonial and national identity, studies addressed legal and ethical institutional actions.

Similarly, systematic depredation by Spaniards and its impact leading to indigenous oppression and heritage foundation have been addressed (e.g. Zeballos 1994, Gonzalez 2000). While research regarding illicit traffic of South American Pre-Columbian objects (e.g. Coe 1993, Matsuda 1994) discussed collecting in relation to contemporary illicit traffics.

Antiquarians and scholarly circuits of exchange have been studied regarding the influence in the construction of the American and Peruvian archaeology and its association with identity (e.g. Bonavia and Ravines 1970, Coloma 1984, Shimada and Vega-Centeno 2011, Gänger 2014, Asencio 2018). These perspectives have driven studies on the process of interpreting re-

7 Coe's model although it does not disregard the impact caused by the commoditization of textiles items, it explains the process as a tradition of collecting enhanced in the renaissance (Coe, 1990, 272), collecting is seen in other authors as excepted in centrism of scholarly discourse, which had been continuous since the Pre-Columbian became a topic. Knowledge production is discussed in Chapter 4.

identified objects (e.g. Bovisio 2014) and the influence of the collecting practice in specific fields (e.g. Ordoñez 2019), although not about textile objects exclusively.

Studies concerning early collected textiles have focused on disciplines theories, and descriptions of collections (e.g. Anne-Marie Hocquenghem et. al. 1987, Bjerregaard and Huss 2017, Solanilla I Dimestre 1993, Textile museum Washington 1965). Textile collections have been inserted in the varied approaches of material culture studies focused on the context of imperial race and sciences construction (e.g. Cabello 1989, Hoffman 2017, and Riviale 2000). Likewise, some studies link individuals' and institutions' endeavours to the formation of pre-Columbian collections (e.g. Fernandez 2016, Steinberg and Prost 2007, Riviale 2003).

The study of collecting practices focused on symbolic and representative objects has overshadowed the destruction and detachment of many others with less hierarchy. Textile objects in collections are the result of segregation of textile arrangements through methodologically or non-methodologically excavated, their classification has created collections made of fragments, a foundation for individualisation. The collecting practices shaped a textiles category; this research explores the process in absence of comprehensive recent research on the topic.

Museums have drawn the limits of materiality in terms of control and availability. The textile subject embedding symbolism and knowledge was examined transversally from various study fields. For instance, Max Schmidt (1911) studied stylistic patterns and loom usage, and Edouard d'Harcourt (1934) focused on techniques isolated from contextual relations. In the collecting system, the materiality of textiles becomes textiles (as subject matter) to interact and create relations. It highlights the social relations of the object dimension: communication and cultural characteristics are represented on designs, while the structure encoded relations, either in weft, warp, single element or group of elements, selection of materials, or use of a specific tool. Both (structure and design) are the object agency for adaptability and feasibility of interpretations

because they show method and system through patterns. Their significance attached to the user / beholder's temporality is observed in the classification used for styles, periods, or techniques.

Various studies have established structural patterns that spread across periods and cultures. After all, a textile is a reunion of patterns, namely, the choice of fibre, combination of colours, techniques, and icons, deities, and scene depictions. Sophie Desrosiers states that the textiles show the *Cosmovision Andina* of opposition [a binary system],[8] feminine and masculine, horizontal and vertical (Zuidema 1964, Platt 1976, Harris 1978 cited in Desrosiers 1992, 25). Managing this construction invokes three structural categories: similar relevance in both sides; mainly use of wraps to create the motifs; and the use of wefts to build the motifs. These are shown in the tailoring, and changes in the position of designs. Coastal weft design is compatible with looms, in contrast to the Highland horizontal position of design. Coastal tunics also reveal these relations of opposition (horizontal and vertical/women and men) (Desrosiers 1992). These differentiations are difficult to recognise in detached or intervened fragments or objects without a contextual background. This limits the material relationships.

Another approach considers objects as communicative instruments and texts. Denise Arnold and Elvija Espejo argued that the weaving process itself could be understood as a text (Arnold 2012 cited in Arnold and Espejo 2012, 75). The instruments of production: the properties of the medium and the cultural schemes are both equally important (Salomon 2004: 32 cited in Arnold and Espejo 2012, 76) represented or signified by the instruments used in textile production, the latter as part of a wider societal and economic system (Arnold and Espejo 2012, 75, 76). For Ann Peters, organisational production and patterns reveal identities: the *Ayllu*, identified as a productive unit since the Middle Horizon period, shows a corporate system group, meaning that textile production was standardised. The standards from the hierarchical system

[8] The Binary system has been highly studied; for instance, Frank Salomon, *The Cord Keepers: Khipus and Cultural Life in a Peruvian Village* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2004), Gary Urton, *Signs of the Inka Khipu: Binary Coding in the Andean Knotted-String Records* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2003)

kept the social identity and preserved relations with other communities; while non standardized clothing revealed creativity and individuality; tunic and headdresses marked roles of social identity, and they were useful for tracing local and long-distance relations (Peters 2014, 8-12). Cathy Costin focuses on hierarchical status formed within the textile production system, categories, female labour, and identities (Costin 1998).[9] This shows social identity and social and political relations in an imperial system (Costin 2018). These approaches show that knowledge about the environment and landscape was required to produced objects. Other relevant studies have focused on motifs that expose narratives. Brommer states that textiles demonstrate communication with the supernatural, thereby revealing mystical religion and means of expression by showing the influence of deities on daily life activities (Brommer 1988). Altogether, these approaches are used to insert fragments into an acknowledged set of patterns and style classification system.

Textiles: Processed Fibre for a Purpose

The examination of textile objects demonstrates the acknowledgement of two aspects: the structure, which embeds knowledge; this includes fibre production (shearing/harvesting, cleaning, carding, spinning), the process of selection, dyeing, weaving, selection and applying adornments or accessories that form or complement an object; and, the purpose of this structure, its relations and what embeds this practice. Thus, textiles are defined here as processed fibres in combination with the advancement of union methods either by a single element or a group of elements.

Materiality reveals how the creator/user/beholder relations are managed. Should there be a standardised *Textiles* category and terminology to define the subject corpus? Two issues converge in this view: temporality, a question itself as the result of the present time, and identity.

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[9] See Ann Tiballi, *Imperial Subjetivities: The Archaeologicalmaterialsfrom the Cementery of the Sacrificed Women, Pachacamac, Peru* (PhD Dissertation Binghamton University US, 2010)

Two dimensions become evident: the *original* textile and the *classified* textile. This raises questions about why limitations are needed and who sets them.

The textile structure comprises complex designs that starts with the purpose in conjunction with the structure from which it is derived. Thus, the Textile subject can be defined as *the result of processed fibres intertwined for a purpose*. Early studies to understand such intentions and symbolism textile production process were dominated by Western academia, which implied concepts introduced into Ancient Peruvian representation. Arnold and Espejo state that the pursuit to understand the evolution of Andean textiles' – to classify them – starts from a simple construction: two elements and the further inclusion of other threads to make them more complex. In the terminology, those elements are perceived as decorative. This preference continued in 20th-century academia, taking the resulting objects as the starting point for examining materiality and construction techniques. Thus, studies focus on the final structures. However, various techniques can result in similar structures, so samples cannot be taken as definite for the process of construction (Arnold and Espejo 2012, 437-442). Western terminology, analysis system used in the industry are seen in 1930s studies by Kroeber, O'Neale, and d'Harcourt, for instance. This practice continues, however, there have been efforts by ethnographic studies to incorporate and rescue terminology used by communities that still practice ancient techniques, like the Arnold and Espejo's study just cited. Understanding the whole process has been vital in the study of textiles, manufacturing techniques are reduced by the fragmentation of assemblages or objects, they may be overlooked in Western academia. For instance, Irene Emery's systematic description,[10] although not exclusively about the Andean textiles, seems to result from the context and process of the musealization of fragments and itemisation.

[10] Irene Emery, The Primary structures of fabrics, Washington, D.C.: Textile Museum, 1995.

A link to a historical time could be contained in a textile unit—even a fibre. Through scientific analysis, afterlife symbolism may shift to a meaning related to technology production. For instance, through technological analyses, fibres provide information about the provenance of raw materials and interchange networks within various geographical areas and cultural groups (Frei and Bjerregaard 2017). The classification is built upon the value and relations attributed with the limitations of the environment. This is shown by the interest in pre-Columbian aesthetics in the late 19th century in relation to Western art categorization.[11]

The recognition of Peruvian Pre-Columbian textiles in the visual culture of the avant-garde movements of the early 20th century focused on the structures, surpassing evolutionary paradigm. For instance, Anni Albers notes "As our attention will therefore been directed towards structural methods … almost every technique invented by other civilization had also been advised by the weavers of Ancient Peru, but that they also had ways of interlocking threads not known elsewhere" (Albers 1961 (1959), 68).[12] Alberts pointed out originality as an intrinsic value.

By the end of the 19th century, aesthetic values focused on capturing the sublime, alluding to beauty. This led them to differentiate between higher (fine arts) and lower (decorative) arts (Palacio-Perez 2013, 694, 695). The distinction between fine arts and crafts opened a different interpretation. They became art through appropriation. Pre-Columbian objects comply with the Western display mode because of their portability (Errington 1994). The single unity, an individual either fragmented objects or segregated items, what I define here as singularity, is suitable for this new realm of interpretation and experience.

Their roles in the collection and the setting in which they are experienced predispose the beholder to subduing the objects' domains. The subject–object relationship is restrained by the

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11 Publications at them time, see: Alfred Haddon he Decorative Art of British New Guinea: A Study in Papuan Ethnography (1895), Roger Fry *Ancient American art (*1910); Eugene de Cholnoky, Arthur Baessler and E. Brummer's *L'Art precolumbien* (1928); Max Schmidt *Kunst and kultur von Peru* (1929).

12 Textile designer and Bauhaus member, Albers was a student of textile in the School textile in Hamburg.

peculiarity of textiles as aesthetic unit or individual entity in a collection. They were detached and presented independently to be established as part of the new relations. It shows a dynamic between mobility and identification. The discussion around aesthetics has contributed to cementing the identity of detached representation.

Another definition I suggest is *textiles are a product of attributed value*. Textiles as a topic meant arranging items and translating the attributed value into their tangible features, creating new artificial relations, e.g. Andean ancient embroidery, or a search tag (technique or fragment title). The topic features grouping them under manageable terminology, forming new conceptual assemblies. Over the 20th century, other perspectives of the attributed value have been used, such as economic plants and processed fibres in the economy. Although made of fibres, *Quipus* are not included in this research because they are recognised as a communicational entity historically. Even though the conservation discipline understands them as textiles for interventive treatment. A similar situation occurs with other objects with symbolic functions historically recognised as ritual objects and objects of funerary traditions, such as masks.

Theoretical Framework: Collecting, Value, Materiality, Coloniality

The collecting of pre-Columbian objects has been studied from the social, historical, anthropological, and economic point of view, as pointed out in the previous sections. The theories used included analysing the biography objects, post colonialism, cultural capital in the view of detached collections. In the case of archaeological objects, collecting influenced beyond the transformation of value sustained by aesthetics, from a scholarly viewpoint archaeological objects are believed as data, which opposes the aesthetical value that shaped collections in the antiquarian market; thus, limiting the resulting understanding of the past. Their transformation of value turns appearance into information to be elicited. These guided my use of theories in this research to ground theoretical statements and develop necessary concepts and approaches. I address the impact of scholarly collecting of ancient Peruvian textiles from various views, as a

result of my positionality, and of the observation through the progress of the study. A multidisciplinary and comprehensive approach help to understand the entanglements of collecting narrative and actions that resulted in the corpus and view of collections either as cultural product or as national identity tool.

My background in creative arts and conservation in my land hint my epistemological position within a phenomenological view in a broad sense, we experience the world through external bodies, such relations are subjective. Merleau–Ponty states that reality is perceived by sensing intentionality, the perceiving, and the perceived meld. Based on gestalt psychology, perception (Wertheimer 1923) can be understood as a whole, so the *perceived* arrangement is not isolated, and the meaning attributed to the senses creates connections with ourselves and the reality we live in (Merleau-Ponty 1993). The accumulation of specimens and similar collected modes result in patterns, the narrative reinforces what is known, while perception is influenced by matter. At the ontological level, I understand the value given in the varied realities the objects are part of. This is not a sole phenomenological study of collecting describing the process but intends to explore the resulting impact. The relation with the world materializes through observable results. My positionality a Peruvian and training as textile conservator abroad gives me the tools to discern from emotional limitations, if any, regarding national identity or legacies by the intrinsic value of heritage to create national identity in countries with a history of subjugation as Peru. Thus, I distinguish throughout this research and inner and outer view of the subject of this study since I appreciate both views and weight the influence of tension.

I address the variety of objects part of burials which became integrated under textiles category observed in collection. Those objects shaped the ancestral heritage, sustained through contemporary views of traditional or surviving heritage in Peru. In this regard, the stance of Jean Baudrillard regarding the change of value of collected objects (Baudrillard 1994, 87) serves to understand the observable results from the collection: physical intervention, detachment and rhetoric in descriptions or naming. According to Baudrillard, objects can be used or possessed:

the possessed object has a subjective status, while the used object has a social status. Therefore, the function of these possessed objects is compensation, which features accumulation, ordering, and retention. Likewise, the exchangeable value is controlled by social and cultural criteria (1994, 7-12). His view about the transformation of objects to be part of a set or collection are used throughout the discussions in this research. The change of value in archaeological objects brings lo light networks of agents and actions. Nicholas Thomas notes that in the 19th-century objects were extracted alongside their associations. Thus, dissociation occurs twice: when displacing the object and when representing it (Thomas 1994, 130). I build upon both approaches to point out that the process of *detachment* is enacted through experience of objects representation as absent heritage.

The construction of an entity by accumulation of varied objects meant to represent and symbolize, which I call a *supra-entity*, is achieved through institutional actions generating social discourse while subjectivity in the discriminatory act persists. In other words, items shift in the interpretation process, gaining social status when institutionalised. Thus, collecting impacts their identity, forming a basis for new roles and values.

Objects can change into a social discourse by their absence rather than their presence (Baudrillard 1994, 24). I observed that in the local sphere textile objects sign the absent: the absence are the objects and knowledge, and the present is its representation. This *imaginary possession*, as I call it in this research, is shown through the formation of the country, persisting production traditions, and nation signalling by the legislation created. The dual focus on both domestic and international impact allows for a more nuanced understanding of how these textiles served national identity and nation representation on foreign platforms.

A supra-entity shaped by collecting was evidence of the detachment of indigenous knowledge and social presence, while circumscribing the indigenous, the textiles' materiality, tradition of textile production, and continuity of symbolic uses by demarcating limits and roles. A post-colonial stance is required since ancient objects constitute historical actions with lasting

influences in representation, corpus, and narrative. On colonial legacies, Anibal Quijano view is used throughout this research. Quijano states that the previous hierarchical society enabled inserting the indigenous population into the hierarchical order of colonialism; this was achieved by the Creole centralist power and the dismantling of the Inca Empire ethnic hierarchy, leading to the marginalisation and exploitation of the indigenous population during the Republic. Independent Peru was built using a centralist colonial order, which comprises the first pattern of world power, characterised by racial differentiation between the population and the control of labour under capitalism and market (Quijano 2000). This relationship to the indigenous in the local context assumed formally or surreptitiously, as shown through legislation, lead to a sacralised ancient culture. Even the study of collecting shows a conflict to embrace the descendant nation as indigenous. The colonial legacies are observable through the accumulation of objects, bordering or limitation of the value of ancient textiles disseminated through museums, discourse as national representation, and the knowledge production.

This lead to analyse the corpus of collections itself, why is this construction relevant to our understanding of them as an entity? Collecting can be explained as an activity of detachment and classification. I adopt in my proposal Mieke Bal's understanding of collecting as a classification activity in a narrative sequence (1994, 97-101). Her theory serves as to assess the transformation of objects in the acquisition or extraction by starting a fictionalization of the object reality, in this case a museum salon or deposit, and continuing a transformation of meaning through academia.

Mieke Bal states that a confrontation process in the collecting activity takes place in the act itself when the social and cultural view is embodied by the collector's agency and his subjective set mind. The confrontation is the beginning of the narrative and happens arbitrarily, contingently, and accidentally. By de-contextualising and placing the object in a new scenario, the object becomes no other; this process of meaning production is paradoxical because, to be no other, it needs to be other. Domination occurs in the middle of the narrative. The end might be the

accomplishment or completion of the collections; however, it never ends; so, enhancing collections lengthens their life, bondage, and further narrative possibility (Bal 1994, 97-115). In the period of study, collecting of ancient textiles implying destruction of historical evidence. The meaning embedded in ancient textiles when assembled is re-exerted by possession during acquisition, mobilisation, and narratives over time.

Ball's approach helps this research to focusing in institutional and individual intervention observed through archival information, catalogues and inventories, and publications; and the status of objects in the collection. The dominion centred in the collector has been confronted with the corpus of collections: funerary wrapping, offerings, textile production tools, and supplies from funerary contexts. It shows that the circulation of objects is generative in cultural and political platforms. The social stances and environmental conditions are influencing the corpus of collections. Understanding the impact of the collecting process requires to observe the conjunction of narrative and materiality. This is addressed through the view of the agent -collector- performance, classification, and dissemination; and the agency of the objects through their physical features, since archaeological textiles show framed representations and narrative in the display of icons and structure, in collections today.

The qualities of objects potentially open a variety of interpretative possibilities and uses; such outcomes are not reduced to the subject's intention but rather influenced by the object's interaction with it (Pierce 1955,106 cited in Keane 2005, 189). In the collection of Peruvian textiles, the selection process drastically removes an order, creating space within the arrangement, and when relocated, the new priorities were dependent on individual scholarship, market drive, or institutions intention or direction.

Intervention and mobilisation have altered the initial relations within the objects and with the environment; as well as textiles expression and representation of society's beliefs and structure. Interchange and new roles in the museum system generate new relationships. In this research, this process is referred as *re-identification,* meaning identifying an object, element,

fragment, or assemblage by establishing priorities and space, creating a new dimension of mouldable possessions.

Here, it necessary to address the corpus of collections and the new arrangements or assemblages in the transformation of meaning. Through academia it has been observed in the historicity of ancient Peruvian objects collecting, however, the visual perception observation of collected funerary textiles contrasted with documentation has lacked. Both stances in this research are aided from my arts and conservation background and my view of Peruvian heritage.

The attributes of materiality influence these processes to interact within a specific setting. The agency of objects has been addressed from various disciplines.[13] In this research I made use of the proposals from Daniel Miller and Tim Ingold. Miller notes that our social relations displayed in materiality are not reducible to subject–object dualism but broaden to relational implications; materiality embeds physicality and what it encloses (Miller 2005). While the dynamic can be perceived as symmetrical, it is necessary to weigh the differentiated relations created in museum through collecting, where intentionality intervenes beyond the original purpose and shifts to be an agent and mediator. Tim Ingold goes beyond the relational approach to propose that there are intertwined relations with environmental influences and argues to break the dichotomy (subject–object), the objects are not just the projection or result of the creator's intention but a result of a process of materials arranging patterns (Ingold 2011a:30 cited in Ingold 2013, 29) in which environment and materials "properties" are intertwined (Ingold 2013, 29-31). While a*gency* is understood as the ability to take action; in the objects' agency, materials and attributes generate actions. The engagement does not last but materials do. In the engagement, people–objects relate through correspondence, they are intertwined, i.e. they take something from the other in order to respond to it; as in visual perception, there must be an

13 For instance, Alfred Gell (1998), Bruno Latour (2005), Ian Hodder (2012).

environment that permits it (Uexküll 2010: 190 cited in Ingold 2013, 95) (Ingold 2013, 95-107). These approaches of Miller and Ingold serve to address the transformations textiles endured, making differentiated connexions in different settings over time.

The attributes of the objects are observable by formal features; the connections are grounded in the materiality. Through intervention and classification new attributes are loaded, the physical foundation is limited by correspondence (reality – image). The agency of the collections is embodied by attributes created which I nominate *traits* in this research. These attributes are sustained throughout the assemblages, observed primarily by grouping and interchangeability as objects, elements of an assemblage, or fragments status. These facilitate new relationships in specific environments.

Manuel De Landa stated that an assemblage is a part of relationships, the latter are not reducible, nor is the assemblage to one of its parts; the interactions of the assemblage must be exercised within the parameters of coding and territorialisation [virtual or real] (De Landa 2016). However, the interactions in the assemblage's identity in the textile collections are exercised within the space and agreement in and through museums. There are limitations to this interaction. Similar to the gestalt principles of perception, understanding the parts does not give a full understanding of the whole. In this research, Ingold, Miller and De Landa approaches are partly used to address interactions and shifting assemblages' identity. I use assemblage to define the new group formation given by the collector at the time of collecting, either selecting from the field, or through new relationships later established. The interactions occur throughout the assemblage elements. Here are observed through visual perception principles. The initial relations embedded in the objects are in place in the re-grouped elements until a new set of relations is exercised in a given space, virtual or real, in museums (virtual platforms, exhibitions and depots), or social spheres. The assemblage interactions are discussed throughout this study.

From this standpoint, the overlook of collecting influence on the representations structured on textile seen across collections is addressed. In the observation of content of

collections, it is seen that the view of them as knowledge generator led to their marginalisation or presence. The collecting process shaped the collections content and the resulting knowledge production.

In my view of collected textiles as academic products and scholarly commodities, I have aided the theorical framework from a social and economic approach. Arjun Appadurai notes that the economic value of an object brings together the reasons why the object is valued, the politics frame the values and so forth the interchange of commodities. Interchange shows privileged relations and social control (Appadurai 1992). The intersection between economic and academic value implies dominance regarding trading and exchange legacies as a route for knowledge production and the products themselves. Wim Van Bingsbergen asserts that a commodity is defined according to the owner's context: the new possessor/ user defines them as a commodity, in conjunction with the given significance in the new community. The object is commoditised through exchange (Appadurai 1986 cited in Van Bingsbergen 2005, 46), after the object is detached from a specific context, it enters a universalised standard (Van Binsbergen 2005, 46, 47). This is observed in the commodification of ancient textiles. The communities' connexions subordinated to aesthetics value, subsequent circulation leveraging from scholarly interests and their trade represent the establishment of hierarchy and the legacies of resources extraction. The meaning of textiles in scholarly circles has also been granted by their disposal, recurrence, transportability, uniqueness, relatable technology, and historical acknowledgement, as seen in the patterns of collections.

Thus, the transformation of value can be measure in the objects themselves. Circulation through scholarly institutions and national museums shows features of academic products, i.e. Interventions and interpretation shape the social interaction. Nico Stehr states that the knowledge product manifests in a specific social context. The academic products feature capacity, fragility and cost (Stehr 2001, 49). I borrow these terms to explain textiles as academic product featuring a necessity of expertise, diminution or depreciation of value among assemblies

and use. The 19th century model of knowledge production featured hegemony of theoretical and empirical science in a circumscribed community, motivated by taxonomical disciplines (Gibbons et.al. 1994). Knowledge production is observed to be influenced by the networks of exchange. I propose to understand collecting as a knowledge construction to observe the correspondence of the transformation of value with the features of academic products, since collected textiles show functional roles in the scholarly exchange.

Key Concepts: Singularisation, Fragmentation, Traits, Supra-entity, Imaginary Possession

Throughout this thesis, I have used and presented concepts that are hereby explained in the scope of this research. The temporal extension of the *Andean civilisation* is used as acknowledged in academia. The continuous Andean tradition can be grouped into Northern coast cultures, Central South, Southern East, and Central Andean. The widely accepted chronology and classification of the pre-Inca settlements are the Pre-Ceramic foundation, Initial Period and Early Horizon, which Early Intermediate Period, which are spread over the North coast, South coast and Plateau settlements. The Middle Horizon civilizations *Moche, Wari, and Tiawanaku*, and the Late Intermediate civilizations are spread over the Southern Sierra, Central, South coast, and the Titicaca Lake region, while *Chimor* [*Chimú*] occupied the North coast mainly (Moseley 2001). For specific development, the classification by Bonavia based on the Rowe/Lanning scheme (1991) is used (See Appendix B and D). The historiography of collecting shows these chronologies built in reverse, from the Inca's ethnographic objects to the plundering of the Inca's predecessors. In general, similar chronology is used in museum databases with some variation for organizational purposes.

The *Ancient Peruvian textile item* is used to nominate an object, fragment, element, or assemblage of any kind that happens to be identified as a unity whose origin is limited to the Spanish invasion and colonial period, corresponding to around 1570. The syncretism that

occurred in the early Colonial and Viceroyalty periods is not within the scope of this research. In some cases, the terms Pre-Columbian and Pre-Hispanic are used, not affecting the scope of the discussion. The historical periods used are the Pre-Columbian Period according to Bonavia (1992), the Invasion and Colonisation period (1532-1542), the Viceroyalty period (1542-1824), and the Independence and Republic period (1821/1824-Present) (Pease G. Y. 1992).

Itemisation denotes separation into units, individual from a group. In this research *singularisation* denotes separation and segregation of a component, object or fragment in the process of classification or encounter, to shape an autonomous entity, either conceptuality and/ or physically. I have adapted this concept through the observation of the mobilization and description of item in records and digital platforms.

Singularisation (separation and identification) is used in computing systems to identify entities and processes of individualisation (e.g. Gamma, E., et al. 1994; Keleş, B., & Nevcihan, G. 2021). The term singularisation is used by sociology, economy, material culture and collecting studies to define the transformation of value (e.g. Igor Kopytoff 1986, Baudrillard 2000), pointing out such transformation towards unique qualities (e.g. Andreas Reckwitz 2021), in industrial technology, to explain separation and isolation from an assemblage of similar elements (e.g. Gianmauro Fontana et.al 2017). In a philosophical context, Gilles Deleuze formulates singularity is an event that proceed the individual sense (Borum 2017). While the transformation of value is highlighted in humanistic studies, the connotation of autonomy while being part of a system or assemblage is borrowed from other study fields. In this research *singularity* refers to a unity or differentiated feature but autonomous and relational, with the assemblage or object the item belongs.

I note that that singularisation of objects, fragments, and parts of objects occurs through detachment, intervention and mobilization, either reasoned or intuitive caused by the qualities of the objects that impact the understanding of them. The resulting items I nominate singularity, referring to the unique and *autonomous entity* that can be differentiated. The materiality (physical

features and meaning) turns into a unity while being part of a major body as relational unities. I refer as *entity* to an object, element or fragment that is unique with certain attributes and relate to others by similar conditions. These features are found in the study of collecting. Here its use arises from my observation of their incorporation in digital platforms, where each element generates the metadata to be identified in the system of storage and retrieval, sustaining relationships.

The term *supra-entity* is coined through this text to define the interpretation of the collected ancient Peruvian textiles autonomous items as a body of representation symbolism and scholarly meaning. A supra-entity is shaped through the compliance of other identities and roles. Autonomous entities and supra-entity are related through the singularisation process. Linked to this process of gaining autonomy and intervention, I propose the term *imaginary possession* to identify the supra-entity, meaning representation of the deprived heritage and absence, which embody the imagined. The imaginary possessions are supported by temporality and autonomy, influenced by the collecting process, as I argue in this research. The present absence paradox generated is discussed in Chapter 2.

The objects' tale emerges through our interactions (Gombrich 2000 (1969), 206). The relationships among entities and beholders feature borders and space. In this construction, key aspects create a timeless entity: objects interactions, context agreement, and acknowledgement of textiles' identity as independent entities. The items attributes engage in the interpretations of the beholder. I use the term *agency* to name the items' capability to establish relational networks in their new context. As consequence, objects generate responses. In their new contexts, items engage in interpretations while creating relations, beyond the encoded social relations of their original creators. The connecting points granted by their materiality become activators of personal and social experiences. I have observed attributes in textiles collections, relevant to provoke associations that engage the interpretation process, I name them *traits*, portability; recognition, namely acknowledged origin, construction, historical value; appearance, namely

visual composition, shape; delimitation; recurrence. The attributes are observed through items grouping, notes in archival text or inventories, organisation in depots and classification on virtual platforms.

I noted through historical publications and contemporary exhibitions review that as a body; collections display a timeless supra-identity fixated by dissemination platforms and instrumentalization. Since detachment forces meaning and representation e.g. symbolise textile cultural and/ or academic positioning. I discuss the process as a *re-interpretation* and re-*identification* which create a new dimension of malleable possessions, working as a supra-category in the classification. That is, the interpretation as collectible, antiquity, heritage, academic product or scholarly commodity can occur simultaneously and/or consecutively.

A supra-entity is evident in the social presence of the Andean indigenous through the political discourse of national identity affirmation, their status has been used for political manoeuvring.[14] In this research *indigenous* is used as preferred term in the post-colonial studies to nominate Autochthonous, native, or indigenous. Anibal Quijano differentiates the construction of the indigenous as academic term, and as a legacy of the colonial domination in opposition to the European or dominant elite, i.e. those relegated in the formation of the nation; while the indigenous movement subvert the systems.[15] Unlike other dominated territories, the assimilation in the central Andes implied subordination on racial grounds (Quijano 2005). While they are nominated *pueblos originarios* in opposition to the historical use of Indian, the concept is kept to limit, organize, claim, and legislate. I use the academic term pertaining to the original and native, opposed to creole or elite, in opposition to the representation of the foreign or the other. I use

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[14] In my opinion, addressing indigenous populations has followed foreign trends misaligned with the South American reality. Andean traditions are embedded in the daily lives of the people. Census data from the 18th century and 1876 revealed an indigenous majority. Their indigenous status restricts them as a minority, excluding most from their traditions. Politics continues to stratify the population in the rhetoric of an already stratified society. For an understanding of the conceptualised identities of 'Indigenity', see Erika Yolanda León Angulo, "The Legal Imaginary of 'Indigeneity': Creating Knowledge, Subjects, and Law," Oñati Socio-Legal Series 12, no. 4 (2022): 950

[15] Movement claimed the intergration of indigenous communities in political decisions, see for instance, France 24 Español, Francisco Zacarias, "La contienda entre las comunidades indígenas y la industria minera en Perú", YouTube, January 10, 2023, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1hXB7w6AOGo&t=2s

the term *local* in opposition to foreign to nominate the descendant population as original. I use the term *colonial* to refer specifically to practices that were conveyed during periods of foreign rule to comply with the term currently used in academia. Even though a Colonial period was followed by a Viceroyalty period which differed the previous organisation and 'management' of the Andes territory.

Various authors distinguished between types of collections: primary collecting as intentional, secondary collecting as a subordinated activity, and concomitant collecting as occurring during wars or missions. Thy are either stationary or mobile (O'Harlon, 2000; Kohler, 2006; Bell, 2013a cited in Bell 2017, 248). I note pre-Columbian objects and remains collected by naturalist explorers in the 18th and 19th centuries as concomitant or secondary collections. In the mid-19th century, collecting missions engaging in early archaeological methods are understood as primary collecting.

The archaeological interpretation organises the past by present *schemes* and *categories* to make it understandable in the present, the Metropole present (Murray 2013, 23). In the 19th Century, archaeologists embraced the typology and stratigraphy used by antiquarians; the technology or function of the object was addressed by comparative methods seeking to identify provenance and use. The antiquarian's system aimed to organise catalogues by place (topographic), type (systematic treatise), and classification by collections (Schnapp 2002). In this research, the scope of *disciplines* encompasses the formation and institutionalisation of archaeology, anthropology, forensic anthropology, and ethnology.

I use the term *Scholarly* to refers to knowledgeable, academic, or intellectual actions carried out by similar agents, which could be bourgeois, academic, educated, or knowledgeable individuals. *Scholarly collecting* implied the action carried out by scholarly agents and museums, as the latter are understood as platforms for the dissemination of knowledge. I use *Agents* to name individuals or institutions that take action in a system of collecting and exchanging ancient textile objects, to seek or gain some degree of benefit.

Material culture is used to define a 'super-category of objects' (Buchli 2002a: 3 cited in Hicks 2010, 31). This meaning is adopted in this research. The term groups objects from a certain society of people during a specific period. It is the manifestation of relations within society and the environment over time, and the intentionality to shape them.

Materiality weight in the creation of autonomous entities and instrumentalisation of textiles, as it is observed in this research. I use *Materiality* to define the conjunction of physical features and the intention embedded within it. The intrinsic meanings can be speculated upon, and in some cases asserted, only perceived through physical evidence which is interpreted to fulfil new purposes. The dualism of matter and process, in which the subject intervenes the matter and the matter influences the subject, proposed by Daniel Miller (2005) is adopted.

Research Question, Methodology and Case Selection

The main research question of this study is *how does the process of collecting and interpreting scholarly collected Ancient Peruvian textiles or pre-Columbian textiles impact their understanding in today's perception of heritage?* This question is assessed by following qualitative research methods in a case-based approach, combining literature review, archival research, museums' public databases of collections and archives, and object reviews from various collections in Europe. The timeframe of this study, 1882-1929, I address issues outside the frame time to benefit the discussion.

I observe contemporary perceptions manifestation to examine how translated inherited circumstances were shaped and carried out. The collecting of ancient Peruvian textile objects left the same bereft legacy over the years; however, it is the scholarly collecting and interpretation that stamped the construction of a consumed supra-entity and enable textiles interpretation in other spheres and be present in the social context. A significant period of time in this process is situated between the late 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century, a period that this research explores (1882-1929). It takes the consolidation of museums and the foundation of the Patronaje de Arqueología (Archaeological patronage) in Peru in 1929 as reference.

This is not an historical recount of events, nor an isolated description of the experience of heritage or textile collections in foreign museums. By analysing and understanding the formative periods of the perception and experience of heritage, in relation to what is observed today gives the evidence needed to answer this research's question in a comprehensive manner. For this research, I used insights emerging from the of fields 'post-colonial studies', 'museum studies and visual perception', 'heritage and cultural studies'. The dissertation addresses the subject from a holistic view to cover most aspects of how the interpretation of Ancient Peruvian textiles is shaped, through the eye of a textile conservator. The design of the methodology departed from the mentioned causes: grouping and segregation of collections in museums, and their variety. My interest in both the social and cultural domains of the items and their corpus departs from my conservation and arts background. In both cases, the tangible must be analysed and identified (or eventually shaped) in its intentionality, impact, or role. Thus, a selection of case studies was made following an inductive method, as explained in the following paragraphs.

The first stage was organised through literature reviews, research on museum websites, and public databases. Pre-Columbian collections → Textile collection/ Collector → Sample, were identified. The case studies were filtered according to: 1. Collectors / donors: period of travel, period of donation, background, sponsor. 2. Availability of archival information, reports in literature. 3. Materiality, or objects features: fragments, segregated elements, complete objects. The analysis contrasted the museums' public database information, archival information, and review of objects, fragments or elements of objects. It regarded the encounter between reality and representation, contrast between the items' trajectory and tangible features.

I reviewed the collections pertaining to the method of acquisition, provenance, typology or classification, and physical features. For the latter, the criteria implied selective intervention, alteration (shaping), classification, and storage method (how they are placed when it is possible to know). Physical features were observed, starting with visual perception formal features (size,

shape, etc.), and organisation (symmetry, balance, order, iteration), followed by technique (when possible), the relation between the formal features and the intentionality of the construction derived from the techniques or reported use of the objects; for instance, the hierarchy of the designs in the textile; and the intervention to modify them. This research casts light upon objects hold in storages beyond those symbolic objects usually featured in exhibitions or publications.

This multifaceted and comprehensive approach differentiates my research from previous studies on collecting and ancient Peruvian textiles, as it covers the areas of documenting, interpreting, and creating objects. Thus, to establish the relation between selection and segregation of items and institutional and individual interpretation, i.e. *what is said about the object,* public database descriptions, reports and archives were reviewed, assessing terms and hierarchy that define the objects' identity as detached entity within an assemblage (e.g. as a 'border'); thus, intentionality or purpose were also identified. The influence of the collecting method was assessed through interventions, i.e. *what are the traces in the object*, through archival information and observation of physicality: visual examination of formal features, visual perception principles, traces of original contexts and acquisition, process of singularisation, roles, and identification of patterns were defined. I correlated methods of acquisition, circumstances and geopolitical legacies, and today status of the items and assemblages to trace the process of the transformation of value. To understand the *agency of the collected textile object*, the traits defined through visual perception principles and content of assemblages were correlated with and descriptions, publications, public databases information, where hierarchy was noted.

To define meanings of items in the contexts and relations, i.e. *what is the evidence of engagement*, the content, organisation of the collection, acquisition, academic publications, were correlated through the archives, descriptions, topics/features, narrative in platforms of dissemination (event/exhibitions/ public databases) to trace the circulation of items in the scholarly networks and academic narrative, and the impact of specific features in correspondence with their representations today. In the rhetorical analysis of an audiovisual case, I identified the

persuasive, pejorative, neglecting narrative of stories related to scenes presentations. Thus, strengthening of qualities of new identities over time was noted; as well as hierarchies in academic narrative and circulation of objects. To define the condition of academic product, i.e. *features*, the acquisition, classification, and content of collections was analysed through the mobilisation, institutional actions -through archives and dissemination, academic publications and public databases, observing engagement and intentionality. Thus, I note features of diminution, need of expertise and use, with underlying features of discrimination and dominance.

The limitations of this research concern: methodology, logistics, personal and global matters. This research encompasses the selective criteria with the various perspectives, from perception theory to historical narrative, through anthropological and social views. The aim of studying the Ancient Peruvian textiles in a comprehensive manner required insights of various fields. The method relied greatly on my experience working with art and the art market, and with archaeological objects including textiles, as a conservator. The analysis of cases through perception and observation of circumstances, may be misunderstood as subjective, since it deals with interpretation and identity, and my experience.

The Structure of the Thesis and Case Studies

The case studies are from the following collections: the Netherlands: former museums Rijks Ethnographisch Museum Leiden (REM) and the Museum voor Land- en Volkenkunde, Rotterdam (MLV) (Today: Nationaal Museum van Wereldculturen: Wereld Museum Leiden, and Worldmuseum Rotterdam). Germany: former Königliches Museum für Völkerkunde (KMV) (today Ethnologisches Museum Berlin EMB) and the Museum für Völkerkunde Dresden (MVD). United Kingdom: Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology Cambridge (MAA) and the Pitt Rivers Museum (PRM) -Oxford. France: former Musée d'Ethnographie du Trocadéro - Paris (today the collections are held at Musée du quai Branly - Jacques Chirac). Belgium: former Musée royal d'Antiquités, d'Armures et d'Artillerie (today Musées royaux d'Art et d'Histoire

MRAH). Some cases are added to benefit the discussion; such as, Henry Ogg Forbes, in the PRM; and the Pacific Exploration in the Museo de America. A few items were reviewed through the information in museums' public database and given by museum staff. The list of case studies and sources is given in Appendix C.

The timeframe of this research is 1882-1929, it is organised in three chapters. Following this introduction, Chapter 2 addresses the continuous construction of the past, and the interpretation of textile heritage for national identity. I question how scholarly interpretation influences the validation of Ancient Peruvian textiles as instruments for national identity construction. I sustain that detached textile objects materialize new roles as entities of representation through the collecting process and mobilization. The symbolism of the long-lasting heritage becomes a present absence, by detachment and re-appropriation within current dissemination platforms. The chapter uses case studies from the Musées royaux d'Art et d'Histoire; and a performance from the Opening ceremony of the PanAmerican Games Lima 2019. In addition, it discusses heritage management and exhibitions narrative.

Chapter 3 discusses the collecting process and trajectory of textile objects. I question how collecting methods shaped Ancient Peruvian textile collections. I argue that the collecting practice shaped the identity of objects, enabling them to serve various roles through modelling their limits. I illustrate how intervention, and institutional practices created boundaries and purposes. I show that the scholarly collecting of textiles was formed from the tradition of colonial plundering, influenced by Western collecting tradition and geopolitics. I argue that there are patterns emerging through collecting, which I nominate traits. I sustain that their perception as relational unities occur through the process of singularisation, which make them subject of hierarchical relationships. The study cases are from the former museums: Musée d'Ethnographie du Trocadéro, Königliches Museum für Völkerkunde, Rijks Ethnographisch Museum Leiden, Museum voor Land- en Volkenkunde Rotterdam and the Museum für Völkerkunde Dresden.

In Chapter 4, I question how the collecting practice turned Ancient Peruvian textiles into academic products and impacted knowledge production. I argue that scholarly commodities were shaped through accumulation, intervention and classification, and mobilisation establishing the textiles as academic products. I argue that in the collecting process features of discrimination and dominance translate into knowledge production, they are observed by academic narrative, and topics of research in publications, fixing textiles' identity as autonomous and as scholarly resource. The study cases used are from the Museum Archaeology and Anthropology in Cambridge, the Pitt Rivers Museum in Oxford, the Museum für Völkerkunde Dresden, and the former Königliches Museum für Völkerkunde, Berlin.

The General Conclusion answers the question of this research about how the collection of ancient Peruvian textiles influenced their perception of heritage today. The conclusion is addressed by themes, fragmentation and singularisation as colonial legacy, legitimisation through museums, the creation of autonomous entities and the instrumentalization of heritage. It is followed by theoretical, empirical, and methodological contributions. I hope that this research encourages discussion about the spoliation of heritage, textile heritage, identity, and interpretation and perception of heritage. I hope that the absences serve as departing point for further investigation into textile heritage.

Chapter 2: Textile Heritage and Identity[16]

Introduction

The destruction of identity symbols and the looting of artefacts and architecture during the Colonial and Viceroyalty periods impacted the identity of the indigenous population and their traditional affiliations, modifying their world view. It was widespread into the independent nation whose descendants had lived with a segregated status in a stratified society, in which those symbols, material culture and intangible heritage, were perceived as valuable in the discourse but ignored the contemporary Andean culture. For instance, original languages and dialects were mostly not used in institutional settings until the late 1990s, differentiating them from their material heritage. The indigenous status has been noted and differently addressed over time.[17]

The political claim of indigenous heritage for independence underscored the need for preservation ancient remains as a tool for self and outer identification. Alongside the movement for indigenous recognition, the past civilizations were valued as an inspirational source and resource setting them within disciplines' limits. Archaeology was seen as a sign of modernity and as a validation tool. Subsequent statements culminated in the creation of the Patronaje Nacional de Arqueología in 1929.

Phillip Khol states that archaeology has been used for an evolutionary perspective of indigenous population, and as a comparative instrument from a scientific materialism

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16 This Chapter is partly based on the author unpublished conference paper, Elizabeth Palacios. "Collected Pre-Columbian textiles assigned roles, case study: Textile fragments at the Fine Arts School of Peru." AICCM Textiles SIG Symposium: Fibre to Fabric, Fur, Feathers and Finishes. Sidney Jewish Museum, 4 - 6 February 2019

17 See Ley N°28736, Ley para la protección de Pueblos Indígenas u Originarios en Situación de Aislamiento y en Situación de Contacto Inicial from 2006. And, Ley N°29735, Ley que regula el uso, preservación, desarrollo, recuperación, fomento y difusión de las lenguas originarias del Perú from 2011, accessed September 22, 2022, https://www.gob.pe/institucion/minedu/normas-legales/118448-29735
The *Censo nacional de población y vivienda 2017* included an ethnic self-identification question which defines the originary population as people descended from the population that inhabited this land before the colonial era and who maintain some or all traditions. The resulting pol 25,5% self-identified as indigenous or original, and 16% had a native language as their mother tongue. More than 50 languages and dialects are still spoken, accessed September 26, 2022 https://censo2017.inei.gob.pe/autoidentificacion/#1479340767148-6af1ba87-7484077b-4066

perspective. The national heritage status, recognition, incorporation in daily life, and economic use of material culture and monuments demonstrate how archaeological past constructs national identity; as a political tool, links to the past through the land is achieved by archaeological records interpreting the subsequent transformations (Khol 1998, 233, 240). There is a need to possess material culture as a source of unique identity; however, possession, meaning transmission, fidelity, and continuity, do not necessarily means property: the sentiment, connection and practice sustains a distinctive identity in the communities; thus, Western views of property associated with capitalism, and the individual possession of things, are not compatible with the view of cultural possession as a right (Rowlands 2005). The adaptation of indigenous communities during the Viceroyalty persists in the practice of textile production or by adherence to their symbolism as identity representation (*simbolismo identitario*). The knowledge about textiles have formed the identity of them as detached entity, evident in the management of national heritage.

While it can be assumed that the focus on scholarly interpretation concerns only academic interest. The evidence show that it is tightly attached to political instrumentalisation, it carried on historical legacies of geopolitical order, which are shown in textiles social presence. Collections were largely generated through political decisions, thereby making museums and scholars −in away− political agents, geopolitical strategies facilitated the scholarly interest in ancient objects, while legitimising appropriation through objects' use in academic spheres. These interventions are manifested today through roles in Europe and Peru, because the universal value attributed by scholarly could only be paired with an identitarian value.

The impact of the classification process on textile identities is displayed by their instrumentalisation and insertion on varied platforms. Their status in foreign museums places a rhetoric of dispossession, diminishment, and confrontation. It deprives the descendant nation of experiencing its legacy. Thus, the idea of universal knowledge is confronted by limited accessibility, overlooked indigenous knowledge, and declined ownership extended to the nation.

The knowledge produced and the prestige derived from it continue to overshadow the process of collecting. Do we see what we know? To what extent experiences, perception and relations to objects are based on alien perceptions and inaccurate records? This Chapter questions How scholarly interpretation influences the validation of Ancient Peruvian textiles as instruments for national identity construction.

With the observation of the present relation to textile heritage in Peru, and to textile ancient object in foreign museums, this chapter observe the present manner of its influence through the journey of objects to a supra-entity and of identity construction, thus distinguishing the contemporary influences leads us to subsequently analyse the grounds of this process at the juncture in history in Chapters 3 and 4, and answer the quest of this research comprehensibly. A process that favoured the creation of a supra-entity was founded in singularisation. In few words, there are key aspects of the scholarly interpretation of Ancient Peruvian Textiles in the period of this research to keep in mind through the unfolding of this chapter: objects limits, relationships, context of agreement, acknowledgment, and hierarchy.

In this chapter, I argue that the understanding and perception of ancient textiles are the result of the long-lasting influence of collecting that made them an autonomous entity, tangible and representative by detachment and classification, enabling textiles to be mediators to proclaim cultural continuity and affirm national identity. Thereby, a supra-entity is shaped through roles, construct an imaginary possession that is ever present.

In the early 19th century, the elite translated the ancient Peruvian into a symbolic entity to validate the right of freedom, legitimated and distanced themselves from Spain by asserting the past as a national history while lessening the indigenous population, not including them to the modern national project fixated the Indian to a remote past; however, the historical value did not survive beyond the mid-19th century (Earle 2005). The relevance posed by textiles' representativeness in metropole museums reaffirmed their political symbolism, similar to what was seen in the early years of the Peruvian Republic. National identity reinforcement through

heritage is vastly related to the construction of the imaginary and Peruvian originality from an external view, when it is validated against the foreign in a hierarchical geopolitical organisation. Early transatlantic relations established both parties' understanding of each other. Natalia Majluf states that the representation of the Peruvian nation was established in the mid-19th century when the Ancient Peruvian was seen as *cultural differentiator* for Europe. Pre-Columbian objects were regarded as authentic representations of the nation on platforms of interchange, since the 19th century cultural production was regarded as unauthentic. The sacralisation of the ancient Peruvians as pure persisted (Majluf 1997). Over time, the accumulation and exposition in transatlantic contexts came to underlie these characteristics: authenticity and differentiator. Both are seen in contemporary manifestations, locally and in metropoles.

The recognition of the Ancient America aesthetics included location origin, aesthetic features, and typology. It provides the first evidence that was accountable in the historical framework of the European stages. This recognition evolves, showing contemporaneity from the viewer's perspective and experience (Kubler 1990, 35, 37-42, 44). In scholarly collecting there was a systematic organisation by relatable association to the Western textile tradition, and later by methodological research. Categories are closed terms, the subordination of items to a new terminology was influenced by academic approaches or political interests. Textiles representative identities were fixed by museums and collections, while detached objects and fragments attuned scholars to focus on specificity and the tangible. New realms of interpretation and knowledge production emerged and emphasised a supra-entity.

Heritage narratives are constantly changing; their meaning is giving through transformation. Since they are experienced in the present, managing them entails the renewal of narratives for the present (Holtorf 2001). The process involves perception, narrative, and memory, adaptability -of that memory- and the value given to it. (Smith 2006, 2021 cited in Smith 2022). I argue that a present and absence paradox is achieved through singularisation and autonomy, forged in the tangible qualities. It is a response to the continuous detachment of

heritage. It is observed through scholarly and political narratives. The acceptance of the collected textiles as a supra-entity surpasses their symbolism as hierarchical representation, historical value, and differentiator in foreign platforms. Their instrumentalisation is achieved because there is a delimitation (of the materiality matter and meaning), individualisation and resemblance in contemporary manifestations. In the process of collecting -detachment and classification-, the agency of the matter manifests a dynamic mediation.

This chapter is supported through the case study from the Musées royaux d'Art et d'Histoire (MRAH) collection and the Pan American Games' Opening ceremony Lima 2019. This chapter contributes to the discussion heritage and identity by focusing on the relationship between the entity and the experience of heritage and its instrumentalisation, the perception of traditional textiles, and the representation of the past. It linked contemporary manifestations to roles and dissemination emerged within the 19th century geopolitical order. The collecting inherited from a colonial past reveals continuum tangled relations in the identity affirmation that hopefully generate more enquiries regarding multidisciplinary research, postcolonial studies, delimiting identities, and role narratives. As well as other paths regarding layered heritage and agents input.

The information gathered in this chapter covers three areas: early collection and its colonial origin, representation in museum exhibitions, and textiles in the public sphere as instruments in the 21st century. It explains the contemporary manifestations of scholarly collecting and interpretation through the roles of textiles as national identity signifiers and social unifiers. It unravels the instrumentalisation of textiles, the present absence paradox influenced by the collecting practice: the manifestation of possession and absence, trespassing from autonomous entities to imaginary possessions.

Foreign Encounter Impact: Disrupted Order and the Making of a Lasting Symbolism

This section examines the impact of the Spanish invasion and the formation of a new order, its persistence in the Republic, and the sacralisation of ancient material culture to understand the formation of an imaginary possession. I will address the background of the creation of symbolism of Ancient Peruvian objects and the formation of national identity through the Andean heritage by focusing on three main issues: First, organisation and new identities, second, colonial legacy and the view of the indigenous, third, collecting and lasting representations

First, the Spanish invasion abruptly interrupted the Andean culture. The battles spread between both sides from 1532 to 1572, when the Fifth Viceroy Toledo entered Vilcabamba and executed Inca Tupac Amaru. The Viceroy of Peru was created in 1543 by the Leyes Nuevas; however, conquerors rose up and battled against the Spanish crown until 1554 (Regalado de Hurtado 1997; Hampe Martinez 2005). The Spanish system replaced the previous re-distribution system and controlled the dispersion of the population, which supported the Inca or *Curacas* in hierarchical positions (Pease G. Y. 1992, 2-242).

Mercantile commerce introduced the indigenous population into the Western system, resulting in the consumption, appropriation, modification, and production of merged material culture (Deagan 2003; A. J. Bauer 85-128), which also impacted on hierarchical social symbolism (A. J. Bauer 2001, 105). The policy of 'inclusion' resulted in acculturation, socio-economic domination, and assimilation (Butzer 1991, 213). However, resistance and acculturation went along in the Andes, due to the population's ability to adapt, keeping and modifying their identity. The *Curacas* rebellions spread out while the kinship remained rooted in the previous Inca interethnic organization (Pease G. Y. 1992, 303-310).

Many authors have noted that the evangelization, syncretism, and resistance influence the symbolism of the ancient Peruvian. In the Catholic view, the indigenous population was perceived as lazy due to their idolatries, this perception supported the evangelization (Pease G. Y. 1992, 118-120). The *Visitador de idolatrías* practice, which began in 1610, was facilitated by the alliance between

royal and ecclesiastical powers. Even though the indigenous people were not under Inquisition jurisdiction (1571), it featured punishments and the appropriation of products and properties (Acosta 2014, 202-396; Gareis 1989, 177-187). It caused concealment of collective memory and diminished identification with their ancestors. Religious syncretism maintained old deities and rituals linked to sustenance and social relations (Pease G. Y. 1992, 332). Breaking the link with traditions and burial arrangements laid the ground for the sacralisation of ancient material and non-material cultural heritage.

The collapse of the doctrine expressed in burial customs and the death cult impacted by rendering their ancestors unsacred (Zevallos 1994, 11). The concept of the soul departing from the body, relocation of sacred places, population mobilization, new economy and rituals detached the indigenous from the previous sacred centres [huacas]; although the cult of ancestors was still practiced in the early years of the invasion, it was ultimately eradicated (Ramos 2010). At the same time, the symbolism of textiles that adhered to funerary traditions was annulled, which led to commoditisation in the following centuries.

The indigenous population was excluded from the emancipation process arranged by the Creole elite, since the indigenous tradition was seen as a threat to the Republic project, while their ancient civilisation (material culture) remains were used to demonstrate the foundations of a former nation to be liberated (O'Phelan Godoy 2014, 69-174, Contreras and Cueto 2013, 37-77). Thus, the ambiguity of the ancient remains as valuable and as an obstruction simultaneously, is moulded by an intangible paradox: a nation facing a new geopolitical organisation while a previous hierarchical structure was maintained.

The warlords battle in the early years of independence, caused by military power and autonomy, complicated the formation of a modern state by the civilian elite (Ricketts 2012, 432; O'Phelan Godoy 160, 161; Flores-Galindo 188). Following the 1821 Independence,[18] European

[18] The independence process was sealed in 1824.

interest in Peru intensified, as prior colonies were subject to intervention by economic powers (Macera 66 – 69; Flores-Galindo 189) from 1851 onwards, worsening the post-independence struggles while the strategic location of Lima enhanced its role in regional trade (Denegri 1977). Subordination to the imperial economy changed from monopoly to dependence (Deustua 58, 61, 62). Structural problems from colonial and early Republican times were carried on from the 19th century into the 20th century (Quiroz 2013, 103-252).

Second, with regard to colonial legacy and the view of the indigenous, the asymmetry in the historical narrative disseminated a smooth transition and submission in the new order disregarding the continuation of the Inca regime through *Curacas*; however, the struggles of the new entities overturned the image of the Incas' submission and immediate Spanish dominance (Lamama 2016, 18, 19, 174-186). The domination narrative has permeated the recognition of the indigenous population. Under the colonial order in the early Republic, the indigenous population was perceived as non-original undermining their status (e.g. Francisco Garcia Calderon 1907, José de la Riva-Agüero 1905); thus, uplifting the ancient remains by diminishing their cultural production reinforced an ideal by opposition: since controlled narrative required discrimination, domination and possession.

The colonial legacy has been examined through the lens of the centre-periphery dichotomy, showing that geopolitical interactions extend to local organisations. Flores-Galindo states that the ethnic groups under Spanish rule were grouped under the *Indio*, condensing many cultural customs into a dominated life, since incorporating the population into the production circuit was a necessity that faced indigenous resistance. The racial narrative sustained a 'natural order' stance, validating the power and privilege on the opposite side. The indigenous population was at the periphery of centralist Lima. They did not integrate into the sense of nation. Their vindication in the early 20th century operated over the idea of race (Flores-Galindo 2010 (1986)). The Creole sought for the integration of the nation but rejected the Indio and everything related to them. It was rooted in a paradox: after the defeat of the *Tupac Amaru II* revolution (1780-

1783), the mestizo elite were perceived as a threat since they overpowered the myth of a dominated Indio.[19] The centralist triumph in the warlords' battles cemented the idea of superiority over indigenous population (Mendez 1996).

The new model of power or world order implied an 'historical re-identification' that attributed new geopolitical identities to population and places, defining inferiority on the basis of race. It influenced other spheres, such as culture, knowledge, and knowledge production (Quijano 2000, 209). Discriminatory structures and suppression are evident in educational policies. Reforms from 1905 onwards implied a legitimation of racial differentiation, which sought the modernisation of the indigenous population emerged from positivist images of inferiority (Ccahuana Cordova 2019). In the mid-20th century, the marginalised became actors in Peruvian society through their incorporation into political, economic and cultural spheres due to the migration of the rural population to coastal cities and Lima, (Matos Mar 2012). In the 21st century, the symbolism of the pre-Columbian past is engaged by a diverse centre which embraces a liberal economy and traditional roots. The indigenous would constitute something else: their foundations would be acknowledged while being linked to the imagined past and their material culture valued within the margins of immediate relationships. Textile traditional practices are valued while adhering to the imagined indigenous, maintaining the link to the Inca past, becoming a representation of the past. The value of contemporary practices lies in the fixation of textile as representation in the foreign and national imaginary through the collecting.

In the 21st century, the symbolism of Ancient Peruvian objects manifests the social stratigraphy of the country through parallel entities: the original past and the present indigenous. The permanence of ancient textiles representation and meaning is grounded in the 16th century.

[19] In 2023, there were demands for a new Constitution in Peru, which embodies the clash between Lima elite and regional powers.

Through the shipment of cultural objects by Spanish invaders, objects transcended as symbols of an original order within European visual culture.

In the 18th century, the Tupac Amaru II Revolution (1780 -1783) defeat and Tupac Amaru II death (1781) resulted in the elimination of Curacazgos which continued until disappearing in the Republic, suppressing their power, cultural expressions, and symbols; such prohibition on featuring Inca symbols legitimised their relevance (Majluf 2005, 256, 257; Flores-Galindo 2010 (1986); 185, 190, 191). The ancient Peruvian became a symbolic marker of cultural difference which was explicit in the 1855 World Fair. The pre-Columbian represented whole nation, differentiated and classified, settling for the future an expectation to fulfil the European imaginary. The Peruvian artwork was perceived as unauthentic or not national, revealing a double discourse that placed it outside the modernism discourse (Majluf 1997). This view pointed out by Majluf continues to be seen in exhibitions to be discussed in the following section.

The third and final issue concern, collecting and lasting representation. Collecting funerary bundles and digging graves as a source of objects and fragments manifests the rupture of traditions and the dominant narrative of universalist pursuit. The scholarly collecting and accumulation of objects and human remains helped to increase the differentiation between the indigenous cultural practices and the ancient civilizations textile production, by the conceptualisation of time through chronological schemes. The early identification of the political value of ancient remains is seen internally and externally.

The collection of human remains could be supported by a tradition and genuine study interest; however, being collected as objects could be seen as an instrument for the political self-identification of leading nations (Ordoñez 2019). The accumulation of pre-Columbian objects also sought the perfect representation of Andean societies; this practice in Peru institutionalised the discourse of cultural civilisation distinct from that of the descendants (Gänger 2006). The appropriation of non-institutionalised knowledge in platforms of exchange between scholarly

circles occurred similarly with the undermined indigenous population in descendant countries (Schuster 2018, 91, 92, 100). Thus, the representation of textile production can be perceived as the persistence of Andean traditions beyond the contemporary indigenous population.

Textiles are part of the Peruvian identity through adaptation and transformation of customs over time and regions (Silverman 1996; Dirección Desconcentrada de Cuzco 2019). The importance of textiles diminished, although traditional techniques and meanings did not disappear completely after the Spanish settlement. Their production incorporated Colonial transition symbols in the 16th century Viceroyalty period. The meaning of the processes and related symbols is exclusively reminiscent of the search for their own aesthetics. For instance, Monica Solorzano notes these changes in the colonial tapestry: designs made in the warp direction with incorporation of new icons, while traditional processes were kept with restricted production (Solorzano Gonzales 2019). This is rooted in the mobilisation of indigenous artisans in *corregimientos*[20], while the ayllus[21] were under Curacas authorities (Vetter Parodi 2016; Pease G. Y., 1992, 262, 263). The Spanish system replaced the previous re-distribution system and controlled dispersion of population, which supported the Inca or Curacas in hierarchical positions (Pease G. Y. 1992, 2,14, 241, 242). In the *obrajes* for the textile production, the imported Spanish system of production was adapted to local circumstances (Olivera Alegre 2005, 370-372). Textile commerce in the early years used indigenous knowledge, and production was standardised and exported to Spanish and other colonies (Phips 2014). The textiles tradition has persisted throughout the Republic (Vidalon-Shields 2022; Phipps 2013).

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[20] Corregimiento: A mechanism to force integration and control labour. See Pease G.Y., F. (1992). Perú: Hombre y Historia. Vol II: La República. Lima: Edubanco.

[21] Ayllu: socio economic, and kinship unit, which made possible a system of reciprocal exchange of labour. See María Rostworowski de Diez Canseco, Historia del Tahuantinsuyu (Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 1988).

Possession and Absence: A Journey from Segregation to a Supra-entity

The open market was highly relevant to the exploration of coastal archaeological sites in the 19th century and the collection of objects and human remains. The independent nation's early chaotic organisation and the ancient been perceived as grandiose perception influenced the circulation of textiles in the early organisation of museums in Europe in the mid-19th century. The detachment of textiles from original assemblages and segregation created autonomous entities to fit categorisation and circulate in the market as scholarly commodities.

The following study case from the Musées royaux d'Art et d'Histoire (MRAH) shows the early identification of collected ancient Peruvian textiles as autonomous units or singularities is maintained through their trajectories since being collected up to contemporary dissemination platforms. The intervention from early collecting and museum narratives embedded physical and conceptual borders, thus enabling their autonomy to become a supra-entity.

Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire (MRAH) - (Koninklijke Musea voor Kunst en Geschiedenis KMKG)

In 1854, curator Antoine-Guillaume-Bernard Schayes published the *Catalogue et description du Musée royal d'Armures, d'Antiquités et d'Ethnologie*, showing Ancient Peruvian and ethnographic objects. The publication describes a three-part exhibition of antiquities and ethnology held in separate salons. It notes the presence of these objects in private collections, later acquired by the nation, shaping the museum's public meaning and the relevance of ancient textiles in public collections in Belgium

The Musées royaux d'Art et d'Histoire (MRAH) originated in 1835 as the Musée d'Armes anciennes, d'Armures, d'Objets d'Art et de Numismatique, with collections from the Dukes of Burgundy and the Habsburg Archdukes' curiosity cabinets. The great accumulation of objects led to its separation in 1889; the ethnographic collection was moved to the Cinquantenaire Palace in 1906. It became the Musées royaux d'Art et d'Histoire in 1926 and is now part of the Federal Museum Consortium. The museum focuses on conservation, acquisition, and research

(Royal Museum of Art and History 2021). The Palace was planned in 1900 and completed in 1934. This architectural project reflects nationalistic ideals, as museums and monuments fostered nationhood. Political actors remained involved in cultural management through the capitalisation and mediatisation of museum collections (Verhoeven 2022). Over time, exhibitions became assets to establish prestige and networks.

Elizabeth Della Santa states that the first ancient Peruvian objects became part of the Belgium collection in 1833, donated by M. De Terloo, they originated from the Central Coast and Central East of Peru. Subsequent donation became part of the museum: E. Deville in 1879, Mariano de Rivero 1851, Stas 1860, De la Comb 1894, Gastar 1920, Minnaert 1927-1930, le Baron d'Groote 1929, Hirtzel et les Amis de museum, and H. Hirtzel 1930. Over the 20th century, donations increased; one even came from the Peruvian government in 1947. Likewise, there are objects with unknown provenance (Della Santa 1963, 3, 4, 7). The textile objects in the collections originated mainly from the Central and North coast, grouped into various chronological periods. They are fragments, clothing, fabrics, and accessories from funerary trousseaus. Information about the provenance of certain textiles is limited, often reduced on many occasions to the name of the donor.

The Ancient America department was created after two successful exhibitions of pre-Columbian objects from Mexico in 1923 and Peru in 1926 (Musees Royaux d'Art et Histoire 1929, 23). The creation of the American Archaeology and Ethnography Division in the museum implied the gathering of objects from various sections (Lavachery 1952). This shows the transcendence of the collections in the cultural and national cultural management. The dispersion of textile objects in historical institutions is observed as recurrent feature through this research.

By the 1920s, there was an institutional push to establish the museum as a platform for knowledge production through collaboration and exhibitions. Simultaneously, it served as a platform for the circulation of private collections (Musees Royaux d'Art et Histoire 1929). For instance, Edmond Haenflein's collection of Peruvian pre-Columbian objects was exhibited in the

museum before being sold in an auction in 1928.[22] The acquisition of private pre-Columbian collections is not rare; for instance, the Paul & Dora Janssen collection was given to the Museum aan de Stroom (MAS), Antwerpen through the Flemish government as a permanent loan in 2008.[23]

Collecting created units from assemblages and new assemblages. This is noted in the organisation of the collections. The museum's public database collection shows 536 objects originating from Peru, of which 68 are classified as textiles, including mixed organic material, while eight are non-archaeological.[24] The textile objects and fragments vary from clothing, such as hats, to symbolic items, such as coca bags. Fragments of square-like cut framing depictions are recurrent. In the public sub-collection South American Archaeology, objects are also classified by material type; 107 items containing cotton were shown, which included spindles with whorls and a tool case, of which 30 are archaeological textiles. Twenty-six items made of camelid wool, of which 24 were also included in the cotton category. The search for jute material did not show results. As in other case studies, the information in public databases does not represent the total amount of textiles or the detailed classification system. The metadata allows the results to be retrieved according to the terms used that must match the ones used to classify them. Therefore, the results and accessibility, as in other cases, would depend more on the dissemination platform system and retrieval parameters rather than on the amount of information uploaded to it. These factors reinforce their perception and identity as units.

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22 Edmond Haenflein was one of the most well-known collectors in Europe at the time; the sale was mentioned by Phillip Ainswoth Means Phillip Ainsworth Means, letter to Mrs Barbara Sessions, 11 February 1941, Dumbarton Oaks Archives, accessed November 15, 2023, https://www.doaks.org/research/library-archives/dumbarton-oaks-archives/historical-records/the-underworld-courier/vol-i-no-6-feb-15-1941
His collection was sold at the Hotel Drouot on May 22, 1928. It included ceramic, carved woods and textiles. Edmond Haenflein, Léon Flagel, and André Portier, *Collection Edmond Haenflein (Première Vente) Arts Du Pérou, Précolombien Catalogue* (1928), accessed November 15, 2023, https://searchworks.stanford.edu/view/2408234

23 Museum ann de Stroom, America collection, Paul & Dora Janssen-Arts collection, accessed November 15, 2023, https://mas.be/en/content/art-america

24 Musées Royaux d'Art et Histoire Collection, accessed November 28, 2021, https://www.carmentis.be/eMP/eMuseumPlus?service=ExternalInterface&module=collection&moduleFunction=highlight&lang=nl

Some collectors are identified by name, while others are unknown in the period 1882-1929 (Appendix A). Trading from the late 1920s and the early 1930s through known dealers and auction houses was prominent, the museum also holds some acquisitions from that period. Six items from the museum were reviewed,[25] items from the De la Comb collection and De Farres collection are discussed below.

De la Comb

De la Comb collection was donated in 1894 and includes at least 15 textile items, originally from *Pachacamac*, a long-lasting ceremonial centre that overlapped with many cultures in the Central Coast. Some textiles are described as funerary wrappings, noting their former use or simply as tapestries.[26] No detailed information about the trajectory of the collection process has been found

Autonomy emerged by a delimitation of the objects outside the composition of the burial assemblage. The physical separation modifies their concept of burial arrangement -offering or wrapping- while flattening may resemble fine fabrics in the Western textile tradition. This is observed in the case of the item AAM 5838-1/3 Cotton fabric. This 'complete' object from a funerary assemblage was added to the collection in June 1894. This item is a cotton fabric consisting of two panels (Figure 1). It is described as originating from Pachacamac. It measures approximately 103 × 105 cm and shows four selvages. It is classified as gauze due to the delicacy of the threads achieved during spinning and weaving. The union stitch was made of wool. This is an open work. Although in a fair state, it has broken threads, holes, and oxidised fibres. Many items in De la Comb collection are fragments.

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25 Items reviewed were: Ch. De Farres collection: MAA 5816 1/3, MAA 5816 3/3, 5815, De la Comb: 5825 2, MAA 5838 1/3, and Friends of the Museum: MAA 5823.

26 De La Comb collection included items: 5840 1/3, 5816-1-2, 5825 1-4, 5837 1-3, 5838 1-3.

this image is under embargo

Figure 1. *Cotton Fabric*. AAM 5838-1/3. 103 x 105 cm approximately. Musées royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, Brussels. Photograph by author. November 30, 2021. With Permission from the Musées royaux d'Art et d'Histoire.

The initial manipulation when extracted and allocation inevitably broke the early perceivable relations. It transformed its perception from a functional setting to a space reserved for research and amusement in museums. The original arrangement has changed from folded (?) wrapped (?) to flattened. Consequently, the intentionality of the object changed from representative to illustrating the whole of ancient Peru through a selective process. When it is exposed or researched, as in this case, it also characterises a museum's collection, it relates to the other items in the collection by similarities. It was grouped with other two items in storage: the AAM 5838 2/3 item is similar in manufacture. It has changed from a specific circumstance to be a major subject; the one object becomes whole. Possession denotes a contribution to the museum's role.

The location of origin, acknowledge as a long-lasting ritual and religious centre embed hierarchy to the item. It is described as a wrapping for mummies in funerary bundles. However, no other specifics are known regarding context or trajectory to the museum. The restrictions or parameters given to the perception of the objects during exhibitions or catalogue descriptions

attach them to an artificial chronological scheme; hence, new layers of interpretation are stack over.

Ch. W. Farres

The British Museum contains objects from Trujillo (Peruvian North coast) collected in the mid-19th century by Charles G. Farris (The British Museum 2022), originally from a similar location to the ones from Ch. W. Farres. It is merely speculative to suggest that over time, transcriptions between English and French could have modified his name (?). Information about this collector was not found.

The Ch. W. Farres collection was purchased in 1858 and paid in 1859, the price of the 15 objects was one thousand francs, it included mainly metal-made ceremonial and high elite objects, described succinctly.[27] They are identified from Chimú culture, settled in the North/ Central Coast.[28] Although, information regarding the origin of the objects has not been found in this research, a note in the description states that one Peruvian idol had a written label saying "*Huchanchuco*" which could indicate a location misspelled, possibly Huanchaco (?) near the main *Moche- Chimú* complexes. It might be presumptuous to try to attain certainty; however, the uncertainty does not disregard the effects of the actions taken. For instance, the attached label shows a previously owned/exhibited item, some attention given to grouping those 15 items, and the intentionality to trespass various spheres.

The item AAM 05815 *Uncu* is described as "…Peruvian tunic with silver plates…"[29] in the original listing and in the public database.[30] It is described and displayed estranged from its

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27 Inventaire du Musee Royal d'Antiquites et d'Armures, 22 January 1867–31 December 1867, item no. 490, Archives of the Royal Museums of Art and History.

28 Ch. W. Farres collection includes items: MAA 05815, 5398, 5437, 5395, 5362, 5363, 5379, 5445, 4969, 5761, 5765-1, and 5765-2.

29 "Tuniquie péruvienne avec plaques en argent…"

30 This item is identified in the Inca Dress Code exhibition publication *INCA Textiles et parures des Andes* (2019) with inventory number 54815 p. 94.

functionality in the funerary arrangement. Consequently, its physical features are accentuated in the immediate interpretation: a representation of high status through the embellishment of metal in objects. Silver fish-shaped plates are stitched to the cotton fabric, one of them is made of copper (?), it could be a posteriori replacement (?) The item measures approximately 76 × 80 cm. It is made of two fabrics sewn together, leaving an aperture at the center and sides. It shows slight remains of feathers (?) at the bottom (Figure 2).

The uncu could be a dressing for the deceased or part of the offering, representative of a hierarchical status. The separation of objects and human remains from funerary bundles or arrangements has been a regular practice in museums.[31] Not to mention the objectivization of human remains. They are researched and often stored separately, showing that cultural practice: funerary tradition and materiality, conflict the organisation of museums' roles. In early scholarly contexts, collecting funerary bundles might be indicative of disregard for funerary traditions, indigenous beliefs, and descendants' interests. Consequently, the representation of textiles is also affected by early academic practice, either for conservation or research reasons, the segregation of original element as units modifies roles, perception to align them to roles.

Inventory numbers varied over time; this is a recurrent in early collected objects, as in this case. The item is affiliated with the Chimú culture, which settled on the North Coast. It was restored in 1984 and recurrently displayed, e.g. in the *INCA Dress Code* (2019) and *Inca: 3000 ans d'Histoire* (1990 exhibitions. The terms Pre-Hispanic or Pre-Columbian have superseded Ancient Peruvian, as representation of the mysterious, exotic, and antagonistic entity. The terms, intentionally or unintentionally, exchange a temporal narrative for a universal one, avoiding problematisation of trajectories. These textiles are related to Peru using academic chronological schemes. For example, in the 2019 exhibition catalogue, it is cited as 'Peru - North Coast, Late

[31] For instance, an infant mummy purchased from Farres was given to the Natural museums of History. Inventaire du Musee Royal d'Antiquites et d'Armures, item no. 489.

Intermediate Period. As they are no longer anchored in a tangible context, they become ethereal concepts, especially in absence of mediation in an exhibition. The visual culture constructed over time sets segregated elements be perceived as singularities. Thus, it transcends as timeless objects into a supra-entity fixed in the collective imagination by dissemination platforms: exhibitions, catalogues, publications, or public databases.

This lasting construction of autonomy is observed in the Antoine-Guillaume-Bernard Schayes catalogue from 1854; it refers to an uncu as item 253 as ancient Peruvian tunic in the Section America and Oceania. Although it does not refer to the AAM 5815 item. It shows the attraction of individual relatable objects, displaying signifiers of hierarchy, and grouping them into categories. The uncu fits into an acknowledged role. The Schayes catalogue also mentions three mummies from Pachacamac and another three from Arica (Schayes 1854), which at the time was Peruvian territory, it draws attention to the objectivization of human remains and the odds of pre-Columbian or ancient heritage being subjected to political borders.

this image is under embargo

Figure 2. *Uncu.* AAM 5815 1/3. 76 x 80 cm approximately. Musées royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, Brussels. Photograph by author. November 29, 2021. With Permission from the Musées royaux d'Art et d'Histoire.

Eventually, the singularisation results in further associations. The segregation of original assemblages results in patterns. The iteration of materiality features engages the interpretation process with attributes that include recognition, appearance (physical characteristics), and portability. The interventions by agents in the collecting process, and in museums might be observed in the physical composition of the textile: to start the selection guided by the representative decoration out of the ordinary wrapping fabrics: silver decorations; the origin of the item: Chimú; that is, the acknowledged locations for extracting ancient remains close by the cities or ports, Lima and Callao, Trujillo and Huanchaco, which implies knowledge about central coast complexes and adequate environmental conditions to benefit preservation; moreover, a digging tradition aware of the circulation of objects in the antiquities market; a network to allocate the item in a museums by sales. All of these supports the underlying intentionality of the collector and the institutions.

The attributes observed in the collected textiles is discussed in the following chapter. The following section shows the transcendence of the representation and the non-temporal feature of the supra-entity exercised in museums exhibitions to become a present absent entity.

Present Absence Through Dissemination Platforms

Collecting methods, heritage, and national identity are entangled by the intersection of the transcendence of textiles as signifiers of the Andean past, and insertion into social scenarios and their political use, maintaining the textile supra-entity. The paradox of possession and absence drawn by early collecting is shown in the following contemporary case studies. While ancient textiles are a differentiator for the European imaginary as representation, in Peru, are embodiment of historical value, heritage and meant as a unifier. The examples below show the supra-entity. Its representation reached beyond borders and physical possession because it is autonomous and abstract.

Dissemination or The Imagined Lands

The mediatization of museum collections immersed Ancient Peruvian into 20th-century popular culture as a source of enigmatic and wild stories about ancient customs. For instance, a postwar comic strip *Prisoners of the Sun* from the *Tin Tin* series by Hergé.[32] The currency of Ancient Peruvian collections would depend greatly on the activities and roles proposed by museums, since they were platforms for the expansion of ideas and knowledge. The periodical illustration reproduces a 19th-century activity of excavation of funerary arrangements (Figure 3). This exemplifies the influence of scholarly practice transcended the social sphere through museums as dissemination platforms. Textile objects, once understood as representative elements of nobility, link similar items as ancient living in the present, uncoupled from a specific reality. In this way, a continuous detachment of heritage is re-enacted over time by popular narratives emphasising the present absence.

Figure 3. Tin Tin Covers, *De Avonturen van Kuipje, De Zonnetempel.* Hergé Museum. Photograph by author. June 13, 2023.

32 The series ran from 1946 to 1948 and was adapted to motion in 1969 as Tin Tin and the Temple of the Sun. The mummy portrayed in Herge's illustrations was inspired by one part of the museum's collection.

Inca Dress Code Exhibition, MRAH 2019

I claim that supra-entity transcendence is exercised in museums exhibitions. The following examples show that the fixation of the atemporality of the collected ancient Peruvian, as differentiators of the other, they have been continuous and consistent in contemporary platforms, showing the *delimitation* of physical shape and meaning; the *singularisation* into autonomous and relational items, and the *resemblance* through contemporary manifestations of textile tradition.

The *Inca Dress Code* exhibition in the MRAH (November 23, 2018 to March 24, 2019) has converged the interests of scholars and the general public to remain relevant. It displayed over 200 objects from various museums (Linden-Museum, Stuttgart, Musée du quai Branly - Jacques Chirac, Paris, Museum aan de Stroom, Antwerpen) alongside the MRAH's and private collections. The 2018 MRAH Activities Annual Report cover shows a silver figurine dressed in a headdress and a mantle, which was part of the exhibition (Figure 4), demonstrating the exhibition's relevance in the museum's activities. There was also a temporary exhibition, Inca Fashion Code, which included a runway (March 14, 2019) (Figure 5). It displayed designs inspired by Ancient Peruvian textiles. The Peruvian Embassy in Belgium invited young designers to showcase their work. A Belgian student and a Peruvian student presented their designs in Belgium and Peru, as a competition prize[33]. This was made possible through a partnership with the museum. The partnership dates back to the 19th century, with the donation of objects by Rivero while he was General Consul of the Peruvian Embassy in Belgium in 1851, it was evident in the sponsorship of the Peruvian Embassy display and the ambassador's presence at the opening (Figure 6).

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33 "Annual Reports", Musées royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, About MRAH, accessed August 31, 2023, https://www.artandhistory.museum/sites/default/files/2023-06/2018%20Rapport%20annuel.pdf
Serge Lemaitre, America collections curator MRAH, conversation with author, November 28, 2021.

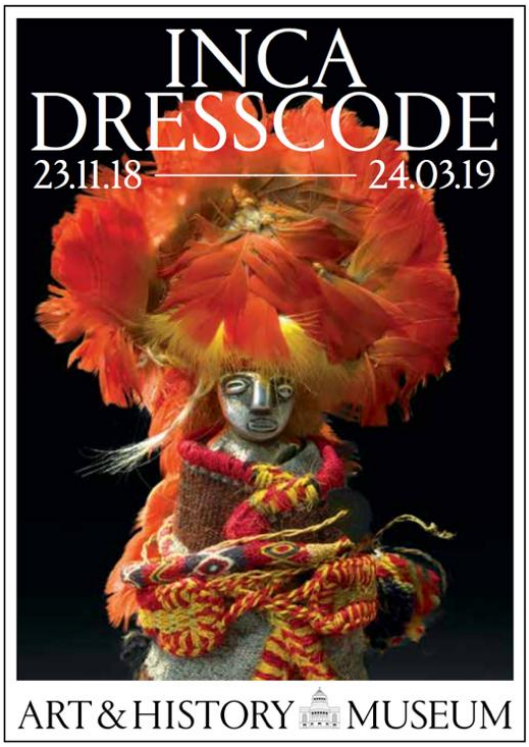

Figure 4. *Poster of Exhibition Inca Dress Code.* Musées royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, Brussels. Accessed April 4, 2021. https://www.artandhistory.museum/nl © Musées royaux d'Art et d'Histoire.

The curatorial text stated, "Through the discovery of their wardrobe … visitors will share in the daily life of these people from the past and admire exceptionally high quality, vividly coloured items as well as impressive precious metalwork" (Koninklijke musea voor kunst en geschiedenis 2019). Although the connection with social life and symbolism in the past is noted, its allure focuses on the exceptional and mysterious that has long been represented. This shows that these objects still play a role in self-identification for the Western, as well as affirming national identity for descendant population. This demonstrated how textile objects embody a historical trajectory on both continents. Wherever they are displayed, they are recognized as Peruvian, provoking attachment and sentiment, while their incorporation in visual culture shows a Peruvian image that has been cemented. The display presented the textiles' tradition as an adaptation from the Pre-Columbian with a Spanish influence, not a rupture but a continuous

path.[34] In this regard, the museum established links with weavers who performed activities at the museum.[35]

Figure 5. Screen shot from the Opening of Inca Fashion Code Project, Brussels. Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Peru). It details the runway show and engagement with designers[36]. Accessed November 18, 2023, https://www.gob.pe/institucion/rree/noticias/26682-inauguracion-del-proyecto-inca-fashion-code-en-bruselas-belgica. © Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Peru.

34 Serge Lemaitre, America collections curator MRAH, conversation with author, November 28, 2021.
35 Serge Lemaitre, conversation with author November 28, 2021.
36 Luis Cuti Sanchez, Advisor from the Embajada del Peru in Belgium, email to author, November 18, 2023.

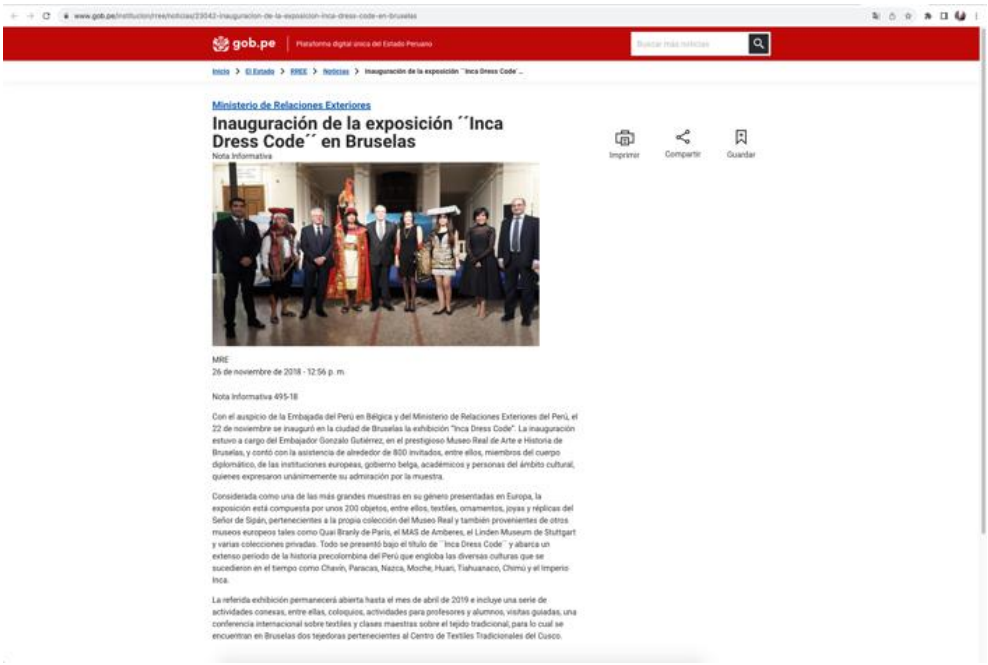

Figure 6. Screen shot from the Opening of the Inca Dress Code Exhibition, Brussels. Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores. It details the exhibition and portrays the Ambassador Gonzalo Gutiérrez in the opening. Accessed November 18, 2023, https://www.gob.pe/institucion/rree/noticias/23042-inauguracion-de-la-exposicion-inca-dress-code-en-bruselas. © Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Peru.

Nasca Peru Searching for Traces in the Desert

The exhibition *NASCA PERU Searching for Traces in the Desert* (Figure 7) (November 24, 2017 - April 15, 2018) at the Museum Rietberg, Zurich,[37] curatorial text reads "most comprehensive exhibition on the fascinating as well as mysterious Nasca culture ever to be seen in Europe"" (Museum Rietberg 2018). It is noted that exoticism prevailed to engage the public. This travel exhibition collection was loaned from the Peruvian National collections (Museo Nacional de Ica and Museo National de Arqueología, Antropología e Historia) and curated and organised by

37 The exhibition was also hold in the Bundeskunsthalle in Bonn from 18th May to 16th September 2016. Bundeskunst Halle, "Nasca", accessed April 4, 2021, https://www.bundeskunsthalle.de/ausstellungen/archivierte-ausstellungen/nasca.html
Regarding the exhibition, a Press note from DW focuses on the Nasca-Palpa Lines project. Deustche Welle, "Die linien von Nasca", accessed April 4, 2021, https://www.dw.com/de/r%C3%A4tsel-um-die-linien-von-nasca-die-ur-peruaner-flehten-um-wasser/a-43718679

MALI (Museo de Arte de Lima). It exhibited Nazca textiles among other objects. In total, 207 items were loaned. This shows the high regard for collections in the national and foreign sphere.

The pre-Columbian still serves to foster the country image and identity through its millenarian 'opulent' culture (riqueza cultural). The Ministerio de Cultura national policy Plan 2030 (Plan Nacional de Cultura 2030) states that strengthening the appreciation and protection of cultural heritage is a priority.[38] This is shown in the authorisation from the Ministerio which allowed the Nazca iconic textiles to be exhibited internationally, for a limited period.[39]Acknowledgement and acceptance in transatlantic contexts validate the symbolism of Ancient Peruvian archaeological textiles as legitimate, authentic, and illustrative of the country. They also endorse the Ancient Peruvian textiles entity, which translates objects' features to exhibitions settings sealing out their burial tradition origin, to a period, to a nation, and to the collective imagination of descendant citizenry.

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38 Plataforma digital unica del Estado Peruano, "Plan national de cultura al 2030" (Culture National Policy Plan 2030), accessed April 4, 2021, https://cdn.www.gob.pe/uploads/document/file/1025961/PNC_VERSI%C3%93N_FINAL_2.pdf "Plan Estrategico institucional del Ministerio de cultura del Perú 2021-2024" (Strategic plan from the Ministry of culture 2021-2024*)*, accessed April 4, 2021, http://transparencia.cultura.gob.pe/sites/default/files/transparencia/2020/07/plan-estrategico-institucional-pei/pei2021-2024.pdf

39 Ministerio de Cultura, DS 208081-145-2018, Plataforma digital unica del estado Peruano, accessed April 4, 2021, https://www.gob.pe/qu/institucion/cultura/normas-legales/208081-145-2018-mc
DS 422-2017-MC, which extend the permit for limited period, accessed April 4, 2021, https://cdn.www.gob.pe/uploads/document/file/232210/208081_rm145-2018.pdf20181203-3039-14kpnqy.pdf

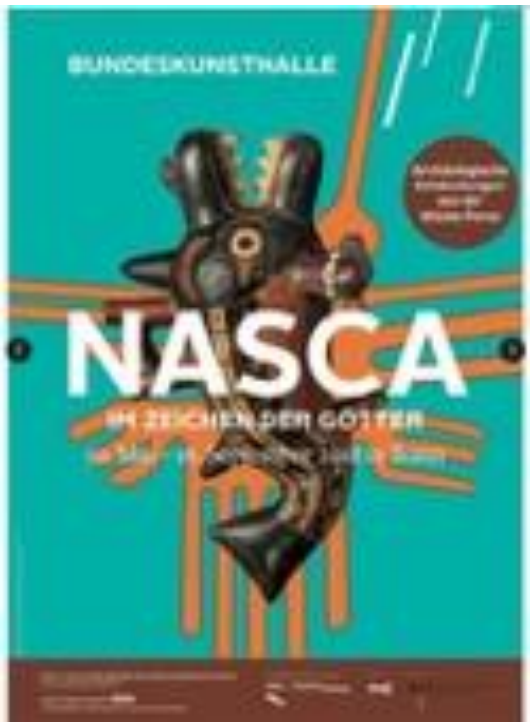

Figure 7. *Poster NASCA PERU Searching for Traces in the Desert*. Rietberg Museum, Zurich. Accessed April 4, 2021. https://rietberg.ch/en/exhibitions/nasca_en © Rietberg Museum.

INKA - Kings of the Andes

The *INKA - Kings of the Andes* exhibition at the Linden Museum, Stuttgart (October 12, 2013 – March 16, 2014), it brought in, alongside its own collection, objects from the Museo Nacional de Arqueología, Antropología e Historia and the Museo Larco from Peru, as well as European collections from the British Museum, Museo de América, Världskulturmuseet Gothenburg, Museum der Kulturen Basel, Museum aan de Stroom, Antwerp, Ethnologisches Museum Berlin, Museum Fünf Kontinente, Münchner Stadtmuseum, Museum am Rothenbaum Hamburg, Niedersächsisches Landesmuseum Hanover, Staatliche Münzsammlung München, Bonner Amerikas-Sammlung BASA-Museum, and private collections (Linden Museum Stuttgart 2014). A press release about the exhibition read, "the most successful in the museums over 100-year history" (Wissenchaft 2013). Some objects from the Linden Museum collection were loaned for the 2019 INCA exhibition. The exhibition provided an overview of the vast collections in

European museums that have been formed over centuries. Exoticism and the history of the Andean civilisation are conflated through hierarchical symbols; for instance, the image of the figure representing the Incas with feathered headdress (Figure 8) illustrated in the Catalogue of the exhibition.

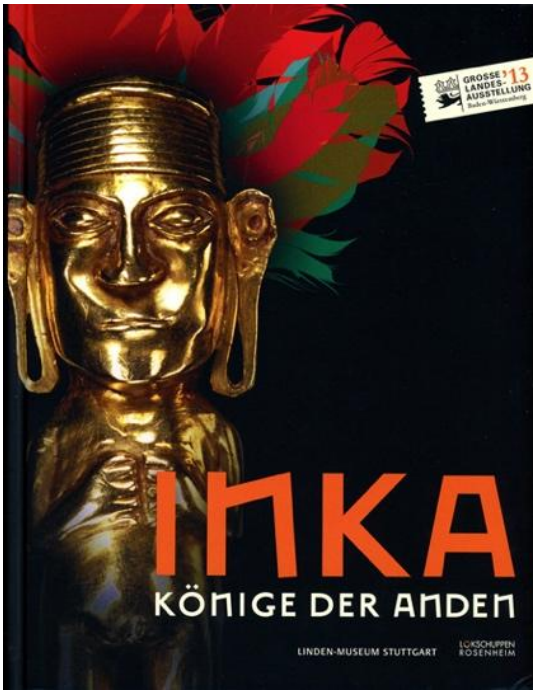

Figure 8. *Poster Inka Kings of the Andes Exhibition*. Linden Museum Stuttgart. Accessed April 4, 2021. https://www.textile-forum-blog.org/2013/12/inca-kings-of-the-andes/ © Linden Museum Stuttgart.

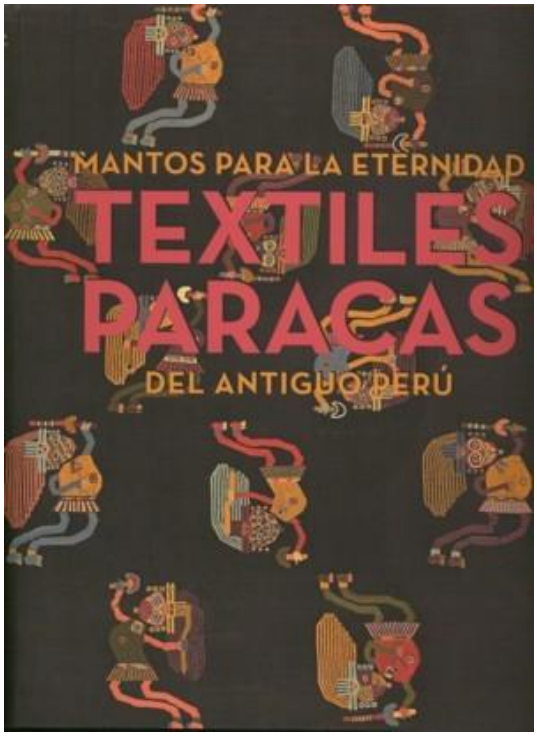

Figure 9. *Mantos para la eternidad.* Catalogue cover. Ministerio de Cultura y Deporte, Spain. Accessed April 4, 2021, https://www.libreria.culturaydeporte.gob.es/libro/mantos-para-la-eternidad-textiles-paracas-del-antiguo-peru_433/ © Ministerio de Cultura y deporte, Spain.

Mantos para la Eternidad. Textiles Paracas del Antiguo Perú

In 2009, the Paracas collection from the same Peruvian museums was exhibited at the Museo de America, Madrid (September 24, 2009 – February 14, 2010).[40] It included 82 textile items. In this case, the presentation text paid attention to representative textiles, highlighting the quality and vibrancy of colours. This has been recurrent over time. The text incorporated these qualities into the present with remarks indicating their appearance as 'brand-new' (Museo de America 2010), advocating for an atemporal entity, focusing on the physical features in relation to the differentiated features. The impact of their aesthetics has been continuous as the interest in pre-

[40] El País, "Mantos de dos mil años," September 27, 2009, accessed April 4, 2009 https://elpais.com/diario/2009/09/27/madrid/1254050668_850215.html
ABC, "*Textiles Paracas del antiguo Perú llegan a Madrid,*" September 24, 2009, accessed April 4, 2021, https: //www.abc.es/cultura/arte/abci-textiles-paracas-antiguo-peru-llegan-madrid-200909240300-103115161245_noticia.html
In 2011 the RS-008-2011-MC authorized the Paracas collection to be temporarily exhibited in the Museo Nacional de Colombia as part of the exhibition *Hilos para la eternidad: Textiles funerarios del Antiguo Peru.* Ministerio de Cultura, RS-008-2011-MC, Normas Legales El Peruano, May 6, 2011, accessed August 23, 2021, http://gacetajuridica.com.pe

Columbian civilisations. This is particularly highlighted in the Paracas textiles (Figure 9). Research into southern cultures in the early 1920s drove new interest in ancient textiles. This also prompted illicit trade since prohibition of exportation was already in place.

Possession as Layered heritage? - Note about the Expedición Científica del Pacífico (Pacific exploration) (1862-1865)

I showed above that the ancient Peruvian textiles are valued for their aesthethic characteristics; and, because they confront opposites. Through travel exhibitions and mix of collections, the European is emphasized by the identification of foreign Andean civilizations as it was in the late 19th Century; while the boundaries of the supra-entity are shown physical exhibitions and digital platforms. Here, I draw attention to the historical layers and the conflict when discussing origin and limits, both issues of the collecting process.

The Museum of America collection originated from the American Archaeology and Ethnology collection of the National Archaeological Museum (Ministerio de Cultura n.d.), and was increased with later donations and purchases. Although other national and regional museums in Spain contain Ancient Peruvian textiles, the textiles collection in the Museo de America came from Royal and natural history collections (Garcia Saiz and Jimenez Villalba 2009; Solanilla Demestre 2000). It shows the entangled history of Spain and Peru and the impact of the Viceroyalty and Independence arrangements in defining the origin of heritage. For instance, a number of ethnographic and archaeological objects were collected during the Pacific Mission, a scientific commission sent by the Ministry of Public Instruction, which joined the military-political mission led by General Pinzon, from 1862–1865 (La expedicion cientifica del Pacifico, El Museo Universal, 1863, p.51-52 cited in Puig-Samper 1988, 15-17). The Pacific Mission's guidelines for anthropology and ethnography collecting were succinct, in contrast to other sections designated; such as, natural sciences –botany, zoology, mineralogy, geology. Objects were collected by D. Manuel de Almagro, Marcos Jimenez de la Espada, and Juan Isern Batlló.

However, no detailed performance was given in their accounts about the sites visited (De Almagro 1866, 66) (Murillo and Naranjo Orovio 1999). Even though the process and collecting outcomes show it as an imperial project, the actors concentrated on understanding the collection and producing knowledge (Lopez-Ocon 2003), detached from the concern of changing identities in the colonial landscape of South America and the successive country limits. Huayta Montoya noted conflict in researching funerary bundles from today's Chile although this was not the case at the time of collecting (Montoya Uriarte 2022).

In the museum public database, textiles from the Pacific Mission in the Museo de America originates from Atacama and *Chiu Chiu*[41] (present-day Chile). As part of the Pacific Mission, the textiles in the Museo de America were previously held by the Natural Science Museum. The documented mobilisation of the collections (Cabello Carro 1994; Cabello Carro, 2007; Puig-Samper 1988, 263-334; Montoya Uriarte 2022) shows that restating possession accredited it as an entity. In doing so, the agents, institutions and scholars' legacies, establish borders and positions. The exhibition in the museum subtly re-visits its complicated past: while the Pacific Mission itself showed imperial entitlement even after losing territorial dominion, the collections in the museums seem to establish their possessions as layered heritage.

The value of possession influenced the value of absence through the exhibitions of now historical objects discussed above, not just regarding origin but acquisition in the museums: dispossession and re-enactment make the absence present. This paradox shown that an atemporal entity is lasting because is not anchored in materiality in the sense of physical limitations.

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[41] Ministerio de Cultura, Ceres Collecciones en la Red, accessed September 19, 2021, December 29, 2021, August 6, 2022, September 19, 2022, http://ceres.mcu.es/pages/Main
Andres Gutierrez, Curador del Departamento de América Precolombina, email to author, August 8 and 10, 2022.

Collecting Impact: An Imagined Corpus

Originally being valued as representative objects in the Inca hierarchy and by their ancestors, has enabled these objects to remain relevant. It has been shown that the methods of collecting, meaning in the broad sense, detachment, classification, and dissemination, alongside creating borders to their materiality, influenced their perception and affirmed them as units by the absence of information and physical intervention. Thus, categorisation and dissociation, reinterpretation, and distancing fix textiles in the museum's temporality; through these actions, textiles fulfil the possessor intention. Detached textile objects and fragments became atemporal through dissemination platforms, thereby prolonging their imposed roles in contemporary narratives.[42]

Museums' activities in the community, engaging historical objects and art in a relatable way through institutional collaboration show continuous diplomatic work which spotlights textiles' instrumental role as a differentiator and activator in other spheres, Simultaneously, dispossession has been exercised by museums and popular narratives; and by knowledge production over time. These are discussed in the following chapters.

The emphasis on being perceived as autonomous non-temporal singularities and not possessing them result in an imaginary corpus for the descendant country. Roles are attributed to the ancient Peruvian textiles as mediators or embodiments of historical moments according to the moment of concurrence. Textiles, as instruments of national identity, transcend the ancient Peruvian entity due to continuous collecting practices and centuries of exposure, making their characteristics identifiable and relatable. The representation of the absent heritage or

[42] I have previously argued about atemporal entities and atemporality in detached textiles exhibitions at the Critical Heritage 6th Conference, December 4 to 7, 2022, Universidad Católica de Chile, Santiago 2022.

dispossessed ancient remains has been a successive construction from the 19th century through the conjunction of scholarly and political interest, as will be discussed in the next sections.

To Protect and Deprive: Delimitation and Instrumentalisation of Ancient Heritage

In the new American republics, the re-foundation of narrative was an artificial act that commodified intellectual output and national symbolism. Thus, the pro-modern nationalists sought to emulate the Western imaginery through cultural products (Gonzalez Stephan 2000, 3-17). It influenced legislation, disciplines, and research.

In the newly formed Peruvian Republic, heritage protection was rooted in national history which opposed the conjunction of markets linked to ongoing looting of archaeological sites, and museum collecting. The text of the first national statement (April 2, 1822) addressing heritage juxtapose it with collecting, remarking the property to the nation, highlighting the dispossession *"*…Sadly we have seen till now priceless objects sold and taken to where their value is known, depriving us from the advantages of possessing what is ours… prescinding of the right of the nation."[43] (Congreso de la Republica del Perú 1822). This shows that the rights of the nation are embodied in heritage materiality.

Protective efforts were materialised based on historical symbolism. It can be read in Mariano Rivero's text from 1827, which summarizes pride in Andean identity and values while criticizing the colonial past and looting, "Three centuries of suffering ... by the peace-loving and simple Andean inhabitants …, traveller, what is your motive to ..., remove remains, …, are they pleased to despise them? ..." [44] (Rivero 1994 (1827), 24 -25). Jose Serra, Ministry of Foreign Affairs statement from April 8, 1826, portrayed museums as a feature of civilized nations, stating it as a

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43 "… con dolor se han visto hasta aquí vender objetos inapreciables, y llevarse a donde es conocido su valor, privándonos de la ventaja de poseer lo nuestro…, con prescindencia absoluta de los derechos de la Nación" (Congreso de la Republica del Peru 1822).

44 "… tres siglos sufridos por los pacíficos y sencillos habitantes de los Andes, …: viajero, ¿qué motivos os mueven para…, remover escombros, …, y que… se complacen en despreciarlas?" (Rivero 1994 (1827), 24-25).

patriotic moral duty against heritage removal and utilization in foreign institutions.[45] In other words, the efforts had to reiterate the order to suit their aim.

Various authors have noted that the Peruvian protection of heritage since independence was paired with disciplines and became tangible through legislation and management to accommodate the roles of the past (Shimada and Vega-Centeno 2011, 590; Tantalean 2017).[46] Following decrees (from June 3, 1836, and March 1, 1841) regarding heritage endorsed national sovereignty, protection, and excavation policies, with the one from 27 April 1893 reiterating their necessity for science and national history (Congreso de la Republica del Perú 1893) which paired both interests equally. The relevance of the indigenous shifted from political discourse to scientific pursuits. The 1911 decree (2612) continued this line, it reiterated the protection of heritage and ownership of the nation, regulated further research, excavations, and exportation, punishing illegal activities, among other actions, for the benefit of the nation (Congreso de la Republica del Perú 1911). However, looting and exploration continued[47] to profit from the lack of enforcement. This research shows that the acquisition of fragments and textile objects has continued after the establishment of legislation.

In the early 20th century, the intellectual opposition continued amid major collections sold to US and European museums. In 1906, Eugenio Larrabure y Unanue's discourse at the Instituto Histórico del Perú shed light on the ease with which remains and objects were taken

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45 Fernando Ayllón Dulanto, Historia del Museo Nacional del Perú (Lima: Ministerio de Gobierno y Relaciones Exteriores, 2015), Anexo N11 Serra, José. 1826. "Circular a los prefectos, intendentes, municipalidades y párrocos solicitándoles que consigan objetos para el Museo Nacional.", accessed November 30, 2025, https://www.congreso.gob.pe/Docs/museo-congreso/files/web-historia-museo-17-08-2015-02.pdf

46 In 2000, the INC approved the Reglamento de Investigaciones arqueologicas. The Ley del PatrimonioCultural de la Nación (N° 28296) was created in 2004, and the reglamento in Decreto Supremo N° 011-2006-ED in 2006. The Ministry of Culture was announced in 2008 and created in 2010 by Law No. 29565. In 2008, Decree N° 1003 modified the 30th item of the Ley del Patrimonio Cultural de la Nación (Ley N° 28296), suspending the intangibility of archaeological sites in favour of national interest infrastructure projects. Consequently, the sites have to be limited, and mobile archaeological material has to be recovered when necessary.
In 2013, the law so-called 'ley de silencio administrativo positivo' or 'law of positive administrative silence' (N° 054-2013-PCM) was passed in favour of national interest projects to operate if the Ministry of Culture does not respond to petitions.

47 In 2006, the Peruvian government issued a demand for the return of archaeological objects held by the University of Yale on the legal bases of the D 27 April 1893 and DS 2612, which was partially successful.

out of the country for the market or intellectual interest (*Revista* H*istórica* 1906, T1 pp 128-9 cited in (Ravines 1989, 38). The concept of heritage linked to deprivation from the Viceroyalty was equated with scholarly appropriation of material culture. Such deprivation is enacted when collections are exhibited in museums. Simultaneously, it is ignored when objects are used for political purposes.

Many authors have noted that in the early years of national construction, political and economic instability impacted the National Museum project (Ravines 1989; Tello and Mejia Xesspe 1967, 3-8; Tantalean 2016) which illustrates the stumbling management, museums as an imported practice not compatible with local reality, and Peruvian scholarship impacted by political actions.

Shimada et.al. states that the need for limitations in archaeological research, to avoid leaking material culture, shrank the effect of archaeological studies, politicising even more the studies of the Ancient Peruvian civilisation. The absence of academic retribution to Peru made the *Peruvianist* seen as seekers of prestige and uncaring of Peruvian heritage (Shimada & Vega-Centeno 2011, 593-594). In the early stages of the Republic, knowledge production was a continuous appropriation, it was not integrated into the social life of surrounding communities nor on a larger national scale. National institutions and language are used to express nationalism and to build traditions.

Academic pursuit: The Influence of Disciplines in the Formation of Representation

Taxonomic classification and individuality influenced the systematization of objects in the natural science explorations (Ventura 2016), the early expeditions shaped the collecting methods and disciplines in Andean America and Peru, methodological studies on Ancient America were initiated by foreign scholars and acquired by local intellectuals (Tantalean 2019; Nuñez 2013; Bonavia and Ravines, 1970, 7-13). In the second half of the 19th century, there was a tradition of analysis funerary remains which continued to the early 20th century.

The current disciplines were founded in 18th century following European antiquarianism and dissemination methods based on genres (Schnapp 2002, 136). European scholars' excavations and publications (e.g. Thomsen's [1836], Paul Emile Botta and Austen Layard's [1942], Flinders Petrie's [1904]) influenced archaeology in America and excavations from mid 19th century (Uhle 1923 Universidad Central de Ecuador lectures cited in Rowe 1954, 62-65). Changes in methodology started to take place in the 1920s from detached objects to environmental relationships. The main methods used were Kroeber's use of the so-called non-purpose layers, and the 19th century tradition of analysing funerary remains. The former created a narrative and stratification to be addressed in the materials' stylistic relations (Kroeber 1963). Many textile collections have resulted from the practice of unbundling funerary contexts; thus, the phenomena relations of early collected textiles are limited to identification, obviating space, or environmental relations. This limits the corpus of collections and knowledge produced. This is addressed in Chapter 4.

Over time, there have been different academic traditions, interests, and methods to approach the ancient Peru, which have made the archaeological studies diverse and changing, not necessarily in consensus (Shimada and Vega-Centeno 2011). The elitism of disciplines has made the study of ancient remains exclusive. Thus, the pursuit of preserving cultural heritage presents a dichotomy with scientific interest which has overshadowed the communities' interest, either directly or indirectly. This is translated into the view and symbolism of objects, beyond the historicity or legitimacy of Peruvian archaeology, through the parameter framing heritage to the public, or rather, keeping it as a sacred place or unit through the borders of disciplines and legislation.

Institutionalisation: Delimitation and Instrumentalisation

The concept of heritage expressed by the Peruvian ruling elite in the 1820s stressed a broader concept aligned with the interests of South American nations regarding international relations: the

right of the nation above individual pursuits. Decrees and laws have endorsed consistently sovereignty, protection, research, and punishment in various degrees over time

The management of archaeological monuments and remains was institutionalised through the Patronato Nacional de Arqueología*,* created on June 13, 1929 (Congreso de la Republica del Perú 1929). The 1993 Constitution maintained the legislation for heritage protection included in the 1933 Constitution (Congreso de la Republica del Perú n.d.), adding to safeguarding, the state's reinforcement to recover heritage taken illegally from the country, and the admission of private initiatives to protect, disseminate, and conserve heritage (Congreso de la Republica del Perú n.d., Art. 21). The incorporation of heritage into national legislation limits, regulates, and instrumentalises it for national cohesion, shaping the country while positioning the nation against opposing powers.

European universalism dominated the view of heritage, with traditional practices viewed as tools for economic advantage, since heritage empowers sustainability, social cohesion, and wellbeing (Winter 2013). Accordingly, Peruvian cultural heritage is stated in the national policy as an economic enabler. Vargas Apolinario sustains that these regulations were aligned over international policies at the turn of the 20th century, and following policies aligned with the liberal economy adopted by the late 20th century. Heritage is perceived as a resource, and policies are developed to attract tourism by incorporating communities' knowledge to diversify economic activities (Vargas Apolinario 2017). Capitalising on the pre-Columbian past positions institutions to interact with communities and benefit them through national policies. Meanwhile, the discourse of national identity establishes links with traditional practices that identify the entire nation as Andean, as it is shown in the following section.

The institutionalization of heritage provides an administrative and legal framework to manage and align it with the tourism industry. In 1971, the former Instituto Nacional de Cultura INC (National Institute of Culture) (D. L. N. 19033) was created aiming to protect heritage, connecting it to economic growth. The Ministerio de Cultura (Ministry of Culture) created in

2008 (D.L.N. 29565), incorporated ethnic plurality into management, and produced national policies accordingly. The former Ley General de Amparo al Patrimonio Cultural de la Nación (24047, 1986) (Cultural Heritage Protection Law) (Congreso de la Republica del Perú n.d.) and later Ley General de Patrimonio Cultural de la nación 2004 (D.L.N. 29286) (National Heritage Law) (Congreso de la Republica del Perú n.d.) frame the protection, research, and promotion of national heritage, and guarantees national sovereignty over it. The historically intertwined relationship between national policies and archaeological heritage shows the use of Western rationale to support the right of possession, i.e. academic narrative to face looting and inefficiency. Today, this connection continues through the Ministerio de Cultura. For instance, in the X Congreso National de Arqueología (Archaeological Congress), half of the presentations were grouped according to the regulations, or type of intervention framed by the Reglamento de Investigaciones Arqueologicas (Congreso Nacional de Arqueologia 2023).

Heritage and National Identity Dynamic

The previous section showed that textile heritage has been used to highlight the differentiation and originality in the formation and affirmation of national identity, and its instrumentalisation served to contrast intervention and corruption, as opposed to the independent development of Andean civilisations.

Since the late 19th century scholarly publications have discussed national ideals, identity and cultural heritage making the ancient Peruvian a tool for national identity affirmation (García Barrón 1985),[48] which shows the ambiguity of the progressive discourse, since publications were the voice of intellectuals (Tauzin Castellanos 2013). Lopez Lenci states that movements to recognising ancient civilizations opposed the central discourse, reaching their peak in the early

[48] About the construction of narratives regarding ancient remains and the nation in Latin American countries, see Maria Elena Bedoya, *Antigüedades y nación: Coleccionismo de objetos precolombinos y musealización en los Andes, 1892-1915* (PhD diss., Universitat de Barcelona, 2021).

20th century (Lopez Lenci 2005, 156-157); with scholarly discussions about heritage, indigenous population, and institutionalisation. A clear incorporation of the Ancient Peruvian in social interactions is noted in the *Indigenist* movement (1930s), which followed studies of archaeological remains[49] that boosted nationalistic ideals and the foremost appreciation of Andean aesthetics. In the mid-20th century, cultural heritage policies focused on managing traditional knowledge to enhance communities' welfare. In 1946, the Corporación Nacional de Turismo[50] was founded, making traditional art, archaeological complexes and cultural heritage a fountain of economic growth through tourism. For instance, in 1958, the Ministerio de Educación tasked the Escuela Nacional de Bellas Artes with researching and developing methods to support local artisans, as a result a museum was created which held archaeological textile fragments.[51] [52] It shows how these textiles embody roles according to their context similar to how political actions shape our perception of objects.[53] These movements sought originality or traces of uncorrupted traditions as truly Peruvian, defined in opposition to alienation from European/Western modern influence. This contraposition has been shown in the exhibitions discussed earlier, where through trajectories and acceptance: a supra-entity has emerged by detachment, classification becomes a symbol of national identity and differentiation. In the local sphere, it becomes an imaginary possession that is absent but present through dissemination platforms and attributed values of

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49 For instance, Carmen Arellano Hoffman, María Jesús Jiménez Díaz, and Ann Hudson Peters, *Tres ensayos sobre Paracas Necrópolis. Historia de la investigación, las tecnologías textiles y las prácticas mortuorias* (Santiago de Chile: Museo Chileno de arte Pre-Colombino, 2016). About political moves such as the creation of the Patronato Nacional de Arqueología (1929), see Carlos Mesía-Montenegro, "Julio C. Tello: Teoría y práctica en la Arqueología andina," Arqueología y sociedad 17 (2006): 141–58; Luis E. Valcárcel, *Tempestad en los Andes* (Cusco: Ministerio de Cultura, 2013 [facsimile edition]); and Julio Cotler, *Clases, estado y nación en el Perú* (Lima: IEP, 2005).

50 Congreso de la Republica del Perú, Ley 10556, accessed November 8, 2018, http://www.congreso.gob.pe/ntley/Imagenes/Leyes

51 Escuela Nacional Superior Autónoma de Bellas Artes del Perú (ENSABAP), Anuario 39 Salón de artes plásticas catálogo (Lima, 1960). La Crónica, "Funcionaría una sección de artesanías en Bellas Artes," March 15, 1957, 6. El Comercio, "Resurge la artesanía artística en el Perú," October 23, 1957, afternoon edition, 3, 5.

52 Juan Manuel Ugarte Elespuru, Carta dirigida al Director de la ENSABAP Pedro Rotta Bisso. 22 March 1995. Archivo de la ENSABAP. Lima.

53 See Elizabeth Palacios. Collected Pre-Columbian textiles assigned roles, case study: Textile fragments at the Fine Arts School of Peru." AICCM Textiles SIG Symposium: Fibre to Fabric, Fur, Feathers and Finishes. Sidney Jewish Museum, 4 - 6 February 2019

representation for self-definition and as mediators. This is shown in the management of textiles and their use in social cohesion, as shown in the next section.

Textile heritage as supra-entity has transcended the archaeological context as seen in previous sections, into contemporary landmarks, exerting its recognition. Discussing national heritage includes a dichotomy: in the local context of the 'two republics' separated by social arrangements and geography, reminiscent of centralism and Western aspirations, and in foreign spheres of representation and differentiation. The hierarchy over the voices to claim the representation of these objects as an entity also display the cultural dependency is manifested in imitation and subverting patterns (Quijano 2000).

Contemporary Manifestations of a Paradox

The new relations established by detached objects are anchored in their appearance and structure, which shows the museums' needs and roles over time. These relations are ultimately incorporated into digital platforms perpetuating a narrative. Traces of colonial legacy are underlying such relations: dominance through possession, Universalist pursuits, academic knowledge production and dissemination, or collections management

The interplay of political practice and social cohesion shows that the acknowledgment of ancient textiles in visual culture would contribute to their use as representations and unifiers. While the syncretism in cultural production engages in the political discourse manifest an absence: ancient textiles entity. The paradox of a present absence is evident in heritage management and national identity instrumentalization, where possession conveys an identificatory present, and dispossession conveys the absent unifier. The following examples illustrate the manifestation of the paradox.

The Conflicted Approaches to Textile Heritage Dissemination

The acknowledgement of ancient textiles as representations of the original civilisation has validated them as a unifier-affirming agent over time. The boundaries of national identity have been built through the acceptance of Andean heritage as a national identifier, as shown in the management of heritage today.

The compromise between the protection of cultural heritage and the view of ancient textile heritage as a resource makes its protection subordinated by politics. A petition to extend the loan of textiles from the Nazca collection in September 2018 to be exhibited during the ArcoMadrid art fair was a source of conflict due to textiles fragile condition. According to a journalist, the collection curator's (Comisario) report suggesting the return of 21 items, including nine mantles, was dismissed; the collections went on display, while 21 items remained in storage in Europe (Canal 5 Panorama 2018). The unnecessary subordination of the tangible national heritage and identity to marginal treatment in a hierarchical context, in addition to administrative inefficiency, caused outrage in the Peruvian scholarly circles and in public perception.

In a communication from the Ministerio de Cultura on November 5, 2018 (Ministerio de Cultura 2018), the claims about mistreatment and disregard of conservation actions were dismissed, explaining the actions taken regarding the loan (Ministerio de Cultura 2018). It confirmed that 19 items (various) remained in storage in Madrid, and that damage had been caused by continuous exhibitions. At the same time, the statement invoked geopolitics, pointing out the relevance of an art fair in improving a country's image. Since Peru was invited to participate in the ArtcoMadrid (February 27 – March 3, 2019) (Europa Press 2018). The logic for the circulation of heritage is given in the same statement, "This invitation will promote the internationalisation of Peruvian contemporary art; furthermore, it contributes to the dissemination of our cultural heritage to an international audience, which will subsequently

impact tourism, among others things".[54] Although Peruvian artists might gain benefits on foreign platforms, this is mostly generated by private galleries networks and individual efforts. It is worth addressing the emphasis and conflict. First, the emphasis on the instrumentalisation of national heritage, specifically archaeological heritage, to establish a national reputation in comparable geopolitics played on the 19th century. This time it is in a structured Republic clearly inserted into the capitalist economic system. How are pre-Columbian collections still relevant worldwide? Second, the conflict between sacralisation and endurance, given the limitations, the aim to protect national heritage from spoliation has aligned the historical past with contemporary disciplines, which places heritage as an Entity to be restricted. These two propositions are handled by the Ministerio de Comercio Exterior y Turismo – MINCETUR (Ministry of Foreign Trade and Tourism) and the Ministerio de Cultura making evident that it is not only a matter of preservation but also politics and economics.

The exhibitions shown indicate ongoing themes matching curiosity and exoticism in museums, made relevant by scientific research. Objects are used as differentiators, perpetuating the identity of the country built on pre-Columbian civilisation remains, while detached from the traditions that endured in the indigenous communities. The meaning relies on the tangible, which is constant, while the interpretation is dynamic, that is, it can be redefined.

54 "Dicha invitación impulsará la internacionalización del arte contemporáneo del Perú; además de contribuir a la difusión de nuestro patrimonio cultural ante un público internacional, lo que impactará posteriormente en el turismo, entre otros." Communication from the Ministerio de Cultura, November 5, 2018 (Ministerio de Cultura 2018).

Ancient Textiles Heritage as an Instrument: The Opening Ceremony of the Pan American Games Lima 2019

Detached textiles are not ascribed to a single layer of interpretation. The collecting processes moulded ancient textiles as mediators for national identity, showing the textiles as a supra-entity, shaped by detachment and classification, as an affirming and identifier body. The instrumentalisation of heritage through the conjunction of science and politics is illustrated in the next case study, where it is used for national identity affirmation and representation.

The Pan American Games took place in Lima (26 July – 11 August 2019). This major multi-sports event is held every four years on the continent. Postulation and marketing are clearly designed to project the national heritage of the nation outwards and to be identified as unique. The 2013 city video application for the event was based on continuity, stating in the minute 1:30[55], "our past has written our present",[56] showing representations of ancient civilisations set in a national monument on the North coast (*Chan-Chan* complex) with ancient elite examples (Minute 0:11) (Figure 10). The symbolism ancient Peruvian heritage is evident by their use in this international event. The symbolic value of ancient textiles is shared with the supra-entity shaped through collecting and dissemination platforms, beyond materiality and temporality by ancestry, land and narrative.

Following the campaign, the event's promotional video expands on the uses of ancient cultures to represent the calling nation and fellow nations. The animated video *Lima 2019, Jugamos todos*[57] is played in *Quechua.*[58] The subtitles are played while a post is sent by an elite member with the invitation: "Send it to all cultures in America"[59], "All are invited" (minute

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55 Lima 2019 Oficial, Comité Olimpico Peruano, "Video emotivo Presentación Candidatura Lima 2019, Toronto, Octubre 11, 2013", 19 October 2013, YouTube video (2.01 minutes), accessed April 4, 2021, https://youtu.be/lt9UjjnI3Q0?si=8gfwwMSmcD2ySQ_F

56 "Nuestro pasado ha escrito nuestro presente", Lima 2019 Oficial, 19 October 2013.

57 Lima 2019 Jugamos Todos, Legado Juegos Panamericanos y Parapanamericanos, Comité Olimpico Peruano,12 December 2018, YouTube video, (1:26 minutes), accessed April 4, 2021, https://youtu.be/wBZWkMSO3bI?si=gHpj4RXV9gUuXYVN

58 Fifty languages subsisted until today, and Quechua is the second most spoken language after Castilian. The translation into Castilian is written in captions in the video.

59 "Lleven a todas las culturas de America", Lima 2019, Jugamos todos, advertisement. Lima 2019 Oficial, YouTube video, December 12, 2018.

0:09)[60]. The animation (Figure 11) depicts Indigenous cultures in America playing sports. The final message states "all American cultures united" (Minute 0.50)[61]. Thus, preparing the future audience to link the current nations with past civilisations.

Figure 10. Screenshot Ancient Elite Representation, *Video Emotivo Presentación Candidatura*, Toronto. October 11, 2013 (Minute 0:11). Accessed April 4, 2021, https://youtu.be/lt9UjjnI3Q0?si=8gfwwMSmcD2ySQ_F © Comité Olímpico Peruano.

60 "Todos estan invitados", Jugamos todos, advertisement, Lima 2019 Oficial, December 12, 2018.

61 "Todas las culturas de America unidas", Jugamos todos, advertisement, Lima 2019 Oficial, December 12, 2018.

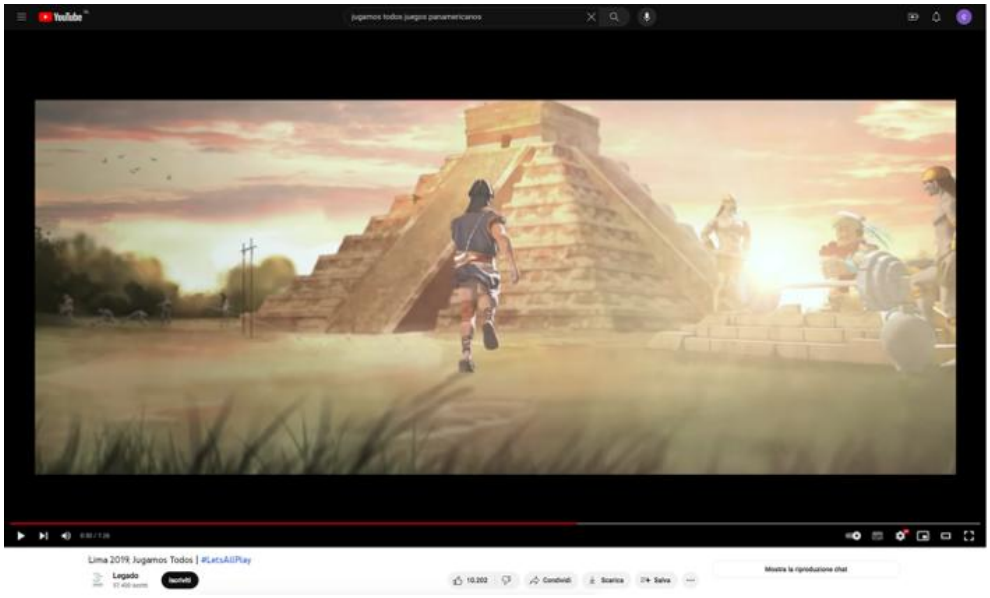

Figure 11. Screenshot *Lima 2019, Jugamos todos*. Part of the Lima 2019 Advertisement. Lima 2019, December 12, 2018. It can be seen a Chaski carrying the message in his Chuspa. April 4, 2021, https://youtu.be/wBZWkMSO3bI?si=gHpj4RXV9gUuXYVN © Comité Olimpico Peruano.

The opening ceremony in the national stadium included a varied performance of traditional dances and scenes framed in a chronological narrative of historical periods. A five-minute scene about Peruvian textiles[62] was presented as part of the Peruvian Ancient tradition, heritage and identity linked to the evolving Andean cosmovision. "Look, deepen roots that join us to our land"[63], "These women weave our identity"[64] is heard by the narrator while the act is performed. It starts with weavers extending back-strap looms from a tree, followed by threads extending from the sacred mountain (*Apu*) in the middle of the scenario. Dancers pull out threads from it and intertwine them as if they were warps being weaved; their customs had prints of the looping technique, as it is usually illustrated in study monographs. A fine textile image was projected onto the mountain as epilogue of this metaphor. The performance was followed by a

62 Cuenta oficial del Proyecto Legado Juegos Panamericanos y Parapanamericanos Lima 2019, "Inauguración de los Juegos Panamericanos Lima 2019, Estadio Nacional Lima, 26 July 2019", YoutTube video (1: 42:05-1:46:20 minutes), accessed April 4 2021, https://youtu.be/PW3Vs8HNnKQ

63 "Mira, raices profundas que nos unen a nuestra tierra", Cuenta oficial del Proyecto Legado Juegos Panamericanos y Parapanamericanos Lima 2019, 26 July, accessed April 4 2021.

64 "Estas mujeres tejen nuestra identidad", Cuenta oficial del Proyecto Legado Juegos Panamericanos y Parapanamericanos Lima 2019, 26 July, accessed April 4 2021.

runway of folklore costumes with a modern twist. In this update, narrative of the symbolism grows while the tangible is been reduced, adopting the role of a mediator. In the performance of textile production heritage, the representation of the indigenous became legitimated by linking the past to claim cultural continuity, the contemporary textile production practices were dignified through proximity to the original, similarly to the imagined ideal of 19th Century and early 20th Century when scholarly elite vindicaetd the indigenous population.

Ancient Peruvian Textiles: A Tool for National Identity

The resemblance of the past is sought in today's practice. Specifically, in the communal relationships. For instance, fibre production and process, rigor in the manufacture, bearing in mind that textiles were used as tribute and social representation. The expertise at the core of local traditions requires agreement, commitment, hierarchy, and legislation. The incorporation of traditional practices into large-scale production in a capitalist system and global industry would require a loss of authenticity, to be limited and modified. As a result, their value relies on a sacred condition; although innovative technologies could contribute productivity and community economic growth if wanted. The national interest in growing the textile industry does not dismiss the textile tradition; on the contrary, it is understood as a foundation, translating the necessity to produce sustainably,[65] which limits the scope of growth, at the same time. There is still much to be researched and said about contemporary traditional textile production.[66] In the scope of this research, it is noted that locally it is used as a facilitator and identifier (Figure 12). Their

65 For intacne, *Peru: moda y textiles* (2013) from the Comision de promocion del peru para la exportacion y el turismo -PromPeru. Lima: Punto y Grafia SAC.

66 A Recent exhibition in 2019 in London shows the pathways of the textile tradition, see "Weavers of the coulds", accessed April 4, 2021, https://www.fashiontextilemuseum.org/exhibitions/weavers-of-the-clouds-textile-arts-of-peru

representation for political discourse is not new, while in foreign platforms, it identifies a continuous tradition, as in the case of the INCA Exhibition, discussed before.

Managing heritage through the disciplines' framework left the heritage between the quest for integration into Western geopolitics and the recognition of ancient civilisations ties, with the indigenous population represented without command of their own heritage. Authenticity in the sense of pure and original is a value sustained through the political discourse, seen in the management and the campaign for the Lima 2019 event, similar to the collecting process. It is noted in the event through the necessary links described in the performance narrative of the *Apu* as origin and epilogue (Figure 13). According to Ludwig Huber, authenticity is impossible to achieve because it restricts history and an identity. The capitalist system forces the population to represent themselves as the imagined indigenous in order to be recognised. The state's acknowledgement of indigenous population has been arbitrary (Huber 2021). In Peru, the imagined Indian is long gone. However, its representation is played in foreign contexts to accentuate the imagined nation. In the opening ceremony of Lima 2019 the traditional cultural expression is used to capture foreign audience internationally while leading to social cohesion locally.

The political discourse by a national appropriation of the entity has trespassed the descendant country since the supra-entity embodies the whole, the rupture of order, and the idealised unattainable past. Their cultural significance is enhanced through the protection, conservation, and dissemination of heritage by building relevant experiences that transcend into memories for generations. In this case, the discourse appeals to a sense of belonging through uniqueness, acknowledgement, and legitimacy. The land and cosmovision are represented by the sacred mountain while cultural practices are the threads ignited from it and returned after being woven, asserted in an international event in a national scenario. The dispossessed tangible transcends through a symbolic narrative. Textile heritage is an imaginary possession of the nation.

Figure 12. Screenshot *Opening ceremony Lima 2019. Peruvian textiles* (Minute 1:42:38), the ceremony was produced by Balich Worldwide Shows Company, accessed April 4, 2021, https://www.lima2019.pe 4© Lima 2019, Juegos Panamericanos.

The performance claims them back explicitly using symbols in the present. For the narrative of nationhood –rooted in the land and culture as knowledge- to be effective, the contemporary Andean population is represented by Peruvian Andean weavers in country-style simple dress, while the continuity is represented by a young female performer and the communal activity (Figure 12). The power of textiles' materiality is shown by the actions of those who preserve the traditions and through threads that join them to their ancestors represented by the sacred mountain or weaving technique (Figure 13). The cultural meaning is powered by the construction of a collective memory.

Figure 13 Screenshot *Opening ceremony Lima 2019*, Peruvian textiles (Minute 1:43:32), threads growing from the sacred mountain, accessed April 4, 2021, https://www.lima2019.pe © Lima 2019, Juegos Panamericanos.

The continuous dispossession of archaeological heritage has enhanced its symbolism as a tangible historical past and therefore extended to fragments scattered across the world. Colonial subjugation and world power influence from the 18th and 19th centuries are seen in the reduction of a sociocultural practice to one activity; the entity is embodied by significant features highlighted by collection and consequently knowledge production through museums, the latter to be discussed in the following chapters. In the performance, a community of women is portrayed to show ownership of the textile tradition; the sacral feature of textile objects in the past is demonstrated by their links to the Apu (the mountain), while the print on the dancers' costumes is a diagram of a textile technique used in academic publications (Figure 14). The statement read throughout the performance emphasised that identity is woven through the performance of the textile tradition, defining the boundaries of the past through a sacred memory called to define the boundaries of the local people today. In practice that memory is formed through interactions with unattainable elements, the experience of the textile performance fixed ancient textiles autonomy and imagined possession.

Figure 14. Screen shot (Detail) *Opening ceremony Lima 2019*, Peruvian textiles (Minute 1:44:17), Performers with diagrams prints, accessed April 4, 2021, https://www.lima2019.pe © Lima 2019, Juegos Panamericanos.

The performance lasted over four minutes and made an international impact. The represented elements were recognised both internally and externally. It emphasises exoticism in the pursuit of originality and differentiation. These two elements generate pride because they are perceived as uncorrupted and neutral, and projected to each individual as part of the nation. The elements of cohesion and empathy are restated in a contemporary landscape; therefore, the validation of national heritage as an instrument of national identity is granted through temporality. national identity is affirmed through the representation of traditional weavers linked to the Ancient pre-Columbian textiles' entity.

Figure 15. Screenshot *Opening ceremony Lima 2019,* Peruvian textiles (Minute 1:46:25), closing image of the sacred mountain, accessed April 4, 2021, https://www.lima2019.pe © Lima 2019, Juegos Panamericanos.

The qualities of the collected textiles identity are sought and expected. It was seen through the MRAH examples that appearance intervention, classification, and the role of collections or intentionality when selected differentiate several moments of interpretation over time. The reidentified textiles are claimed back from the realm of universality in the ten-minute performance; in doing so, the imaginary possession encounters a dispossessed nation. The deprivation sustained the value of persistence and authenticity. The imaginary possessions and their values were transferred to traditional textiles perceived as surviving elements, bringing pride and a sense of belonging.

Textiles have become entities through dissemination in academia and museums as demonstrations of the ancient and recognition of enduring indigenous knowledge. The temporality of the spectacle is understood as a presentation of the country. The narrative emphasises differentiation through time and space with relatable activators. It states the homogeneity of the origin, culture, and landscape. Ancient textiles symbolise the history of

nation building and become a mediator for appraising traditions; thus, contemporary traditional textiles state their relevance in today's context while being linked to the past.

Their historical value is revised through engagement in the social sphere. The value emerged through delimitation of the matter, singularisation -separation and segregation- in the collecting process, has shaped a supra-entity that manifest engagement through resemblance today. The engagement occurs through an entangled process of subjects, matter and environment in a generative process. The collected items agency is manifested by being perceived as relational unities, they are autonomous and independent in their contained representations permeated from academic platforms, and relational to the historical value and contemporary practices by discourse.

Collecting Moulding Mediators and Imaginary Possessions

This chapter questioned how scholarly interpretation influences the validation of Ancient Peruvian textiles as instruments for national identity construction. The analysis contrasted public database information, archival information, objects review, and narrative critiques to unravel the ancient Peruvian textiles being instrumental in Peruvian national identity and its representation. It showed that the materiality features and their significance in ancient civilisations are highlighted in political discourse and museum dissemination.

I argue that the process of collecting shaped textiles as a supra-entity. This process then enabled textiles to be mediators in asserting cultural continuity and progressive views, thus affirming and constructing national identity. Collecting modifies their materiality and interpretation, creating autonomous entities, either objects, elements or fragments. Their individuality was established through classification and influenced by the textiles' features embedded in their structure; in this way they were noted as singularities. While the segregation and mobilisation of objects delimited their materiality. This is illustrated by the examples from the Musées royaux d'Art et d'Histoire. Collecting as a colonial legacy shows a rationale in the

linkage of identity and heritage during nation formation, situating them as a counterpoint to looting or leverage by foreign powers. Thus, the instrumentalisation is a representation of the colonial legacy. The autonomy and representation of textile objects and fragments facilitate their shaping as atemporal entities. They could be incorporated into new settings: they were limited through the lens of scholarship and legislation. This constrained the descendants' views and experiences of heritage.

The examples shown that upon entering the circulation network and allocation in museums, limits were created, which emphasise the hierarchy shown by their uses, manufacture and origin. This is shown through classification by identificatory elements, and terminology. Today, objects trajectories, spoliation, or trade are overshadowed by categories of research on digital platforms. The tangible features were modified; for instance, they were separated from a burial assemblage to be flattened for exhibiting or storage, thereby predisposing us to a pattern of how to experience them. The stress on technology, manufacture or production of supplies, highlights their competence within the framework of Western knowledge, revealing them as scientific resources. The latter is discussed further in the following chapters.

The identity of the textile object is not static; it moves along with conceptual modifications and attributed values. Such impact of collecting shows the conceptualisation of time through chronological schemes to which the ancient textiles became attached. The delimitation of the physical features and meaning, and the singularisation to make them autonomous and entity contributed to the engagement in other contexts, as the discussed exhibitions have shown, where relatable features were highlighted. This shows agency of collected ancient Peruvian textiles. The collecting process created borders and established space, as a result, the attributes of the items are distinguished to establish new relations according to the viewer or beholder interpretation and values. The emergence of autonomy and relational features is discussed in the next chapter.

A tradition of spoliation and trading, scholarly practice, and a persisting Viceroyalty order by a governing elite distanced materiality from descendants' reality. This breach made textiles sacred and meaningful, as shown through the historical accounts, protective pleas and handling of the ancient Peruvian heritage, museums dissemination and narrative, political discourse and the management by Peruvian ministries. The colonial legacies are corroborated by a dependency of government elite to control cultural manifestations and archaeological heritage, to fit the narrative of 19th century.

The historical account shows that the colonial legacy influenced the view of ancient textiles as tools for national identity. While a discussion of the indigenous population implies a dichotomy between the portrayed or imagined and the reality that might show a different interaction, the instrumentalisation of textile heritage is related to the value of possessing addressed by legislation and discourses. It involves representation and materiality.

The exhibitions discussed showed entrenched roles, continuity, detachment and use as representations of the Andean culture. While being perceived as identificatory on foreign platforms and accepted by Peru to be recognised in the geopolitical order, textiles transcendence into contemporary contexts emphasised a supra-entity. The dispossession through re-enactment makes the absence present lasting because it is not tangible, and therefore not finite. They become imaginary possessions of today's descendant nation. Textile heritage exhibited abroad manifests the conflictive manifestation of a present supra-entity, while recalls a constant struggle in the representation of the Ancient Peruvian. The paradox attained through the singularisation and autonomy summarises belonging versus dispossession. This is noted in the social sphere, such as the Opening ceremony narrative, where they are manifested as a present whole.

Legitimising appropriation through objects' use in academic spheres made a representation of indigenous textile production a link to the imagined historical past. Other authors have noted that the Andean (or lo Andino) was contrary to coastal geography and aspirations. However, Andean traditional textiles and an indigenous status are used to represent

Peruvians' true origin, as I have shown. The contemporary use of textile heritage is linked to the imagined past and indigenous population being confined to specific roles. Thus, in the process of bringing the past to the present, the values attributed to ancient textiles as representation of the imagined indigenous: distinctiveness and originality, are attributed to the activity as surviving textile tradition. The performance in the Opening Ceremony Lima 2019 illustrates a contemporary manifestation: representation of indigenous textile production, portrayed as weaving, performed as a self-determining activity. The autonomy given to ancient textiles by their roles in scholarly circles and politics enables their perception as products, detached from intentionality. The ancient Peruvian textiles were paired with today's perceptions.

The Incan system was dismantled by invasion and domination, and syncretism in cultural production during the colonial period has been acknowledged by academia and heritage-management policies. However, the political discourse still refers to the Incas and their ancestors as authentic and identificatory. The implication of keeping traditional Andean textile production to symbolise this link and the embodiment of national identity might limit an evolving tradition.

The textiles supra-entity shows to be mediator of cultural continuity illustrated by official documents and press releases, and institutions engagement with communities in Peru and Europe. The collaboration between the Peruvian Embassy and the INCA Dress Code exhibition illustrated that geopolitics play a role in the instrumentalisation and complicated trajectories of ancient objects. It seems an aspiration to embrace a globalised relationship through the advantage of de-politicised heritage.

In the early 19th century, protecting heritage became a necessary political task due to the long-lasting looting of ancient remains. The colonial legacy made national institutions inefficient in the task. Academia and politics have shaped interpretations through the collecting system and management. Aspects such as location and accessibility are now being challenged, modifying our experience and identity.

The ends do not justify the means; academic purposes do not validate the looting and accumulation of textile heritage. The boundaries −physical intervention, meaning and restriction− imposed by early actions have been preserved in the ways in which the items are experienced today. Diminishing descendant ownership, appropriation through trade or intellectual pursuit has left a similar absence. The actions of deprivation and dispossession cannot be reversed but they can be contested through recognition in public and institutional spheres. Institutional actions could be demanded in a similar way.

Ancient Peruvian textiles belong to the present, they are defined by the temporality of the roles endorsed. This shows the conflicting Andean-Peruvian and institutions' trajectories, identity and continuous interaction with the other. On the other hand, collections maintained away from their native country, even though protected by Peruvian law, can be seen as possessions with no borders. Protecting heritage is a constant responsibility that can only be fought with all sides involved, because by definition the counterparts are entangled.

Over two centuries, collecting practices shaped elements to be recognised in collections. The next chapters deepen on associations built by scholarly collecting to influence the identity of textile objects through borders and space. In addition to the relevant avenues not discussed here, such as the interaction between collecting and knowledge production.

Chapter 3: The Museum — Collecting, Classifying and Displaying Ancient Peruvian textiles

Introduction

In the previous chapter, I showed that the textile entity has been shaped progressively and sustained over time. The various methods of collecting Ancient Peruvian objects have impacted how they are interpreted, by moulding the content and outcome in scholarly circles, and consequently, shaping heritage interpretation and knowledge production. This chapter seeks to answer the question, How collecting methods shaped Ancient Peruvian textile collections.

In the 19th century, the establishment of networks sponsoring expeditions, incentives, interchange, and institutional collecting served to generate historical layers, creating a different relationship with the past. Lately discussions focus on understanding the reach of digital platforms, highlighting the limitations of global accessibility and representation.[67] The features of the museums' public digital platforms for dissemination, with respect of user interface and perception, have affected the representation, identity, and significance of collections. Information on the content of the collections that museums hold is limited; the platforms are exclusive and reinforce categorisation, which is a primary feature of collecting, assuming textiles as a database. The arbitrary link that relates one item to another is not necessarily aligned with their relationship in the museum context or through their journey. They are subjected to super categories, in which an objects or assemblages are disseminated as unities. The influence of early collection practices is evident in what is absent. Digital platforms perpetuate the process of appropriation, since how textiles are interpreted, perceived, and represented, is modified by the

[67] Recent examples, Wiebe Reints, "Access and Transparency: A Transnational Comparison of Digital Platforms Comprising Colonial Collections", Paper presented at the Amsterdam School for Heritage, Memory and Material Culture – Annual Conference, Amsterdam, June 20-21, 2024. Laura Gibson, "Digitization is not decolonization", Museums Worlds, 12, 1 (2024), https://www.berghahnjournals.com/view/journals/museum-worlds/12/1/armw120104.xml

collections they are part of, and the knowledge the museums focus on. In many cases, the unacknowledged means of acquisition may obscure the illegitimacy of ambiguous early collecting methods.

The invaders' first treasure shipments came from *tambos* (storage) and the Inca's properties taken as prizes. They were inventoried as the property of Charles V in 1543 and 1545 in Spain and Belgium and entered the collectibles system as royal family assets. As such, they were identified and handled and incorporated into the mobility and segregation system (Cabello 1994, 33 - 69). Thus, textile objects were incorporated into Western visual culture. Curiosity shifted to academic enquiries, aided by globalisation, and continued into the 21st century. As pointed out in the previous chapters, the scholarly collection of textiles originated from plundering in the Colonial-Viceroyalty period and developed into a continuous and normalised process of appropriation. In the late 19th century, scholarly circles appraised the antiquarian process of assemblage based on aesthetics and taste, which gave it continuity. Scholarly networks do not necessarily adhere to methodological data collection.

I argue that the activity of collecting permanently influences the identity of Ancient Peruvian textiles and the resulting interpretation and perception of the objects by limiting the boundaries of relations with other components of the original (or not) arrangements. This is accomplished by setting new priorities and adding space. Mieke Bal explains collecting as a classification activity in a narrative sequence, a confrontation process occurs between the object and the subjective agency of the collector (Bal 1994). Drawing upon this view, the stages or sequences of the collecting process can be seen through individual interventions and institutional practices. The actions re-identified the other embodied in the selected items by separating elements and organizing categories and storages, transforming the textiles into unities, by using space whether they are objects, fragments, or components. At the same time, the materiality, physical features and meaning embedded in the objects show agency to support new relationships by becoming new assemblages as the structure of the new organisation becomes generative.

The creator's intention, patterns of materials arrangement and environment influence the process to shape objects (Ingold 2011a:30 cited in Ingold 2013, 29). The actions are generated in correspondence between humans, materials, and environment (Uexküll 2010: 190 cited in Ingold 2013, 95), such engagement endures in materials (Ingold 2013, 29-31, 95-107). The correspondence of the process of construction is observed in the surviving attributes of the ancient textiles. When collected, the interactions are seen in the textiles' transformation. The new tributes allow textiles to be transformed over time. I argue that patterns emerge through collecting, which I name *traits*. These attributes are sustained throughout the assemblages and are manifested primarily by their grouping and their interchangeable status as objects, elements of an assemblage, or fragments.

Fragments, objects, or components were grouped according to similarities or areas of intersection, by agents involved in the process, traders, collectors, scholars, curators, etc. This has resulted in restricted terms on contemporary platforms. Objects that have no outstanding or differentiating features may remain unreachable or unresearched. Such treatment is also supported by their portability and original structure of the objects themselves: they could have been torn or cut and still constitute an aesthetic unity that can be studied, exchanged, displayed, and stored.

An assemblage is a part of non-reducible relationships; meaning that the assemblage is non-reducible to any of its parts; and it is exercised within the parameters of coding and territorialisation (De Landa 2016). Similarly, boundaries and agreement imposed upon textile objects support the new assemblages. However, assemblages' relationships and/or categories are made concrete through the creation of space (virtual or real). These patterns can be observed through the lenses of the Gestalt visual perception principles. I hold that the perception of ancient textiles as relational unities occurs through the process of singularisation.

The collection of textiles was linked to the research on funerary tradition and physical anthropology, but it was not limited to these contexts. Various collections were segregated from funerary arrangements. Ordoñez notes that the rate of collecting funeral bundles decreased during

the Pacific war and the Chilean occupation of Peru (1879-1883), the decrease in scholarly explorations reduced the collecting of human remains (Ordoñez 2019); it did not stop. There were also market tendencies that formed concomitant and incidental collections. Notably, scholarly collecting through museums and scholarly networks was intertwined with looting throughout the Republic period (1821-present). Understanding how collections and meaning are formed deepens knowledge about how textile heritage is perceived and how new dissemination platforms re-appropriate them. Equally, this understanding opens discussions about accessibility, museums' roles, possession, and the conservation of heritage.

The historical background of looting[68] of pre-Columbian objects was seen in the previous chapters. This chapter shows that the scholarly collecting stems from the plundering of graves in the colonial and Viceroyalty period. The case studies from Léon de Cessac, Arthur Baessler, Alphons Stübel, Arthur J. Speyer and Enrico Giglioli illustrate the mechanism by which new identities for textile items are created. The role of national interest, the legitimisation of non-methodological collecting and participation in the market of antiquities are examined in relation to institutional and individual collecting. Intervention is addressed regarding its impact on materiality, while noticing the items' traits; and classification illustrates the production of meaning and re-appropriation exerted. Both are examined as mechanisms to create textile items new identities.

From Plunder to Acquisition: How Textiles Entered the Museum (1820s–1890s)

Collecting through looting of graveyards and complexes in the late 19th century was also carried out by scholarly spheres and foreign national institutions. This enlarged the existing trade,

68 About Pre-Columbian objects looting, see David J. Matsuda, "The Looting of Pre Columbian Artifacts from Latin American Archaeological Sites" (MA thesis, California State University, 1992); Michael D. Coe, "From Huaquero to Connoisseur: The Early Market in Pre-Columbian Art," in Collecting the Pre-Columbian Past, ed. Elizabeth Hill Boone (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks, 1990), 271–90; and Blythe A. Bowman, "Transnational Crimes against Culture: Looting at Archaeological Sites and the 'Grey' Market in Antiquities," Journal of Contemporary Criminal Justice 24, no. 3 (2008): 225–42, https://doi.org/10.1177/1043986208318210

showing features of an enduring colonial order, appropriation, and destruction which passed into the independent country.

Over time, many authors have noted the origin of the European collection of foreign objects in the rise of the bourgeoisie, mobility, and commerce in the 16th and 17th centuries. This was the foundation of the museum model following the Kunst Kammer tradition and scientific cabinets open to the public (MacDonald 2002, 661; Cabello 1989, 27). Different study fields were founded during the European Enlightenment and cataloguing and categorisation were disseminated through the printing industry and trade networks. Natural scientists introduced taxonomy alongside empire expansion; during the 18th and 19th centuries, private collections were the foundation for major museums, replicated beyond Europe (Sloan 2003; Anderson et al. 2004; MacGregor 2007 cited in Marples and Pickering 2016, 2) (Lewis 2019). Scholarly concern for the organisation, classification, and use of the growing collections in Europe was early summarised by Phillip Von Siebold (1843), who stated that ethnographic museums were appropriate spaces in Europe to hold and study objects from world regions impacted by colonialism. Institutionalisation aimed to compensate for the lack of expertise in governing bodies (Siebold 1843), thus embedding a related colonial practice and scholarly motivation in museums.

Collecting Methods

Museums use a wide range of methods to accumulate objects. Adriana Muñoz explains that the acquisition pattern of Latin American antique objects in Swedish museums is donation, purchase, exchange, collected in expeditions, unknown, and deposition (Muñoz 2011, 101-105). A similar pattern was observed in textile collections in Germany, France, Spain, the United Kingdom, and the Netherlands in this research. Institutional collecting aimed to acquire specific collections or objects. In the late 19th and early 20th centuries, two modes of collecting were observed in scholars' practices: purchasing pre-assembled items and excavating objects by themselves. Detaching and

re-possessing through interchange and knowledge production occurred in the two branches of acquisition: commodity trading and assembling motivated by scholarship.

As indicated, textile collections mostly originate from burial bundle excavations. The extent of the practice of regarding human remains and textiles as part of funerary arrangements can be gathered from Johann J. Tschudi presentation at the Ethnological Society London (1844), "… I have thoroughly examined more than eighty ruins of Indian villages, with, perhaps half the number of tombs … And I have brought to Europe ten mummies of different ages and sexes (six others are still expected) ..." (Tschudi 1848, 79). The outcome of unearthing graves was reported by Knut. H. Stolpe (1884) about his explorations in Peru, "I examined eleven such graves … A large number of boxes were filled with mummies, crania, ceramics, etc. Textiles of all kinds, some had been surface finds, others that had been wrapped around the mummies, were used as stuffing in the boxes." (Stolpe 1884 qtd. in Steinberg and Prost 2007, 112). According to Patricia Ordoñez, the collection of mummies in the 19th century was related to ethnographic interest in death rituals, not only to forensic anthropology. Ordoñez also suggests that the inner layers of human remains' bundles could be removed to avoid decomposition, even discarding the bodies along the way to Europe (Ordoñez 2019, 82, 83). In museums, bundles were the basis for another range of subcategories, which were relocated accordingly. Transportation and conservation methods also defined the final item features. In museums, deterioration is a reason to discard and intervene in items, thereby affecting their meaning and content. The objectification of human remains is equally re-enacted by manipulating them in museums.

Classification Modes

The 18th century four-stage theories of Adam Smith and John Miller to explain the evolution of world cultures was not compatible with civilised societies in foreign regions (Newell 2004 qtd in Owen 2006, 14). In the early 19th century, there was no systematic classification of collections of non-European production. While the Darwin evolution model (1859) provided grounds for

theories of cultural evolution (Owen 2006). Dan Hicks states that the analysis of objects based on naturalist studies preceded the analyses of artefacts in a schematic way. In England, the Lane Pitt Rivers museum (1884) showed a classification model of cultural changes based on the sequences of technological features (Hicks 2010, 30-35). Throughout the 19th century, there was a configuration of models to classify archaeological and ethnographic objects. In Germany, according to Andrew Zimmermann, museums supported the idea of the development of Naturvölker – societies without culture and history – and Kulturvölker – civilizations and history (2001). Naturvölker were objects of study pursuing evolutionist ideas (Reyes Gavilán 2016, 36). In France, the classification system was influenced by Edme F. De Jommard's comparative system (1862) that proposed using categories of functional activities divided by types; objects were grouped according to societies' natural needs in hierarchical order, such as food, dress, production, etc. trying to cover all aspects of human life, showing the idea of function defining the object, as presented by Ernest Hamy in Palais du Trocadéro display (Dias 1991, 77, 125-162). Phillip von Siebold proposed a geographical system (1843) in the Rijks Ethnographisch Museum Leiden (REM) according to racial or cultural grouping. This aimed to reconstruct their past rather than the organisation, while Gustav Klemm proposed another alternative to the known geographical system, paralleling ethnographic and archaeological items to demonstrate the sequence of technology development (1858) (Chapman 1985, 24-26).

Various models to integrate diverse objects into a consistent and relatable order have drawn the limits of the objects in collections. Textiles had various meanings which were further hierarchised. The fragments were once part of utilitarian objects or offerings. Bea Brommer gives a glimpse of the usual items named in collections, they include men's loin cloths, hip-cloth, waist belts, tunics and headdress with feathers, hats, and sandals; and women's wrapping skirt or hip cloth, waistbands, pinned shawl, tunics. The "uncu" or tunic was open at the neck and lateral sides for men, occasionally with short weaved or sewn sleeves, while women's tunics had neck and arm openings, horizontal on the top, and their scarves and dresses are differentiated by

length; a symbolic head band llantu to identify provenance and status; the coca bag was used by men and women; a ceremonial item, the coca cloth –"unkhuna", "inkuña", or "tari"-, was used for offerings; while bigger cloths with presumably ritual ceremonial purposes are also identified in burials (Brommer 1988). Additionally, symbolic objects, such as textile masks with clay, stones and metal ornamentations, tool baskets containing supplies for dying, tools for weaving and spinning, and textile items. Similarly, weave samplers and small representations of weave looms were found. The funerary bundles' ornaments also included small shields, pieces of attached fabric, cords, and basketry. While in non-funerary contexts, textiles are linked to construction or other economic activities, the inclusion or exclusion in certain collection categories would depend on the attributed typology linked to the roles the museums intend to highlight.

Mobilisation: Reactivation of Appropriation

Alongside the mentioned modes of acquisition, textile collections resulted from disassembled and mobilised bundles within (and between associated) institutions. The specialisation of museums into ethnographic, anthropological, or forensic anthropological etc. made collections specific, separating assemblages into items, as it is illustrated in the next section. Looting graveyards and dismantling funerary bundles resulted in fabric wrappings and objects being segregated, if not destroyed. Objects and human remains have endured intervention, while categorisation in the public database and organisation of the museum varied.

This 'specificity' of institutions also influenced the interchange, acquisition, segregation, and deaccessioning or transferring of objects from naturalist or concomitant collecting. For instance, Peruvian textiles items from the Wellcome Collection and the Historical Medical Museum (1913-1932) were transferred to the Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, Cambridge, the Pitt Rivers Museum, and the British Museum.

Some categories might make scholars' collections undifferentiated from market-acquired items; textiles from different archaeological contexts acquired separately might be grouped by

type; and textiles from a context or first assemblage might be sold separately over time. It is important to weigh this lack of distinction, since it obscures the trajectory of the object, suggesting similarity of actions. Thus, transferring the beneficial and valuable actions of scientific research to greed, legitimising non-methodological and illegal diggings provenances.

Institutional and Individual Collectors: Priorities, Networks, Hierarchies

Collecting determines primacy, self-identification, boundaries, and knowledge production hegemony (Larson 2008; Williams 1993; M. A. Bovisio 2014). It can be also a political instrument (Owen 2006; Ordoñez 2019). Collecting as a system to create narratives is intrinsic to museums' activities, it becomes a way to create representations (Pomian, 2019; Clifford 1988). Collections as institutional symbols, both through storage and display, build narratives through restricting and storytelling. The museums' attributes (classifying and ordering) embody aims and scholarly interests, which shapes a framework to give meaning to these objects.

To understand how textiles identity is shaped, the collecting methods are examined from the institutional and individual stand in the following case studies. They are relevant because they show a continuum founded in long-term looting since the Spanish invasion. It is shown that textiles were collateral at first, becoming the main target of pre-assembled collection acquisition eventually. Repetitive actions illustrate the correspondence with the establishment of priorities and space. The case studies show how borders and matter were created and modified by interventions. Thus, the permanent change of textiles identity to fit the items into their academic narrative is explained.

Observing the creation of limits, in concept and matter, offers a view of the patterns or traits observed in collected textiles corresponding to the argument of this chapter. Re-identification and space create unities, interpreted as singularities. The process shows an underlying nationalistic pursuit and validation through scientific specialisation in European museums. The case studies are presented in three mains headings that address institutional

practice, the legitimisation of non-methodological collecting, and the engagement of the antiquities market.

The Musée d'Ethnographie du Trocadéro, Paris: From National Interest to the Individual Performance

In France, scholarly platforms established by the mid-19th century shaped the collections of Ancient Peruvian objects. Authors have noted that the collecting mechanism coined the École d'anthropologie de Paris and the Musée d'anthropologie. This environment gave rise to sponsored expeditions, securing collections for French institutions. The foundation of the Musée d'Ethnographie du Trocadéro was a repercussion of the 1878 exhibition, which displayed the recently collected objects from the Wiener expedition to Peru and Bolivia (Riviale 2003, 543, 544; Williams 1985, 150, 151). Pascal Riviale identified pre-Columbian collections in French museums from varied provenance, private donations, purchases from scholars, and natural and archaeological missions. The institutions holding such collections also vary, e.g. the Fine Arts Museum, Rennes; Saint Germain Museum to the Natural History Museum, Paris, among others (Riviale 2000 (1996)).

Léon de Cessac

Léon de Cessac (1841-1891) was a French geologist, in an overview of his work, Riviale notes that de Cessac was involved in scholarly work from early on, he studied the Alphonse Pinart collection at the Natural History Museum in Paris (founded in 1793) and helped with its publication. De Cessac was a titular member of the Comité d'archéologie américaine, part of the Société d'ethnographie, and offered objects from Mexico and Peru to the Comite in 1864; and was appointed conservator of the collections from the Ethnographic Society (Annuaire du Comite d' archaeologies Americaine, 1863-1865, I: 41; 1866-1873 vol.2 cited in (Riviale 2000 (1996), 167,168).

Léon de Cessac and Alphonse Pinart (1952-1911), linguistic and ethnologist, went on a sponsored mission to America (1877-1878). The unfortunate end of his exploration projects, unpaid debts, and rejection from the Ministère de l'Instruction publique (Ministry of Public Education) regarding his later expeditions, leave the scholarly work (Reichlen and Heizer 1963: 22 cited in Riviale 2000 (1996), 172). The lack of support from the Ministère de l'Instruction publique for the work of scholars in their collections suggest the detriment of collections while being used for political purposes

The Mission Pinart / de Cessac 1877-1878

The Pinart / de Cessac mission intended to explore North America's east coast, the Behring Strait, and Alaska. The French Commission des missions scientifiques et litéraires (the Service) from the Ministère de l'Instruction publique (the Ministry) was created to arrange, select, review, and manage projects and results, and assign budgets accordingly. It was created just one year before Pinart/de Cessac's application in 1874. The mission was accepted on 3 May 1875. It focused on hydrography, ethnography, linguistics, and natural history (National Archives Paris F17* 2272: 64 cited in Riviale 2000, 167), and conducted two years later. The Service, as stated in the 2nd article from the Missions instructives (1850), indicated the national property of monuments, documents written or illustrated collected in the missions (Fondo del Ministerio de Instruccion Publica. National Archives Paris F 17 -2925-1 30 January 1850 cited in Riviale 2000, 168) (Riviale 2000 (1996), 78-81, 166). The national investment to accumulate collections through expeditions and the statement of property of them through the Service shows the intention of appropriation and transformation.

Performance: Taking advantage of an Opportunity

The collection of archaeological objects by de Cessac was the result of unforeseen circumstances. The explorers were separated on their way to North America. De Cessac explored the Rimac

valley and excavated a graveyard on the coast; while waiting in Lima for the *Seignelay,* the French navy cruiser. Ancon had already been acknowledged by earlier scholarly explorations. Ancon settlement was used by Ancient Peruvians since the Late Pre-Ceramic period, and being close to Lima, it did not require an enormous effort to explore. The enterprise was encouraged and supported by other agents. These circumstances can be read in his words:

> There was (…) a vast ancient necropolis whose tombs have been the subject of numerous excavations. Addition to M. Quesnel and M. Macedo, M.M. Reiss and Stübel, Th. Ber, Ch. Wiener, etc., I explored the tombs of Ancon. Despite the qualm mentioned, I resolved (…) to establish myself a research workshop, after having noted that my predecessors, dealing mainly with archaeological studies, had limited themselves from an anthropological point of view, to copy skulls and some mummies. I hoped, by placing myself in the field of natural history, to make additional original discoveries to the field. [69] [70]

De Cessac's agency is evident in the fact that he found a place in the scholarly context through the already known location that he explored. By assembling a variably purposed collection, he sought to contribute by filling in the gaps of overlooked information by his predecessors. The results of his mission were not perceived immediately in the broad sense; they were measured by the amount and typology of content. The de Cessac excavation lasted 28 days, he collected mineral samples and funerary bundles, studied their content, and established relationships among the precedence of object materials and flora and fauna to suggest ancient networks of interchange.[71] Riviale had noted a frequent divergence between the projects sponsored and the outcomes which

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69 "Il a existe, …, une vaste necropole ancienne dont les tombes ont ete l'objet de nombreudes fouilles. Outre M. Quesnel et M. Macedo, M.M. Reiss et Stübel, Th. Ber, Ch. Wiener, etc. ont explore les tombes d'Ancon. Malgre les scrupules ci-dessus mentionnes, de me resolus, …, a etablir moi-meme un atelier de reserches, apres avoir constate que mes predecesseurs, s'occupant pribcipalement d'etudes archeologiques, s'etaient bornee, au point de vue anthropologique, à recopier des cranes et quelques momies. J'esperais, en me placant sur le terrain de l'histoire naturelle, faire, en outre, dans ces milieux, d'originales trouvailles ».

70 Léon de Cessac, Rapport sur une mission au Pérou et en Californie, 1882, D005879/61785, p. 2, Fonds Henry Reichlen—Musée de l'Homme (Paris), Archives du musée du quai Branly–Jacques Chirac, Paris.

71 De Cessac, Rapport, p. 2.

were difficult to assess by the Service (Riviale 2000 (1996), 172). In this research, similar divergence is noted through the limitations drawn over collections to be research, exposed, or handled.

De Cessac visited *Tambo Inga,* already toured by Wiener and Ber*, Infantas* and *Santa Rosa,* [72] Ernest T. Hamy reported the mission in 1882 as having been fruitful despite the deviation. Pinnart was detoured to Oceania.[73] De Cessac, motivated by Federico Quesnel,[74] merchant and collector, undertook the excavation in Ancon. He split the graveyard into three areas and collected twenty skulls and diverse archaeological objects from each area. Five hundred objects, including textiles, were collected alongside anthropological collections (Hamy 1882, 325, 327). Among the surrounding support were Serre, a French marine and commander from the naval station in the Pacific, who provided him with personnel for excavations, and Savatier, from the naval station, who helped with the anthropological analysis (Riviale p.169, 170). In July 1877, a report sent by Serre to the Ministry regarding the whereabouts of de Cessac's mission again stated the relevance of the Ancon collection.[75]

In 1877, de Cessac travelled to San Francisco and South California (Riviale 2000 (1996), 170). In 1878, Pinart joined de Cessac in California, although they explored the region separately. De Cessac returned to France in 1880. His lack of funding to send his collections retained them in California (Hamy 1882, 329-331), despite his plea to the Ministry to fund the shipment, noting the high number of specimens.[76] Likewise, due to lack of funds his new mission project to California was not accomplished (Riviale 2000 (1996), 171, 172).

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72 Report from Cessac n.d. F 17 -2997, Fondo del Ministerio de Instruccion Publica, Nacional Archives Paris, quoted in Riviale, Los viajeros franceses en busca del Peru Antiguo 1821-1914 (Lima: IFEA 2000 (1996), 168)

73 Pinart joined the Seignelay ship from Valparaíso to Tahit. while Cessac expected the La Magacienne to the US. Alphonse Pinart, Letter 14 March 1877 to the Ministre de Instruction Publique, DA001897/65571 1877. Mission avec Cessac à Lima Voyage en Océanie - San Francisco, Fonds Henry Reichlen. Musée de l'Homme (Paris). Archives Quai Branly – Jacques Chirac Museum.

74 Federico Quesnel, a merchant and collector, was already known collector in France selling a collection to the Natural History Museum through the Wiener exploration; see Ernest Hamy, *Les origins du muse d'ethnographie. Histoire et documents* (Paris : Leroux, 1890, 55).

75 Serre, Letter 14 Jully 1977, DA001897/65571 1877. Mission avec Cessac à Lima Voyage en Océanie - San Francisco, Fonds Henry Reichlen. Quai Branly – Jacques Chirac Museum.

76 De Cessac, Rapport sur une mission, p. 3 and 8.

In 1822, Hamy noted the variety and abundance of the de Cessac mission collection, highlighting the benefit of possessing it to enrich French national collections. Around nine thousand items were sent to the Ministry, including natural sciences and ethnographic objects, the latter exceeding four thousand, while the anthropological gathering contained thirty-eight items (Hamy 1882, 331, 332). Ancient Peruvian textile objects were not his main interest.

His topic of study regarded evolution and domestication, while opening study paths about relationships between the coast and the Andean (A. Tremeau de Rochebrune 1879 Riviale 2000 (1996), 169; Hamy, 1882, 325, 326), he reported " … the presence of macaw mummies, combined with that of palm wood utensils, proved to me that there were close relationships between the inhabitants of Ancon and the populations of the eastern slope of the Andes …", [77] [78] he also collected crania in organized graveyard parcels. As shown, his expectations of scientific contribution because of his attention to various elements in the funerary arrangements and prestige were clear and repeated in his report. Its contribution of approaching materials in relation with geographic areas has lasted; for instance, Rochebrune categorised the Ancon flora into medicinal plants and industrial uses. Leaves or supplies remnants were used to identify the dye stuff used in fabrics and other objects and fabric fibres (Rochebrune 1879). The identification of supplies and raw materials has become an important research path and continues to be a standard practice.

De Cessac's objects became part of various collections: the Musée ethnographique des missions scientifiques, Musée de la Marine du Louvre, the Musée d'Ethnographie du Trocadéro. His ethnobotanical items and human remains are kept in the Musée national d'histoire naturelle.

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77 "… la présence de momies d'aras, jointe a celle d'ustensiles de bois de palmier, m'a prouve qu'il existait des rapports suivis entre les habitants d'Ancon et les populations du versant oriental de Andes … »

78 De Cessac, Rapport sur une mission, p. 2.

This museum does not contain textiles from de Cessac's expedition.[79] De Cessac sent collections to the Trocadéro in 1878, 1881, 1882, and 1884. Only the 1878 collection included archaeological textiles from Ancon and those linked to human remains. The 1882 collection contains objects from the Peruvian rainforest. In 1881, Pinart sent collections, including Peruvian archaeological items.[80] The textile collection from de Cessac in the Musée du quai Branly - Jacques Chirac illustrates a conjunction of causality, circumstances, and will, and shows the conjunction of agents involved in the collecting process from national institutions, geopolitical circumstances, personal motivations, and scholarship, which together influenced the ultimate object extractions and selections. It stated the hierarchy in the collecting system which, in this case, meant that the textile collection was eclectic.

The Musée du quai Branly - Jacques Chirac currently hold these items, public database shows 92 objects from de Cessac of Perou origin, including human remains.[81] The textile collection from the expedition in the museum's public database contains 13 items[82]. Textiles in combination with archaeological objects are 9 items[83]. This collection was previously part of the Musée de l'Homme. The transcript inventory of the Museum of Men the shows 104 items, including 19 archaeological items from Ancon, including 13 textile objects of various types, such as dressing of figurines, loom, textile painted and symbolic objects, sling, bag, body adornments, funerary

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79 The ones associated to mummy bundles are only small fragment, however not associated to De Cessac's. Manuel Valentin, Scientific manager of cultural anthropology collections. Musée de l'Homme – NMHN, email to author, July 6, 2022.

80 Inventaire des dons, échanges et achats (1878-1884), ETHN AMER 2: ETHN AMER 2: 4, ETHN AMER 2: 6, and ETHN AMER 2: 8, BCMNHN Archive, Paris 5th July 2022 and 7th July 2022.

81 Quai Banly - Jacques Chirac Museum Collection, accessed June 27 and 29, 2022, http://collections.quaibranly.fr/

82 The varied textiles and tool are 71.1878.54.15, 71.1878.54.65, 71.1878.54.66, 71.1878.54.69, 71.1878.54.70, 71. 1878.54.71, 71.1878.54.72, 71.1878.54.73, 71.1878.54.81, 71.1787.54.84, 71.1878.54.85, 71.1878.54.104 (loom), 71.1878.54.100. Human remains and bundle 71.1978.54.74, 1878.54.75, 1878. 54.83,1878.54.82, spondylus with cotton 71.1878.54.101, metal item 71.1878.54.76

83 Paz Núñez-Regueiro, Responsible for the Patrimonial Unit of American Collections, Musee du Quai Branly-Jacques Chirac, email to author, June 8, 2022.

insignia, and a false head. The remaining six were funerary bundles, human remains, a metal band, a mummified head, and a shell with cotton strip.[84]

The Trocadéro and the Collection: Institutional Transformation of Collections into Assets

Many authors have shown that collected objects give insights about institutions' biographies, trajectories, and politics (Albeti 2005, Gosden and Knowles 2001). The same can be said about de Cessac's collection. De Cessac's objects[85] were exhibited in the Musée ethnographique des missions scientifiques [86] which opened on January 23, 1878, in Paris; later, such exhibition would be part of the *Exposition Universelle* as the *Missions et Voyages scientifiques Exposition theatrale* from the Ministry (1878) in the *Palais du Champ-de-Mars*, Paris. The catalogue illustrates the arrangements of objects in the salon (Figure 16), which shows the relevance of the de Cessac/Pinart collections (Ministere de l'Instruction publique, des cultes et des beaux-arts 1878).

De Cessac exhibition was announced as *Mission dans les deux Amériques* (1878) and displayed his Ancon collection. Diverse objects were exhibited. In the catalogue, the textiles descriptions were brief, numbered 3 and 4, two panels, embroidered or painted, and clothing from Ancon. In addition, there are two insignia made of textiles and other materials. The missions were justified as serving national interests under the umbrella of scientific interest and education. De Cessac's objects were presented in four sets (Ministere de l'Instruction publique, des cultes et des beaux-arts 1878, 9, 10). The exhibition was used to demonstrate France's achievements and the outcomes of its investment.

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84 Don de M. Léonde Cessac, Arqueologie d'l'Amerique dus Sud, MH ETH AMER 2 (4) 1878.54, p. 1-4. MH ETHN AMER Archives of the Ethnology Laboratory of the Museum of Man - America Department, BCMNHN Archive, Paris.

85 Rapport á Monsieur le Minitre de l'Instruction publique sur Les collections ethnographiques, 15 February 1879, 2AM 1G1b 14. BCMNHN Archive, Paris.

86 Le minister de l instruction publique, des cultes et des beaux arts, 2AM1 G1b1 Dossier 1, pages 7548 and 7549. BCMNHN Archive, Paris.

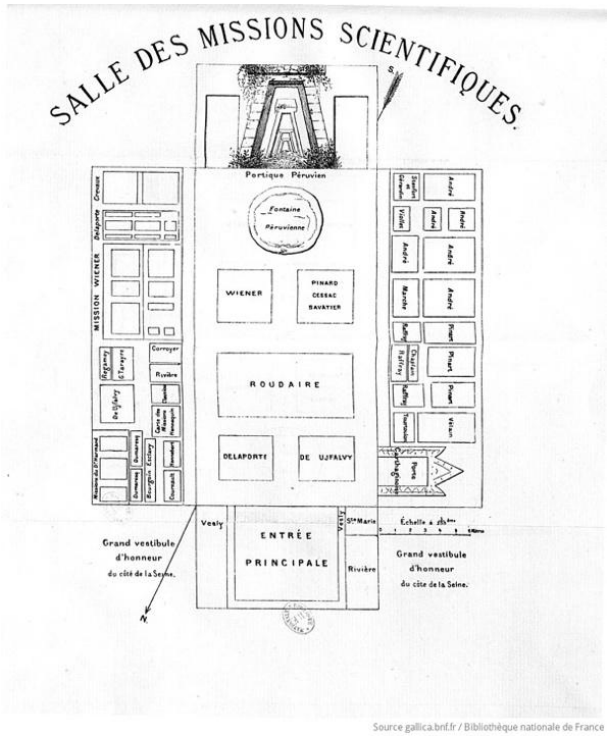

Figure 16 *Salle des missions scientifiques*. Catalogue du ministère de l'instruction publique, des cultes et des beaux-arts. Accessed September 27, 2022, http://catalogue.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cb33385071p © Copyright Bibliothèque Nationale de France.

The use of the explorations collections is noted in Oscar de Watterville's report, which points out the significance of missions and collections to the state,[87] and names the de Cessac/Pinart mission among the most relevant.[88] De Watterville stated the relevance of possessing collections to the positioning of the country and to its national identity, treating knowledge production as a geopolitical instrument. Although explorations of America were not the most numerous,[89] the De Cessac and Pinart collections contributed to the creation of the Musée d'Ethnographie du Trocadéro. In 1880, Hamy pointed out the missions' relevance for the understanding of foreign lands, international relations, and positioning French museums, while noting that the museum's collection was an assemblage of pieces. At the time of the exhibition,

87 Notes sur les missions, 2 AM 1 G 1b, Dossier 9er, BCMNHN Archive. Paris.
88 Le minister de l instruction publique, des cultes et des beaux arts, page 7548.
89 Notes sur de missions, Dossier 9er.

the French state had around 52,000 ethnographic objects from missions (Hamy 1880, 12), which shows the commitment and entitlement of metropoles shielded by scholarship.

Various authors have pointed out the political and scientific interest of individuals and the geopolitical order that resulted in the Musée d'Ethnographie du Trocadéro, subsequently centralising the *Musée ethnographique des missions scientifiques* (Provisional Museum of Scientific Missions) and other ethnographic collections. Administrative issues had stopped the museum at the time, while the collections were sent later to a store at Gros-Caillou (Hamy, 1890, 55-6; Williams 198; Dias 1991).

The mission and de Cessac collection reflect the underlying national ideals of dominance and prestige. In Ancon, although the excavation originated from antiquarians' input, de Cessac demonstrated his methodical approach; through his scholarly agency, he sparked fields of study while instrumentalizing his work for prestige within a nationalist establishment materialized by sponsored national missions. From his collection, some textiles were shaped square-like samples. This might be the case to highlight decorative issues, similar to the antiquarians' supply. The two items could fit the catalogue descriptions despite the scarce details provided, 71.1878.54.65 Cotton painted and 71.1878.54.70 Funerary Insigne. Both items are discussed in a later section: Intervention, regarding the intentionality and intervention to shape them as displayable items.

The Königliches Museum für Völkerkunde (KMV) and the Museum für Völkerkunde Dresden (MVD): Accumulation and Legitimisation of the Non-methodological Collecting

The national interest in foreign collections shows institutional intervention as a tool for domination and prestige, as noted above. The narrative and conceptualisations of foreign civilisations were equally acted by the German Empire. Several authors have pointed out that institutional support for scholarly research was used to reinforce German nationalism and to seek leadership in sciences and morality; while at the same time making archaeology an instrument of influence abroad (Khol 1998, 228, 229; Gänger 2008, 187-189). The idealisation of

the indigenous peoples has been a continuous narrative, often found in early travellers' and explorers' texts.[90] Such idealisation was the result of viewing the opponent as an undermined civilisation. The commoditisation of ancient remains perpetuated this view by establishing new relationships with the past, unsacred but valuable to another realm not within their jurisdiction. The following cases illustrate how museums accumulate and legitimise textile objects from non-methodological collections in museums, which were not exclusive to these institutions. Similar to previous examples, new meanings and priorities were applied to the resulting collections, thereby enhancing national ideals and institutional positioning.

Königliches Museum für Völkerkunde (KMV)

Various authors have noted the influence of Adolph Bastian in knowledge production, collecting, and the foundation of the Museum (1873), showing a relationship with colonialism and explorations. The Königliches Museum für Völkerkunde Berlin (KMV) consolidated its position in the early 20th century. Bastian's universalist approach modified the museum's function, methods, and collections, arranging the most important assemblages of pre-Columbian objects and textiles from private collectors and encouraging future ethnologists such as Arthur Baessler to expand it (Hoffman 2017; Fischer 2007; Reyes Gavilán 2016, 38-41).

The Museum was established above the Königliche Preußische Kunstkammer, as the *Ethnographische Sammlung* in 1829 (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin 2020). Similar to other collections, the first textiles were wrappings from human funerary bundles collecting practice. According to Beatrix Hoffman, in 1829, the museum did not contain single textiles, although it did have pre-Columbian objects and mummies. They were not of interest of collectors at the time but increasingly became so, as a result of missions or acquisitions from private collectors and dealers

[90] About the topic Sandro A. R. Patrucco Núñez. "La imagen del indio en los relatos de exploradores y viajeros del Perú borbónico (1700-1824)", Doctoral thesis, History Faculty, Universidad Catolica del Peru http://hdl.handle.net/20.500.12404/15044

(Hoffman 2017). Lena Bjerregaard notes that similar collecting and accessing modes (donation, purchases, and expeditions) continued from the late 19th century into the 20th century. The Ethnologisches Museum, Berlin, the successor of the KMV, holds over 11,000 textiles; with 9,000 textile items in the collection, mainly from the Central Coast (Bjerregaard 2017, 5-7). According to the public database, around 70,000 items are held from the Inca Empire[91]. The number of items from the Central Coast suggests the concentration and accessibility of supply via collectors, travellers, and traders.

The textile collections identified in the museum's public database[92] include textile production tools, costumes, and utilitarian items. Although some collectors are known, a large number of textiles have an unknown provenance (Appendix A). Many of these collectors allocated ancient Peruvian objects to various museums. The case studies discussed are from Reiss and Stübel, and from Arthur Baessler.[93]

Arthur Baessler

Arthur Baessler (1857-1907) studied natural sciences, geography, and anthropology at the *Ruprecht-Karls-Universität* in Heidelberg. In 1887, he began an expedition through New Guinea, and from 1891 to 1893, he travelled through Australia, Peru, and New Zealand. He bequeathed collections from his trips to the museums in Berlin, Dresden, and Stuttgart. His foundation, the Baessler-Archive for Ethnology, was established in 1903 to sponsor explorations and research (Sauer 1953). The first volume of his foundation's publication contains a study of Ancient Peruvian textiles by Max Schmidt from the KMV.

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91 Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (SMB), "About the Collection," Ethnologisches Museum, accessed November 11, 2021, https://www.smb.museum/en/museums-institutions/ethnologisches-museum/collection-research/about-the-collection

92 Staatliche Museum Berlin Collection, accessed January 11, 2021 MB http://www.smb-digital.de/eMuseumPlus

93 Items reviewed from Baessler collection were : VA 21530, VA 19954, VA 21540, VA 19959, VA 19974, VA 21367, VA 21231 Uncu, VA 24859 Poppe. From Wilhelm Reiss and Alphons Stübel: VA 5816 a-t, VA 7468 (85), VA 5808a, 30962. From Wilhelm Gretzer: VA 30962.

The acceptance of the Baessler's collection given on October 31[94] was mentioned subsequently in a letter dated December 23, 1899. In 1898, Baessler had assured Bastian his interest and advocacy in researching the collection just acquired, and noted a task accomplished as requested stating "In Peru, not only did I work and excavate, I also managed to lay hands on many antiquities, among other things the Goltzer [Gretzer] collection that you asked me to."[95] [96]. Wilhelm Gretzer has assembled his collections through his 15 years in Lima at the time. In similar communications Baessler requested the collection be treated as one and his, despite Gretzer collecting the items, not only Peruvian objects but also other South Pacific collections.[97] This action modifies the scholarly narrative to legitimate non-methodological diggings by Gretzer through pairing them to his excavation outcomes together. Insights into the Wilhelm Gretzer collection's acquisition were made in his 1902 publication. For the records, the museum kept Baessler as the recorded collector. as shown in the public database.[98]

At the same time, the validation of collection, museum, and agents –diggers, curator, scholar– was granted through the possibilities offered by the collection as a source of research and political action. On June 27, 1899, the General Director informs the Minister der Geistlichen, Unterrichts und Medizinal Angelegenheiten (Minister of Religious, Educational, and Medical Affairs) about the collections of Baessler accepted by the museum, stating the relevance of objects for research (numbering over 11,000).[99] The investment mentioned for the collection's

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94 A. Baessler, Letter December 23, 1899, SMB PK.EM.I/MV0548 Baessler 1355/99, Staatliche museen zu Berlin Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Ethnologisches Museum Berlin.

95 " … in Peru habe ich nicht nur selbst Ausgrabungen gemacht, sondern auch viele Alterthümer erworben, unter anderen auch die mir von Ihnen aufgegebene Sammlung des Herrn Goltzer. [Gretzer] …" (Transcribed and translated by Prof. Frans Blom).

96 A. Baessler, Letter April 10, 1898, SMB PK.EM.I/MV0548 Baessler E.W. 552/1898, Staatliche museen zu Berlin Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Ethnologisches Museum.

97 A. Baessler. Letter July 22, 1899, SMB PK.EM.I/MV0548 Baessler IB 21 E 751/99, Staatliche museen zu Berlin Preußischer Kulturbesitz. Ethnologisches Museum.

98 Public Database search, accessed August 12, 2021, htt://smb-digital.de. Manuela Fischer, SMB South America curator, email to author, August 12, 2021.

99 General Director of the Konigliche Museen zu Berlin to Minister of Spiritual, Educational and Medical matters. Letter June 27, 1899, SMB PK.EM.I/MV0548 Baessler IB 21 627/ 99, Staatliche museen zu Berlin Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Ethnologisches Museum Berlin.

acquisition and the collection being passed to the museum is presented as grounds for political affirmation. This reveals an institutional and national intervention that shaped the identity of textile objects through provenance narrative, physical intervention, and the production of knowledge. I discuss the latter in the following chapter. At the same time, the influence of the parameter Baessler set for his collections surpassed his studies. It shows a network ensuring dominance and possession of the material and non-material meaning to be perpetuated; thus, setting the identity of the objects and the whole collection.

A search for Baessler's Peruvian Pre-Columbian collection in the public database retrieved 2,508 items. The collection is varied in terms of style and chronology: it includes ceramics, instruments, fine jewellery, symbolic objects, textile fragments, and garments, at least 146 spindles for textile production, raw and spanned fibres, and fragments as small as single feathers, as well as mummy bundles[100]. Unlike de Cessac's aim to devote himself into the academic discussion through the investigation of a perceived gap in scholarship, Baessler continued with the study of sepulchral traditions and interpretation of the extracted objects. He did not dismiss the value of assembled collections even when contextual data was lost or unknown. He did not completely move away from aesthetic motivation. The collection that resulted either from his excavations and purchase remains similar. An example (VA 21530) is analysed in a later section: Classification.

Wilhelm Reiss and Alphons Stübel

Almost two decades before Baessler's acquisition, the Königliches Museum für Völkerkunde purchased around 2,000 *items* from the collection of Wilhelm Reiss (1838-1908) and Alphons Stübel (1835-1904) from Ancon, making the museum the holder of the main Peruvian pre-

[100] For instance, the SMB V A 28145, accessed January 11, 2021, http://www.smb-digital.de/eMuseumPlus?service=ExternalInterface&module=collection&objectId=25832&viewType=detailView

Columbian textile collection in Europe (Hoffman 2017, 176, 177). These items were acquired in exchange for their publication *Das Totenfeld von Ancón in Peru* (The Necropolis of Ancon in Peru) (Brockmann and Stüttgen 1996, Carlson 2000, Fischer 2007, 2010, Haas 1986 cited in Pillsbury 2017, 326). In 1888, Stübel sold another Andean collection to the Ethnological Museum Leipzig (Pillsbury 2017, 326, 327). Both collections were already shaped by the explorers' categories.

Wilhelm Reiss and Alphons Stübel never published the total results of their expedition (1868 to 1876). Originally, the expedition aimed for Hawaii; however, they spent many years in the Andes instead. Reiss returned to Europe in 1876 while Stübel continued researching in America until 1877. Both, geologists and mineralogists, initially travelled to America to collect data on the presence of plutonium in geological phenomena (Kilian 1954, 41-51 cited in Pillsbury 2014, 61). Wilhelm Reiss became the director of the Berlin Society of Anthropology in 1888, while Stübel published further research in 1892. After his return to Germany, Stübel settled in Dresden, continued his research on South America and donated items to the Museum. The structure formulated to organize textiles would legitimise the view of separate items from previous funerary assemblages and make the national institutions into an authority on the matter of pre-Columbian studies. An example of this collection is discussed (VA 5808a) in a later section: Classification.

Museum für Völkerkunde Dresden (MVD)

The Museum für Völkerkunde Dresden (MVD) (formerly *Das Königliche-Zoologisch-Anthropologisch-Ethnographische Museum* [Royal Zoological and Anthropological Ethnographic Museum]) was founded in 1875. The museum was founded Augustus I of the Saxony art cabinet (1560) and expanded over time, located in the Dresdner Zwinger between 1878 and 1941, and from 1977 in the Japanisches Palais. In 2004, it merged with the Leipzig and Herrnhut museums, and they share joint management (Museum für Völkerkunde Dresden 2022).

The ancient Peruvian textiles collection ranges from funerary mantles to symbolic objects and textile production tools. Some collectors have been identified (Appendix A). The museum

did not hold a public database for the collection nor were the archives fully accessible at the time of this research. However, the Saxony museums have a digital platform for dissemination where some Ancient Peruvian items can be found. The cases from Arthur Baessler and Alphons Stübel exemplify the legitimisation of non-methodological collection practices and the establishment of categories for the segregated content of archaeological assemblages. They also demonstrate the national interest and institutional intervention role in the re-identification of objects.

Alphons Stübel

In the Saxony region, attention was paid to cultural and historical development ("*kulturhistorische Entwickelung*") in the 19th-century, a movement emerged to create an ethnological museum, which exhibitions served as a symbol of a network and acknowledgement of foreign countries past and research (Museum für Völkerkunde Leipzig, 1-4). A collection from Ancon was donated by Reiss and Stübel to the region.[101] The collection in Dresden donated by Stübel in 1882 shows the consolidation of new meanings of detached items through establishment of categories by their adoption in other museums.

The collection donated by Stübel in 1882 was formed of 'doubles' of items already in the KMV in Berlin. It included textile fragments and objects that once accompanied funerary contexts. The patterns in Andean funerary customs made it possible for the researcher to complete a portfolio of item that, when grouped, represented a textile tradition. It is regarded the recognition of different styles and objects. The total number of items in the museum's inventory is 117,[102] again de-grouped from funerary assemblages and organised by type. The cases[103] (3045

101 The textile collection in Leipzig was not accessible at the time of this research.

102 Frank Usbeck, American Collections Curator, Staatliche Ethnographische Sammlungen, GRASSI Museum für Völkerkunde zu Leipzig/Museum für Völkerkunde Dresden, Sammlung Völkerkundemuseum Herrnhut (Anthropological Museums at Leipzig and Dresden, Collection at the Anthropological Museum Herrnhut), email to author May 4, 2021.

103 The items reviewed from Alphons Stübel: 4656, 4658, 3002, 3005, 3016, 3035, 3036, 3043, 3044, 3045.

Bag, 3005 Fragment) discussed in the next section: Intervention, show how limits were created, thereby confining an opening the objects to new interpretations, simoultaneosly.

Arthur Baessler

In the MVD, Baessler became a 'patron' to increase the museum collection. He bequeathed a mummy bundle to MVD, whose contents were separated into textile fabrics and objects that were added to the Ethnological collection, while three skeletons were stored in the Anthropological collection (numbers 3717-3719). This resulted in 37 items, including 33 textiles and a silver necklace.[104] Baessler had purchased the funerary bundles from an antiquarian dealer, William D. Webster in 1902.

William Downing Webster (1868-1913) was a stained-glass designer who went into dealing ethnographic objects in the 1890s. He purchased collections from private and military collectors (The British Museum n.d.). He traded Ancient Peruvian remains and objects to various museums.[105] However, no information has been found in Webster's published catalogues regarding this funerary bundle from the Chimú. Baessler donated objects to the museum from Oceania and North America in 1901, 1902, and 1904 to the museum, while Webster sold items to them in January and November 1900.

Similar to the case of Gretzer in Berlin, Baessler became an intermediary in this network. No further information has been found regarding these negotiations, if any, or about a public sale of the items by Webster or the donation. The information from the original inventory was

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104 Frank Usbeck, email to author, May 4 and 11, 2021, January 30, 2023, conversation with author January 19, 2023.

105 William Downing Webster traded Ancient Peruvian objects and remains to various museums; such as, the British museum, Pitt Rivers Museum, Leipzig and Dresden museums, Volkenkunde museum Leiden, Royal Scottish museum, Museum of Natural History New York, and the Royal Ethnographic Museum Berlin. Also, human remains to New Zealand and the United States in the early 20th Century. His catalogues were published between 1895 and 1901. The Lot 36 On sale in Covent Garden in 1903 included an 'Ancient Peruvian mummy child' from Ancon graves; and, in the 1907 textile production tools and textiles. W. D. Webster, Letters, 15 June 1903, p. 3; 8 October 1907, p. 82; and 22 July 1907, p. 82, Webster Collection: Outward letter book 1900–1907, CA000233, Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa Collection, accessed February 1, 2023, https://collections.tepapa.govt.nz/object/253621

transcribed to the registration card, including diagrams which provide an idea of alteration over time.[106] The funerary bundle (16012) and a bag (16040) are discussed in a later section: Intervention, with regard to the impact of categories on materiality and the transformation of meaning in either a scholarly excavation or market origin.

Rijks Ethnographisch Museum Leiden (REM) and Museum voor Land- en Volkenkunde Rotterdam (MLV): Antiquities Market and Early Scholarly Methods

The following case studies of Enrico Hillyer Giglioli and Arthur J. Speyer illustrate the early scholarly methods of collecting and acquiring textiles through the antiquities market in Europe. Although today the museums in Leiden and Rotterdam share many aspects of the collections' management, historically this was not the case. In the 1880s, the collections value regardless of their origin were signs of prosperity and advantage to positioning cities.

Rijks Ethnographisch Museum Leiden (REM)

The Wereld Museum Leiden, formely *Volkenkunde Museum*, was preceded by the 1816 *Koninklijk Kabinet van Zeldzaamheden*, named *Rijks Ethnographisch Museum* (REM). In 1837, King Willem I increased the collection by purchasing private collections. In the late 19th century, collections from Japan, China, Indonesia, and European countries were commissioned. By the early 20th century, further commissions had increased its content. The America collections from the Rijksmuseum van Oudheden were transferred to the museum in 1903. Over the 20th century, collecting continued with ethnographic expeditions, and in 2014, the consortium Wereldculturen museum was created to group collections originated from outside the Netherlands (Volkenkunde 2021).

106 Frank Usbeck, email to author, May 4 and 11, 2021, January 30, 2023, conversation with author January 19, 2023.

In the 1880s, increasing the collections was a repeated appeal to fulfil the museums. In. the REM, it was no different; its director, Lindor Serrurier (1846-1901), worked with this in mind. During the curatorship of Johaan Schmeltz (1939-1909) from 1882 to 1897, the museum had around 18,000 objects and had received the Den Haag Royal cabinet collection (Wereld Museum Leiden 2024; De Gids 1901). Serrurier's words in the *Catalogue de la Section Ethnographique* from *l'Exposition internationale Colonial et d'Exportation Générale tenue à Amsterdam 1883* illustrates the view of the scientific relevance of collecting within nationalistic and universalist perspectives, for the ultimate general prosperity (Serrurier 1883, 6). Systematisation and networking are evident in the museum's publications, which display scholars from various European countries origins.

The Wereldculturen museum consortium, which encompasses the Wereldmuseum, Tropen museum, Volkenkünde museum, and Afrika Museum at the time of this research,[107] contains at least 6,000 items from Pre-Columbian Peru.[108] However, the information retrieved is not reliable enough to determine the total number of pre-Columbian items or the total number of textiles that the consortium holds.[109] A database may lack of information or identification numbers can change; textile items might be identified with different words affecting their retrieval on the platform. For instance, in the Archaeological subcollection in the public database the origin has various word combinations, such as "Peru" or "Peruaans" and "Precolumbiaans" or "Precolumbiaanse". Likewise, at the time of this research, most public databases did not include provenance or acquisition methods.[110] Many items lack provenance dates or access details.[111] Many items exchanged or donated from other institutions were registered on the date

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107 In October 2023, the museums became a joined museum with four locations called Wereld Museum Leiden, Amsterdam and Rotterdam and the Berg en Dal being closed to the public.

108 Archaeological collection, accessed November 23, 2020 https://collectie.wereldculturen.nl/

109 Catherijne Beckers Collection information, Wereld Culturen Museum, email to author, March 10, 2020 and April 23, 2020.

110 The research in public databases was carried out consistenly from 2019 to 2023, and sporadicly in 2024.

111 Catherijne Beckers, email to author, April 23, 2021.

of access, creating another layer of information that may lead to misidentify the actual origin and provenance, the date of collection and first acquisition. The absence of information consolidates a narrative of detachment and decontextualisation.

Various collecting modes coexisted over time, such as purchases from art dealers and collectors, interchange with foreign museums and local institutions, and scientific expeditions. These modes continued in the 1930s and the 1950s, similar to other museums. Some textiles have known provenance and collectors, while others are unknown (Appendix A). The search of the public database retrieved over 500 textiles of Peruvian origin from the archaeological collection, including 117 named textile fragments.[112] The case study of Enrico Giglioli illustrates how the early collecting of textiles methods evolved from the plundering graves of ancient civilisations.

Enrico Hillyer Giglioli

Enrico H. Giglioli (1845-1909) was a zoologist with an interest in ethnological studies and known in the scholarly circuit for his collecting activities. He was a contemporary of Paolo Mantegazza and Luigi Pigorini (Starr 1892, 65, 66). Giglioli was part of the Italian exploration with the *Magenta* and became director of the Vertebrate Zoological Museum in Florence (The British Museum 2021). After the unification of Italy, the mission sought to position the kingdom as a naval power (Comissione italiana distoria militare 2001). Similar to other missions at the time, it had collateral purposes, such as commerce and scientific exploration. Giglioli visited Peru in 1868. He allocated his collections, including natural history and ethnographic objects, to

112 Wereld Culturen collections, accessed December 14, 2019 and November 23, 2020, https://collectie.wereldculturen.nl

various museums, such as the Smithsonian American Indian Museum (Gill 2010; Tiberini 1990).[113] Giglioli established a network for exchange and pursued recognition in the field.[114]

The Leiden Museum contains 31 textile items exchanged by Giglioli,[115] including body adornments and textile production tools. All these items from burial contexts show features; such as size, neat-cut borders, and depictions, common in 19th century antiquarianism. In the 1886 exchange, the museum received 13 textile items containing ropes, textile production tools, dressing items, and a *quipu*.[116] The exchange also included objects from other places, such as New Guinea, totalling 53 items. In the museum's public database 31 objects collected in 1868 are listed. Giglioli carried out another exchange of items in 1890, which also included Indian objects

In his letter from 1868 concerning the exchange, Giglioli provided annotations for each item, although the information was scarce. He noted his participation in the provenance of the objects. This document provides historicity while acknowledging archaeological locations. The actual extraction is noted for some items, while others are acknowledged as antique remains. It is likely that his actions or performance were driven by methods that may not be recorded; the arbitrariness of the selection was bound by aesthetics, taste, and awareness of burial customs. For instance, he distinguished a rope for tying the bundle, or an offering, he described "25 beautiful skein of white cotton thread, taken by me out of the hand of a female mummy. Huaca Perez, near Lima (Vide Viaggio della Magenta p.882 pl I fig.22)."[117] According to his publication, the digging took place on 18 August 1867. The visit was arranged by chemist Guglielmo Sicca. The origin of the objects is given as the name of the Hacienda owner, Mr. Pérez. The examples discussed in the next sections (RV-592-17 Fragment, RV-592-29 Uncu, RV787-1 Bag) illustrate

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113 William Ockleford Oldman, *Sales Register*, Item CA000228/001/0001, NMAI.RM.001, William Ockleford Oldman Archive Research Material, National Museum of the American Indian, accessed August 15, 2020 https://transcription.si.edu/view/15015/EFvqR

114 Enrico Giglioli, Letter from to Serrurier, Museum Director 6 May 1890, NL LdnRMV-A1-15-227/228, Museum Volkenkunde Archives, Leiden.

115 Catherijne Beckers, email to author March 10, and April 23, 2020.

116 List of specimens sent in exchange to the Rijk ethnographisch museum Leiden, 27 December 1886, Serie 592 nro 16, Archive Exchange collection Peru, Museum Volkenkunde Archives, Leiden.

117 List of specimens sent in exchange, 27 December 1886.

the collection of textiles derived from a tradition of unearthing graves established since the Viceroyalty, as well as Giglioli's knowledge of geography and the ancient Peruvians' funerary traditions. Interventions like his shaped the parameters for future itemisation of assemblages.

Museum voor Land- en Volkenkunde (MLV)

The today Wereldmuseum Rotterdam originated from the Maritiem Museum, founded in 1873 which was chaired by Prince Hendrik. It was built on donations from local bourgeoisie and merchants. The type of collection led to the creation of the Ethnographic Museum which was administered by the city municipality. In 1885, it became the Museum voor Land en Volkenkunde and was jointly managed with the Maritiem Museum Prince Hendrik. It was mainly stocked by donations from private collectors, including the Dutch elite from the colonies. With director J. W. Nouhuys (1915-1934), the museum began to undertake academic expeditions, systematisation, and scientific description of objects (Wereldmuseum n.d.; Museum voor Volkenkunde Rotterdam 1987). The acquisition methods include exchanges, donations and purchases from private collectors, dealers, travellers, and merchants, auction houses, and galleries, which continued over time.

Werumeus Buning, the museum's first director, sent letters to various scholars and ethnological museums in Europe, networking and expanding the museum's collections.[118] In 1910, an additional storey was built to house the growing collection (Museum voor Volkenkunde Rotterdam 1987, 9, 10). Beyond the social education value of the collection, the museum claimed to align Rotterdam with the prestige and expectations of other city museums in Europe.[119] The collection of ancient Peruvian textiles was not limited to national or specialised museums but extended to regional museums such as in Rotterdam and Dresden.

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118 Inventaris stukken van algemene aard ingekomen en minuten of doorslagen van uitgaande stukken, RtSA 563:54: 1884-1892 Folio 135, 136, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 245, 251, Rotterdam City Archive, Rotterdam.

119 Museum Report, 24 March 1924, RtSA 351-01: 1085: Dossier 7. 1924, Rotterdam City Archive, Rotterdam.

The museum's public database has over 300 hundred records of textile items in Peru in the Archaeological collection that originated in Peru. [120] The information available for retrieval on the public platform is limited, and it is worth noting that the access date may be misleading regarding the original acquisition. The case of Arthur J. Speyer discussed below illustrates the confluence of scholarly drive, prestige, and the market in Europe and highlights the arbitrary relationship between grouping of objects and their autonomy.

Arthur J. Speyer

Arthur Hans Friedrich August Speyer (1858-1923), also known among. Museologists as Arthur J. (Johannes) Speyer among museums, was a known entomologist and ethnographic collector based in Hamburg. He was a member of the Zoological State Institute, the Zoological Museum and Applied Entomology Department in Hamburg. He sold ethnographic collections to various European museums (Schultz 2016). His struggles during the First World War pushed him to sell his entomological collection through Kosmos (Natural History Institute, Hermann Rolle, Berlin) and allocate duplicates to museums in Germany (letter to Bernhard Ankermann March 17, 1919; and, letters from Friedrich W. K. Muller March 18, 1919 cited in Schindlbeck 2012, 97)). With this success, Speyer continued to network (Schindlbeck 2012, 97, 98). He settled in Berlin in 1919 and continued his commerce of ethnological objects, passing on the work to his son before his death (Culturelles 2000, 97, 98). According to Hoffman, in the Berlin Museum disquisition process, Arthur Speyer traded around 500 items (Hoffmann 2017, 13).

Sometimes the name Arthur Speyer refers to Arthur Max Heinrich Speyer, his son. In 1926, Arthur M. H. Speyer sold ancient Peruvian objects and textiles to the Bern History Museum

120 Wereld Culturen Museum Collection, accessed December 14, 2019, November 23, 2020, January 16, 2024, https://collectie.wereldculturen.nl

(Bolz 1993),[121] to the Museum voor Land- en Volkenkunde in 1921,[122] and to the Museum für Völkerkunde Dresden in 1927 and 1929.[123] It is possible that Arthur J. Speyer worked together with his son in the 1920s sale to the MLV.

Martin Schultz noted the Speyer network in the early 20th century. For instance, Rudolf Zeller, first curator of the Bern History Museum (1904-1940), requested a complete funerary bundle, although he did not meet the request (Schultz 2016, 6). Zeller's letter[124] illustrates a good understanding of pre-Columbian funerary traditions and the monetary value given to these items in the antiquities market. In their exchange, Zeller asserted the relevance of acknowledge features to illustrate the funerary tradition, and the objectivization of human remains, such as originality.

Speyer sold the collection to the MLV in 1921, but the purchase took months to be concluded. The Wereldmuseum Rotterdam contains 12 items bought in 1921,[125] mainly from Ancon, including more than a dozen textile production tools. The curator's request for textiles and production tools from Peru was reiterated in these communications.[126] He stated that the good condition of the objects upon arrival at the museum was a condition for payment.[127] The

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121 The Bernisches Historisches Museum acquired 132 items from between 1926 to 1944, including 42 Peruvian archaeological textiles in 1926; see Christina Schultz, Der Stoff aus dem die Träume sind: Die Textilsammlung der Bernischen Historischen Museum (Bern: Historisches Museum Bern, 2016), 7. According to the records most of the textile collection was acquiered from him, today the Museum contains 64 ancient Peruvian textiles. Karin von Niederhäusern, Research Associate Ethnography, North, Central and South America, Bernisches Historisches Museum, email to author, September 22, 2021.
AMH Speyer made his name by assembling an important native North American artefact from the 18th and 19th Century now in the Canadian Museum of History.

122 Museum Report, RtSA 351-01: 1054: Dossier 17. 1922, Rotterdam 10th November 2021.

123 Dr. Frank Usbeck. American Collections, Staatliche Ethnographische Sammlungen, GRASSI Museum für Völkerkunde zu Leipzig/Museum für Völkerkunde Dresden, Sammlung Völkerkundemuseum Herrnhut (Anthropological Museums at Leipzig and Dresden, Collection at the Anthropological Museum Herrnhut), email to author May 6, 2021.

124 Arthur Speyer, Letter 24 December 1922. A.001.008.005 Korrespondenz: Arthur Speyer, Bern Historic museum, Archive der Ethnographischen Sammlung, Bern

125 Catherijne Beckers, email to author, April 23, 2021.

126 A. J. Speyer, Letter 29 March 1921. Stukken van algemene aard, directeursexemplaren 1901-1935, RtSA 563: 72, Folio 184. Rotterdam city Archive, Rotterdam.
Director, Letter to A. J. Speyer, 29 May 1921, RtSA 563:72, Folio 255, Rotterdam city Archive, Rotterdam.

127 Letter to A. J. Speyer, 24 June 1921. RtSA 563: 72 Folio 290. Rotterdam city Archive, Rotterdam.

acquisition price for the assemblage was 337.43 guilders.[128] [129] The conversations between Speyer and the curator show Speyer's diligence in meeting the museum's requests, the limitations regarding the museum's budget and their interest in fulfilling the contemporary academic narrative. In the early 20th century, collecting meant maintaining the institution' prestige and broadening their reach. Although Ancient Peru was relevant, the museum focused mainly on Dutch colonies.[130] Two examples (WM-25250 Cloth and WM-25254 Cocata) are discussed in a later section : Classification.

Relations to Temporality, or The Perceived as Category

In the above cases, and throughout this research, it was observed that the organisation of textiles in the museum databases or entry books did not necessarily match the reality of the museum's organisation regarding location, storage conditions, or exhibitions. The collections embody a *textile* category as a processed fibre resulting in a product, while the value attached depends on the purpose of the collection. Items are classified as technological, living, supplies, ritual, industry, etc., while including a wide range of items and other organic materials. Thus, retrievals from searches in ethnological museums' public databases include, for instance, ritual, ceremonial, and hierarchical symbols, alongside industrial uses which include a wide range of types.[131] Textiles as a category of material could be spread across different categories, including the burials' category, although the items embedded intentionality and provenance might differ. In museums, the classification and grouping category could facilitate conservation and management

128 Handelingen van de gemeenteraad, RtSA 351-01: 1054: Dossier 17. 1922, Rotterdam city Archive, Rotterdam.

129 This amount would be around five thousand euros purchasing power in 2020, according to the calculator from the International Institute of Social History, accessed December 28, 2021, https://iisg.amsterdam/en/research/projects/hpw/calculate.php

130 For instance, Edouard Gaffron's (1861-1931) collection offer was declined, even though the curator was interested in his Nazca collection. Letter to dr. E Gaffron, June 20, 1921, RtSA 563:72 Stukken van algemene aard, directeursexemplaren 1901-1935, Folio 320, 321, Rotterdam city Archive, Rotterdam.

131 These classifications do not differ from the non-public database; not all categories or information from the items are available to the public. Non-public databases usually contain more filters to retrieve items.

and could also assist collection specialisation, space management, curation, and allocation of budget, accession, and deaccession. In addition, the classification and grouping could facilitate further separation into new assemblages and overlapping categories. Thus, textiles within assemblages' shows simultaneous relationships and engagement.

The next sections discuss how intervention and classification shaped textiles' new identity. They examine the cases of the former Musée d'Ethnographie du Trocadéro, Königliches Museum für Völkerkunde, Berlin KMV; Museum für Völkerkunde Dresden MVD; Rijks Ethnographisch Museum, Leiden (REM); and the Museum voor Land- en Volkenkunde Rotterdam to discuss the institutional and individual collecting practice. It addresses national institutions actions, accumulation, and legitimisation of non-methodological and antiquities market acquisitions. The distinction of the collecting methods shows that a conjunction of practices altered materiality, through institutional and direct intervention in various capacities. The encounter collector and objects created inherently boundaries and space, while categorisation sustained such singularisation through publications and mobilisation.

Intervention: Physical Modification of the Object

The following cases illustrate the transformation of meaning through intervention of physical features. The intersection of institutional methods and the individual drive alongside the relations among material, technique, and representations in textiles created traits which became relevant to the evolving narrative and interpretation process, which are settled in categories and mobilisation.

What I called singularisation, which in this case occurred through intervention, shows the variant of individual drive and items' physical features guide, to a greater or lesser degree. Following the narrative scheme of collecting described by Bal (1994), The encounter or beginning of the process could be seen here in the process of unearthing objects, and human remains, and the detachment of the original assemblages. In the case of textile objects, the

engagement shows collector's awareness and objects embedding relatable knowledge. For instance, the item *VA 7468 (16)*[132] *Uncu männerhemd* from Ancon (Figure 17). This *uncu*[133] is part of the Reiss and Stübel collection in the Ethnologisches Museum Berlin (EMB), former Königliches Museum für Völkerkunde (KMV). The method of collecting shows individual drive since the Reiss and Stübel mission did not intend archaeological excavations.

The item is illustrated in the Reiss and Stübel's publication *The Necropolis of Ancon in Peru* (1880) in Plates 16/17/49, in context as part of a funerary bundle and separately showing its depictions (Figure 71 and 72), demonstrating a common provenance of textile collection: funerary wrapping fabrics. Ordoñez's research shows that at least eighteen museums in Europe contain mummies collected from 1850 to 1930. In most cases they were unbundled and offerings, textiles and padding fabric were disaggregated (Ordoñez 2019, 81-144), as this research also shows. The item measures 104.2 cm x 120.2 × 1.65 cm deep (including the frame),[134] and is made of camelid fibre, with slit weaving technique, according to the Museum public database, it is affiliated to the *Wari* culture. According to Margaret Young-Sanchez, this uncu is made using an interlocked technique, with cotton warp, and weft wool both in double torsion (Young-Sanchez 2000, 272). It has been conserved over time. The study Margaret Young-Sánchez (2000) of the Reiss and Stübel twenty-eight grave lots in the EMB shows that human remains offerings and textiles wrappings had been disaggregated over time manifesting the results of historical intervention.

A first stage of detachment occurred when the item was retrieved: its significance in identifying the deceased and their status in the afterlife is translated into a new context where these agreements do not occur. At the following stage various elements were separated from the

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132 Ethnologisches Museum Berlin, accessed January 5, 2021, http://www.smb-digital.de/eMuseumPlus?service=ExternalInterface&module=collection&objectId=174989&viewType=detailView

133 This uncu was being conserved at the time of the research visit for the new EMB exhibition held at the Humboldt Forum which opened in July 2021.

134 According to the EMB inventory card it measures 104 x 98 cm.

human remains and identified by typology using their material attributes. At this stage, the guide of the object's structure is noted: the visual representations by a highly skilled manufacturer became the sole textile identity as a representation of the Andean past through a fragmented narrative. The traits that emerge in the first stage or beginning are portability and iteration of patterns that becomes a recognition trait when a style is establish. This is evident in its affiliation to the *Tiahuanaco* civilisation in the publication. This report of how items were excavated granted academics certainty to re-identify other detached items with similar patterns.

The alteration of objects impacts, reduces, or eliminates the understanding of cultural practices and their traceability. The physical space created through separation of elements inherently creates borders e.g. container of coca leaves and uncu clothing of the deceased, making them singular entities. In their new identity, hierarchy is given by the boundaries which are 'formally' established through categories.

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Figure 17 *Uncu*. VA 7468 (16). 104.2 x 120.2 cm. Accessed August 19, 2024, https://id.smb.museum/object/174989/uncu © Copyright Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Ethnologisches Museum / Claudia ObrockiCC BY-NC-SA 4.0.

In the institutional method of collecting funerary bundles from the antiquities market that subsequently formed textile collections, a different interaction is observed. In the case of the item *16012 Funerary bundle* from the Museum für Völkerkunde Dresden (MVD), there is not classification made or report about the excavation or about the disassembling of the bundle. The item is part of the Baesler collection that was donated to the museum in 1902. It was purchased from William D. Webster. Information in the inventory transcribed Webster's original description, it reads: "Mummy unwrapped found in the ruins of the Chimus of Trujillo."[135] The text suggests the dissembling happened before the sale occurred. The description does not offer information about location or relationship to the various original elements. The information of content during dissembling is seen the Pitt Rivers Museum to be discussed in Chapter 4. Similar to other cases, objects and human remains are kept in different museum departments.

The number 16012 identifies a group of items while the subsequent numbers identify the content. According to the museum's database, the funerary bundle contained three bodies, alongside wrapping fabrics, stuffing, dressing items and offerings, and among others. [136] The textiles are deteriorated due to their use and environmental conditions; they show stains of organic fluid, losses and creases. Still, they are recognisable items regarding techniques and materials. [137]

Alongside institutional actions, Baessler himself played a role in legitimising spoliation and non-methodological collecting. At the same time, his collections served as sources of data

135 Frank Usbeck, email to author, February 19, 2023.

136 Frank Usbeck, email to author January 24, 2023, conversation with author, January 19, 2023. It contained: a cord, a long scarf, eight narrow cloths, a piece of finer stuff, a piece of fine fabric, two blankets or mantles, a piece of cloth from the mummy sack, six jackets made from mummy sack, a cloth, a bag added to the mummy, coarser stuffing, two coarse fabrics, a sack, rags from the mummy sack, a piece of cloth, two cloths with cotton, a fishnet, and a necklace of silver beads.

137 There were reviewed from the Arthur Baessler donation are items 16027, 16016, 16032, 16039, 16040, 16041, and 16043.

for research. [138] Purchasing non-methodology-excavated remains seems to contradict his scholarly interest. While aesthetics played a significant role in the Baessler collection in Berlin, in Dresden, items may lack the exoticism seen in pre-assembled items in Berlin. The value given to a *complete* bundle based on originality may be diminished by the previous intervention.

A second stage of detachment is observed in the bundle content. The item *16040 Bag* or container was segregated from the above funerary assemblage (Figure 18). It is made of woven cotton. It is folded and stitched on the sides and has a thread on top, possibly to close it. It measures approximately 14 × 11.5 cm. It shows organic staining. The separation of this element from the purchased assemblage shows that the item is identified by relatable similitudes. The hierarchy in the organisation of the collection is illustrated by the possible removal of items' content. This shifts the function and meaning based on the relationships within the funerary bundle, to be part of a new organisation limited by emphasising a typology. At the same time, the structure of the item and its recurrence in funerary bundles sustain such association, they manifest similar traits of portability, recognition, and appearance. Today, owing to conservation concerns, it seems reasonable to separate the content of assemblages to prevent deterioration.

The new relations that the items exert in new assemblages described above are also illustrated in the case of the item *3045 Bag* from Ancon (Figure 19). It was donated by Alphons Stübel to the MVD in December 1882. The method of collections in a scholarly excavation shows hierarchy in the production of meaning, this can be seen as a 'middle' stage of the collecting process: the method reported and the organisation are used to allocate this item years after it was collected. This item is listed in the W. Reiss und A. Stübel Catalogue[139] of doubles

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138 For instance, Baessler's collection from Reptiles and Batrachians brought from Peru and Bolivia in the museum -former Kŏnigl. Zoologisches und Anthropologisch-Ethnographisches Museum zu Dresden- were studied and published by Franz Werner in 1901 in the *Abhandlungen und Berichte* from the museum.

139 Catalogue Altperuanische gewebe aus den gräbern von Ancon. Doubleten der im Kgh. Ethnograpfischen museum zu Berlin befindlichen sammlugen von W. Reiss und A. Stübel, 19 December 1882, MVD_1E_1882/47_Stubel_A, Dresden Staatliche Ethnographische Sammlungen – Digitale Dokumentation Sachsen, accessed January 10, 2023, https://ses-documentation.skd.museum/main/thumbnailview/qsr=St%C3%BCbel/fc=12%3A585

(1882), entitled *Catalogue Altperuanische Gewebe aus den Gräbern von Ancon. Doubleten der im Kgh. Ethnographischen Museum zu Berlin befindlichen Sammlugen von W. Reiss und A. Stübel.*

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Figure 18 *Bag*. 16040. 14 x 11.5 cm. Museum für Völkerkunde Dresden. Photograph by author. January 19, 2023. With Permission from Museum für Völkerkunde Dresden.

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Figure 19. *Bag*. 3045. 16 x 34 cm. In a case with other containers or bags. Museum für Völkerkunde Dresden. Photograph by author. January 19, 2023. With Permission from Museum für Völkerkunde Dresden.

This container is made of cotton and measures approximately 16 x 34 cm. It is encased alongside four textile containers or bags in a glass container, which measures 64.5 × 49.7 × 2.3 cm. Inside the items are creased and show thread loss, although it is difficult to determine the extent to which this after encasement. A watercolour of the item in the inventory card from the 1930s shows an embroidery that is lost today (Figure 79), which shows that it was made of cotton and wool, since animal fibres deteriorate faster in particular conditions. This item is further discussed in Chapter 4. The conservation of these items in the frame is not optimal.

The arrangement of bags in portable frames might have been for display; [140] this arrangement reinforced their perception of independent unities, modified their identity and perception as singular objects related through the repetition of a pattern which assures the hierarchy of the category over their funerary use. This was strengthened by sealing the items to ensure that this group last, as it has to the present day. Likewise, the categorisation given in the 1882 Alphons Stübel catalogue persists today. Although, the presentation of the items marked the links to graves as curiosities, nowadays this is not the case in the museum. This shows changes in interpretation drawn by previous interventions.

Alphons Stübel donated over a hundred objects to the MVD. He valued his donation in light of the objects given to Berlin. The presence of textiles in funerary customs and lack of restrictions enabled almost unlimited retrieval during excavations, facilitating duplicate collections for museums. The institutional intervention in the middle stage of the collecting process is seen through classification and restriction when intervention physically shaped the items. The inventories refer to items made predominantly of fibre, even when another organic material is used alongside. They were independently classified and grouped by type, allowing them to be moved within departments and exchanged over time. The Reiss and Stübel's

140 Frank Usbeck, conversation with author, January 19, 2023.

classification created a set of collection types and influenced museums in terms of textiles' presence and interpretation. This also contributed to the validation of items of unknown provenance by associating them with a verified origin obtained through a reported methodology.

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Figure 20. *Chuspa*. RV-592-27. 9 x 7.5 cm max. Wereld Museum Leiden. Photograph by the author. April 18, 2023. With Permission from the Wereld Museum Leiden.

The interchange of objects further fixes the identity of items as autonomous unities in the process of singularisation, as seen above. This is also observed in collected items by early scholarly and further allocated. For instance, the item *RV 592-27 Bag* from Enrico Giglioli exchange with the REM (1886) and collected in 1868 (Figure 20). The item is described in his list as "27 Beautiful chuspa, ornamented bag, a wonderful sample of the embroidery of the Ancient Peruvians (Vide Viaggio della Magenta p.882 pl I fig.17) unicum!".[141] Its handle shown in the

141 List of specimens sent in exchange, 27 December 1886.

illustration (Plate I, figure 17) is absent (Figure 21). The item was discussed in his 1875 publication *Viaggio intorno al globo della r. pirocorvetta italiana Magenta negli anni 1865-66-67-68*, he established that the manufacture of objects differentiated the status of the deceased, using this bag as an example (Giglioli 1875, 882); Giglioli focusses on the aesthetics.

Figure 21. *Plate* I, Viaggio intorno al globo della r. pirocorvetta italiana Magenta negli anni 1865-66-67-68. 1870. Accessed January 2, 2023, https://www.internetculturale.it © Copyright Università degli Studi di Firenze-Biblioteca di Scienze.

The case of the item RV-787-1 *Chuspa* (Bag)[142] is different (Figure 22). The annotations on the early inventory card read: "Fine bag (*chuspa*) with its band entire; it contains coca leaves. It is a very fine specimen of the superior tissue embroidery of the Chimú ancient Peruvians, and rare being perfect. Found hanging from the neck of a male mummy in the Huaca of *Chancay* north of Lima. 1870."[143] The item was exchanged in 1890 after various communications between

142 RV-787-1, Wereld Culturen Museum Collection, accessed March 26, 2021, https://hdl.handle.net/20.500.11840/671710

143 Inventory card, Archive Serie 787 Volgnummer 4 Ford 17, Museum Volkenkunde Archives, Leiden. E. Giglioli, Letter to L. Serrurier, 14 June 1890.

Giglioli and Lindor Serrurier.[144] [145] In the correspondence there was no mention of the excavation which suggests that the objects may have been acquired in Europe. It measures 52.7 × 20.5 cm).

Currently, it is stored without the content mentioned in the annotations. The symbolic composition of the container and its content was broken. This could lead to new interpretations; the item is transformed from being deliberately placed for the afterlife to being a merely utilitarian. Today, these symbolic bags are split or re-shaped owing to conservation concerns or curatorial interests.

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Figure 22. *Chuspa*. RV-787-1, a. 52.7 x 20.5 cm. Wereld Museum Leiden. Photograph by author. April 18, 2023. With Permission from the Wereld Museum Leiden.

144 E. Gigliolo, Letter, 19 May 1890, Exchange collection Peru Serie 787 Nro 12, Archive Exchange collection Peru, Museum. E. Giglioli, Letter, 3 May 1890, Exchange collection Peru Serie 787 Nro 12, Archive Exchange collection Peru, Museum Volkenkunde Archives, Leiden.

145 E. Giglioli, Letter to L. Serrurier, 14 June 1890, concerning objects exchange, NL-Ldn RMV-A1-15-231/232, Museum Volkenkunde Archive, Leiden.

The physical modifications of the objects were intentionally aligned with the intended purposes of the museums and individuals. Reshaping and flattening are recurrent. An example is the item *3005 Fragment*, donated by Stübel to the MVD in 1882 (Figure 23). It is encased and folded, the case measures 66.8 × 51.5 × 2 cm and contains other fragments. It is made of wool loosely woven 1:1; [146] folded it measures approximately 42 × 22 cm, whereas originally it measures 90 × 42 cm, according to the inventory card. It shows previous pest infestation, and it is dry. Its structure seems similar to items 3035-3036, and the item illustrated in Plate 44 from Reiss and Stübel's 1880 publication (Figure 78).[147] Although it does not appear to be part of the same fabric.[148]

During the early 20th century, the museum collections may have been in travelling exhibitions using portable frames. [149] The case 3005 appears to be used as a sample of bigger fabrics (?) from the collection (3035-3036) (Figure 76). This intervention completely detached the object from its funerary context and shaped perceptions by limiting the view and understanding of its full extent. It also poses a risk to its conservation over time. The institutional interest and aim are seen in this case; the item is arranged for display. In this middle stage of the process, a meaning is shaped that is different from a funerary trousseau, as the object becomes unique and a unity.

146 1:1 refers to 1 weft per 1 warp.

147 It is listed in the Stübel's Doubles catalogue, page 3.

148 A similar textile had also been donated by Baessler to the museum in Berlin, VA 19544, Ethnologisches Museum Berlin Collection, accessed, July 11, 2022, https://id.smb.museum/object/17231/hemd

149 Dr. Frank Usbeck, conversation with author, January 19, 2023.

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Figure 23 *Fragment*. 3005. 90x 42 cm. Detail of the glass case. Museum für Völkerkunde Dresden. Photograph by author. January 19, 2023. With permission from the Museum für Völkerkunde Dresden.

Similarly, in the early collecting through sponsored missions, the intervention made by the collector/ digger agent defined how meaning of the object was transformed. The case of *RV-592-29 Uncu*[150] (Figure 24) shows that detaching and flattening the item creates a hierarchy in the narrative. Giglioli exchanged this uncu with the Rijks Ethnographisch Museum Leiden in 1886.[151] In the public database, it is attributed to the Inca period, indicating it originated from a mummy.[152] It measures approximately 85.7 x 74 cm. It is made of cotton and is undyed (?), with decorative stripes in colours brown and beige. It is made with two pieces joined together, sewn at the sides, leaving openings for the arms. It is weaved 1:1. The rivets on the collar are lost. Its manufacture shows a Late Intermediate, Ychmay culture (?) pattern. In the list given by Giglioli it is noted as "29 Uncu, man's dress, removed from a mummy, Huaca Perez (*Viaggio della Magenta* p.882 pl I fig.21),"[153] which suggest the unbundling of the funerary assemblage in situ. Giglioli seems to be directly involved in uncovering the funerary bundle (Giglioli 1875, 876, 878).

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150 RV-592-29, Wereld Culturen Museum Collection, accessed March 26, 2021, https://hdl.handle.net/20.500.11840/664281

151 List of specimens sent in exchange, 27 December 1886.

152 Catherijne Beckers, email to author, March 10, 2020.

153 List of specimens sent in exchange, 27 December 1886.

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Figure 24 *Uncu*. RV-592-29. 85.7 x 74 cm. Wereld Museum Leiden. Photograph by author. April 18, 2023. With Permission from Wereld Museum Leiden.

Shifting the use of the object through segregation engendered a different space for interpretation, enabling it to become a scholarly commodity. Detachment and flattening while breaking the concept of a funerary bundle, led to a focus on the structure and representations within the items; thus, impacting its materiality through the transformation of identity as a singular entity exists beyond its role as cover in the funerary assemblage to represent a period dressing custom.

The singularisation of this uncu correspond with the delimitation necessary in the transformation of meaning. A similar case is seen in the item *16032 Jacket* from the MVD, originally part of the Mummy sack 16012 bought by Baessler from William D. Webster in 1902. [154] The item removed from the funerary organisation makes its structural features serve as

154 Frank Usbeck, Americas Curator, email to author, May 6, 2021 and May 11, 2021.

support for an aesthetical meaning or representation of the Chimus. The text from Webster transcribed to the database reads: "Mummy unwrapped found in the ruins of the Chimus of Trujillo."[155] It is composed of two fabrics sewn vertically, leaving apertures for the head and arms. The designs are typical of the North Coast region. It is made of a plain cotton weave, using supplementary wefts, the cotton does not seem to be dyed. Each side measures approximately 80 × 38 cm. The technique used creates a double-face decoration of 7 cm in height. It shows organic stains and loose threads (Figure 25).

As with the previous items, it shows traits of portability and recognition, regarding location of origin, patterns of construction. Its constitution as a complete object creates hierarchy in the organisation of the collection due to an historical distinction. Similar to items VA 7468(16) and RV-592-29, the organic stains mark their origin as a funerary element. In the new assemblages grouped by common features, being named according to their use as clothing favours a typology-based definition and identity, showing the new relationships that could be formed in new assemblages. The segregation of funerary layers after the itemisation of the human body allows their functionality and significance to be shadowed by their identification in a category. This demonstrates the flexibility of textile objects limits fixed in their structure and representations.

155 Frank Usbeck, conversation with author, January 19, 2023.

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Figure 25. *Uncu*. 16032. 80 x 38 cm. Museum für Völkerkunde Dresden. Photograph by author. January 19, 2023. With permission from Museum Völkerkunde Dresden.

The limitations of the objects acquired in the market would impact the data and knowledge to be produced, affecting their meaning and identity in the last stage of the collecting process, since there is no possible way of tracing the previous relationships with the inner and outer funerary environment, which direct the attention to the aesthetical features. This is discussed in Chapter 4**.**

The symbolic function in the funerary arrangement changes as the item is extracted and segregated into categories. In a similar way, this enables the early collecting methods to combine antiquarianism and scholarly explorations. The segregated funerary objects in museums require mediation to communicate meaning to observers, while in the case of textile objects, their materials, and techniques act as intermediaries, since they relate to the Western technology, or any other region, through them. Through singularisation, the identity of textile items is defined by segregation, since they can be understood and grouped as supply or technology categories, creating new relationships. This is noted in the item *RV 592-25 Cotton ball*, from the Rijks

Ethnographisch Museum Leiden REM, which is part of the 1886 Giglioli exchange (Figure 26).[156]

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Figure 26. *Cotton ball.* RV- 592-25. 8 cm diameter approximately. Wereld Museum Leiden. Photograph by author. April 18, 2023. With Permission from Wereld Museum Leiden.

It represents the textile production hierarchy in the Andean region, the economic system of textile production, and by being placed in the funerary bundle, it represents the deceased status and afterlife beliefs. Aside from the objectification of ancient human remains and traditions, the item is perceived as a unity and recognised as a production supply, as well. It measures approximately 8 cm in diameter. Giglioli stated in the exchange the position of the item in context, noting as being taken from the hands of the deceased.[157] It was also shown in his

156 RV 592-25, Wereld Culturen Museum Collection, accessed April 23, 2021, https://hdl.handle.net/20.500.11840/664277

157 List of specimens sent in exchange, 27 December 1886.

1875 publication, Plate I, fig.22 (Figure 20). Although it is apparently in fair condition, it shows fibre oxidation, suggesting high fragility.

The examples show that portability facilitated detachment, while recognition of locations, items of similar appearance, and the modification of the items provoke association that are consolidated in the grouping and records. Textiles' traits, namely portability owing to segregation, recognition of origin, motifs, or techniques, and appearance (visual composition and shape) embedded in physical features seem to guide the encounter between the collector and the collectibles. While the method differentiates the organisation and meaning of items in further stages of the collecting process. The textiles' new identity is shaped by this reciprocity shown by hierarchy and new assemblages. It has been noted that the agency of the collected textiles is exerted in the context of organisation. When they are modified or grouped by similarities, e.g. the case of bags, or delimited as the example above, the process shows visual perception principles, the principle of closure, symmetry, simplicity and order. They are seen in the next section.

This section focused on the intervention that a result from the collecting performance, as seen in the physical evidence, texts from inventories and archive records that show the intentionality of the agents involved in the process. Those interventions are not limited to the ones discussed above, which include reshaping, flattening, detachment of objects and elements, and enclosure, for instance. Interventions identified in the early stage of collecting were further extended in the middle stage, differing slightly from the method of acquisition, and shaped a new identity of textile objects.

Classification: From Funerary Assemblage to Museum Category

In the process of collecting, hierarchy is manifested through individual and institutional actions. Intervention reveals patterns, as seen above. Patterns emerged as traits across the collections that eventually guided how the items, the materials, stylistic features and representation were organised.

The following cases show that the limits of classification shaped the new identity of textile objects. The new connections are shown by naming the object either by use, technique, or material, simultaneously, e.g. garment, weave, cotton fibre, covering a range of human activity. Ultimately, classification is a matter of exclusion, generating a hierarchy in which priority defines item's position in the new assemblage or collection. The mobilisation of collections across locations and categories and modes of dissemination sealed the new identities.

The national sponsored missions were as a factor in the formation of new identities, the imperial drive influenced knowledge production. Although in the case of de Cessac's, the lack of funds frustrated his projects, as shown in the previous section, the mission directed the classification and the function of the collections. Thus, the institution as an agent exerted authority. This is revealed by the formation of the Musée d'Ethnographie du Trocadéro, showing the segregation of his collections, grouping a collection of textile items that represent an aesthetic unit, either from origin or by creation, and mobilising it through the various iterations of the museum. The hierarchy seen in the mobilisation of the de Cessac collections, is also exerted in the classification.

The item *71.1878.54.65, a cotton painted* (Figure 27) from the De Cessac collection was displayed at the *Missions et Voyages scientifiques Exposition théatrale*. In the catalogue, the textiles and textile production items were briefly described as "embroidered or painted fabrics, various garments" and "*Peruvian industries*",[158] and were presented in four sets (Ministere de l'Instruction publique, des cultes et des beaux-arts 1878, 9, 10). The item has been transferred later to the

158 " étoffes brodées ou peintes, vêtements divers» and « Peruvian insdustries »

Musée de l'Homme, now it is in the Musée du quai Branly - Jacques Chirac. The Inventory and registration card from the Musée de l'Homme described it as item 65, a piece of "Painted cotton, dancing figures – Peru Ancon D/number/ D 4398."[159] [160] The information in the public database is stated accordingly. This identification was made through formal features, material, technique, over funerary tradition. It originates from the Central Coast, Ancon. Today, it is classified as from 1000-1470 AC [Late Intermediate Period]. The item appears to be made of two sewn panels painted and made of cotton (?). It does not appear to have prominent organic stains or folding lines, suggesting that it could have been treated and washed over time. According to the museum's public database, it measures 170.2 × 149.2 × 1.2 cm.[161]

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Figure 27 *Cotton painted.* QB-JCM 71.1878.54.65. 170.2 x 149.2 x 1.2 cm. Accessed May 12, 2022, http://collections.quaibranly.fr/pod16/?permq=permq_436a2191-b20e-4448-bf51-7166dd661cff © Copyright Musée du quai Branly - Jacques Chirac.

159 De 1878.3 à 1878.62: 1878.54 Don de M. Léon de Cessac, MH ETH AMER 2(4), Archives of the Ethnology Laboratory, Archives of the Laboratories of the National Museum of Natural History: (BCMNHN Archive), Paris.

160 "cotton peinte, personnages dansant – Pérou Ancon D/number/ D 4398"

161 71.1878.54.65, Musée du quai Branly - Jacques Chirac Collections, accessed May 12, 2022, http://collections.quaibranly.fr/pod16/?permq=permq_436a2191-b20e-4448-bf51-7166dd661cff

This fabric does not have a recurrent feature: square-shaped items usually frame a decorative pattern or character. For instance, item *71.1878.54.73 Fragment* (Figure 27) made of cotton and wool (?), showing an anthropomorphic character. This presentation was not uncommon in objects acquired from the market by scholars. This could be the case, or perhaps it was cut to prevent deterioration. The intervention sought to frame these icons. In this case, it diverts the identity of the item to make it readable as a complete object, an autonomous unity to enter a typological category. Fragments or portrait-like remnants enter categories focused on aesthetics and manufacturing techniques. Alternately, the use of a chronological scheme to identify fragments situates them within a conceptual framework.

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Figure 28. *Fragment de tapisserie*. QB-JCM 71.1878.54.73. 9.5 x 13 x 0.5 cm. Accessed May 12, 2022, http://collections.quaibranly.fr/pod16/?permq=permq_436a2191-b20e-4448-bf51-7166dd661cff © Copyright Musée du quai Branly - Jacques Chirac .

Another example from the de Cessac's collection, also transferred from the Musée de l'Homme, is the item *71.1878.54.70 Funeral insigne* (Figure 29). It is identified in the inventory as

item 69, "funeral insigne and cotton painted D 4338."[162] This description is also given to other items, such as 1878.78.54.70-1878.78.72 and 1878.78.54.84.[163] Similar emblems were documented by Reiss and Stübel (1880). The identity of this item by its nomination recalls its symbolic use, since the academic and historical acknowledgements links it to the funeral customs. However, the perception may differ since its position in the bundle organisation is unknow by looking at it. Today, the item is classified from 1000-1470 AC [Late intermediate or Inca]. It is made of cotton while the structure is made of reed. The fabric was painted (?) It appears to have organic stains (?) The measurements according to the public database are 36.5 × 14 × 2 cm. It was most likely exhibited in the Exposition Universelle.

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Figure 29. *Insigne funéraire.* QB-JCM 71.1878.54.70. 36.5 x 14 x 2 cm. Accessed May 12, 2022, http://collections.quaibranly.fr/pod16/?permq=permq_436a2191-b20e-4448-bf51-7166dd661cff ©Copyright Musée du quai Branly - Jacques Chirac .

162 "ensigne funeraire en coton tissé D 4338".

163 *De 1878.3 à 1878.62: 1878.54 Don de M. Léon de Cessac*.

As seen above, the detachment from the funerary context is further impacted by the segregation of elements of the objects. For instance, the item *VA 5808a Funereal insigne*, part of the Reiss and Stübel collection, was part of funerary bundle 5807, and it was registered in the collection in 1879 (Figure 30). It is made of cotton and has a reed structure. It measures 17 × 15.8 × 1.3 cm. It was originally depicted with its standing support, recorded as measuring 63 cm long on the inventory card. Detaching it from its stand deceived the relation with the structure of the funerary assemblage and creates new borders for this item, making a new version of it. Its nomination and category persist, showing the element or part of it to reflect the entire acknowledged object, and a category. The item identity in this category is matched with this physical state.

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Figure 30. *Funerary Insigne*. VA 5808a. 17 x 15.8 x 1.3 cm. Ethnologisches Museum Berlin. Photograph by author. September 2, 2022. With Permission from Staatliche Museum Berlin.

Unlike the items above, where scholarly records asserted origin, in non-methodologically collected objects the classification served to legitimate unknown origin and journey. This is

observed in the item *VA 21530 Fragment*, originated in Pachacamac, part of the Baessler collection from 1899 in the KMV (Figure 31). Today, it is affiliated to the Wari culture.[164] At the time, it was ascribed to Tiahuanaco. There was acknowledgement about this southern stylistic pattern through chronicles, and Reiss and Stübel referred to it in their publication before the museum acquired the item. The high quality suggests a high-status burial. The fragment could have been part of a wrapping or an offering contained in the bundle. It measures approximately 31 cm/21 cm x 18 cm/6 cm. It does not appear to be cut; it is deteriorated and shows organic stains.[165] There have been noticeable losses of fabric over the years.

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Figure 31. *Fragment*. VA 21530. 31 x 18 cm maximum. Ethnologisches Museum Berlin. Photograph by author. September 1, 2022. With Permission from the Staatliche Museum Berlin.

164 VA 21530, Ethnologisches Museum Berlin, accessed March 22, 2021, MB http://www.smb-digital.de/eMuseumPlus?service=ExternalInterface&module=collection&objectId=19217&viewType=detailView

165 It has been treated and mounted on a panel; it is not possible to see the opposite side. It appears to be washed, or an aqueous cleaning was used as part of the treatment.

Enquiries regarding the reach of the today Middle horizon Empires to the Central coast has been discussed in the early 20th century. However, when simply observing the fragment, the anthropomorphic designs and aesthetic features become the centre of attention. The historical discussion is out of reach the visual perception emphasis. The relationship with items of a similar origin or representations comprises an organisation that trades the fragmentation for the recurrence or stylistic patterns.

The distinguishable stylistic motives make the item valuable in a chronological scheme, when it is related to equivalent items. This distinction limits the fragment as an academic commodity and a source of academic production. The item shows recognition and iterance as traits emerged by singularisation to represent the Middle Horizon: Wari Empire in the collection, making new connections either by cultural affiliation or condition as a fragment.

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Figure 32 *Fragment*. VA 30962. 72 cm x 35.5 cm max. Ethnologisches Museum Berlin. Photograph by author. September 1, 2022. With permission from the Staatliche Museum Berlin.

Likewise, the item *VA 30962 Uncu fragment* (Figure 32) sold by Gretzer to the KMV in 1907, was legitimised by being incorporated into the collection. This occurred owing institutional and academic motivations, which made use of categorisation according to stylistic patterns, thereby sealing its identity as an academic resource as subject of study and publications. Regardless of contextual information, it is used as comparative material. This topic is discussed in Chapter 4, Fragmented Knowledge. It is valid to speculate about Gretzer's awareness of appreciation of this style.[166]

Both fragments VA 30962 and VA 21530 share similar features. Selecting and assembling similar iconography emphasises stylistic patterns to define the object. Over time, handling impacted funerary traces or marks. Conservation treatment such as mounting on a board restricts a view of a three-dimensional object in use, making it a two-dimensional portrait suitable for its new role. Although not intentionally cut, this remnant does not permit a precise understanding of the complete object as it originally existed.

A similar case can be seen in item RV-592-17 Fragment,[167] this is part of the 16 Peruvian items exchanged between Giglioli and the Rijks Ethnographisch Museum Leiden (REM) in 1886[168] (Figure 33). Here, the classification fixes a fragment as a unity giving enclosing with a new identity. This is a tassel-like fragment measuring 1.8 × 23 cm, attributed to the Inca Period. It is made of wool, it has a core of 16 cm in length and comprises 4 cm loose wool threads; at the other end, it has approximately 3 cm of cotton fabric remnant, tied with a cotton cord.

166 The objects digged out from Peru by Wilhelm Gretzer in the museum are around 40 thousand objects, approximately one third of all the America Archaeology collection, accessed September 7, 2022, https://www.smb.museum/en/museums-institutions/ethnologisches-museum/collection-research/about-the-collection

167 RV-592-17, Wereld Culturen Museum Collections, accessed March 26, 2021, https://hdl.handle.net/20.500.11840/664269

168 E. Giglioli, Letter 25 November 1886, NL LdnRMV-A1-196-411/415, Enrico Hillyer Giglioli, Museum Volkenkunde Archives, Leiden.
E. Giglioli, Letter 18 December 1886 NL-LdnRMV-A1-196-477b/481. E. Giglioli, Letter 22 December 1886 NL-LdnRMV-A1-196-477b/481 page 471, Enrico Hillyer Giglioli, Museum Volkenkunde Archives, Leiden.

According to the public database, Giglioli called it an ear ornament[169] – this might refer to an ornament for a camelid ear (?) or a headdress remanent (?) in the exchange list. The list contains two items he called 'ear ornament,' with different features.[170] Could it be a corner of a fabric (?) In the description from his 1875 publication, Giglioli referred to it as a "Bundle of Vicuna wool" ("*Fiocco di lana di Vicuna*") (Figure 21) (Giglioli 1875, 882).

The varied nomenclatures show a need for categories to contain items. Giglioli named Huaca Perez as the original location for some objects. Given the limitations of the information recorded by Giglioli, the time between collection and exchange could have played a role giving misleading information about use or relation in the graves it was taken from. As with the fragments above, change identification led to further segregation or new assemblages being formed, based on material features, stylistic patterns, or shape. It is also observed that naming item, e.g. *Wari*, ear ornament or tassel, delimits them to a known reality. This translates the *perceived*, in this case the physical embodiment, thereby enabling the item to be recognised within the new assemblage as a sole entity. The portability of this item accentuates the value of borders more than in the previous cases, by limiting objects to their roles and space in which they are used, where they to constitute a unity.

169 It is stated in the public Database "Giglioli noemt het echter een ear-ornament (zie brief d.d. 27/12/1886)", accessed March 26, 2021, https://hdl.handle.net/20.500.11840/664269

170 List of specimens sent in exchange, 27 December 1886.

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Figure 33. *Fragment*. RV-592-17. 1.8 x 23 cm. Wereld Museum Leiden. Photograph by author. April 18, 2023. With Permission from Wereld Museum Leiden.

The exchange of antiquities and early scholarly work are conjoined the drive for prestige and position. The REM participated in the exchange of sponsored national collecting; such as, in the case of Giglioli's objects. Fragments might seem irrelevant for a collection of over six thousand items. However, through classification the public museum settles the identity of these items to shape the ancient textiles entity and the concept of the chronological periods established through stylistic and manufacture patterns, thereby connecting them to other related items. For instance, the *WM-25250 Cloth* (Figure 34), it is attributed to the Middle Horizon Period, Chimú culture, according to the museum's public database, and measures 37 × 31.5 cm. It is made of cotton and wool. This item was purchased by the Museum voor Land- en Volkenkunde (MVL) from Speyer in 1921,[171] at request of the curator,[172] which shows awareness of the historical significance, type of objects and style. The item appears to be cut to encase the depicted icons or motifs, perhaps it was a continuous fabric originally (?) Usually, this presentation from dealers highlights decorative motifs while disposing deteriorated fabric. The item has been exhibited and

171 Wereld Culturen Collection, accessed September 9, 2021, https://hdl.handle.net/20.500.11840/1084712. The database also indicates that this cloth was examined by Dr. Hans Graffon (1902-1979), German physician, son of known collector Edouard Gaffron.

172 A. J. Speyer, Letter 29 March 1921.

published over time.[173] Its representation and manufacture surpass its links to a funerary context; in this hierarchy, the identity of the item is shaped primarily by its link to a periodical scheme aided by the the lack of information pertaining origin and provenance.

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Figure 34. *Cloth*. WM 25250. 37 x 31.5 cm. © Copyright CC Collection Wereld Museum Rotterdam. 19th March 2025.

The creation of borders and the classification to set the new entity is also seen in the item *3002 Fragment* (Figure 35), which shows remnants of a non-decorated plain weave on the sides of the slit weave. In the museum database, it is defined as uncu border. This item once part of a larger textile object, was donated by Stübel to the Museum für Völkerkunde Dresden (MVD) in 1882. It measures 32 × 5/6 cm. The absent creates borders in this fragment, i.e. original seams or folds became enclosing borders; thus, the designs of stylised birds become central, and the

173 Waterwezens op Textiel Textielkabinet, 2001-2002 and Schatten van het Museum voor Volkenkunde Wereldmuseum Rotterdam. It is also illustrated in E. K. de Bock De erfenis van de Incas (1992, fig. 229), and in Schatten van het Museum voor Volkenkunde Rotterdam (1987, fig. 148).

plain weave becomes marginal. This delimitation enables it to connect with other similar items. Enclosure and symmetry are visual features that seal this identity. The traits of portability and appearance enable this transformation of perception since the visual composition retains the stylistic features.

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Figure 35. *Fragment*. 3002. And detail. 32 x 6 cm. The Museum für Völkerkunde Dresden. Photograph by author. January 19, 2023. With Permission from Museum für Völkerkunde Dresden.

The item is cut straight at the top and bottom, which shows the intention to shape the appearance, while the purpose is seen in the classification. It was listed in the Stübel doubles catalogue with a reference to Figure 2 from Plate 65 from publication by Reiss and Stübel, [174] which is identified as being from a poncho-like robe, thereby leading the identification of the item as 'border'. The acquisition of the term shows that the intervention of scholars was

174 Catalogue Altperuanische gewebe aus den gräbern von Ancon, 19 December 1882.

amplified by institutions, as discursive agents they manifest authority over collections identities. The Stübel collection in the MVD contains equivalent items that appear to be part of the same garment; however, differences in the pace of the weave are noted.[175]

Other examples from the same Stübel collection are the items *3035* and *3036*. They were named after their material, stressing distinguishable features, grouped in the category *Wollen fabrics*.[176] They show similar organisation used in the Reiss and Stübel publication (1886) and the REM collection. The 3035 fabric measures approximately 127 × 22 cm when folded lengthways, made of two fabrics joined by a loose stitching; and the 3036 measures 150 × 69 cm, and it is made of three pieces (Figure 76). These items are discussed further in Chapter 4, Section: Fragmented knowledge. They are showing the same traits of portability and a highlighted appearance. The interaction between the materiality, the physical features and the meaning of these objects and the intentionality of the agents involved in the collecting process is dynamic and generative. It occurs through their journey or a middle stage of the collecting process.

175 Similar items are the fragments 3000 and 3001. They measure 15 x 5/ 3cm, and 12 x 14 cm.
176 Catalogue Altperuanische gewebe aus den gräbern von Ancon, 19 Dcember 1882.

Figure 36. *Cocata*. WM 25254. 58 x 2 cm. © Copyright CC Collection Wereld Museum Rotterdam. 19th March 2025.

The encounter stage is obscure in pre-assembled collections, as mentioned before; this determining factor in the formation of collections shape the identity of items. The valorisation of composition and structure creates engaging aesthetic references to increase collections. This is observed in museums enhancing trading and exchange of certain items over time. For instance, the item *RW-25254 Cocata* bag or container,[177] attributed to the Inca period illustrates a selection criterion permeated to shape the museum's collection: an aesthetic unit, historical recognisability, and state conservation. The MLV purchased from A. J. Speyer it 1921,[178] it may have had a previous owner. According to the museum's public database, the item measures 58 × 22 cm. It is

177 RW 25254, Wereld Culturen Museum Collection, accessed September 9, 2021, https://hdl.handle.net/20.500.11840/1084711

178 A. J. Speyer, Letter 29th March 1921.

made of wool, cotton, and human hair (Figure 36). The vastly decoration suggests an elite grave. It appears to have organic stains resulting from the content (?) Contemporary awareness of these types of bags might have prompted the acquisition. A somewhat similar item was sold by Arthur M. H. Speyer to the Linden Museum in 1928 (Figure 37).[179] This kind of bags were meant to keep coca leaves in funerary bundles.

The accumulation of objects through antiquities markets shows the awareness of the assembler, collector or dealer about items aesthetics, knowledge about the funerary tradition, and the trade of specific objects. In this stage of the collecting process, the transaction seals the autonomy of the items. Unlike the previous fragments, the item WM-25254 shows traits of recognisability by visual culture or historical references, relatable appearance, and iterance of patterns of construction. For instance, the MLV contains another similar item acquired in 1953.[180] Similar examples are found in the PRM, discussed in Chapter 4. In the case of objects from the market, certain conditions of appearance, taste, and portability had to be met before they could be introduced the scholarly circles. The hierarchical relationships from origin facilitated its circulation.

179 PreColumbian bag, Linden Museum -Stuttgart, accessed November 1, 2021, https://sammlung-digital.lindenmuseum.de/en/object/bag_6663

180 Wereld Culture Museum Collections, WM-33472, accessed August 19, 2023, https://hdl.handle.net/20.500.11840/1104185

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Figure 37. *Bag*. 107066. 42 x 40 cm. Accessed November 1, 2021, https://sammlung-digital.lindenmuseum.de/en/object/bag_6663 © Copyright Linden-Museum Stuttgart.

The same occurs with item *VA 21540 Feathered mantle* from Pachacamac from the Baessler's 1899 collection in the Königliches Museum für Völkerkunde (KMV) (Figure 38). [181] It is affiliated to the Chimú culture and measures 97 x 84 cm. It is made of cotton-woven fabric, with attached feathers. It has a cut in the centre as an opening from 39 cm long and 17.5 cm at its widest. It has been conserved and attached to another fabric.[182] The elaborated manufacture suggests that it was part of an elite grave. It shows two sides that appear to be cut. It seems more likely that it was bought at the market rather than being excavated by Baessler due to the diligence taken in shaping the item as it is, it appears to be part of a larger object (?)[183]

The iterance of similar hierarchical elements in burials, the intervention and the awareness of the technique set this item identity apart based on its appearance. It manifests a criterion of hierarchy in the selection process at the initial confrontation stage. This hierarchy is

181 VA 21540, Ethnologisches Museum Berlin Collection, accessed January 11, 2021, https://id.smb.museum/object/19227/federmantel Accessed

182 The supporting fabric is made of cotton, apparently with stuffing in the superior part (?) It was not possible to examine the reverse.

183 The item original card was not found at the time of the visit, September 1, 2022.

translated into the following stages of the collecting process through classification based on material and exemplification of bigger objects, thereby reinforcing an indication of distinction, and a standard typology with similar items.

This hierarchy may prompt the circulation of similar objects, thereby shaping similar contents in collections. A similar item named "Fragment of feather fabric *Uncu*" (Figure 39), from *Puruchuco,* Lima was acquired by the Linden museum in 1918. [184] The one in Berlin appears rough compared to this one. In the example VA 21540, feathers are attached to threads which are stitched in rows approximately 1.5 cm apart, and they are cut to form representations of birds and interconnected waves by using varied colours. Naming this item according to its material composition might be consistent with an intended impartial analysis; however, it shows dominance when the criteria of the antiquities are incorporated to museums through classification. Baessler shows another Chimú tunic fragment with feathers in his 1902 publication (Figure 73), the text is discussed further in Chapter 4.

[184] The museum exhibited its Pre-Columbian collection in 2013 in "Inka – Könige der Anden", Linden museum - Stuttgart collection on-line, accessed March 23, 2021, https://sammlung-digital.lindenmuseum.de/en/object/clothing_6642

this image is under embargo

Figure 38. *Feathered mantle* .VA 21540. 39 x 17.5 cm max. Ethnologisches Museum Berlin. Photograph by author. September 1, 2022. With Permission from Staatliche Museum Berlin.

These examples also shown the emphasises in museums on exoticism of symbolic objects from funerary customs. And a transformation carried out at national level by institutions. The connections made by resemblance when items are part of other assemblages do not exclude those made by singularisation or delimitation, since intervention creates layers of interpretation that are exercised in other contexts. For instance, supplies for textile production or technique as seen in the previous item RV 592-25 Cotton ball, promoting it as scholarly commodity alongside the tool baskets

Figure 39. *Clothing*. 108850. 80 x 76 cm. It is suggested to be from the Inca Period, collected from Puruchuco, accessed June 3, 2021, https://sammlung-digital.lindenmuseum.de/en/object/clothing_6642 © Linden-Museum Stuttgart.

The cases shown in this section illustrate that selection transforms these items into autonomous unities, an item is either an object, part of it or element, or a fragment. In this process of singularisation, the ways in which the textile item is interpreted and the future relationships it will acquire in other contexts arise out of and evidence the relationships between institutional intervention and individual drive. The examples from Giglioli, De Cessac and Stübel illustrated the disaggregation or separation of funerary assemblages' components in the case of sponsored collecting. Though selection the items' function is modified. The wrapping fabrics or symbolic items were detached and intervene by cutting, re-shaping, flattering, or segregating. Both physically and conceptually, these actions created space that separated them from origin and in the new reality, consequently, the items stand as independent units.

The borders of items that emerged through intervention are asserted by their functionality outside the funerary custom, through the classification and creation of categories. These effects are observed across the case studies. Other funerary components separated from

the bodies were further segregated by institutions' study fields. The naturalists' reports showed their motivation to build reputable collections, knowledge, and prestige. Through their intervention museums and national institutions established themselves as authorities that authenticate classification, by means of accumulation, dissemination, and mobilisation.

Accumulation and legitimisation of non-methodologically collected items showed that intention and selection remained in the hands of diggers or private collectors. The focus on stylistic patterns and knowledge construction in scholarly circles will be discussed in Chapter 4. The incorporation of pre-assembled textile objects, seemingly guided by awareness of stylistic patterns and segregation of decorative elements is illustrated in the cases of Baessler in the KMV and MVD. The Baessler and Reiss and Stübel cases show classification privileges based on aesthetics consideration, while the publications recognise their transit from being part of an assemblage to a category, thereby items are identified as unities and units. The case of Speyer in the MVL shows the allocation of objects from elite graves origin. The intervention showed delimitation and hierarchy in the classification. Thus, delimitation and singularisation into items is manifested by how they are incorporated into categories of chronological schemes or similar assemblages. That is, they keep the relation of their origin embedded in their structure while stand as autonomous unities.

The role of hierarchy in selection criteria is noted in the collecting process through the antiquities market and the early collecting methods that discriminated in favour of acquiring the most sophisticated items, which shaped collection over time. The Giglioli case shows a confrontation stage, and a middle stage when items were exchanged years later. Similar to the case of Speyer, the circulation of objects in the market favoured objects highly decorated or recognisable patterns. This means that the roles of the collector in the encounter influences as much as the environment on the grouping of new assemblages in further stages of the collecting process.

When discussing the intervention through sponsored explorations, it is noted that textiles were modified in institutions after the primary intervention and textiles became a topic of discussion in the late 19th century. Collecting of previously assembled textile collections, either in sponsored missions or from the market, implied acquiring criteria of modification and selection to assemble the collection, as well.

Textile items in collections could be an object or fragment, or an element –object part of an assemblage– with a new identity and purpose. The classification reflects the interaction between agents and materiality through traits that emerge in the process, in which agents' priorities become evident. In a confrontation stage portability allowed fragmentation and detachment, while appearance, influenced the selection, and further segregation and modification occurred through delimitation, singularisation, and resemblance. In further stages, the intentionality becomes evident in the appearance of items manifest traits; such as recognisability and repetition: as a result of intervention seeking symmetry, simplicity, closure; grouping by similarity, or nomination by observed technique or material known. These actions have transpired to shape collections and are sustained till today. The modifications made by individuals were amplified and provoke by institutions. The next section discusses mobilisation and early dissemination platforms, enacting appropriation sustained over by individuals and institutions.

Display: The Supra-entity in the Gallery and the Database

Institutions and scholars have shape what we see about textiles. The amplification of singularities as autonomous unities showed a new dimension of mouldable possessions, as observed in the previous chapter. The transformation of meaning delimited the matter and narrative. This section discusses 19th century publications asserting new arrangements and the enactment of possession.

In the chapter 21 of Enrico Giglioli 1875's publication *Viaggio intorno al globo della r. pirocorvetta italiana Magenta negli anni 1865-66-67-68*, the confrontation phase is signalled by his

awareness of knowledge about ancient Peruvian objects and their funerary customs and shown by his intervention. Whereas his later references to it when he exchanged his collection, implied that items were still subjected to the primary criterion in the middle stage and in further phases of a collecting process.

The advance accomplishment seems unexpected to Giglioli while noting the devastation wrought by Spanish intervention to diminish indigenous life and knowledge. He explained his journey, excavation, and proposed theories about the relationship between the funerary customs, societal relations, and the environmental conditions favouring the preservation of graves. He also gave references of huacas, the Oracle of Rimac and Pando (Giglioli 1875, 865-882).

The collecting in the Mr. Pérez Hacienda, [185] was unlikely to be repeated on his journey. The *coolies*[186] excavated a kind of artificial mount with overlayed graves in advance,[187] and his intervention was to select and observe the objects being extracted (Giglioli 1875, 862, 864, 865). Giglioli stated in his communication to the REM that he excavated the objects himself,[188] his publication shows that he intervened while the digging had begun. This account illustrates patterns in collecting activity: selection based on aesthetics and portability, and the advantage given by the proximity of huacas and archaeological complexes to Lima, which gave scholars the opportunity to accumulate items outside their main research concerns. And, for the same reasons also shaped comparable collections over time. Alongside validating the origin of the objects, the publication shows a differentiated feature of textile objects in early practices of scholarly collecting, after segregation textile items might still constitute an aesthetic unity able to show technology and social relations.

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185 The referred huaca Perez could be Tambo Inga, since both were rented to the Perez brothers before 1871. Pascal Riviales, *Los viajeros franceses en busca del Peru Antiguo* (Lima: PUCP-IEP 2000 [1996]), Annex 1, note 462, p. 387-449.

186 Asian origin workers.

187 Recent research in the area state the finds of Chancay and Yschma settlers, both from Late Intermediate and Late Horizon. See also, Karen Lujan Neyra, Alberto Tapia Mendez and Alan Rios Ruiz, *Reconocimiento del Estado actual de los sitios arqueológicos del distrito de los Olivos* (Lima: 2005), accessed January 16, 2024, https://issuu.com/cuidatuhuacaplo/docs/informe_final_reasadlo_julio_2005_a

188 List of specimens sent in exchange, 27 December 1886.

It was not unusual that Hacienda owners carried out diggings for archaeological objects, an activity recommended to travellers and the bourgeoisie. Unlike Giglioli's publication, written in a traveller's style with information of all kinds, including camaraderie and social relations, the 1875 publication by Wilhelm Reiss and Alphons Stübel *The Necropolis of Ancon in Peru* (1880-1887) about their expedition to Ancon, focuses on the method and the classification of the objects and human remains extracted. However, both cases illustrate unrestrained extraction of ancient remains.

The Reiss and Stübel publication positioned their collection as a central moment in the identification of objects, fragments and segregated textiles, and the evolution of anthropology and archaeology. The authors noted in the foreword from their three-volume publication the limitations of their predecessors: "(…) finds from various parts of Peru had already been figured by travellers and collectors in scientific work, or deposited in European museums, mostly with incorrect statements regarding their provenance" (Reiss and Stübel, 1880, A*). This seminal work enhanced the relevance of textile objects in the study of Andean civilization. As reported in their publication, they fixed a plot to excavate and used their geological knowledge to suggest the timeline of the graves. The text is further discussed in the next chapter.

A long-lasting impact of the two scholars' lies in the classification of the items. Regardless of the original assemblage, new connections were created based on criteria that permitted the establishment of similarities to categorise and organise a selection of objects. They sought an efficient description, and to establish patterns of production and use. Similar organisation is seen in Stübel's donation to the MVD, and subsequent catalogues. The methodologically excavated assemblages were transformed in the process; the publication legitimised the method of disassembling and regrouping them. As well as the objectivization of human remains in funerary bundles, their substantiated method consolidated the meaning and function of the retrievals. This classification can be observed today in museums' storages where the physical features dominate the organisation, as an ongoing singularisation of items.

Alphons Stübel published further research, such as *Die Ruinenstaette von Tiahuanaco im Hochland des alten Peru: eine kulturgeschichtliche Studie auf Grund selbst-staendiger Aufnahmen* in 1892 with Max Uhle. In 1890, Uhle also published *Kultur und Industrie südamerikanischer Völker nach dem im Besitze des Museums für Völkerkunde zu Leipzig befindlichen Sammlungen von A. Stübel, W. Reiss & B. Koppel,* about the Stübel collection in Leipzig, which Illustrated and researched textile objects and clothing. Schmeltz noted in his review of ethnographic collections in Europe the high standard accomplished by Max Uhle's account of the collection in Leipzig, "… This has been fulfilled in an excellent way …, a work by the Editor Dr. Max Uhle to whom all credit goes."[189] (Schmeltz 1896, 74)). These studies continued to endorse the categorisation of their predecessors.

Unlike reports of explorations, exhibition catalogues focused on descriptions for untrained visitors, making brief identifications that resembled objects and terms known. For instance, The Palais du Trocadero's ethnographic display sections were organised for scientific interest and research while being entertaining and instructive. [190] The exhibition had a dedicated Peruvian section.[191] The preceded Exposition Universelle catalogue shows the organisation by location and collector.

Through their publications, national institutions disseminated an organisational narrative which emphasised the autonomous singular items. This meant an ongoing appropriation by displaying the limits applied to the items, and by inserting space between them. Approaches to the study of textiles are discussed further in the next chapter.

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189 "Hieraan is op uitstekende wijze vol- daan; …, een werk dat den Redacteur Dr. Max Uhle alle eer aandoet." (J. D. Schmeltz 1896, 74)

190 E.T. Hamy, Letter to the Ministry of Publique Instruction M. Bardoux [1819-1897], 2 AM 1 G 1b Dossier 6. Movement of Collections, Archives of the Ethnology Laboratory, BCMNHN Archive, Paris.

191 E. T. Hamy, Les origins de la muse d'ethnographie. Histoire et documents. Manuscript Draft. 1890, 2 AM 1 G 1b- Dossier 9bis. Movement of Collections, Archives of the Ethnology Laboratory, BCMNHN Archive Paris.

Mobilisation: Enactment of Possession and National Identities

The hierarchy applied to the organisation and interpretation of objects into categories is also seen in the manipulation and mobility of collections. For instance, in 1879, Armand Landrin, administrator from the Musée d'Ethnographie du Trocadéro, noted the condition of the collections in the provisional store, pointing out a funerary bundle, most probably the one de Cessac brought from Santa Rosa, he observed collections as being of national interest.[192] Over time, environmental conditions and administrative actions in museums defined the outcome of assemblages.

The mobility of collections shows that national institutions became hierarchical platforms of interchange. For instance, in France centralising collections in the Ethnographic museum made it dominant through the circulation of objects through regional museums.[193] [194] [195] Exchange of items was recurrent in the study cases. The 'doubles' from the De Cessac collection were conceded to various museums from the province.[196] A total of 478 items were conceded and conveyed to 15 museums by 1896.[197] Although textiles from Ancon were not included, these concessions show that fragmentation and use of missions to build an apparent layered patrimony through museums institutional legacy.

In 1907 the Anthropology collections including the Anatomy and Natural History of Men collections in the Muséum national d'Histoire naturelle (MNHN) contained 3,500 objects, including 860 human skulls (Hamy 1907). Today, the de Cessac items in the public online

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192 Rapport au MIP sur colections ethnographiques, 2 AM 1 G 1 b Dossier 14, Movements of collections, Archives of the Ethnology Laboratory of the Museum of Man - America Department, BCMNHN Archive, Paris.

193 Demande d fragments d tapisserie peruviana, Letter 12 October 1891, 2 AM 1 I 1 3 d Dossier (II), Archives of the Ethnology Laboratory of the Museum of Man - America Department, BCMNHN Archive, Paris.

194 Du Havre, Letter 17 April 1896, 2 AM 1 I 1 3 d, Archives of the Ethnology Laboratory of the Museum of Man - America Department, BCMNHN Archive, Paris.

195 Director, Letter 19 June 1896. 2 AM 1 I 1 3 d, Archives of the Ethnology Laboratory of the Museum of Man - America Departmen, BCMNHN Archive, Paris.

196 Ministry of instruction publique and cultures, Letter 21 November 1881 to T. Hamy, 2 Am 1 I 1 3d, Archives of the Ethnology Laboratory of the Museum of Man - America Departmen, BCMNHN Archive, Paris.

197 L. Bert, Letter 21 November 1881 Cessac collection to provinces list Rapport by T. Hamy, 2 AM 1 I 1 3d, Archives of the Ethnology Laboratory of the Museum of Man - America Departmen, BCMNHN Archive, Paris.

Ethnobotany collection from the MNHN number 4,189, while in the Anthropology collection, there are 1,102 human remains 'items', of which 213 are from Ancon. In a general search in the public database, the search terms 'Léon de Cessac' and 'Perou' show 456 items, which decreases to 410 when the accent is used: Pérou. [198] This reveals the specificity of categories, disciplines and study field, and language used by museums. They separate the collections regardless of context, into Ethnobotany, Human remains, and material culture categories, for instance. Considering the limitations of the search and input of data in different languages, the difficulty of retracing the full content in a public database poses questions about limited accessibility for a broader audience and about priority of target audiences.

In the early 20th century, Paul Rivet shifted the approach to focus on ethnology, and the Ethnographic Museum was reborn as the Musée de l'Homme in 1937. Alongside the Trocadéro collection, it received the Anthropology collection from MNHN (Musée de l'Homme n.d.). Currently, the Quai Branly-Jacques Chirac Museum, which opened in 2006, holds these items, alongside, the Musée national des Arts d'Afrique et d'Océanie and the Laboratory of Ethnology of the Musée de l'Homme collections.

The impact of the mobility of the items is seen over the years in eclectic textile collections and the nature of textiles. Dissembling and assembling collections reveal that institutions build national identities through appropriation and by constructing narratives of autonomous items with scholarly roles. Christine Laurière notes that the construction of institutions through their collections shows the management of their identity. The Trocadéro, Musée de l'Homme, and Quai Branly– Jacques Chirac museums display the relationship between a nation and the world based on the changing view of modernity (Laurière 2012, 4, 5). Two permanent aspects of this relationship are appropriation and detachment, which are enacted

198 Muséum National d'Histoire Naturelle Collection, accessed December 13 and 30, 2021, https://science.mnhn.fr/institution/mnhn/collection/e/item/list?full_text=leon+de+cessac+perou

through interchange, such as the cases of de Cessac and similar examples. The museums positioned themselves as main dissemination platforms through their collections.[199]

Alongside interchange and exchange among institutions, mobilisation re-activated appropriation by deaccession of objects. Items return to circulation, and through mobilisation objects are identified as assets and property. For instance, Ethnological Museum Berlin began to transfer or sell part of its collections in 1923 (Bjerregaard 2017, 5-7), this will be discussed in the next chapter. As seen in the previous chapter, mobilisation also influenced the management, valuation and hierarchy,. This manifests a perception that nothing was owed to nations with a colonial past, leaving the appropriation to mere commercial transactions, while in the descendant country, the political discourse aimed to stop the looting.

The Museum-made Textile

In this chapter, I questioned How collecting methods shaped Ancient Peruvian textile collections. The researched combined archival review, observation of examples, public database information and publications. The practices and interventions by institutions and individuals shaped the identity of objects through the classification of arbitrary relationships and the separation of items into single unities creating features and the new meanings. I discussed the methods used and the defining features of the collections, throughout stages of the collecting process, as fully as possible.

Collecting as a detachment/ classification process creates layers of evidence and arbitrary relations. The case studies discussed shown detachment, intervention and classification in a 'confrontation' and further stages of mobilisation. I observed two components that have influenced textiles' identity in the collecting practice: priorities and space. Individual intervention

199 The Museum Quai Branly exhibited *Peru before the Incas* (November 2017–April 2018) and *Paracas uncovered treasures from Ancient Peru* (April 2008–July 2008) which showed Peruvian textiles restored through collaboration with the museum.

and institutional practice limited the relations with other components of the original objects, creating boundaries and new purposes through intervention, discrimination, and selection. Dismantling funerary bundles' layers formed categories of objects, whose relationships are determined by academic objectives, manifesting national interests, as well. This is observed in the extraction of fragmented and isolated pieces and their re-grouping, either in the field or later in museums, where pieces are placed in different institutional settings organized by theme.

The relation between intentionality and the techniques or function of the objects were observed in the formal features of the resulting items. This shows that actions were also influenced by features from the original assembly of objects. For instance, hierarchy emerges in the selection of elaborated objects or part of objects from funerary assemblies or historically acknowledged objects. Items could be cut to shape portrait-like representations, segregated or re-shaped. Such physical intervention modifies how objects are perceived. Inherently, segregation or intervention creates borders; therefore, space between the parts, consequently: time. In this space and time, the visual perception follows the gesture of the object, the *perceived* presents autonomy and delimitation. In this process of singularisation, the boundaries are displayed in the segregation and assemblages into categories. Interchange and dissemination sustained singularisation. The identity of ancient Peruvian textiles had been the subject of hierarchical relationships also in the process of assembling categories. Their newly created unity status allowed continuous movement and classification.

The intersection between intervention and the corpus of textiles in the confrontation stage and further stages of collecting made evident traits of engagement in new assemblages: portability: by construction and use in graves; appearance: stylistic patterns that constitute a symmetric aesthetical unity, they were prioritised or sought, equally, to suit relatable objects; and, recognition: of original locations, styles, and production, usually alongside repetition of patterns. The collections show similarities throughout the case studies. It shows that associations in new

assemblages departed from the boundaries of their physical constitution, environment, or historical narrative.

The case of Baessler illustrated that non-methodologically collecting or from the market supply was legitimated by corresponding them to the work of scholars. It was observed that the textiles' new identity and traits facilitated the process. Object, elements or fragments were transformed into items through selection, the traits emerged facilitated engagements in new assemblies. Singularisation was enabled by their flexibility and portability.

The transformation of meaning was guided by intentionality of the agents involved, either collectors, dealers, public servants, or curators. For instance, the accession books contained mostly early assessments, noticing early documented objects or decorative features; while fragments were grouped by formal features. This was observed in acquisitions either via sponsored explorations or antiquities markets. For instance, type, symbolism or aesthetics, national prestige, and a commodity to suit the market, or whether conceptual chronological scheme, classification of cultural development, funerary traditions, or iconographic patterns were academically driven. The identification of items as singularities occurred through bordering items by priorities and space, the interpretation and arbitrary relationships is seen at the intersection between political and academic interest and missions, market acquisition, and mobilisation of textiles from natural history collections.

Scholarly collecting of textiles was a continuation of the colonisers' spoliation during the Colonial and Viceroyalty periods. The favourable environmental conditions in the coastal areas made textiles accessible to explorations and random collectors. The cases of Giglioli, Reiss and Stübel, and de Cessac shown a continuous tradition and took advantage of the given circumstance aided by their scholarship in a dominant dynamic.

Fragments, items, or bundles were assembled for the purpose of allocating them in museums or for sale. Antiquarians and traders influenced collection types. This is noted in the

case of Speyer and the institutional actions. The input of early scholars in the classification and methodology of excavations did not create necessarily a differentiated content.

The provenance of textiles were scholarly missions, sponsored by national institutions or individuals, purchased from travellers, antiquarians, dealers, which involved in diggings/ assembling, and auction houses, donations from scholars or individuals, and exchange within museum departments or between museums, which involved dissembling/ further segregation. Mobilisation contributed to shape specific textiles collections. Scholars used a combination of methods to form collections, purchase from traders and own excavations. Those textiles from funerary assemblages were later grouped in museums categories. The number of items with unknown provenances varies among museums. The specific collecting of textile items occurred in concurrence of antiquarianism market. For instance, in the case of Baessler's purchase in the KMV and MVD, and Speyer in the MLV. Mobilisation and enactment of appropriation is shown by doubles donated by Stübel to the MVD, and exchanges among museums in case of the Trocadéro.

The awareness of locations of extraction could be used to legitimate the sources. The possible illegal pathway to foreign museums, show a geopolitical interplay. Nationalism underpinned the individual drive through government sponsorship. Accumulation ultimately benefited institutions and scholars positioning in academic spheres and as dominant power. The identification and description of items were aligned to the Western typology by shape or technique of production. Today, when collections are incorporated into public databases as units, the perception of objects and fragments is affected, it reinforces detachment and autonomy, virtual platforms manifest a new narrative dissociating the items' journey. The amount of information available in public databases varies according to each museum, it is difficult to get a clear insight into items. The limitations of such resource distort the content since the relational criteria for retrieving items might vary. While, in the physical space, collections are arranged by similarities,

regardless of context, or method of collecting. These virtual and physical stances impact management and ultimately the experience of the items.

Through space creation and establishment of priorities, individuals and institutional practices shaped the identity of textiles. The scholarly collecting of textiles is an intersection of actions: detachment, intervention, classification, and dissemination. Major research and systematization of information is required to trace the origin and provenance of early collected textiles, since a textile affiliated to a period might have originated in a different location, thus being evidence of relationships. The approaches to studying textiles have broadened their topics, from communication to economic botany, showing a continuous dynamic interaction between material features and the need to generate knowledge, showing evolving academic paradigms regarding textile production, and meaning in the Andes. The dominant approach to studying textiles resulting from accumulated collections, partly impacted by relationships or connecting points addressed here, is explored in Chapter 4.

Chapter 4: The Academy — Ancient Peruvian Textiles as Objects of Knowledge[200]

Introduction

The previous chapters discussed the influence of scholarly interpretation on the validation of Ancient Peruvian textiles as an instrument of national identity; the translation of textiles into imaginary possessions; the acquisition methods which facilitated the new identity, as a result of intervention and classification; how textile items became independent entities through boundaries and space; and, the traits that facilitated new relationships in various contexts. This chapter focuses on the relationship between collecting and the transformation of items into academic products and sources of knowledge production. This Chapter questions How the collecting practice turned Ancient Peruvian textiles into academic products and impacted knowledge production.

I argue that collecting methods and interchange contributed to turning Ancient Peruvian textiles into academic products, by establishing them as knowledge generators and positioning assets. The hierarchical path of exclusion conveyed limited information in fragmented content. Textiles, fragmented or segregated, detached from their social representations, still suit a functional role. This role requires a network and expertise to be engrained in social practices; this occurs through national and university museums.

Through institutional collecting and nationally sponsored expeditions, museums emerged and evolved as locations to contain and preserve collections, as well as a resource for disciplines and knowledge production. Connoisseurs' taste, networks, and criteria to shape collections influenced the foundation of disciplines. The encounter between museums and the

[200] This chapter is partly based on the author unpublished conference paper Elizabeth Palacios, «The significance of Peruvian Pre-Columbian textile production tools», paper presented at the CTR Conference Old Textiles - More possibilities (virtual), Centre for Textile Research, June 14 – 18, 2021.

institutionalisation of disciplines shaped university museums. The collection of ancient Peruvian textiles was inserted into this configuration.

Early knowledge production about ancient America and interchange was carried out by congresses, societies, and universal exhibitions. University museums harmonise collecting practices and the formation of disciplines as formal education. Ancient Peruvian textile objects were not always the result of methodological research but rather a collateral interest, similar to metropole museums during their formation. They were described according to Western traditions and compared to the ones they resembled. Similarities in fibre processing and structure were also noticed. In this way, they constituted a bridge of relations. Over time textile objects became a category for research.

The 19th century knowledge production solved enquiries specific to academics, driven by a taxonomy of disciplines (Gibbons et al. 1994, 3). The knowledge of ancient Peruvian textiles was shaped by Western epistemology. It formed the rationale for organising and rating textile objects. There was interest in textile patterns of representation and manufacture, while periodical schemes of identification were at the core of academic knowledge, simultaneously classification exercised hierarchy; for instance, items with undistinctive features become non-diagnostic items. This priority of stylistic patterns enabled the legitimisation of non-methodological collecting, even illegal trading, by institutional acquisition and insertion of objects in studies, revealing surviving colonial practices.

This acknowledgement of textiles in various spheres has been a gradual construction. At the beginning of the 19th century, studies on textiles from ancient Peru showed characterisation. By the late 19th century, the pursuit of patterns of representation and production turned them into sources of data, making them scholarly commodities. In the early 20th century, studies concerned hierarchical representation, production, symbolism, communication, manufacturing techniques, and aesthetics, influencing other fields such as arts and crafts.

The nature of the textile objects shows that the engaging capability of the *perceived* collected textile objects lies in the processed fibres; that is, the primary intention that last in the materials; while new relations are made in the viewer's or user context. The previous chapters shown that collected textile items are perceived as part of a larger entity and constructed as an entity itself in a simultaneous process. The assemblages may overlap, while their connections are also simultaneous and overlapping, as their traits: recognition, appearance, and portability are engaged throughout. The perception of the detached objects is represented by notes, inventories, and scholarly publications stating nomination, hierarchical order, and description of formal features which hints the beholder/user and reinforces their physical status as an intervened form.

The accuracy of the information relies on the knowledge and willingness of the registrars, even today. The notes reflect the collector's intention, what they represented were translated into phrases, details or by naming them based on their resemblance to other objects or historical knowledge. Thus, the resulting knowledge was governed by temporality. The inventory entries named new identities, while exercising relationships among new groupings or assemblages over time, leaving three main groups of intervened items objects, fragment, and element, as shown in the previous chapter. I observe that the specificity of the 19th century classification led to assemblages of originally unrelated items become part of new assemblages embedding social relations and knowledge. Isolated textile assortment resulting from disassembling funerary contexts were set alongside pre-assembled textiles by dealers or private collectors, paired by analytical methods, affiliated by patterns and aesthetic value.

Knowledge production of collections requires expertise, while collections or items are prone to depreciation. Ancient Peruvian textiles in the context of academic exchange manifest features of social engagement, depreciation or diminution and expertise required. As academic product, the features are related to original social relations embedded in the object, it requires a context to interpret them, while it is used to produce new products by eliciting information from

ancient textile knowledge; for instance, Anni Albers' textile art have been resourced from ancient textiles.

Fritz Machlup states that academic knowledge is produced according to a need. Knowledge production entails dissemination as a component, since it facilitates the valuable information be transferred into new knowledge for understanding, interpreting, explaining, and demonstrating something (Machlup 1980, 27-54,186-192). I propose to understand collecting under the umbrella of knowledge construction understood as an organisation and discrimination processes that require hierarchy and content to be subsequently challenged and added; and require dominance to possess, as well as political position to detach, allocate, and exchange objects and their intrinsic knowledge. Institutional acquisitions revealed an intellectual narrative of textiles' identity as a scholarly resource. In the exchange and transformation of value (Appadurai 1992) I observed an engrained intention of transformation, ancient Peruvian textiles became scholarly commodities because of the persisting geopolitical legacies of trade, and classification, hierarchy, and repossession by successive knowledge production and dissemination.

The antiquities market was a system supported by various agents, even nowadays the illicit origin of objects is not unknown to institutions (Barker 2018). The previous chapter extensively illustrated the collecting ways, even when legal restrictions were established, and shows links between the market and scholarly consumption, which strongly suggested the progression of the system. The valuations matched the possessor's context, and the relational possibilities of the items aligned with the roles of the collections and the exchange networks. Hoffman (2012) noted that the exchange of pre-Columbian objects was subject to supply network and price fluctuation.

In the previous chapter, I illustrated that interventions changed the identity of the items, leaving the objects to be valued according to the networks of exchange. I observed that to circulate or *flow* in scholarly circles, textile items had a certain homogeneity, durability, and

prestige/value measured by acknowledgement; in addition to uniqueness and singularity to be re-interpreted, previously discussed, and prestige/value, achieved in scholarly platforms. These product-like features, recurrent in university and metropole museums, enabled them to be traded.

Various authors have noted that collecting also assisted political necessities and sustained metropoles' empire systems and hegemony (Ordoñez 2019, Owen 2006, Gosden and Knowles 2001). The impact of colonisation comprises a global order that places the indigenous on a lesser scale; consequently, native knowledge is subordinated, while the resulting cultural dependency is manifested in imitation and subverting patterns (Quijano 2000). The Western epistemology expansion was imminent to Western expansion which was constituted as the only possible per se. The coloniality of power (Quijano 1992 cited in Mignolo 2002, 60) moved to Northern Europe (England, Germany, and France), which used colonial expansion to reinforce their nations, driven by capitalism and commerce (Mignolo 2002). This has been illustrated in the case of textile collecting in previous chapters. I observe in this chapter that knowledge produced from ancient Peruvian textile collections embed persisting colonial order. This reinforced their symbolism as an unpossessed heritage, questioning the outdating museum format.

I hope to elucidate the influence of collecting on textiles knowledge production, the influence of Western epistemologies on the formation of textile heritage and contribute to the discussion of epistemologies of the Global South. This chapter addresses the transformation of value of items to become academic products and the relationships between such transformation and the knowledge generated from fragmented collections. The case studies are from The Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology Cambridge (MAA), the Pitt Rivers Museum (PRM), and former Königliches Museum für Völkerkunde (KMV); Museums archives were reviewed alongside journals: Oxford Gazette (1882, 1883, 1912, 1913, 1914), The Archaeological Journal (1882 -1930), Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland RAI (1880-1930), and MAN (1900-1930). The Chapter's timeframe is from 1886 to 1929.

University Museums and the Geopolitics of Fieldwork

Before 1815, intellectual communities were not separated from religious beliefs; universities were not necessarily spaces for research and debate; through the 19th century, their members and study topics were varied and specialised. In many cases, societies subject matters would become formal disciplines (Lubenow 2015, 16-30). In the 1870s, Victorian university reforms offered advantages to anthropology, which made it possible for Darwinian biologists to research in comparative anatomy. This opened a professional path for university scientists in academic research. In this context, expeditions were seen to consolidate academic training through the establishment of anthropology schools (Stocking 1995, 86, 87, 108). Taylor artifact sequences or series concept was replicated by Henry Balfour (1893) in Oxford and in Cambridge by Alfred C. Haddon (1895); however, the focus on technology did not last in British social anthropology (Hicks 2010, 31-35).

By the early 20th century, universities had established regulations for new disciplines of study. At the University of Oxford, the main fields were physical anthropology and cultural anthropology which include archaeological, ethnological, sociological, and technological studies through the comparative analysis of their material culture (Read 1906). At the University of Cambridge regulations regarding the diploma of anthropology comprised Prehistoric and Historic anthropology, ethnology, sociology and comparative religion, physical anthropology, and psychological anthropology (Haddon 1908). Pitt Rivers (1888) and Henry Balfour (1904) pointed out the educational purpose of collections. The connection between education, anthropology and collecting had been stated consistently through the Victorian period in the United Kingdom. It regarded the relevance of objects for tracing civilisations' development (Tylor) and facts being recorded through tangible objects (William Henry Flower 1889 cited in Van Keuren 1989, 26,27).

Both the Pitt Rivers Museum and the Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology were built from pre-assembled collections in 1883. There was a prominence of curators and keepers from the anthropological community in local museums, stemming from the 1880s British Museum display focused on ethnological collections. The institutionalisation of the disciplines shifted their interest toward social change. The 19th-century museum became part of metropolitan and provincial culture (Van Keuren 1989, 32-34). The parameters of disciplines and methodologies drifted apart museums' early textile collections; although relevant, the data was limited for understanding the processes. The intersection of knowledge production is seen in the use of a chronological and geographical schemes to state temporality and origin.

The Pitt Rivers Museum (PRM)

The formation of the Colonel Augustus Henry Lane Fox Pitt Rivers (1827-1900) collections and the foundation of the museum have been well documented. [201] Communication about the acquisition began in 1881 (Pitt Rivers Museum). The University of Oxford's acceptance agreement in 1883 included providing a location and an appointed lecturer in Anthropology. In 1884, two addenda: the collection was accumulative, it maintains the initial capital stock capital, and new objects would be considered additions to the main collection (University of Oxford 1884). The museum was promoted as a solid platform for disciplines' education (Larson 2008, 85-86).

Pitt Rivers collection was unpacked at the University Museum (Oxford University Museum of Natural Science OUMNH), the appointment Edward Burnett Tylor as reader in anthropology in 1884 denoted the start of formal anthropology, while the museum actual location was built in 1885 (Gosden, Larson and Petch 2007, 22, 25, 26). The PRM Founding

201 See Peter Rivière, ed. *A History of Oxford Anthropology (*Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2009, Re-Thinking Pitt Rivers, https://web.prm.ox.ac.uk/rpr/index.html

Collection (FC) consists of all objects donated by Pitt Rivers in 1883. It was transferred to Oxford in 1884, with a few exceptions. It is not known which items were on display in London or at his home (Pitt Rivers Museum 2010).[202] The collection on loan to an exhibition at the Bethnal Green Museum and the core of the Pitt Rivers Museum in Oxford contained Ancient Peruvian objects and textiles and production tools. They were not mentioned in the South Kensington exhibition press note in the Oxford University Gazette (University of Oxford 1883). However, they might have been exhibited since his donation included some which the Museum has identified. [203]

The Ancient Peruvian objects in the FC comprised mainly ceramics, while textiles had tools were not prominent. In some cases, the field collector or provenance was noted, but mostly their origin and journey are unknown. It included purchases from the Anthropology Institute of Great Britain and Ireland (The Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland 1881). Pitt Rivers purchase may include one sling collected by Hutchinson (1884.29.13) and exhibited at the RAI [in 1875] (Sillar and Hicks 2013, 363). It also included items with unknown provenance acquired between 1874 and 1884.[204]

Some collections which included South American objects were transferred from the Ashmolean Museum, originally sent to the University Museum in 1886 (Pitt Rivers Museum 2012; Sillar and Hicks, South America 2013, 360). The museum received textile objects from the University Museum Anatomy Laboratory originated from funerary bundles, which included wrapping fabrics and other associated objects. Likewise, some textiles have unknown provenance and origin, while others are identified (Appendix A). The collectors' background varied. Similar

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202 According to the Museum Database, the total amount of items in the funding collection is 23997. The museum states that 53.8 per cent (10543 objects) were displayed at Bethnal Green Museum (1874) and 81.3 per cent (15934 objects) at South Kensington Museum (1878) although not at the same time.

203 Such as, Spindle whorls from Peru (1884.104.104.1), Pitt Rivers Museum, Collections on-line, accessed January 3, 2021, http://objects.prm.ox.ac.uk/pages/PRMUID131002.html

204 Pitt Rivers Museum, Collections On-line, accessed December 13, 2020, January 3, 2021, http://databases.prm.ox.ac.uk/fmi/webd/objects_online

to Cambridge, other acquisitions include donations from individuals, institutions, interchange, and purchases from auction houses, e.g. Puttick and Simpson, Stevens Auction Rooms.[205]

Sillar and Hicks state that more than half of the South American collection – ca 3762 of ca 4715 in total – originates from Peru mainly from Ancon and Arica (the latter Peruvian territory until 1883), while the archaeological FC contains mortuary context artefacts from Arica (514) and Ancon (125) (Sillar and Hicks 2013, 358-362, 367, 368). Pitt Rivers' first collection Catalogue registered 267 entries which included human remains, while in the public database of the FC 138 items from Peru can be retrieved.

The museum contains 878 Peruvian textiles according to its public database. Some ritual objects and production tools fall into the textile category, along with clothing and fabrics. In the textile category, 208 items are associated with mummies. Usually, objects are tagged with the most probable *search terms*, which in some cases are their main feature or manufactured material. This implies another sort of classification affecting the retrieval of items. For instance, in the PRM, the information given may not include all the textiles in the collections since they may not be classified as such or the date of collection might be unknown.[206] The search categories also modify the object's identity, use, and how they are experienced.

Retrospective formation of information, potentially inaccurate or misleading sources, time of unpacking and organizing, and the biased interest of Pitt Rivers in his system have made difficult to cataloguing the FC (Petch 1999). Misallocating of items is recurrent historical collections.[207] Records provide insights into objects; over time, constituting their identity since it comprises a criterion and overlooked information, the new identity is validated through iteration in the systematic classification. Case studies from the William Alison Acland and Louis Colville

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205 For instance, Puttick and Simpson (1919, 1920, 1933, 1934, 1935), Stevens Auction Rooms (1902); and institutions, the Wellcome Historical Medical Museum (1952 and 1985).

206 Faye Belsey, Deputy Head of collections, Pitt Rivers Museum, email to author, December 14, 2020.

207 For instance, items transferred from the University Museum (William Alison Acland collection) in 1886 were recently registered: 2013.54.1 and 2013.55

Gray Clarke collections are discussed about the transformation of value in university museums in a subsequent section.[208]

Museum of Archaeology, Anthropology Cambridge (MAA)

The MAA was created in 1884, its founding archaeological collection was donated by the Cambridge Antiquarian Society in 1883, which included anthropological objects from Asia, Africa, the North of Europe, North America, and pre-Columbian America (Cambridge Antiquarian Society 2021). The Society promoted the creation of the museum, the core of the museum was formed by Sir Arthur Hamilton Gordon, Alfred Maudslay, and the Society collections. Baron Anatole von Hügel was appointed curator, during his tenure a new location was built and opened in 1913, while the collection was enriched. Over time, the museum has accessed objects from research investigations (The Museum History 2021). The collection of ancient Peruvian textiles occurred in the early 20th century.

Archaeology and anthropology had been intertwined in academia in Cambridge, the foundation of the anthropology department relied on the Cambridge Antiquarian Society, while readerships and lectureships were created in the second half of 19th century. The institutionalization of anthropology in the study of all branches of archaeology, anthropology, and ethnology started with the the report of the Vice-chancellor to the General Board in 1903; which was approved in 1904 (Macfarlane 2015, 14-16). Despite the limited support for anthropology, a network was grown between the MAA, the Royal Anthropological Institute (RAI) and the PRM, alongside US institutions, they were focused on South Asia, Africa and Melanesia (Thomas and Elliot 2011); It shows that the study of pre-Columbian was not imperative at that time.

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208 Item reviewed from uknown collectors are: 1884.69.23.2 and 1884.69.23.1, from FC. And, from E. Giglioli are given in Appendix G.

The museum contains 1337 archaeological objects from Peru according to the public database, including 177 archaeological textiles collected and 30 items of unknown provenance in our timeframe. Some collectors are known (Appendix A). The museum continued to acquire textiles from scholars and through interchange with institutions such as the British Museum, the Wellcome Museum (Wellcome Historical Museum 1913-1932), the Museum of Colchester, and auction houses such as Christie, Sotheby's, and Puttick & Simpson.[209] The following section focuses on the collections from Robert Pryor Marlborough, acquired in 1912, and Louis Colville Gray Clarke, in 1929.

Metropole Museums Accumulation: Königliches Museum für Völkerkunde (KMV)

In the previous chapters, I have extensively shown metropole and regional museum collecting methods and their impact on re-identifying textiles through institutional and individual interventions. Singularisation and the creation of a supra-entity was also recognised outside scholarly spheres. In this chapter, the Königliches Museum für Völkerkunde (KMV) illustrates the influence of the collecting method on shaping scholarly commodities and the resulting knowledge production.

The Museum's collection was central to the production of knowledge about textiles. In the previous chapter, I showed that the museum acquired major collections of Ancient Peruvian objects and embarked on archaeological missions to South America in the last decades of the 19th century. Unlike university museums where collecting was gradual, while the KMV targeted pre-assembled collections. The collection is held by the successor institution Ethnologisches Museum Berlin (EMB).

[209] The provenance of some textiles sold to various museums in the 1930s is Guillermo Schmidt, see Carolina Orsini and Anna Antonini, "Life of a Peruvian Art Collector: Guillermo Schmidt Pizarro and the Fostering of Public Collections of Pre-Hispanic Art in the First Half of the 20th Century," in Proceedings of the International Textiles Conference VIII, edited by Lena Bjerregaard and Ann Peters (Lincoln, NE: Zea Books, 2020).

Bjerregaard notes that even after the de-acquisitions of the early 20th century, the museum still contains the largest textile collection in Europe, including over 11,000 textiles from Peru. Among the collections acquired was Wilhelm Gretzer, with around 44,000 objects, including 9,000 textiles (Bjerregaard 2017, 5-8). Hoffman states that the Baessler donation of Ancient Peruvian textiles from Peru (1898) was mostly taken from Chuquitanta, Pachacamac, and Ancon. Gretzer's 1907 sale supplied over 8,000 textiles from Pachacamac. The purchase was facilitated by Julius van der Zypen (1843-1910) co-owner of a rail carriage factory, who donated 100,000 marks for the acquisition. Gretzer brought his second collection when he returned from Lima in 1904, showing that the textiles might exceed the final number, since their preservation consumed resources, and space (Hoffmann 2017, 11-14). His collections sold in 1907 and 1924 to the Museum might have been assembled after the sale to Baessler (Hoffmann 2012, 81). Interestingly, Gretzer being a major supplier, the complicity of institutions in the trade of Peruvian heritage is not directly addressed. It highlights the market dynamics configured over the colonial legacies of looting. It also brings to our attention the criteria of hierarchy in the assembling process, which results in the assembler's perception to limit the information that can be elicited and consequently, the knowledge production.

Museums also placed objects in the market and arranged for interchange and institutional bequests. Hoffmann reports that in the EMB increasing collections created 'duplicates' that were sold to private buyers or exchanged from 1905 onwards. Arthur Speyer and Arthur Max Heinrich Speyer bought the most overall, purchasing over 5000 de-accessed objects (Hoffmann 2012, 123). Requesting textile 'duplicates' was not uncommon, as seen previously. For instance, in the early 20th century, the Museum received requests from the Linden Museum Stuttgart (1917), Gothenburg Museum (1921) and Dresden Museum (1920), while requesting sale

approvals (1919).[210] [211] [212] [213] In the next section items from Baessler collection are discussed to address the transformation of value through commoditisation and accumulation.

The study of textiles as a topic in the academic sphere began after their exclusion from forensic anthropology or the study of funerary customs and objects. Ordoñez states that getting mummies to European museums was highly influenced by commerce and diplomacy after independence in the 1860s, 1870s and the 1880s. The trade of Peruvian human remains decreased in the 1890s due to the Pacific War and returned in the 1900s (Ordoñez 2019, 82, 83). Associated funerary content was inserted into subcategories, studied, and placed separately. There was not a clear time cut between accessing methodological and non-methodologically collected objects; on the contrary, they were acquired simultaneously and the production of knowledge derived from both provenances. Museums have incorporated textiles of illegal or informal origin, either through the market, or explorations as shown above.

Objects are valued in the market based on their uniqueness, material stability, origin, provenance, academic knowledge, and social/scholarly acceptance. This is certainly applicable to scholarly exchanges. Consequently, in the 20th century, limitations also played a role. Alongside categorisation, accumulation also influences the transformation of textiles objects into scholarly commodities. Hoffman stated that the market played an important role in the interchange of Peruvian archaeological objects in the EMB [formerly KMV], since the supply of collections for sale dropped the prices. The uniqueness of object styles and lobbying by various museums could play a part. Museums, such as that in Berlin, considered the resources and stock; for instance, after Baessler's donation, the museum had around 19,000 items, dropping the price *per* item

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210 Theodor Koch-Crunberg, Letter 5 May 1917, SMB-EM MV 0086: E216/17 Berlin. Staatliche museen zu Berlin, Ethnologisches Museum, Berlin.

211 Mrs. Erland v. Nordenskiold, Letter 4t May 1921, SMB-EM MV 0086: E 434/21 Berlin Staatliche museen zu Berlin, Ethnologisches Museum, Berlin.

212 Letter 18 December 1919, 31 December 1919, SMB-EM MV 0086: E 1284/19 Berlin. Staatliche museen zu Berlin, Ethnologisches Museum, Berlin.

213 Letter 16t March 1920, SMB-EM MV 0086: E 316/20 Berlin. Staatliche museen zu Berlin, Ethnologisches Museum, Berlin.

(Hoffmann 2012, 123-124). The objects were reduced to assets while aligned with an institution's mission as an academic product. This transformation is discussed in the next section.

The Transformation of Value: Scholarly Commoditisation

The interplay between acquisition and segregation is crucial for defining the textile items as a category because it shows that intervention define the assemblages they form to circulate in the scholarly circles. Their commoditisation might depend on the features of the textiles limiting the scope of studies. Thus, textile items transformation into academic products occurs through intervention, segregation, and circulation. This is shown through the case studies of W. A. Acland and Louis Colville Gray Clarke in the PRM, and Arthur Baessler in the KMV.

William Alison Acland

In the case of Willian Alison Dyke Acland (1847-1924) collection, the detachment and dissembling sealed the representation of funerary customs as a source of academic enquiry, which led to the creation of other categories. Acland's collection in the Pitt Rivers Museum contains objects from the graves in Arica and Ancon. The textiles and textile production tools referred to are part of mummy bundles from Ancon donated in 1882 to the University Museum. The Accession Book reports four bundles, including one from a child. The content was displayed at the University Museum. They were transferred to PRM from the Comparative Anatomical department as part of the mummy bundles' dismantled content. The bundles' examination and content were reported as "… specimens of coloured fabrics, with patterns and figures of animals, characteristic of Peruvian art." (Oxford University Gazette 1882).

Acland was a member of the British Navy served in Peru in the late 1880s, according to the museum database. He was the son of Henry Wentworth Acland, professor of medicine at the University of Oxford. Apparently, one mummy was reproduced in the *Morphological Laboratory*

1884 photograph, among the members was Henry W. Acland. [214] They maintained communication regarding his work at the University museum.[215] The OUMNH does not contain information on the fragments transferred or the examination made, since it was made before the production of the Annual Reports started (1883), which were a source of reliable historical detail. [216] It appears that associated objects were not the University museum main interest.[217] Sillar and Hicks suggest that the mummies were excavated by Acland, no further information regarding this excavation or the dismantling of funerary bundles in Lima has been found. Sillar and Hicks note a third Acland collection from Arica being exhibited by H. W. Acland (James Park Harrison 1895: 53, note 1 cited in Sillar and Hicks, South America 2013, 361, 362).[218]

The Registration Book provides general information about the objects and in some cases references to the bundle arrangement. For instance: "… This mummy [IV] was sent by Acland; it is on display, it was buried with its mother, Mummy II, which was not sent, only its grave goods."[219] Annotations can create an idea of the arrangement and unbundling, time, and criteria. They also raise questions about human remains handling, unrecognisable items lost alongside, and deteriorated textiles that could not survive the process. They also hint literature historical references, e.g. referring to some objects described in *The Necropolis of Ancon* by W. Reiss and A. Stübel.

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214 Members of the Human Anatomy and Physiology Class, Oxford University Department of Morphology. Apparently one mummy (children?) [Mummy III -children-?] is seated in the first road Oxford University Museum of Natural History taken just before the students in it took their final examinations, circa 1884, 1998.267.85, Pitt Rivers Museum Collection, accessed July 15, 2021, , accessed July 15, 2021, https://web.prm.ox.ac.uk/sma/

215 Henry Acland, *Letter* 28, 27 June 1883, Acland Papers Ms Acland D.4. B, Manuscript collection, Boldelian Library, University of Oxford.

216 Danielle Czerkaszyn, Archivist Oxford University museum of Natural History, email to author July 13, 2021.

217 Marc Carnall, Collection manager, Oxford University museum of Natural History, email to author, July 13, 2021, November 10, 2021.

218 In the MAA, other objects from Arica were donated and described by Rev. C. L. Acland's, deposited originally in 1893 and registered in 1913, Museums of Archaeology and Anthropology Collection, accessed April 16, 2022, https://collections.maa.cam.ac.uk/objects/544183

219 Registration book Collections I Acland, Alandale, Ashmolean. 1886.2, Description of the contents of four Peruvian mummies Presented to the Oxford University museum by I. Commander Acland transferred from the department of comparative Anatomy to the Pitt Rivers Museum ca. 1886, Page 3, Pitt Rivers Museum, University of Oxford.

Two items (1886.2.49, 1886.2.102) are discussed below to illustrate the resulting segregated items.[220]

The item 1886.2.49 A group of textiles was transferred from the Department of Comparative Anatomy at the University Museum to the PRM. It consists of three textiles. They were part of Mummy III and at the time on display.[221] The textiles are stored differently and separately. The item 1886.2.49 (Figure 40) measures approximately 96/86 × 52/55 cm. It is made of wool. It has stitches on borders. It has organic stains, splits, and holes. It was not possible to turn it over because of its poor conservation condition.

this image is under embargo

Figure 40. *Wrapping of mummy*. 1886.2.49. 96 x 55 cm max. The Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford. Photograph by author. March 1, 2022. With permission from the Pitt Rivers Museum.

220 The items reviewed are 1886.2.49.3, 1886.2.49, 1886.2.79.1, 1886.2.79.2, 1886.2.91, 1886.2.97, 1886.2.102, 1886.2.103.1, 1886.2.103.2, 1886.2.104.1, 1886.2.104.2, 1886.2.104.3, 1886.2.105, 1886.2.106, 1886.2.110, 1886.2.108.1, 1886.2.108.2, 2013.54.1, 2013.55.1. The objects found later were accessed indicating the year 2013.

221 Description of the contents of four Peruvian mummies ca. 1886, pages 4 and 5. The list describes the content of Mummies I -a child [page 10], II -Adult woman- [Page 14], III -a child- [Page 4], and IV -newly born child- [Page 1].

The item 1886.2.49.3 (Figure 41) measures 16 × 7 cm. It is made of wool, and the decorative area is woven with supplementary warps, similar to the previous one. It is cut into a square shape; it shows one weft border. It has organic stains, loose threads on the borders, and appears to have been washed. Both are stored flat. A third textile 1886.2.49.2/3 (Figure 42) is a larger one. It is very brittle. It is stored folded, unfolded it measures approximately 92 × 55 cm. It still retains adhered soil. It has a square cut in one corner. The 1886.2.49.3 fragment appears to be part of it, since they both have a similar pattern and border finish, although this is smaller than the absent part. It is reasonable to speculate that samples were taken, showing temporality by the differentiated academic interest of both institutions. The intervention suggests their use as educative material (?) Breaking the relationships within funerary bundles enables further detachment, leading to a specific a category of textiles, and to a realm of academic concerns, and, disciplines or study fields, over time.

Figure 41. *Fragment of wrapping of mummy*. 1886.2.49.3. 16 x 7 cm. Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford. Photograph by author. March 1, 2022. With permission from The Pitt Rivers Museum.

The Museum archive is succinct, stating their context of origin in a broad sense obscuring the funerary tradition. In the case of item 1886.2.49, it reads: "49 The outer wrapping

of the mummy. It is a striped material coloured red and yellow in patterns."[222] In the opposite page notes appear to be added later: "Complete warp-faced woollen textile, with four selvages present. Broad complementary warp, stripes in red and yellow, and red and white on a red ground. Badly stained. L 94 cm; W53"**.** Reshaping, flattening, or folding, changes the focal point away from their use in the bundle and reveal an interest in technical features. The transformation, such as cutting, created qualities; for instance, portrait-like images. This is better noted in the following example.

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Figure 42. *Outer wrapping of mummy*. 1886.2.49.2/3. 92 x 55 cm. approximately. The Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford. Photograph by author. March 1, 2022. With permission from Pitt Rivers Museum.
The information in the labels reads: "Tray n.III M. No. III. Label: Outer wrapping of mummy Nro III Dd. Comm. W. Acland' 83-4 Trs from Anat: Dept 1886. S. America Peru Central Coast Peru Woven textile Coll. Dyke Acland."

The transformation of value is observed in the discrimination of elements from the bundle. In the Catalogue, the resulting groups of items transferred to the museum are recounted

222 Description of the contents of four Peruvian mummies ca. 1886, page 7.

and described.[223] In it, the use of the object in the bundle as symbolic or utilitarian is inferred. The assessment of content shows depreciation of certain elements and expertise. No other information was provided regarding extraction in the field. Through separation, the actor (scholar) domains the loss of original relations and reveal new assemblages, to be focus on material / technique features.

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Figure 43. *Fragment*. 1886.2.102. 33 x 15 cm. The Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford. Photograph by author. March 1, 2022. With Permission from Pitt Rivers Museum.

Similarly occurs with the item 1886.2.102 Fragment (Figure 43), also transferred from the Department of Comparative Anatomy (University Museum) in 1886. This fragment is listed under the heading "Wrapping from Mummy II". It is made using complementary wefts. It is composed of two fabrics stitched together, one of which shows a border. One side has remains of a cotton plain fabric joined by stitches. It shows a pattern of deities (snakes surrounding an anthropomorphic mystic figure?). At one end, the fabric is ripped with loose threads, the overall

223 Description of the contents of four Peruvian mummies ca. 1886

fibres are weak and deteriorated, the blue dyes have faded; in those areas, the fibres are highly deteriorated. It measures approximately 33 × 15 cm.

The fragments 1886.2.102 and 1886.2.103.1 (Figure 44) are described together as part of the Mummy II: "2 Pieces woven with forms of men or devils in broad stripes. 103.2 similar piece."[224] The 1886.2.103.1 is a strip, a warp border remains on one side. Both show similar representations and union stitches, woven using a complementary weft technique. Similar to the previous item, it is made of cotton warps and wool wefts. Its measurements are approximately 17.5 x 4 /7 cm. Both are cut straight on the sides. They appear to be cut as samples to show and preserve the representations. The features of the woven deities align with archaeological research on the South Coast of Peru. Thus, today they are affiliated to the Early Horizon chronology and the Paracas culture (?). Chronological period enquires were not documented at the time of the accession.

this image is under embargo

Figure 44. *Fragment*. 1886.2.103.1. 17.5 x 7 cm maximum. Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford. Photograph by the author. March 1, 2022. With Permission from the Pitt Rivers Museum.

The 1886.2.103.2 fragment has similar features (Figure 44). It is composed of two fabrics stitched together using complementary wefts, resulting in a double-face fabric. It is less

224 Description of the contents of Four Peruvian mummies ca. 1886, page 14.

deteriorated, and the characters and structure are clearer. It has remnants of union stitches, although the adjacent cotton fabric is lost. The textile was cut into a square shape. The meaning of objects in their various contexts relies on materials features. The intention to preserve decorated areas, and the segregation of deteriorated areas created a diagnostic element related to stylistic patterns. As a result, depreciation of material and other elements shape chronological schemes as a role, the fragment is estimated by affiliation to a historical period.

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Figure 45. *Fragment*. 1886.2.103.2. 26.5 x 14 cm. Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford. Photograph by author. March 1, 2022. With Permission from the Pitt Rivers Museum.

Textiles were prone deterioration due to neglect, environmental conditions, and burial traditions since interruptions to their stability affected their condition irreversibly. This is shown in the losses in these examples. The reach of deteriorated process is seen in the remaining items since the ones closer to the bodies are usually highly deteriorated. A deterioration processes in museums is clearly illustrated in the fragment 1886.2.79.1-2 from Mummy I (Figure 46). It was registered as "embroidered with figurines";[225] however, it is not possible to recognise patterns or

[225] Description of the contents of four Peruvian mummies, page 9.

structure today. They are extremely oxidated, brittle, and fragile. The example makes clear the discrimination of items for their use in museums and the dominance of scholarly interests to draw their roles.

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Figure 46. *Fragments*. 1886.2.79.-1-2. Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford. Photograph by the author. March 1, 2022. With Permission from the Pitt Rivers Museum.

Arthur Baessler

To illustrate the reach of transformation of objects into academic products through market acquisition, two items (16027 and 16041) part of the funerary bundle (16012) from the Museum für Völkerkunde Dresden (MVD) are discussed. The bundle was bought from dealer William D. Webster and donated by Baessler in 1902 (See Chapter 3, Section: Accumulation and legitimisation of non-methodological). Unlike the previous case, no catalogue or information was produced regarding the content order in the funerary bundle. The segregation and commoditisation of funerary arrangements had already occurred. The segregation of textile objects and human remains in the market exchange in Europe has been noted in the previous chapter.

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Figure 47. Textile. 16027. 41 x 39 cm. The Museum für Völkerkunde Dresden. Photograph by author. January 19, 2023. With Permission from Museum Völkerkunde Dresden.

Different journey to the museum is observed, although with similar effects in the physical content and conceptualisation. For instance, the item 16027 Fragment (Figure 47). It is finely woven; it is formed by fabrics stitched with double threads. It shows two borders. It measures approximately 41 × 39 cm. It has tears and an uneven shape. It has stains, and it appears to be washed and damaged areas taken out. The textile is dried, and creases persist. The plain textile has not representations. The identification number on the textile is a reminder of the process of classification in the museum. Today, it stands according to the museum categories.

The intention of segregation in the market can differentiate the production of knowledge. The meaning shifts to their suitability in an existing periodical scheme is seen in the item 16041 Bag from the same bundle (Figure 48). In the absence of evidence about original relationships, the identification of the culture 'Chimus' of Trujillo affiliate them to a temporality.

The value as scholarly commodities is provided while they suit the classification modes. It reveals the scholarly interest in physical features conveying features of cultures of the region, and hypothesis about networks of expansion. At the same time, its construction appears to be from a region other than the North Coast, suggesting also that it could be assembled randomly for trading (?).

this image is under embargo

Figure 48. *Bag*. 16041. 38.5 x 38.5 cm body. The Ethnological Museum Dresden. Photograph by author. January 19, 2023. With Permission from Museum Völkerkunde Dresden.

The bag is made of dyed wool using a complementary-warp technique. The fabric is folded and has decorative stitches on the sides, and it has two bottom strings that hold metal bell-shaped decorations. The handles were woven in a tubular manner and stitched. Its body measures 38.5 × 38.5 cm, the strap is 68 cm x 2.5 cm, while the decorative string length is 4 cm. It is discoloured and has not content. As mentioned, Cocatas*,* bags or containers were decorated depending on the status of the deceased, generally filled with coca leaves. The previous chapter shown that singularisation enabled the content being modified and fit into categories, here this item no longer holds the content, the reason of being part of the funerary assemblage. The originality of both items mentioned is defined by the previous intervention, since Webster

described them 'unwrapped'.[226] The singularisation revealed that value was based on prestige of historical locations enabling their circulation as commodities.

The examples reveal the discrimination and dominance of the academic inquiry and methodological parameters that might result in depreciation or limitations of use. The PRM the collateral collecting from exploration or military mission (?) shown that already segregated textiles from unwrapped funerary bundles became part of the museum. While the MVD shows a market supply. Both creating a category in the conjunction of disciplines and museums. Baessler's purchase shows a common route to positioning museums, showing how colonial practices were transformed into market mechanisms, however the expertise asserted in the PRM catalogue descriptions, similar practices are revealed.

Louis Colville Gray Clarke

The case of Louis Colville Gray Clarke (1881–1960) collection in the Pitt Rivers Museum shows the detachment of textile production symbolism through the segregation of containers basketry-like found in graves. Clarke was an archaeologist and curator from the Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology Cambridge MAA from 1922 to 1937; he became Director of the Fitzwilliam Museum (1937-1946) after Baron von Hügel (Fitzwilliam museum 2022). He graduated from Trinity College, Cambridge, in 1903 where he studied history, by 1929 he was a Fellow of Trinity Hall, Cambridge and later became a benefactor and member of the governing body. Clarke travelled to Europe, Central America, Mexico, Chile, and Peru in 1906 and to Ethiopia in 1910. He was a collector and was known in art circles (Drake and Malyon 2005) and member of the Royal Archaeological Institute. He had an honorary Keepership in Fitzwilliam Museum and the MAA for the American collection (Jaffe 2004).

226 Frank Usbeck, conversation with author, February 19, 2023.

The segregation of content transforms it into independent unities representing only parts of a greater arrangement. This is observed in the case of workbaskets. These containers were described in scholarly publication (Figures 49 and 50). In most cases, the content is removed and mobilised to other museum departments. They are usually called toolbox/case, workbasket, or weaver box/case. These workbaskets contain textile production tools, supplies, symbolic and organic items, textile samples, and objects (Appendix B), they are usually found in women's graves. The classification shows a hierarchy, by stating prominence of technological understanding beyond the significance of the funerary tradition. For instance, the workbasket 1919.13.25.1 from Ancon.[227] It was donated by Clarke to the PRM in 1919 (Figure 60),[228] it contains supplies, tools, figures, and textiles. It is made of reed; it measures 8 x 13.5 x 30 cm. It is described briefly as a "rush-work" in the Donations book.[229] Similar examples are the workbasket 1895.38.1.1 in the PRM, given in exchange by Enrico Giglioli, [230] [231] it is made of reed with supporting caña sticks and measures 35 × 16 × 10 cm. Some of the content have been displayed.[232]

Workbaskets are mostly identified under Production or Technology category, in the PRM they are classified as a grave good. Likewise, the workbaskets donated by Stübel to the MVD were described in detail by M. Uhle in 1883 as assemblies; although today some content has been dispersed among departments in the museum.[233] [234] Registering and storing the content

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227 Book: Donations VII 1916-1921 (1919), Louis C. G. Clarke [List] Collection of ancient Peruvian objects excavated from graves in the Necropolis at Ancon, Peru, page 120, Pitt Rivers Museum, University of Oxford. An annotation from 1986 mentions a figure was lost.

228 1919.13.25.1, Pitt Rivers Museum Collections, accessed November 19, 2024, https://www.prm.ox.ac.uk/collections-online#/item/prm-object-262849

229 Book: Donations VII 1916-1921 (1919), page 120.

230 Book Loans I 1889 -1925, Book Exchanges to 1936, page 9. Pitt Rivers Museum. University of Oxford.

231 Pitt Rivers Museum Collections, accessed October 20, 2020, http://objects.prm.ox.ac.uk/pages/PRMUID5659.html

232 In 2021 items 1895.38.1.43 "Cord". A "Fringe" 1895.38.1.92 were on Display, Pitt Rivers Museum Collection, accessed October 20, 2020, http://databases.prm.ox.ac.uk/fmi/webd/objects_online

233 Museum Katalogaus. Band Katalog from February 1883. April to May 1883 MVD Archive. Frank Usbeck, conversation with author January 19, 2023, email to author January 30, 2023.

234 Fran Usbeck, conversaition with author January 19, email to author January 30, 2023. Some examples in Appendix B.

separately would lead to losses, misinterpretation, and difficulties in tracking elements. Information accuracy depends on the curator's willingness, expertise, and systematisation efficiency.

Figure 49. *Plate 85*. The necropolis of Ancon in Peru. Vol. 3 Ornaments, utensils, and earthenware, 1880. Wilhelm Reiss and Alphons Stübel, accessed November 10, 2021, https://archive.org/details/gri_33125012875635/page/n75/mode/2up

Price et.al argue that workbaskets represent production chains, signifying the substantial activity and status in the deceased's life, and the symbolic afterlife liable to translate the knowledge and economic, social, and technological value of this activity to the life after death (Price, et al. 2015). [235] Interpretations transcend the classification and segregation to which they were subjected to understand function and social relations according to academic interests and expertise. These 'boxes' have a wide range of interpretations, depending on the collection they

235 The article authors state that more than three hundred workbaskets are found in collections. However, it is probably that number is higher.

are part of. They can be classified as manufacturing heritage, technological or ethnographic cultural evidence, social relationships, and burial traditions evidence. The classification of content implies hierarchy.[236]

The manifestation of the hierarchy and new meanings created by arranging similarities is shown in the case of an array of spindle whorls, items 1919.59.116 till 1919.59.221, donated L.C. Clarke to the PRM in 1919.[237] It shows that commoditisation of individual unities to shape a greater arrangement, which value is seen in the tools display. The spindle whorls placed alongside each other in a box covered with glass illustrates the typological classification of the PRM collection, while in the containers they were placed alongside other elements. The spindle whorls are mostly decorated, and their height measures range between 2 cm and 1.2 cm. They are made of clay/ceramic, stone, and metal, and are mainly cylindrical, round, or diamond-shaped. The grouping seeks to identify patterns, either by material or representations. The contrast of arrangements shows that the re-assemblage of the workbasket content is aligned to scholarly interests of progression. Segregation and regrouping create layers of interpretation and research questions regarding physical features or inner relations. It also questions originality and supply since forgeries have also circulated in scholarly spheres.[238]

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236 See Elizabeth Palacios, «The significance of Peruvian Pre-Columbian textile production tools», paper presented at the CTR Conference Old Textiles - More possibilities (virtual), Centre for Textile Research, June 14 – 18, 2021.

237 Book DonationsVII.1916-1921 (1919) Louis C. G. Clarke [List] Collection of ancient Peruvian objects excavated from graves in the Necropolis at Ancon, Peru, page 156, Pitt Rivers Museum. University of Oxford. The numbers 116-221 have been added with pencil on the side

238 See Stefan Simon and Stefan Röhrs, "Between Fakes, Forgeries, and Illicit, Artifacts—Authenticity Studies in a Heritage Science Laboratory", *Arts* 7 2, (2018): 20 DOI:10.3390/arts7020020

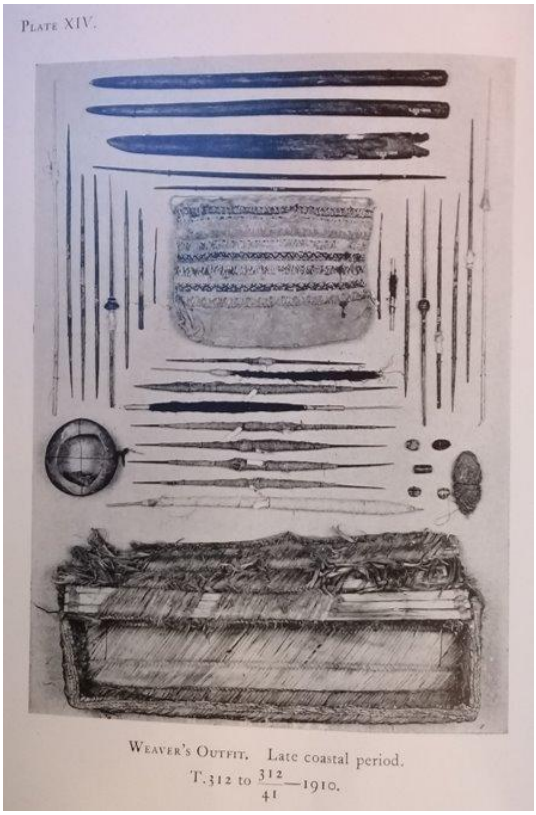

Figure 50. *Plate XIV Weavers outfit*, The Brief guide to the Peruvian textiles, 1926. Victoria and Albert Museum.

Transformation Through Segregation: Academic Products and Scholarly Commodities

The construction of meaning determines subject matters by absence. For instance, by drawing characters in the catalogue, giving attention to visual representations. In the new reality, information is limited within the borders of the items, the data is elicited from its physicality inner relations: aesthetics/ stylistic patterns, manufacture, and materials. This is noted by the descriptions given in the catalogue and those added over time by curators in the database. It shows that the accumulation of patterns forms schemes.

The above cases also illustrate depreciation, expertise and use as features of textile items academic products. The meaning of the items as academic products lies in the suitability of the scheme or study topic, it shows depreciation over their suitability; for instance, showing Middle Horizon cultures features while location suggests communicative networks. The interest in periodicity, which was a concern among early Americanists, was not shown in the 1886

Catalogue Description of the contents of four Peruvian mummies in PRM, it shows expertise and use of items to fit pathways of research. The transfiguration from previous symbolism or use happens through the movement among the various stages of modification, intervention, and classification, as noted before. While the object physical decay (Figure 46) marks the end of a scholarly commodity, without returning to an exchange mode. It shows that they become mostly a museum asset.

Market Exchange and Scholarly Classification

The transformation of value occurred by the organisation or arrangement of new assemblages that adapt to the physical content of items. The features of technique, materials, representations responded to the market features showing uniqueness, durability, and acknowledgement. The cases of Marlborough Robert Pryor in the Archaeology and Anthropology Cambridge (MAA) and L.C.G. Clarke in the Pitt Rivers Museum (PRM) and MAA show the combination of scholarship and market.

Marlborough Robert Pryor

Marlborough Robert Pryor (1848 – 1920) studied at Eton and Trinity College, Cambridge. He was a scholar with an interest in science and a businessman. His contact with the university was through his fundraising work. After graduating, he worked in London and joined a South American merchant firm. Later, he became the chairman of joint-stock companies and directed insurance companies, which he chaired until 1918 (Bonney 1920). His was in contact with the MAA. He donated to the MAA Cambridgeshire Roman archaeological objects in 1912, [239] and

[239] Accession Book 1910-1916, Register No 1912, page 18, Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology. University of Cambridge. 27th January 2022

objects from Mexico and vessels from Peru in 1921. [240] [241] The selection of items with identificatory features illustrates the hierarchy of market interest transfigured into the scholarly context. At the same time, this grouping of items shows the difficulty to comprehend the number of objects, if that is possible.

His collection from Peru includes 68 items, comprising 14 textiles, one comb with fibre work, one case with textile production tool, one object made of textile fibre and hair (named 'fly whisk'), and 51 others that were not textiles, such as shell, ceramics, and silver items. Twenty-nine of them were later accessed by custodians.[242] He donated 13 textiles in 1912. A list briefly describes at least 25 archaeological objects according to the museum's public database.[243] [244] In the handwritten note by A. von Hügel, the items were grouped by their similarities, as well as in the Accession book;[245] for instance, "Two satchel shaped woven bags",[246] others were described separately.[247] The collection included a production tool, described as "One bamboo case with paint brushes."[248] Marlborough collection origin is most probably the Central Coast.

In the item 1912.441Textile belt, [249] the stylistic features supersede it original use (Figure 51). In the Accession book it is grouped with other textiles, stating "two narrow ribbon-like & two broader." [250] The succinct information requires expertise to establish value in the academic

240 Accession Book 11 (1921) 19120-1922. Pages 33, 34, 35, Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of Cambridge.
241 Accession Book 11 (1921) 19120-1922. Pages 35
242 Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, Collections, accessed 8 and 14 March, 2020, August 16, 2020, February 17, 202,1http://collections.maa.cam.ac.uk
Donations made in 1983 and 1921 by Henry Kendall and Sons Ltd and Walter Marlborough Pryor accordingly. Imogen Gunn. Collections Manager for Archaeology, email to author, January 29, 2020.
243 Marlborough Robert Pryor. Letter n.d BOX 97, FR 2/3/1, Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology Archive, University of Cambridge.
244 Museum of archaeology and anthropology, IDNO FR2/3/1, accessed February 3, 2020, https://collections.maa.cam.ac.uk/documents/8169
245 Accession Book 1910-1916. Register No 1912, Page 18 [entry] 440-452. Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology Archive, University of Cambridge.
246 Accession Book 1910-1916, Register No 1912, page 18 [entry] 453-454.
247 Accession Book 1910-1916, Register No 1912, page 18 [entry] 457.
248 Accession Book 1910-1916, Register No 1912, page 18 [entry] 455.
249 The items reviewed from M. R. Pryor collection are 1912.457, 1912.441, 1912.442, 1912.443, 1912.444, 1912.446, 1912.447, 1912.448, 1912.449, 1912.454, 1912.453.
250 Accession Book 1910-1916, Register No 1912, page 18: 440-452.

interest. Today, it is affiliated to the Early Intermediate Period (?) in the public database. No information about or prior acquisition has been found. The collection could have been acquired during his trip to South America or gradually formed (?). In general, early accessing descriptions are rephrased in the museums' databases, which also shows changing identification number over time.[251]

this image is under embargo

Figure 51. *Textile belt*. 1912.441. 2.3 x 25 cm approximately. Museum of Archaeology and Archaeology, Cambridge. Photograph by author. January 25, 2022. With Permission from the Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology.

The band has a tassel with a knot on one side and two tassels on the other side. It has design patterns with complementary warps. It is made of cotton and wool weft; it measures 2.3 cm /2.1 cm x 25 cm approximately.[252] At the time of the research visit, it could not be unrolled because of conservation concerns. In this way, a new identity is shaped from a perceptual

251 Item 1912.441 Other ID numbers used over time are 1912.577; AR 1912.229.

252 The length measurements are taken from the longest side. Likewise, height and wide measurements taken will not depend on the warp / weft position of the thread or construction but the designs symmetry.

perspective, from now on, is this the object? The academic narrative re-construct the item's intentionality in general terms, while its state favours various study approaches – representation patterns, and techniques – leading to periodical scheme patterns (Figure 52). This perception also dismisses its trajectory from non-methodological provenance.

this image is under embargo

Figure 52 Textile Belt detail. 1912.441. 2.3 x 25 cm approximately. Museum of Archaeology and Archaeology, Cambridge. Photograph by author. January 25, 2022. With Permission from the Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology.

The item 1912.448 in M. R. Pryor collection was one of the three items grouped as "coloured squares".[253] The brief description shows identification and grouping of items through similarity, it may indicate a lack of expertise or the result from a first glance rather than an examination. It is made with the pile technique in a three-colour combination with squares of approximately 1 cm^2, creating a stepped design (Figure 53). It shows borders with thick overlocked stitches on opposite sides; the pile is made with wool and hair, it measures 27/20 × 13/11 cm with two irregular borders.

253 Book 1910-1916 Register No 1912, page 18, [entry] 440-452.

Figure 53. *Fragment*. 1912.448. 27 x 13 cm maximum. Museum of Archaeology and Archaeology, Cambridge. Photograph by author. January 26, 2022. With Permission from the Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology.

The fragment has soiling in some areas and lost piles in others. Damaged are could have been cut to prevent further deterioration and provide a better aesthetic appearance (Figure 54). The items 1912.449 (1) have a similar technique,[254] although with variations on the ground textile. Naming it 'coloured' shows a leading attention to visual patterns and design. Today, it is affiliated to the Middle Horizon period. The classification of already intervened objects grants temporality in a new context by the meaning attributed, transforming them into data sources over time. In this case, the characterisation of construction technique in the cultural period.

254 Museum of Arcaheology and Anthropology Collection, accessed November 19, 2024, https://collections.maa.cam.ac.uk/objects/540935/

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Figure 54. *Fragment.* 1912.448. Detail. 27 x 13 cm maximum. Museum of Archaeology and Archaeology, Cambridge. Photograph by author. January 26, 2022. With Permission from the Museum of Archaeology © Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology.

Louis Colville Gray Clarke

As with the previous items, in the collections of Clarke (1881–1960) donated to the Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology Cambridge MAA, the nomination and interventions from the market transpired to academic enquires.

L.C.G. Clarke donated 37 Ancient Peruvian textiles to the Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology Cambridge in 1922, 1924, and 1929.[255]Some of them are noted as being collected by other scholars in the Registration books. He bequeathed other objects from Peru to the museum in 1922, 1925, and 1929. While donations in 1933, 1935, and 1937 also included textiles, their provenance is auction houses.[256] Objects from auction houses and other museums were mostly fragments throughout his collections. They were cut in a square-like shape; those identified as 'borders' were of varied sizes, while those named 'bands' were the longest. He also

255 Imogen Gunn, email to author February 3, 2020. Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology Collections, accessed February 7, 2021, https://collections.maa.cam.ac.uk/objects/

256 Accession Book 14. Years 1933-1938, Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology Archive, University of Cambridge.

donated collections from other world regions.[257] Some items from his collection donated in 1929 are discussed next.[258] [259]

The continuously role of the market in the acquisition of textiles in museums is illustrated by a communication between Clarke and the British Museum's Department of Ceramics and Ethnography from 1933, exposing an auction: "Many thanks for the textiles. I have sent you back one or two pieces. I wanted to send you a … belt, but it is a complete piece, …, & it would be a crime to cut it ... Of course, the whole sale was a fake ... I do not think a single example of the larger textiles was sold. The whole thing was a ramp. ..."[260] The monetary value in the market reflects aspects such as taste, uniqueness, condition, and future projections. The supply of textiles was limited and continued through auction houses in the 20th Century (and 21st Century), despite restrictions on exporting national heritage in Peru.

this image is under embargo

Figure 55. *Fragment of a band*. 1929.60. 45 x 4.7 cm maximum. Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, Cambridge. Photograph by the author. January 24, 2022. With Permission from the Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology.

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257 North America and Mexico in 1922 and 1930, the Arctic North America, Australia, and New Zealand in 1922, Polynesia in 1922 and 1927, and East Africa in 1925.

258 The items reviewed from Clarke at AAM are 1925.443, 1929.60, 1929.61, 1929.62, 1929.63. And 1933.668, 1933.669, 1933.670, 1933.671, 1933.672, 1933.680A, 1933.680B, 1933.681, 1933.683, 1933.685, 1933.687, 1935.323, 1935.324 D, 1935.324 C, 1935.325, 1935.326, 1935.327, 1935.328, 1935.329, 1937.333, 1933.686

259 Unfortunately, some items were missing or out of location 1922.1223 and 1933.684.

260 Department of Ceramics and Ethnography British Museum, Letter 14 October 1933, MAABOX006780, Correspondence, Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology Archive, University of Cambridge.
The fragment received in exchange from BM are 1933,680A/B, are two strips of a narrow band. "[Paracas]. Orange, blue, pink" according to the Museum public database refering to Simpson and Puttick Catalogue 1933, accessed January 19, 2022, https://archive.org/details/peruvianantiquit00putt/mode/2up

The case of the item 1929.60 Fragment, donated to MAA in 1929 (Figure 55), shows that intervention sought to fit the market taste, regarding of visual perception, at least. According to the museum's public database, its identification card states 'Señor Pando of Lima' as the vendor.[261] Information regarding provenance was not found in this research. The description in the Accession Books reads, "60 Tapestry band … Peru. From grave."[262] It is made of cotton and wool, and measures 45/44 × 4.7/4.4 cm. It shows stains of organic materials (Figure 55).

Two pieces of the band are joined in the opposite direction of the pattern by stitches; thus, the course of the weaved characters is interrupted by the attached piece (Figure 56). Other splits are also stitched. The museum does not hold any intervention records.[263] The textile structure is subdued to visual perception organisation; such as order, symmetry, and balance; ordering through patterned characters drives the form, order, stability, direction of movement, and position to establish a route and narrative. The absence of an element in a patterned structure may be completed in our view due to its iteration. Through this intervention, the fragment possesses attributes as the whole object. It prioritises aesthetics, while illustrating the historicity of spoliation and academic interests.

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261 Museum of Aarchaeology and Anthropology Collections, accessed July 2, 2021. https://collections.maa.cam.ac.uk/objects/541099/
There is a Hacienda Pando in Lima, later owner was author Jose Riva-Aguero y Osma (1885-1944), there were various Pre-Columbian settlements in his state, since Late Intermediate (600 AC+-), which had been researched over time.

262 Accession Book 13 1928-1932 (1929), page 47 [entries] 60-65.

263 Eleanor Wilkinson, Teaching and Collections Assistant for Archaeology. Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of Cambridge, conversation with author January 24, 2022.

Figure 56. *Fragment Detail*. 1929.60. 45 x 4.7 cm maximum. Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, Cambridge. Photograph by the author. January 24, 2022. With Permission from the Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology.

A remarkably similar, if not part of the same object, is illustrated in the The Metropolitan Museum of Art (MET) publication *Peruvian Textiles* (1930), Plate IX, c, as a gift from George D. Pratt. The auctions of fragments in the 1920s and 1930s reveal an ignition in the market following 1920s archaeological research in the South Coast**.** The item 1929.60 was displayed in the Maudslay Gallery until 1987. The item trajectory shows an established market and regard of textile items as representation of manufacture and supplies of a cultural style in a broad manner, which are noted through records and physical appearance. In early records it was affiliated to Tiahuanaco, today is identified as from Nazca in the public museum database.

Similar limitation due to the prevailing aesthetic features is observed in the item 1929.63 [264] It is made using the slit weave technique, with cotton warps and wool wefts. It measures 42/42.5 x 13.6/14.2 cm. One of the two representations is outlined with beads placed in thicker

264 Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology Museum Collection, accessed July 2, 2021, https://collections.maa.cam.ac.uk/objects/541102/

warps or in two thinner threads; in some places, instead of beads, weft threads wrap the warps (Figure 57). The beads seem to be placed during construction in supplementary threads (Figure 58). This rare and significant textile indicates a high status of the deceased.

Figure 57 Fragment. 1929.63. 42.5 x 14.2 cm maximum. Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, Cambridge. Photograph by the author. January 26, 2022. With Permission from the Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology.

The fragment is cut in a square-like shape to frame both representations, it shows aesthetics as a main value in the market. This led to a focus on appearance: technical features and designs; as such, it was featured in Raoul Harcourt's publication (1934, Plate 59/F) to illustrate the decorative method, and in Geoffrey H. S. Bushnell's publication (1965, Plate 170). It was also on exhibition in the Maudslay Gallery up to 1987. It appears to be conserved. Today, it is identified as possibly part of a belt, affiliated with the Early Intermediate Period, Nazca culture. The borders of the items stated by the content of the fragment and the exchange are shown through studies focused on materials and aesthetics. For instance, at the time of this research, the fragment was being studied at the University of Cambridge's Pembroke Laboratory.[265]

265 The research by senior curator of the MAA, Anita Herle, focused on dye usage through history.

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Figure 58. *Fragment.* 1929.63. Detail 42.5 x 14.2 cm maximum. Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, Cambridge. Photograph by the author. January 26, 2022. With Permission from the Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology.

In the Pitt Rivers Museum (PRM), the Clarke collections show similar features to those in MAA, which include detached and re-assembled objects, apparently random acquisitions from the market. According to Sillar and Hicks, Clarke donated ca. 1600 objects from Arica and Ancon to the PRM between 1919 and 1921 (Sillar and Hicks 2013, 361). He also donated objects from Greenland, Abynissia (Ethiopia), and Africa to the museum.

The collections donated in 1919 and 1920, before his position as curator in Cambridge, included textiles and production tools. They are briefly described in the museum's Registration. Scarce information is provided regarding the origin of the objects. In the museum's public database, Clarke is listed as the field collector of 343 items from Peru, of which 158 are categorised as textiles, including textile production tools; such as, copper needles from Ancon.[266]

As with the items above, when observing the provenance, it is noted that the items from the market supply differed from items unbundled in museums, with regards to visual perception

266 The items review from Clarke in PRM included textile production tools. A full is given in Appedix G.

and acknowledgement. They show hierarchy: complete decorated objects fulfil classification categories, while fragments which would represent a whole object might remind identified per materials composition. For instance, in the PRM the item 1919.13.25.17 Feathered bag fragment (Figure 59) donated by Clarke in 1919 is part of a workbasket (1919.13.25.1) (Figure 60). The ground fabric is cotton plain woven; feathers are tied to threads which are attached to the fabric in parallel rows to the weft. It is made from a single piece folded and stitched on the sides. It measures approximately 8 × 7 cm. The feathers are highly damaged.

This object marks the high status of the grave, since feathers were a highly valuable commodity, implying a distant trade network. The succinct description in the Donations book: "… piece of torn cloth decorated with feathers …"[267] differs its current affiliation to a category of containers. It represents both, a funerary tradition, and the Andean vertical trade. The content of the workbasket is set aside for preservation. It is possible that the content of the bag caused deterioration (?). Similar decay of organic decorations is observed in other museums collections.

267 Book of Donations VII 1916-1921 (1919), page 120.

Figure 59. *Feathered bag fragment*. 1919.13.25.17. 8 x 7 cm. Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford. Photograph by author. March 2, 2022. With Permission from the Pitt Rivers Museum.

The market supply also included objects collected in expeditions and sold by scholars through auctions houses. For instance, Sotheby's sold Henry Oog Forbes (1851-1932) items in in 1921.[268] Forbes also donated a feathered bag filled with coca leaves and sealed to the PRM in 1921 (1919.92.120) (Figure 61). According to the museum catalogue, it was probably collected in 1912,[269] since Forbes was on the south coast of Peru (1911-1912) to observe *El Niño* phenomenon (Conchology sd).

[268] Accession Book 13 1928-1932 (1929), page 47, Museum of Anthropology and Archaeology Archive, University of Cambridge), and Accession Book 11 1920-1922 (1921), page 96, Museum of Anthropology and Archaeology Archive, University of Cambridge.

[269] Catalogue collections V Evans Forbes Freyre- Marreco (1921), page 17, Pitt Rivers Museum, University of Oxford.

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Figure 60 *Women workbasket*. 1919.13.25.1. 8 x 13.5 x 30cm approximately. Basket and content in its storage container. Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford. Photograph by author. March 2, 2022. With Permission from the Pitt Rivers Museum.

This shows that collecting was not limited to scholars' main interest, and that they found a purpose for their collateral collecting in museum. Textile collections bare the interaction of agents beyond the primary scientific interest, patrons, curators, and market suppliers. The bag (1919.92.120) collected by Forbes was exhibited at the INCA Dress Code exhibition (2019) at the MRAH, Brussels, discussed before. These two examples of feathered bags show different journeys while sustaining similar outcomes in museums. This manifests the market parameters creating features of depreciation, use and expertise required that are transpired into the perception of objects. Through scholarly commodification the market features are extended to the collections.

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Figure 61. *Feathered bag*. 1919.92.120. 17 x 11 cm approximately. Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford. Photograph by author. March 2, 2022. With Permission from the Pitt Rivers Museum.

Another example of the *a priori* identification transpiring the identification of items in categories is seen in the item 1920.59.3.1 Bag. It was donated by Clarke to the PRM in 1920. It is described in the Book of Donations as a "coloured tapestry bag containing small balls of coloured thread from an ancient grave." [270] It is similarly described as "Bag with balls of threads" in the Catalogue *Objects of Indigenous American Art* (1920) (Burlington Fine Arts Club 1920, 19, 20).

The bag contains four balls of thread that are exhibited next to the object (Figure 62). The item is made of a folded fabric stitched on the sides; closure stitches partially remain on one side; the top is sewn completely. It measures 8.5/9 cm × 9/8.5 cm. The fringes of twisted thread are stitched measure approximately 21.5 cm long. It is decorated using the slit-weave technique in four colours. The four thread balls circumference measurements ranged between from 6 to 7.5 cm approximately, they are inventoried apart (1920.59.3.2, 1920.59.3.3, 1920.59.3.4, and 1920.59.3.5), separating them into categories: bag and content. Its origin is Chancay, in the Central Coast, which is a recurrent source of items in the market and collateral collection.

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[270] Book of Donations VII 1916-1921 (1920) Louis Clarke, page 192. Pitt Rivers Museum, University of Oxford.

Intervention or handling deceive reality and shade previous arrangements, as shown before. The transformation of the item reveals the market emphasis on unique qualities, recognition, and aesthetics.

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Figure 62. *Bag with balls of threads*. 1920.59.3.1. 30.5 x 9 cm maximum. Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford. Photograph by author. February 28, 2022. With Permission from the Pitt Rivers Museum.

Classification: The Mechanism of Transformation by Absence

Outside the scholarly network textile objects have continued to be collected based on aesthetics and exoticism. The examples above have shown that circulation of textiles was contingent to their unique features, prestige, and durability, alongside features already noted such as portability and recognition. Different than the intervention or handling seen in the segregation of element from funerary bundles. The market supply sought to highlight the aesthetic value while prolonging and enhancing circulation of items. The collections mostly comprise small fragments or objects as aesthetic unities. The variety within the collections suggests random gathering, likewise, show coastal origin. The information given in brief in the Accession or Registering books.

In the market supply intervention e.g. cutting, reshaping, and repairing, occurs to create continuity, e.g. item 1929.60, and closure and an aesthetic unit, e.g. item1929.63, while methods of storing might shape new understandings e.g. item1912.441. The segregation goes further,

dissembling collection and grouping new assemblages, obscuring their prior reality in the museums' linear narrative –periodisation– and hierarchy -categories-. Thus, the continuous influence of their circulation as scholarly commodities is manifested in the composition of the collection, reduction of textiles to their stylistic patterns and research limits. Textiles are validated as a scholarly commodity by the construction of Ancient Peru periodisation, thereby the organisation of items give them an academic identity, e.g. Early Intermediate Period, South Andean, or Nazca.

Assemblages of non-methodologically excavated items became part of University Museums through the market. Eventually, institutionalised disciplines focused on methodologically collecting archaeological expeditions. However, neither the PRM nor the MAA textile collections resulted from organised expeditions to Peru during the timeframe of this study.

Accumulation in the Metropole Museum

Methodological and non-methodological collecting have shaped disciplines as noted in the sections above, through the segregation of elements into categories. The accumulation of items from non-methodological excavations have identified textile items as a source of data; as consequence, items also enabled knowledge production outside academic institutions aided by their stylistic patterns. The case of Arthur Baessler illustrates the transformation of value and persistent colonial practices in metropole museums. Unlike the market constrains, individual drive and market fluctuation, the national museums colonial practices appear as a determining factor to impact the knowledge production due to the quantity and content of varied collections.

Arthur Baessler

In his letter from December 1899 to the Royal Königliches Museum für Völkerkunde (KMV), Arthur Baessler thanked the museums for accepting his collection and stated again the

appropriate use of his financial donation, while discussing appropriate insurance for the collection.[271] This manoeuvre made museums an important platform for studying ancient Peru, while positioning Baessler prestige in the scholarly circles.

Baessler excavated in the Central Coast and purchased the collection from the merchant Wilhelm Gretzer at Bastian's request. He also granted an allowance for the care his collection while ensuring his titularity, thereby keeping the collection as one and his own in the years to come.[272] Baessler's prerogatives for the donation were stated in his communication to the museum in 1899,[273] he also requested a larger venue for the exhibition, recommending cabinets, feathered objects be shaped as they originally were, and the use of his 10,000 marks donation for the exhibition (Appendix E). Although he points out the provenance of the collection, it is shown as his in the public database.[274]

In the letter from the museum General Director to the Minister of Religious, Educational, and Medical Affairs in 1899 to informs over the bequeathed collection and financial donations,[275] it is noted the relevance of the collection for research, as investment, and its monetary value in the market. This shows that monetary and academic values were intertwined. Accordingly, in the same letter from 27 June 1899 (Appendix F), aside the use of collection for political advantage, a colonial legacy in the production of knowledge is revealed through the acceptance of lootings by the donation. This occurred with endorsements agents: minister, museum direction, and curator, and Baessler, who was able to supersede the museum's direction and accommodate his position beyond benefactor in the transaction.

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271 A. Baessler, Letter 31 December 1899, SMB PK.EM.I/MV0548 Baessler 1355/99, Staatliche museen zu Berlin Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Ethnologisches Museum Berlin.

272 Arthur Baessler, Letter to Professor Bastian, 10 April 1898, SMB PK.EM.I/MV0548 Baessler E.W. 552/98, Staatliche museen zu Berlin Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Ethnologisches Museum, Berlin.

273 A. Baessler. Letter 22 July 1899, SMB PK.EM.I/MV0548 Baessler IB 21 E 751/99, Staatliche museen zu Berlin Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Ethnologisches Museum.

274 Public Database search, accessed August 12, 2021, htt://smb-digital.de. Manuela Fischer, SMB South America curator, email to author, August 12, 2021.

275 General Director of the Konigliche Museen zu Berlin to Minister of Spiritual, Educational and Medical matters. Letter June 27, 1899, SMB PK.EM.I/MV0548 Baessler IB 21 627/ 99, Staatliche museen zu Berlin Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Ethnologisches Museum Berlin.

In his publication from 1902, Baessler states the number of items (11,513) that form his collection through purchases and excavations, it also contained 2,279 ceramics (Baessler 1902). Baessler donated 16 mummies to the museum, almost half were from the Peruvian Central coast, showing interest in ethnographical and physical anthropology (Ordoñez 2019, 131). Today, yet a Peruvian funerary bundle was on display.[276] Although this practice is not exclusive to the EMB. The Americas section from the Ethnologisches Museum Berlin (EMB) was being prepared for display in the Humboldt Forum – a controversial move evoking the 18th century spirit, which was inaugurated on 16th September 2022.[277] As in other museums issues as missing or displaced objects or identification cards were found. [278] [279] Likewise, some objects were being conserved.[280].

The accumulation of textiles in metropole museums shows that the features of the non-methodologically collected collections passed on to the production of knowledge: similarity is content, and complete and historically known items and decorated fragments. For instance, the item VA 21231 Uncu, it was donated in 1899 by Baessler (Figure 63). Uncus have been historically acknowledged being representative of the textile production. A similar panelled uncu (VA 7468 [85]) (Figure 71, 72) is discussed by Reiss and Stübel (1880) (Figure 70) (See Section: Fragmented knowledge). The iteration of objects in graves enabled the diggers or early collectors concentrate their selection to resembling items. The shift from similarities to relational analysis is discussed in the next section.

276 In the exhibition a funerary bundle known as the *Mallqui of Chuquitanta*- spanned protest in the general public and people involved in the care of cultural heritage, yet not official statement at a government level was made, accessed January 20, 2023, https://www.npla.de/thema/kultur-medien/podcast-4-eroeffnung-des-moduls-21-und-die-aktion-zur-rueckerstattung-der-mallqui-aus-chuquitanta/

277 The preparation of the display was not mentioned by the curators during the visit (summer 2022).

278 Mantle VA 21540, Laincloth VA 20729

279 Uncu 21367

280 Uncu VA 7468(16) and Mask VA 28529.

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Figure 63. *Uncu*. VA 21231. 63 x 58 cm maximum. Ethnologisches Museum Berlin. Photograph by author. September 1, 2022. With Permission from the Staatliche Museum Berlin.

The uncu (VA 21231) is made up of four panels per side, woven in double face technique, it measures 62/63 x 57/58 cm approximately. Its manufacture suggests an elite grave origin,[281] it is made of cotton, with union stitches with five strands threads. It shows repairs in a different coloured thread and loosened threads on the sides. Repairs could have been done with similar archaeological materials and styles for a better appearance (?) Bjerregaard suggests that the repairs are ancient and demonstrate that it was regularly worn and stated the item origin as from the Central/ North coast (Bjerregaard en Huss 2017, 93). It is affiliated to the Tiahuanaco style, although it depicts deities generally found in Chimú style, North coast.

Another uncu from Baessler collection is the item VA 21367 Uncu.[282] This one appears to be a dressing layer due to the enduring stains from an organic source (?) (Figure 64). The uncu

281 The item had a previous number (4095), changes over time could also engender misplacement or losses.

282 VA 21367, Ethnologisches Museum Berlin Collection, accessed September 30, 2021, http://www.smb-digital.de/eMuseumPlus?service=ExternalInterface&module=collection&objectId=19054&viewType=detailView

is made of two woven panels with a 6 cm overlap in the shoulder border making it appear as a continuous fabric. It is weft face woven with decorative embroidery on the lower border and a decorated strip in the centre. It is made of wool. It measures 82.5/85 × 73/75 cm approximately. Today, it is affiliated to the Inca Period.

The segregation of funerary bundles implies damage of intermediary textile layers; similarly, the excavation compromises between destruction and objectives. In the market supply or non-methodologically excavation, aesthetics and state of conservation lead is observed in the physical features of items. The tears in the uncu seem not to be from the original context (?), decorative borders are loosened in some areas. As mentioned, the antiquities market and non-methodologically excavated objects in museums showed similar features in the objects that define them as scholarly commodities in the exchange. Baessler definition of his collection as assets and scholarly commodity for prestige is seen in his communications to the museum. He referred to textiles as *trapos* (rags), pointed out that they must be placed between framed glass for exhibition as favoured at the time.[283] contrary to the handling of complete objects.

283 A. Baessler, Letter 22 July 1899.

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Figure 64. *Uncu*. VA 21367. 85 x 75 cm. Ethnologisches Museum Berlin. Photograph by author. September 1, 2022. With Permissionfrom the Staatliche Museum Berlin.

In the exchange, the fragments with decorations or distinctive characteristic are of scholarly interest and part of the museums' collections. For instance, the item VA 19954 Feathered fragment, also from his 1899 donation. The cotton ground fabric is covered with feathers knotted to threads which are sewn onto to the fabric in rows separated by 1 cm (Figure 65). Two holes in the centre are disguised with another feathered patch of 12 x 7/8 cm approximately, making a central design (Figure 66). It measures 32/30.5 x 20/25 cm. Its original location is Chimbote; it is attributed to the Inca period.[284] The fragment has been conserved. One border is teared while the opposite is neatly cut, shaping a quadrangle form, simulating an apron-like object (Figure 39).

284 It is illustrated in the Bejeegaard and Huss' Catalogue of the Textiles from Berlin Museum (2017 p. 229).

this image is under embargo

Figure 65. *Feathered fragment*. VA 19954. 12 x 8 cm. Ethnologisches Museum Berlin. Photograph by author. September 2, 2022. With Permission from the Staatliche Museum Berlin.

this image is under embargo

Figure 66. *Feathered fragment*. VA19954. Detail. 12 x 8 cm. Ethnologisches Museum Berlin. Photograph by author. September 2, 2022. With Permissionfrom the Staatliche Museum Berlin.

Funerary bundles had patches on the exterior layers; however, it is not certain if this is one or whether it is original (?) This new appearance seems to be arranged for a pleasant visual

experience. Baessler discussed feathered items in his 1902 publication, pointing out techniques and recurrence in graves, aided by the samples in his collection. His publication is addressed in the next section.

The accumulation of items revealed patterns of hierarchy to organise objects and studies interest. The study of social representation was based on materials; even though it might be limited for archaeological research. While lack of information regarding provenance undermines the reliability on the origin of the object. For instance, in the museum public database, the geographic reference of the item VA 21367 is Pachacamac,[285] while some authors state its origin is Ancon (Hoffman 2017, Bjerregaard and Huss 2017). Accumulation also had an institutional impact on the manage collections, regarding organisation, provenance research, and conservation.[286] The lack of information and limited accessibility still occur because of the substantial number of objects.

When examining the transformation of value, accumulation in metropole museums appears a determining factor. Metropole museums shaped their textile collections through expeditions and acquisition of collections from non-methodological excavations or dealers' diggings. This shows that the meaning of collections disregarded interventions or trajectory to the scholarly network. Items were detached from arrangements to favour objects mostly complete or highly decorated fragments. In the process of selection, the collections are outlined by recurrent locations, interventions, and mainly elite burials. The patterns generated by the accumulation of objects are transfigured into specific categories that lead topics of study, e.g. feathered objects. In the exchange, those items from unknown provenance or origin were exhibited, curated, or studied alongside items that had been methodologically retrieved, thereby, similarly circulating as scholarly commodities.

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285 VA 21367, Ethnologisches Museum Berlin Collection, accessed September 30, 2021, http://www.smb-digital.de/eMuseumPlus?service=ExternalInterface&module=collection&objectId=19054&viewType=detailView

286 Information cards may be miscolated, e.g. VA 21367, VA 21540.

Section Remarks: Shaping Academic Products in University and Metropole Museums

The sections above have discussed the transformation of value of textile items to become academic products. Institutional interest, patronage, scholarly drive, and the transformation of looted artefacts into academic products via market exchange and excavations, illustrates lasting colonial legacies. The case of KMV and Baessler shows power dynamics to acquire, manage and lead the production of knowledge about Andean civilisations and scholarly positioning. These legacies are also seen by drafting collections with dealers' taste, from dubious sources; thus, looting is positioned as collecting, obscuring the journey of the item to legitimate it as a superior demand. In university museum, although colonial legacies are seen in the founding collections from PRM and AAM, the collecting of ancient Peruvian textiles was gradual. They illustrated commoditisation of explorations gatherings, and hierarchy in the segregation and mobilisation of items within institutions and market acquisition. In the latter, university museums seem at a disadvantage; however, they also participated in the transfiguration of textiles into academic products and scholarly commodities.

The cases shown that intervention, classification, and accumulation generated patterns that shaped the interpretation and would guide studies. The collections mostly originated from similar, accessible, and acknowledged archaeological locations. They were collected were through individual diggings, scholarly excavations, and purchases. This results on partial homogeneity in their composition. Alongside the interplay of museums' demand and supply, textile collections have been subjected to features of durability, as assets, which was key part of the process; it guaranteed lasting through various organisations of collection types. Their value as assets and investment, is shown by their use to generating greater value regarding knowledge and positioning, both academic and political. A demonstration of how accumulation commands the content of collections is manifested in the transfer of "doubles." This advantage was licenced

through the donations or interchange. The decay of materiality, closing the circle of circulation, proves them as scholarly commodities.

The transformation of value configurated collections whose content display features of depreciation shown by segregating items as sources for stylistic patterns. Expertise was needed to organise and understand the patterns intrinsic to the structures and their function as references, and to associate items by establishing categories in periodisation or cultural conceptualisation. The abstraction of textiles by detachment and classification enables new temporality in display, storage, studies, and to become entities on public digital platforms. The latter seems the ultimate sphere of abstraction as metadata in search engines categorisation. It demonstrates the configuration of textile as academic products showing social engagement. Limiting the understanding of the textile tradition as a resulting product, influenced the already segregated local knowledge. The following section focuses on temporality of items in the knowledge production where textiles items as academic products are displayed.

Knowledge Production: Disciplines, Publications, Public Databases

The transformation of value influenced the production of knowledge. In the process of commoditisation in scholarly circles, classification and accumulation shaped a new reality. The organisation of different assemblages illustrates fragmented collections. It is observed that in 19th and 20th century publications, the relevant items and the authority of the narrative is determined by discrimination. This is observed even in today's inclusion in public digital platforms.

It was illustrated in previous chapters that the travellers' narrative towards a systematized approach during the late 19th century show the shift of narrative of textiles into a realm of study fields, thereby the creation of a subject matter is observed. The Western epistemology in the production of knowledge and evolution of disciplines regarding the study of the Ancient Andean in Peru is shown by stratigraphic diggings made in Trujillo by Miguel Feijoo (1763-1765), followed by systematised excavation in Ancon by Reiss and Stübel, which led to the methodical

stratigraphical excavation by Max Uhle (1896-1897) (Nuñez 2013; Bonavia and Ravines 1970, 7-13). There was not a clear break between antiquarianism and methodological excavation; on the contrary, they appear to contribute to each other in the case of textiles collecting, translating colonial legacies into the understanding of material culture and heritage (Chapter 2, Section Academic pursuit: The influence of disciplines in the formation of representation). The direction of the scholarly enquiry in these conjunctions is seen in the case of Max Uhle studies on Dresden/Leipzig collections and his successive publications. The consequences of collecting seen in fragmentation and detachment are addressed through the study of patterns. How these legacies exert exclusion and dominance in the understanding textiles from ancient Peru are addressed in the following sections.

Fragmented Knowledge: A Focus on Materiality and/or Knowledge Construction of the 'Perceived'

Textile objects have been addressed from both aesthetic and scientific perspectives over time. Systematic interpretation of textile iconography, manufacture, and materials are incorporated for the conceptualisation and understanding of Ancient Andean civilisations, while being a data source may suppress the trajectory of objects to become a collection. The prevalence of aesthetics in pre-assembled collections acquired by auction houses, private collection purchases, and explorations have resulted in studies focused on materiality (physical appearance and meaning sought in representations or depictions). The publications depart from origin and location to supply foundations for authenticity to focus on what is perceived, i.e. the tangible representation, composition, and manufacture.

In museums, textiles were incorporated into the classification system through geographical, evolutionary, and typological principles. Textiles as a subject matter can be seen in Reiss and Stübel's (1880-1887) publication *The Necropolis of Ancon in Peru* and succeeding publications followed this atlas-like 19th-century style. For instance, Max Uhle's *Kultur und Industrie südamerikanischer (1889-1890*), and Arthur Baessler's *Altperuanische Kunst* (1902).

The publication of Reiss and Stübel illustrates a stage in naturalist explorations. The collection was systematically organised, published and disseminated through collections allocation, as seen before. The second volume, *Textiles and Garments*, gave textiles titularity through their description and illustration, by providing a panorama of textile production in the Andes to become a reference. It formalises the study of textiles founded in the perceived, i.e. the observable accounts were sufficiently powerful to receive stand-alone attention, they constitute an aesthetic unity. These account from the past have been structured through materials processing and construction techniques. In the publication engravings texture and colourfulness of the objects enhanced and used to mark the status of the production. Joanne Pillsbury notes colourfulness as one reason Wilhelm Reiss and Alphons Stübel could have decided to use chromolithography instead of photography in their publication (Pillsbury 2017).

Reiss and Stübel used comprehensive terms from Western textile production. Objects were organised by element-based studies, disassembling burial contexts, regrouping, and assembling objects by similar features, focusing on structure and aesthetics, adjoining illustrations and description. Its relevance stems from the description of the landscape, reports of funerary arrangement, and subsequent assemblage content. The publication of this process validated their work in scholarly circles, unlike the case of de Cessac, for instance.

The Plate 49 (Figure 67) illustrates a detail of the uncu from a funerary bundle excavated in Ancon (*Vol I*, Plate 16 and 17) (Figure 68). Today, it refers to the item VA 7468 (16) Uncu. The authors focused on the represented figure and intricate composition, describing the designs. In the illustration, this uncu is constructed a 'drawing'-like representations sequences. It is named "Sumptuous garment of a mummy." Reiss and Stübel lead the narrative of the whole representation, making its aesthetic accessible and understandable: "Different are the fantastic head-dresses, the objects held in the hands and the surrounding ornaments" (Plate 49). A relationship of the *perceived* with their finds in the field is made, "The figure equipped with bow

and arrow is followed by a dog on foot, undoubtedly the *Canis ingae*, here apparently for the first time occurring in a pictorial illustration."[287]

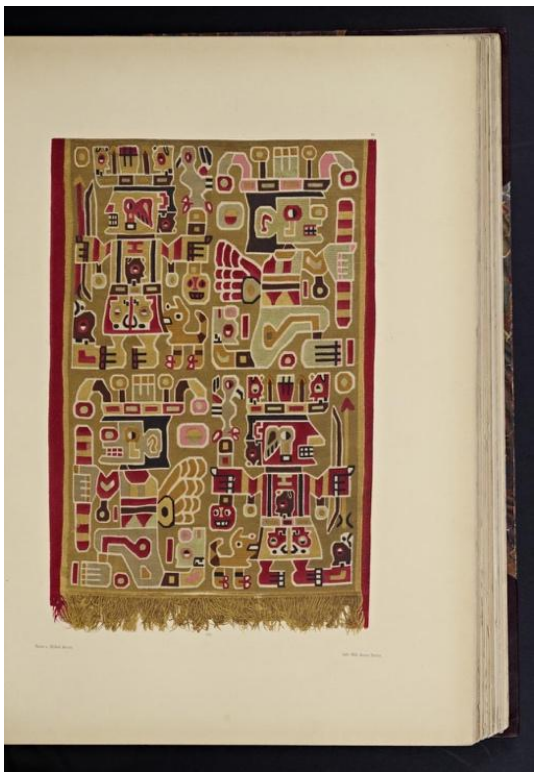

Figure 67. *Plate 49*, The Necropolis of Ancon in Peru, Volume 2, 1880. Wilhelm Reiss and Alphons Stübel. https://archive.org/details/gri_33125012875577/page/n91/mode/2up

The authors illustrate their interest in iconography and technology. They relate similar representation to assure a style and origin, "The whole is conceived and executed in a way to suggest the well-known sculptures on the monolithic gate of Tiahuanaco" (Plate 49). This affirmation was later referenced by other authors to determine fragments with similar patterns, e.g. the Victoria and Albert Catalogue (1926) and Philip Ainsworth Means *Realism in Ancient Peru* (1930). Reiss and Stübel see textiles as bi-dimensional. Today, it has been established another culture of origin: *Wari*.

287 *Canis ingae*, reported in Johann J. von Tschudi, ed., *Untersuchungen über die Fauna Peruana* [Research on the Peruvian fauna] (St. Gallen: Scheitlin und Zollikofer, 1844).

Figure 68. *Plate 16*. The necropolis of Ancon in Peru, Volume 1, 1880. Wilhelm Reiss and Alphons Stübel. https://archive.org/details/gri_33125012872939/page/n113/mode/2up

The uncu has been conserved over time. The image on the inventory card shows damages caused by organic stains (?)[288] Their use to wrap a bundle is reaffirmed by decay (Figure 69). The perception of the object changes when is stored and exhibited flat or vertically, illustrating the various realities created by the process of detachment and classification. As noted in previous chapters, the production of textiles scientific knowledge was shaped in conjunction of scholarly drive immersed expansionism, mobilisation of collections, and the construction of the past through the publications. In this configuration, the value of originality underlies the commoditisation, classification, and accumulation of items to create references. Ultimately giving form to fragments or objects of unknown provenances.

[288] No information regarding the timeline of transcription of the cards was determined in this study

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Figure 69. *Inventory card with picture from item 7468 (16*). 1971. Photograph by author. September 1, 2022. With Permissionfrom the Ethnologisches Museum Berlin © Copyright Staatliche Museum Berlin.

In the case of the Plate 48 (Figure 70), today item VA 7468(85) Uncu (Figure 71 and 72), from Reiss and Stübel publication, the authors pointed out aesthetics, "Richly ornamented woollen dress." The uncu is made of joined panels. They described it, as if they were learning not just about ancient Peru but also textile manufacture and visual perception, as shown in the remark, "By the introduction of green and blue lines a transition is brought about between the two contrasting colours, so that the general effect satisfies even the critical eye". It appears to be an attempt to challenge preconceptions about the Andean civilization their aesthetics, by trying to establish them as a pictorial medium, as fine arts had been for the West, by suggesting knowledge about perceptual organisation of design (?) Two features are reproduced over time: the search for iconographic patterns and technological achievements, framed by the perceived.

Figure 70. *Plate 48*. The necropolis of Ancon in Peru. Volume 2. 1880. Wilhelm Reiss, Wilhelm and Alphons Stübel. https://archive.org/details/gri_33125012875577/page/n87/mode/2up

The illustration zooms into the fabric to show the icons. The authors compare the technology to Western achievements noting that despite the limitations of the looms, highly elaborated items were created. They equated European techniques to what they observed, for instance, using the term 'gobbelins' in various descriptions. The quest about technology is illustrated by Schmidt's loom type study (1911), discussed later. Textile aesthetics were not alien to explorers, their manufacture is a conjunction of structure and design; thus, structural description cannot ignore the resulting aesthetic or perceptual influences. The discussion of the perceived was also a concern in Arthur Baessler's publication *Ancient Peruvian Art: Contributions to the archaeology of the Empire of the Incas* (1902).

this image is under embargo

Figure 71. *Uncu*. VA 7468 (85). 31 x 54 cm. Ethnologisches Museum Berlin. Photograph by author. September 1, 2022. With Permission from the Staatliche Museum Berlin.

this image is under embargo

Figure 72. *Uncu*. VA 7468 (85). Ethnologisches Museum Berlin. Photograph by author. September 1, 2022. With Permission from the Staatliche Museum Berlin © Copyright Staatliche Museum Berlin.

The Baessler's publication *Ancient Peruvian Art* was issued in 15 parts in 10 portfolios.[289] The representations and scenes patterns were illustrated. Textiles and other objects discussed the

[289] The graphics were made by Wilhelm von den Steinen (1859-1934).

manufacture and uses in the context of current scientific knowledge about funerary traditions and periodisation of civilisations. Baessler explain his archaeological excavations and confirmed that his collection was pre-assembled by Gretzer, mainly from the Central Coast of Peru (Baessler 1902).

In the *Volume 4* Plate 147, Figure 408 and details a, b, Baessler discussed deities represented in a 'Four corners' hut, from the Wari tradition, from Pachacamac. In the Plates 147, 148, and 149, he discussed feathered works, focusing on the manufacturing technique, as well as other ornaments from Chuquitanta in relation to the deceased's status. In other cases, he inferred techniques and uses on grave arrangements. His approach and illustration choices focused on aesthetics. For instance, an illustration from the upper part of a feathered garment or ornament representing 'a squatting figure' in the Plate 149, Figure 411, leads the viewer, making the fragment a whole object, thereby use, role, and shape are ignored (Figure 73).

The inclusion of supplies and tools in graves also influenced the interest in manufacture. Baessler pointed out the recurrence of workbasket and supplies that include feathers in his collections and referred to the trustworthy Reiss and Stübel publication (Figure 49), levelling both publications. Although published in 1902, Baessler uses engraving that show the detailed three-dimensionality of textiles. Baessler went beyond Gretzer's primary interest in aesthetics and uniqueness, delving further into uses, manufacture, although most items were not methodologically excavated.

Figure 73 *Plate 149*. Ancient Peruvian Art: Contributions to the archaeology of the Empire of the Incas, 1902. Arthur Baessler. Accessed November 4, 2022. https://libmma.contentdm.oclc.org/digital/collection/p16028coll4/id/14018

Accumulation and Discerning of Patterns

In the 20th century studies within museums drifted from the early approach to textiles to focus on observed patterns, manifesting hierarchy and in study paths. The publication *Technik und Stil der Darstellungen auf Altperuanischen Geweben* (Technique and style of the representations on old Peruvian fabrics) from Max Schmidt's (1911) illustrates the use of early collected textiles as a source of data with the limitations of non-contextual information, which makes explicit the limitations of accumulation of collections. It opened the first Volume from the Baessler -Archive publication *Beiträge zur Völkerkunde herausgegeben aus Mitteln des Baessler-instituts* (Contributions to ethnology issued from funds from the Baessler institution). Schmidt became Director of the South American section (1919-1929) at the Ethnologisches Museum Berlin.

The knowledge production in museums shows three elements mentioned by Thomas Joyce (1911) about the publication: prestigious sponsorship, scholarship, and topic of interest, embodied by Baessler, ancient Peruvian textiles collection and Max Schmidt. Regardless of limitations it proved its contribution. The use of photography instead of engraving modified the focus on appearance, by overlooking colour and texture. The text focuses on the relationship between representations and manufacture. Schmidt proposes a stylistic pattern and manufacturing features to differentiate cultural styles by establishing patterns and sequences related to the type of looms used.

Comparing samples from various collections, Schmidt highlighted quantity and valuable data available in the collections, "... existing material is completely sufficient to state that at least a large part of the old Peruvian fabrics … with scene-like representations, is made with the help of the loom type [vertical] just described."[290] (Schmidt 1911, 12). One may wonder, how much means sufficient. The textiles studied originated from Ancon, Copacabana, Marquez, and Chuquitanta. Through his study collections were levelled up to methodological excavated items and segregated items with not differentiating features. He referred to Max Uhle's research on cultural settlements about the expansion of Tiahuanaco in the Central Coast and Nazca cultures using stratigraphic methods.[291] Although Uhle's early statements about it have been abandoned, they defined specific iconographic and stylistic features and methods. Subsequent knowledge production from museums fits within these boundaries to affirm relevance.

Schmidt's study illustrates that comparative material could generate knowledge regardless of contextual information. For instance, in the item VA 30962 from his study, the represented and the perceived were validated provided original certainty or agreement. The item is illustrated

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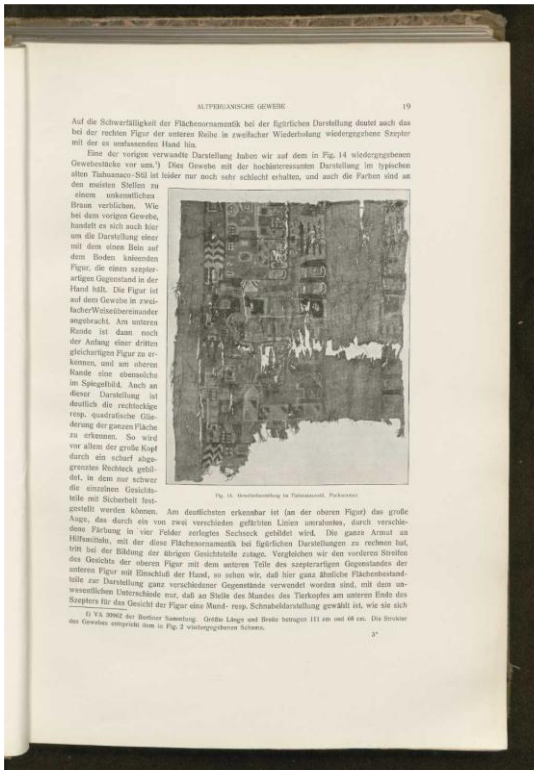
290 "…vorhandene Material völlig ausreicht, um zu konstatieren, daß jedenfalls ein grober Teil del altoperuanischen Gewebe … mit szenenhaften Darstellungen übliche Struktur aufweisen, mit Hilfe des eben geschilderten Webstuhltypus hergestellt ist." (Schmidt 1911, 12). Translation by author.

291 For instance, his work in *Pachacamac*, Max Uhle's Pachacamac Report of the William Pepper, M. D., Peruvian expedition of 1896 –University of Pennsylvania (1903)

in the Plate 14 (Figure 74). It was purchased from Gretzer in 1907. A better condition is appreciated in the publication; for instance, a loss in the overture (?) It is made of wool, woven, representing a deity with staffs. It measures 72/34 × 35.5/6.5 cm. It originates in Chuquitanta, a recurrent location in Gretzer's diggings. It has been mounted on a panel; therefore, it was not possible to observe the reverse side (Figure 75).



ALTPERUANISCHE GEWEBE 19

Auf die Schwerfälligkeit der Flächenornamentik bei der figürlichen Darstellung deutet auch das bei der rechten Figur der unteren Reihe in zweifacher Wiederholung wiedergegebene Szepter mit der es umfassenden Hand hin.

Eine der vorigen verwandte Darstellung haben wir auf dem in Fig. 14 wiedergegebenen Gewebestücke vor uns.[1]) Dies Gewebe mit der hochinteressanten Darstellung im typischen alten Tiahuanaco-Stil ist leider nur noch sehr schlecht erhalten, und auch die Farben sind an den meisten Stellen zu einem unkenntlichen Braun verblichen. Wie bei dem vorigen Gewebe, handelt es sich auch hier um die Darstellung einer mit dem einen Bein auf dem Boden knieenden Figur, die einen szepterartigen Gegenstand in der Hand hält. Die Figur ist auf dem Gewebe in zweifacherWeiseübereinander angebracht. Am unteren Rande ist dann noch der Anfang einer dritten gleichartigen Figur zu erkennen, und am oberen Rande eine ebensolche im Spiegelbild. Auch an dieser Darstellung ist deutlich die rechteckige resp. quadratische Gliederung der ganzen Fläche zu erkennen. So wird vor allem der große Kopf durch ein scharf abgegrenztes Rechteck gebildet, in dem nur schwer die einzelnen Gesichtsteile mit Sicherheit festgestellt werden können. Am deutlichsten erkennbar ist (an der oberen Figur) das große Auge, das durch ein von zwei verschieden gefärbten Linien umrahmtes, durch verschiedene Färbung in vier Felder zerlegtes Sechseck gebildet wird. Die ganze Anmut an Hilfsmitteln, mit der diese Flächenornamentik bei figürlichen Darstellungen zu rechnen hat, tritt bei der Bildung der übrigen Gesichtsteile zutage. Vergleichen wir den vorderen Streifen des Gesichts der oberen Figur mit dem unteren Teile des szepterartigen Gegenstandes der unteren Figur mit Einschluß der Hand, so sehen wir, daß hier ganz ähnliche Flächenbestandteile zur Darstellung ganz verschiedener Gegenstände verwendet worden sind, mit dem unwesentlichen Unterschiede nur, daß an Stelle des Mundes das Tierkopfes am unteren Ende des Szepters für das Gesicht der Figur eine Mund- resp. Schnabeldarstellung gewählt ist, wie sie sich

[1]) VA 20902 der Berliner Sammlung. Größte Länge und Breite betragen 111 cm und 68 cm. Die Struktur des Gewebes entspricht dem in Fig. 2 wiedergegebenen Schema.

3*

Figure 74. *Figure 14*, Max Schmidt's Technik und stil der darstellungenauf altperuanischen geweben 1911. Page 19. With illustration. Accessed January 11, 2021, https://www.digi-hub.de/viewer/image/1498131606433/29/

In Schmidt discussion, the context and extraction are ignored. However, similar depictions to the stylistic pattern of the uncu (VA 7468 [85]) from Reiss and Stübel publication (Figure 70) helped support Schmidt's argument. Similar icons are seen in item VA 21530 (See Figure 31) from the Baessler collection, established as an original from Pachacamac. His comparative analysis created a hierarchy against fragments u objects with no context or

differentiated features. Reducing the study of textiles in museums to establishment of pattern within the items' borders.

Figure 75. *Fragment*. VA 30962. 72 x 35.5 maximum. Ethnologisches Museum Berlin. Photograph by author. September 1, 2022. With Permission from the Staatliche Museum Berlin.

This case illustrates the legitimisation of illegal or non-methodologically excavated textiles. It shows the conjunction of geopolitical and social circumstances in the production of knowledge: colonial legacy to acquire collections, their commoditisation in the academic sphere and the specialisation. Production of academic knowledge occurred through categorisation into disciplines' theoretical frameworks; for instance, the chronological scheme or technical analysis of materials. Thus, departed from detachment, textile objects transcended their symbolic or utilitarian use to conceptual schemes. The fragmented knowledge consolidated museums repositories of data to help methodologically excavation-based research.

Dissemination of Organisations: 'Doubles'

In the production of scholarly knowledge, the dissemination of classified collections translated the organisation modes. The borders of the objects, and delimitation given in the assemblages they form became the parameter of academic narrative and analysis.

The assemblage of textiles donated by Alphons Stübel to the Museum für Völkerkunde Dresden (MVD) illustrates the fragmentation of scholars' assemblages and dissemination of categories. It shows that the Reiss and Stübel collection from Ancon in Königliches Museum für Völkerkunde (KMV) and the organisation in their publication created a boundary. The arbitrary of the scholars' assemblages is seen in the categories, e.g. W*oollen fabrics.*[292] Such is the case of the fabrics 3035 and 3036 in MVD, numbers 18 and 19 in the Catalogue of doubles. They were collected in 1875 and donated in 1882 (Figure 76). Item 3035 measures approximately 127 × 22 cm when folded lengthways, it has loose joining stitches. The fragment 3036 measures approximately 150 × 69 cm. It is made of three pieces sewn together. It has loose threads and holes. They are made of wool and hair loosely woven in colours brown, red, and blue. Similar to the item 3005, which is encased in glass (Figure 23). The narrative in terms of use, location, context, or purpose that Stübel conveyed was drawn upon his first collection in Berlin.

292 Catalogue Altperuanische gewebe aus den gräbern von Ancon, 19 Dcember 1882.

Figure 76. *Woolen textiles*. 3035 and 3036. 150 x 69 cm and 127 x 22 cm folded. The Museum für Völkerkunde Dresden. Photograph by author. January 19, 2023. With Permission from Museum Völkerkunde Dresden.

Over time, handling, presentation, and storage create different views of objects. However, the borders created when they were grouped in a category make their use and purpose may be unclear to untrained observers outside a written mediation. Their traits of portability, iterance in graves, and resembling appearance are assimilated by repetition of pattern in the perceptive process. Thus, the category of woollen fabric prevailed. As seen previously, portability is also a trait relevant for dissemination of categories, in the items 3005 and 3045 was shown prominently.

Another aspect relevant for the dissemination of knowledge is visual narrative. The influence of the construction–decoration alliance in studies about textiles relies also in illustration narratives through the impact of the visual perception of textures in the interpretation process. This is due to Western aesthetics, and the collecting system forcing isolated representations. In the case of the items 3035 and 3036, their inventory card illustrated in

watercolour one fabric folded (Figure 77), probably pointing out as they were probably found (?), according to the Plate 44 in the Reiss and Stübel 1880 *Volume 2* publication (Figure 78). It may as well show the way they were given to the museum.

this image is under embargo

Figure 77. *Inventory card 3035 – 3036*. © Copyright Museum Völkerkunde Dresden.

In the Plate 44 Reiss and Stübel explained that these loose-weave fabrics were found folded in the burial contexts. They presumed their purpose was clothing, having found a similar width (70 cm) in other finds, thus suggesting contextual relationships, meaning, and veracity. In the dissemination of categories as scholarly knowledge production, graphics add a layer of reality, shaping the perception of roles while reinforcing their value as academic resources. They transmit textures and dimensions, emphasising their singularity. The printing in Plate 44, the watercolour in the MVD inventory card, they both have a role: one to present details and technique, and the other to represent reality.

Figure 78. *Plate 44*, The Necropolis of Peru in Ancon Peru, Volume 2, 1880. Wilhelm Reiss and Alphons Stübel. Accessed November 4, 2021, https://archive.org/details/gri_33125012875577/page/n65/mode/2up

The iterance of items through illustrations reinforces the space created by a detachment process using their new boundaries created by direct or indirect intervention. Illustrations also confront reality and serve as historical record. For instance, the item 3045 Bag inventory card, from the same collection illustrates embroidered representations, no longer present (Figure 79). The item was listed in Stübel's catalogue in the section *Bags, III Taschen*, Number 24, a.[293] The item was encased in a frame with glass in both sides, together with four other containers or bags. This type of display was also requested by Baessler in KMV. The visible consequences are creases, breaking of fibres, fading, etc. (Figure 80). Their fragility was not perceived; the rawness of its texture might disguise the impact of the burial context and extraction. The loss of embroidered representations, and two differentiated panels illustrated are not evident in the item today. It is possible that the decoration was made of wool (?).

293 Catalogue Altperuanische gewebe aus den gräbern von Ancon, 19 December 1882.

Figure 79. *Inventory card 3045*. © Copyright Museum Völkerkunde Dresden.

Figure 80. *Bag*. 3045. 16 x 34 cm. Frame 64.5 x 49.7 x 2.3 cm. Museum für Völkerkunde Dresden. Photograph by author. January 19, 2023. With Permission from the Museum Völkerkunde Dresden.

The case shows an assemblage by similarities, strengthening the perception of independent unities, masking their role in the bundle, while grouped as curiosities for the display.

The accumulation of collections enabled segregation of 'doubles,' created layers of inference based on physical features and hierarchy. Similar layers are seen in visual representation in graphics, virtual catalogues images and public museums databases of collections.

Monographs and Discerning Methods

The hierarchy displayed in the segregation and classification of objects can be observed in the establishment of the disciplines' methods, textile items became representations of grave content, burial traditions, trading, networks, and textile techniques, aligned to specialised knowledge and institutionalised education. hierarchy influenced knowledge production. In this development (See Chapter 2, Section: Academic pursuit, Chapter 3, Section: Classification modes), the relationship between architecture and landscape will become prominent, eventually relegating non-diagnostic fragments, non-methodologically excavated items, and early assemblages to museum storages. Scientific progress in methodological excavations and systematised analysis of materials has restricted collections. Segregating also pertains to the connection with surviving traditions in the establishment of textiles as a supra-entity (See Chapter 2, Sections: To protect and deprive, Contemporary manifestations of a paradox). The knowledge produced from detached objects shows the features of fragmentation and detachment/ The coexistence of study approaches outside institutionalised disciplines are seen below.

In the early 20th century, monograph sources were fragmented collections, which manifest the construction of knowledge from global context showing colonial legacies. Publications show the examination of material features in correspondence with studies from methodological excavations. For instance, Eduard Seler's *Ein Altperuanisches Besticktes Gewebe* (An Ancient Peruvian embroidered fabric) (1916) described a textile from Nazca donated by Consul Emilio Weiss y Solf. The object was dug out in Nazca and went through various owners before reaching the diplomat. Most probably acquired from a dealer. Seler gave identity and authenticity to this detached object by a comparative analysis of technique and representations with Nazca

ceramics and textiles studied by Uhle in 1912 (Seler 1916). Uhle's methodological research framed a stylistic pattern for the Valley of Ica settlements in the specific area he studied – Ocucaje – in 1901.[294] Nasca development was identified in ceramic, textile, and gravelot patterns.

Detachment and segregation caused scholarly attention to construction and materials. For instance, *The Ancient Peruvian Textiles (1924 and 1934)* by Raoul D'Harcourt discusses construction techniques and finishes isolated from the social meaning of the economic process. The techniques are defined by the description of intertwined threads, using examples from various collections, thus establishing patterns. He attempted to cover the entire spectrum of textile production techniques and decorations. Moreover, scientific research deepened into material analytical search; for instance, Morris De Camp Crowford's *Peruvian textiles* (1915, 1916) identified fibres and materials, including production tools, creating a glossary of terms. His approach is used in the documentation of textiles. Crowford shows that fragmentation sized the topic of study to a preferred systematic understanding of the tangible. In other fields of study, textiles were still subjected to the research of funerary customs. For instance, Charles Williams Mead's *Peruvian Mummies and what they teach (1907)* groups textile items by typologies; such as cloths, baskets, mats, and nets, materials and implements used in weaving, while noting graves as a data source (Mead 1907) .

Catalogues were a source to reach general public. The clash between different aesthetic patterns makes evident a certain hierarchy in the discernment of aesthetics. While collections were formed by gifts or expeditions, aesthetics were highly relevant, and publications included scholarly research. For instance, the Victoria and Albert Museum's *Brief Guide to Peruvian Textiles* (1926) inserted its collection into a historical periodicity and narrative by referring to the Reiss and Stübel publication (Victoria and Albert museum 1926, 10). Publications in periodicals dealt

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294 Uhle's research was never published and it was given as Field-work notes to the University of California, including correspondence to Mrs. Phoebe Apperson Hearst, his benefactor.

with collectibles, fine arts, and antiquities which inspired collections and object-based research, showing that the purchasing power spheres were targeted. Similar to the collecting process, the dissemination platforms were exclusive, either grown from a market-based interest or academia.

In the early 20th century, a conflict between two sources of knowledge is seen: one produced through methodological excavations and inference of features within the context, and other inferred by stylistic affiliation and manufacture, where information was elicited from non-methodological or early collected textiles. This was portrayed in Kroeber's review of P.A. Means' *Peruvian textiles: Examples of the Pre-Incaic Period. With chronology of Early Peruvian Cultures* (1931), stating that Means's period scheme proposal might mislead the academic knowledge of Ancient Peruvian chronology (Kroeber 1931). Over time, early (non-methodologically) collected textiles were diminished in the archaeological investigation. This shows that as a source the objects depended on the originality. Max Uhle's scheme was generally accepted, based on his methodological and systematic research, showing the dominion of scientific approach.

Textiles were addressed from an aesthetic perspective, which weighted relevance based on the original, independent development of the Andean aesthetics, placing them in a 'primitive' stage. For instance, the influential 1920 exhibition *Objects of Indigenous American Art* at the Burlington Fine Arts Club included Ancient Peruvian textiles. The exhibition showed a tapestry strip from Truxillo and a tapestry tunic border affiliated to Chimú from L. C. G. Clarke collection (Burlington Fine Arts Club 1920, 19, 20).

Studying *Textiles* as singular topic was unusual in the first half of the 19th century; however, studied as part of social relations. For instance, Mariano Rivero *Antigüedades Peruanas* (1827) made a systematic description of objects and stated the existence of civilizations before the Inca Empire; *Quipos* (1828) regading them as communication tools in *Memorias científicas, agricolas e industrials*, and

Memoria de las lanas del Peru (1855),[295] which addressed textiles as cultural and economic resource. The interest in Textiles as singular topic increased in the 20th century following the growing collections in metropole museums and precedent publications. These examples (extended in Appendix H) show that the value of detached objects remains while fitting into a Periodical scheme, alongside the institution's prestige. Museums fragmented collections lead studies showing that techniques and representations are the result of the corpus of collections. It is noted that US academia was prominent studying ancient Peru the first decades of the 20th century.

This transition and coexistence of methods and academic interest seen above can be illustrated by the work of Max Uhle between 19th and 20th century. Max Uhle's early study regarding Ancient Peruvian textiles objects and production tools is found in his notes in the archives from the Museum für Völkerkunde Dresden (Katalog 1883).[296] In his publication *Kultur und Industrie südamerikanischer Völker* (1889), he provided a detailed description of items from the Stübel collection in Leipzig (Figure 81), attempting to establish patterns of construction as evidence of production and disadvantages. In his first archaeological expedition to Peru,[297] Uhle methodologically documented textiles from Pachacamac in 1896 (Bjerregaard and Huss 2017, 32, 33). He discussed women's roles, elite organisations, and textile manufacture, among other topics, using stratigraphic excavations. This work was published in 1903.

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295 Mariano Rivero y Urtariz, *Colección de Memorias científicas, agricolas e industriales*. Tomo II 76-84 (1828). And, Mariano Rivero y Urtariz, "Memoria de las lanas del Perú," in Colección de memorias científicas e industriales, 2 vols. (Brussels: Imprenta de Henri Goemaere, 1857), 2:389–420.

296 Katalog 3035-4699, Peru, 1883, Museum für Völkerkunde Dresden MVD. Frank Usbeck, email to author, February 14, 2023.

297 Max Uhle expedition was sponsored by the by the Univesity Museum at the University of Pensylvania 1896-1897

Figure 81. *Tafel 28 (1/5 n. Gr) Tomaval (Trujillo)*. Trujillo Kultur und Industrie südamerikanischer Völker nach dem im Besitze des Museums für Völkerkunde zu Leipzig, Text und Beschreibung der Tafeln von Max Uhle (1889-1890).

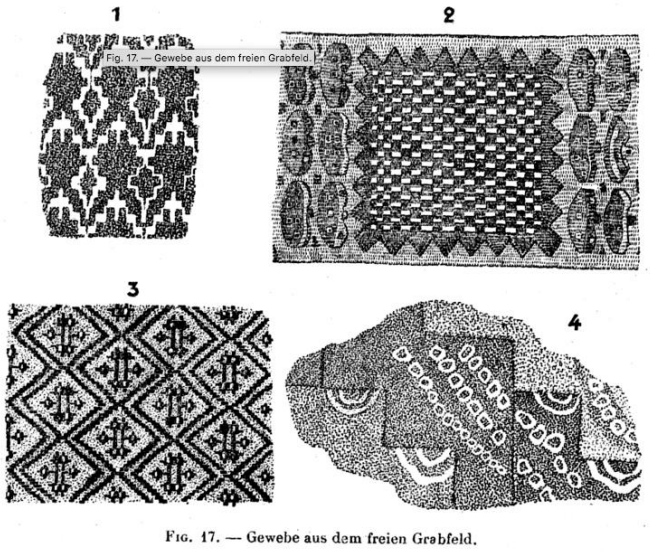

Figure 82 *Fig. 17– Gewebe aus dem freien Grabfeld.* Max Uhle, Die Ruinen von Moche. (1913) 10-1 Journal de la société des américanistes, accessed November 13, 2023, https://www.persee.fr/doc/jsa_0037-9174_1913_num_10_1_2850#

His work regarding the occupation of the Viru Valley drawn in 1903 and published in 1913, was subsequently refined by archaeologists such as Kroeber (1930). Uhle was sponsored by Phoebe Hearst (1899-1900), the collection was sent to the University of Berkeley (Kaulicke 2014, 27, 28). In his study notes published by Kaulicke (2014), the extensive analysis of textiles

comprises exhaustive characterisation of materiality and relationships with settlements and grave lands. Moving from relations within the object limits to those outside the objects in context. In this work he refers to patterns in other objects and architecture. He compares some of his finds with characterisations made by Schmidt (Uhle 2013) (Figure 82).

The influence of Uhle has been extensively discussed, [298] regarding ancient Peru civilisation studies and his scholarly work in the context of European imperialism. Here, it is mentioned to briefly illustrates the transition and coexistence of the modes of production of knowledge. These modes -patterns enclosed within the items limits and contextual relationships in methodological research- coexisted in publications devoted to textiles.

Textiles in Disciplines: Knowledge Dissemination

The hierarchy created through collecting generated a similar hierarchy and specialisation in its study. For example, feathered objects were highly discussed versus the dismissal of fragments from less significant, comparative analysis dismissed contextual relationships. The funerary wrappings disassembled and moved into new assemblages neglected information regarding original assemblies' inner relationships.

Likewise, methodological characterisation of excavations and stratigraphy leads to the use of textiles manufacture and representations to shape the temporality of periodical schemes, a paradigm sought since the 19th century. It also legitimised non-methodologically excavated and looted objects through affiliation. The study of textiles observed in disciplines publications was

298 See Peter Kaulicke 1988, Max Uhle y el Perú antiguo https://hdl.handle.net/20.500.14657/181862, Henry Tantalean Peruvian Arcaheology2014, A critical history, Chapter 2, https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315422732, See Stefanie Gänger 2006 ¿La mirada imperialista? Los alemanes y la arqueología peruana, Historica, 30. 2, https://doi.org/10.18800/historica.200602.003

not discussed as a subject topic; they were addressed in association with other forensic anthropology and technology studies, as the following examples show.

Academic Journals

In the Royal Anthropological institute from Great Britain, publications about Ancient Peruvian textiles as a singular topic were absent until 1930. Between 1880 and 1930, there were sporadic publications regarding Ancient Peruvian civilisation. A comment was published in Vol. 13 (1884) about the exhibition displaying burial bundles and their contents, a loan from Rev. C. L. Acland, Headmaster of the Royal Grammar School in Colchester, it included instruments and supplies for textile production, collected in Arica (1868) (J. E. Price 1884). In Volume 46 (1916), In Volume 46 (1916), Ling Roth presented a comparative study of 'primitive' looms to help researchers collect data. He mentioned the Ancient Peruvian looms from UK museums' collections (Roth 1916). In his study of mummies in Australia and Peru in the Vol. 58 (1928), Warren R. Dawson remarked that the coverings within the bundles were taken out before they arrived at the museums, leaving only marks of the cloths used on the bodies (Dawson 1928).

In the Archaeological Journal of The Royal Archaeological Institute from 1894, Peruvian monuments were mentioned by Henry H. Howorth, as an example of civilisations of various 'races' (Howorth 1894, 221). In 1928, Wilson Perry presented research on Ancient Peruvian trepanation alongside other examples from various civilisations and tribes. He studied skull collections in museums that had been accumulated over time (Parry 1928). Although research on Ancient Peruvian funerary bundles and objects was published before 1886, the absence of publications shows that the institute focused on British archaeology and its periphery; such as Egypt. Between 1880 and 1930,[299] no papers published regarding Ancient Peruvian textiles.

[299] The Archaeological Journal, accessed July 10, 2022, https://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk/archives/view/archjournal/volumes.cfm

In the RAI periodical Monthly Record of the Anthropological Science MAN from 1901 to 1930, few publications concerning pre-Columbian objects were found: Giglioli published a brief note regarding his Ancient Peruvian object collection (Giglioli, 52. Hafted Copper Implements from Peru 1904). Thomas A. Joyce presented a note about a silver object in Vol. 3 (1903) (Joyce 1903), and in MAN Vol. 11 (1911), and a review about Max Schmidt's (1911) article in the Baessler Archive periodical (Joyce 1911). In MAN 21 (1921), Thomas A. Joyce discussed the relation between the type of looms and the textiles' structure features in the Proto Chimú Period [a recent stage in the Uhle's widely accepted scheme]. Tylor stated that the heddle was not introduced from the North to the South, as suggested by Schmidt, based on representations in ceramics (Joyce 1921).

H. Balfour's review of *Ancient Peruvian Art* by P. A. Mean appeared in MAN. 18 (1918). Likewise, Richard Long's review of *The Ancient Quipu or Peruvian Knot Record* by Leland Locke (American Museum of Natural History) appeared in MAN 24 (1924). The same year, Louis Clarke reviewed *The Art of Old Peru* edited by Walter Lehmann and Heinrich Doering, highlighting the illustrations and broad view; Clarke pointed out the agreement of authors about Uhle's chronology. Clark also draws attention to [illegal] diggings, stating that the Peruvian government would welcome methodological research (Clarke 1924). This mention must have been related to his awareness of textiles and objects sold at auction houses in Europe.

The limited publications about Ancient Peruvian cultures seem to be the result of changes in disciplinary paradigms. Hicks points out that, in the 20th century, mainstream British anthropological interests shifted from museums and objects (especially technology and 'primitive' art) to extended, direct contact through fieldwork with living societies, unmediated by collections (Miller 1987: 111 cited in Hicks 2010, 38). This leaves detached and accumulated objects relegated to museums' interests and emphasises their role in academic education in university museums, as well as their prestige and political use in metropolitan museums.

University Museums: Collections Role in Education

Regarding their role in academic education, it is difficult to track the way the textile collections were used. The Anthropology department archive at the University of Oxford contains no record of early seminars.[300] It can be speculated that these involved handling objects and identifying design patterns. In the Oxford Gazette can be read announcements of courses to be given in the Pitt Rivers Museum; for instance, *Comparative technology* by H. Balfour, curator of the museum, among other lectures (Oxford University Gazette 1912). Although, the approved courses did not include archaeology of America or Ancient America in the year 1912 (Oxford University Gazette 1912), for instance. Likewise, in the University of Cambridge Archives of Archaeology and Anthropology no record has been found in this research regarding the uses of the pre-Columbian collection for education and other seminars between 1886 and 1929. Records from management of the department have been held since 1915, and records of classes since 1930.[301] The Annual reports of the MAA deal with accessions and administrative issues, no information was found regarding the management of the Ancient Peruvian collection for specific educative purposes.

Non-methodologically collected objects seemed to contribute minimally to the objectives of institutionalised disciplines in the 20th century, while increasing museums' collections and positioning them as founts of information detached production of knowledge.

Features of the Knowledge Produced

Collecting methods resulted in fragmented collections. Research was limited because it focused on singular elements from broader funerary contexts. Focusing on the details of singularities suited both methodologically and non-methodologically collected items.

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300 School of Anthropology and Museum Ethnography information office, email to author April 13, 2023.
301 Archives of the Faculty of Archaeology and Anthropology, 1915 – 2017, accessed April 4, 2023, https://archivesearch.lib.cam.ac.uk/repositories/2/archival_objects/7910

The collecting practice understood as knowledge construction practice led to two-tier knowledge production: museum collections-based and discipline-based, showing discrimination and dominance. The particularities of the early collecting methods that are relevant to shaping that knowledge are *Re-shaping materiality*: detachment, intervention modifying perception. re-grouping for display or storage purposes. *Disaggregation*: Losing traces of the original context and identity. Re-*grouping* or re-assembling: creating new layers of interpretation, validating provenances, and shaping the scope of research. *Similar corpus*: Concentration of available textiles per culture location, whether it be the Middle Horizon or Late Intermediate periods predominant in the case studies. *Narrative*: Geopolitics influenced the interpretation of the partition of a continuous Andean history.

In the case studies explored, features were observed regarding the dominion of knowledge production from non-methodologically and systematically collected items, which have lasted, namely: *conceptualisation* of origin from Ancient Peruvian to Pre-Columbian or Pre-Hispanic, and pertaining features of construction, technique, and finish. *Terminology*, some sort of consensus in the language, was observed in the exchange. The exclusion of descendants' involvement in the early studies or the supremacy of Western knowledge was illustrated by the scarce use of indigenous terminology. *Target audience*, scholarly spheres were target of monographs and articles. *Language* as a condition for accessing knowledge. The main languages used were German and English. Focus on *Aesthetics and technology,* the relevance given to both opened two pathways governed by visual perception. Technology has influenced expeditions, conservation, and publications; for instance, engravings have been replaced by photographs, and labels stamped upon textiles have been replaced by tags, preventing decay. *Hierarchy*, the prising of the intricate over the simple, a complete object over a part or fragment shows exclusion, which created interest and gave value to specific items.

These features were replicated in local knowledge and dissemination platforms. In the 20th century, an influx of US researchers moved to the centre of knowledge production and networks, but similar practices continued.

Museums as Repositories: Exclusion and Intermediation

The role of knowledge production pertaining the perceived and the institutionalisation of disciplines facilitated commoditisation in scholarly circles. This has been observed through the circulation of textile assemblies across institutions and market.

The classification created a hierarchy, from burial arrangements to broader pre-Columbian social relations. The hierarchy is observed in perception, narrative, and knowledge production; furthermore, it influenced the disposition of objects on display or in storage. Museums operated as repositories of textile fragments or objects. Non-methodological and methodological collecting occurred parallel to the consolidation of disciplines. Restrictions on collecting funerary bundles and objects did not stop the acquisition of textiles from various provenances. The accumulation seen in national museums occurred in less scale in university museums, there textiles collecting occurred through market supply rather than purchase pre-assembled collections. The overseen of non-methodological or dubious provenance, was incorporated into academic narratives. The concepts outlined regarding shape, technique, stylistic patterns, and uses set the ground for associating objects with no contextual information that is observed in today identification of items in public databases.

Murray states that scientific knowledge has restricted what is known and thought about the past; there is pressure on the data collected by archaeologists as a simultaneous review of social and cultural theory, which sets apart the collections that do not provide knowledge under the frame of analogy and inference (Murray 2013, 24, 25, 30). This separation was observed in museums early scholarly collected textiles as entities of representation. The museum's collections manifest the criterion of exclusion owing to textiles structure and portability. In early

publications did not regard ancient Peruvian textile as a topic, while the accumulation of fragments in metropoles created a separate topic of study, by focusing on the establishment of styles, as seen in the previous sections. Through the production of academic knowledge, museums were perceived as righteous, and suitable to concentrate and possess collections, establishing a social role. The dominance of museums as platforms for dissemination is exerted through intermediation, as seen in chapter 3. The perception of the roles of the museum circumscribes textiles as academic products.

The necessity of science in university education, emphasised the relevance of university museums within various levels of education (Edward Forbes 1853, 247 cited in Van Broekhoven 2018, 69) (Greenwood 1893). Pitt Rivers regarded the museum as a place for educating a wide audience (A. H. L. F. Pitt Rivers, 1891, 115–22 cited in (Van Broekhoven 2018, 69). Through this role, and from their foundation, MAA and PRM museums have developed as public spaces for research and education, reaching a wider public. Museums were challenged regarding their content and academic narrative accuracy which appeared truthful to non-versed visitors. [302] Simultaneously, individuals reached out to university museums and metropole museums to sell or donate objects.[303] Museums support and perpetuate the circulation of textile items as scholarly commodities.

The need for education outside universities fits the purpose of museums. In metropole and university museums, textile handling does not necessarily encompass the progression of ideas for improved accessibility. Museum have not yet faced tangibly ethical concerns of provenance of heritage. Today, the accumulation of objects makes museums face challenges

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302 Adela Breton, Letter 14 November 1912, BOX 006852, Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology Archive, University of Cambridge.
von Hügel, Letter 15 November 1912, BOX 006852, Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology Archive, University of Cambridge.

303 Galvacinos Ponce. Letter. 11 January 1911. BOX 006750, Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology Archive, University of Cambridge.
Constanza Giglioli, Letter 31 January 1912, BOX 006750. Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology Archive, University of Cambridge.

managing extensive textile collections, as seen through this research. The appropriation and dissemination of textiles as academic products are observed in the 21st century in virtual catalogues and public databases, by defining unities by typology and linking them to periodic schemes. It validates us to question the role of museums in market exchange and challenge the historical construction.

About the Omission in a New Social Order

The collecting process as a knowledge construction process impacted in the omission of textile traditions as a continuous process. Although contemporary studies about changes in manufacture, representation, and aesthetics have been addressed in the Colonial and Viceroyalty periods (See Chapter 2, Section Collecting and lasting representations).[304] Today, it is difficult to grasp the knowledge lost at the end of the 19th century, pertaining textile production techniques and objects of daily use, to understand the continuity of traditions through modification by aesthetics acquisition and techniques in the new social and economic order.[305] The loses impact the adaptation of production and the social meaning of textiles, as well as the view of adaptation as resistance. The omission of indigenous knowledge in disciplines neglected the textile tradition to understand ancient practices. The rationale suited understanding objects in the absence of social significance, it sealed a break of a continuous practice through the academic production.

Confining objects to categories and periodic schemes as an abstract construction uncoupled them from their temporality, thus stating a precedent for further detachment in and

304 See Christine D. Beaule, "Cambios En La Vestimenta Indígena En El Altiplano Andino Bajo El Colonialismo Español (Indigenous Clothing Changes in the Andean Highlands under Spanish Colonialism)" Estudios Atacameños, no. 59 (2018): 15, accessed November 16, 2025, https://www.jstor.org/stable/26570526, accessed November 16, 2025. Phipps, Elena. Elena Phipps, "Woven Silver and Gold: Metallic Yarns in Colonial Andean Textiles," Source: Notes in the History of Art 29, no. 3 (2010): 6, accessed November 16, 2025, http://www.jstor.org/stable/23208503

305 See Blenda Femenías, "Ethnic Artists and the Appropriation of Fashion: Embroidery and Identity in Caylloma, Peru," *Chungara: Revista de Antropología Chilena* 30, no. 2 (1998): 200, accessed October 10, 2025, http://www.jstor.org/stable/27802084. Regarding academic exploration of continuity by modification, and the early text regarding cultural production, Luis Yabar Palaccio, *Surviving ayllus: El ayllu de Queros (Paucartambo)* (1922).

out of disciplines or museums – that is, creating limits of an entity to be addressed through the lens of sciences. Collections have become a supra-category that transcend attachment. This autonomy will be exerted in the social and political context as instruments, as seen in Chapter 2.

The destruction of archaeological sites by chaotic extractions with institutions participation also affected the historiography of the descendant nation and questions Western epistemology regarding limitations and methods, by voicing ethical concerns about the objectivation of human remains, and accumulation of collections. The results are similar: dispossession and fragmented understanding of textile heritage, which are justified by an academic interest.

Section Remarks: Collecting Practice Shaping Knowledge Production

This section shed light on the relationships between collecting and transformation of value to shape academic products and the production of knowledge. The concentration of objects enabled the identification of stylistic patterns that served to align similar objects regardless of collecting method to different settlements. Thus, interpreting function and arrangement led to the characterisation of periods and regions. Dominance of Western epistemology is shown by characterisation observed in publications and accessing information. The identification of items as a supra-category enabled research based on materiality within the limits of the items, i.e. technology dissociated from social interaction. This shows the relation between hierarchy and accumulation of items in the creation of fragmented knowledge.

Although burial practices in relation to the landscape were observed in the Reiss and Stübel's (1880) and Giglioli's (1876) publications, the report of the method differentiate them. Reiss and Stübel represented textiles as autonomous entities and as a sole topic, making collections mediators and data, also aided by illustrations. The rhetoric on dissemination platforms (written journals, catalogues, and organisation of collections) reinforced the idea of detached materiality and the value of the perceived. Typology was asserted in the catalogue of

content from a dissembled funeral bundles at PRM (1886) and inventories. Succinct descriptions created new relationships shown by heading of objects grouped by similarities. Subsequent conceptualisation of textiles as autonomous unities continued over the 20th century.

Collecting as a knowledge construction is noted by defining the scope of research focused on materials, and technology, favouring representations. The hierarchy shown in the retrieval of objects, inevitably created subcategories of non-diagnostic material. Objects are conditioned to their usefulness in the classification system: representative, distinctive-diagnostic, collateral. Such was observed in the use of the Gretzer collections by Baessler (1902) and Schmidt (1911). It illustrates the depreciation of items in the classification system. Items less valuable as a data source with non-differentiating structural features may be shelved. This correlation shows that the meaning of items as academic products lies in their suitability within the study topics or chronological periods, a concern grown in the late 19th century.

The literature from early 20th century showed that the research on textile items patterns, aesthetical and materials analysis continued regarding production and supply. Consequently, items have changed in their cultural affiliation, as seen in the case studies, thereby enacting appropriation by subordinating collection to new organizations ad scribed through methodological research and systematisation through the 20th century.

The coexistence of research focused on patterns, making items supporting evidence to the study of cultural development through the establishment of regional expansion, is observed in the two-tier production in the cases of Schmidt (1911) and Uhle (1890, 1913) publications. On the one hand, the interpretation of pre-assembled textiles focused on structures and the representation of icons through a comparative analysis. On the other hand, the relationships of these patterns to other sources in excavations and other material expressions. Methodological collecting in archaeological excavations continued alongside non-methodological collecting in the 20th century.

The cases shown that iconography and location were central to academic production to define style/ period and identification. The separation of disciplines by incorporating environmental and contextual information through stratigraphy in the methodology is seen in the studies of Max Uhle (1903, 1913), although he still resorted from detached academic knowledge, e.g. Schmidt research (1911). This shows the use of textile items to situate the ancient Peruvian civilisations within a chronological organisation shaped by Western epistemology,[306] thereby showing another feature of textile items as academic products: the creation and application of expertise in the formation of disciplines and study fields.

When taking collecting as knowledge construction, discrimination through segregation/ intervention is exerted through hierarchy sought in the formation of the perceived. The transformation of value from funerary wrapping or offerings to scholarly categories is shown in publications, and the allocation of 'doubles' manifests dominance while disseminating the perceived as a construction of colonial legacies. This construction can be seen today in the organisation of museums virtual catalogues.

The transformation of value enabled by intervention, classification, accumulation, and eventual mobilisation shaped academic products, corroborating collecting as a Western epistemic construction of academic knowledge. While transatlantic scholarly networks, engaging in a 'social' scholarship[307] in the construction of academic knowledge, these networks did not show engagement with local communities in the published work; even though some original terms were historically accepted. This absence reiterates discrimination and dominance in the interpretation of the past.

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306 On the historiography of Peruvian archaeology, see Ducio Bonavia y Roger Ravines (1970) Arqueologia Peruana, Henry Tantalean (2014) Peruvian archaeology, Shimada Izumi and Rafael Vega-Centeno (2011) Peruvian archaeology. In Great Britain, David van Keuren (1984) Museums and ideology: Augustus Pitt-Rivers, anthropological museums, and social change in later Victorian Britain, Samuel Alberti (2012) Nature and culture: Objects, disciplines and the Manchester Museum.

307 About social or collaborative scholarship see Lorraine Daston and Peter Galison, *Objectivity* (New York: Zone Books, 2007), 191–251; Stefanie Gänger, *Relics of the Past: The Collecting and Study of Pre-Columbian Antiquities in Peru and Chile, 1837–1911* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 45–60.

The Academic Textile

This chapter was led by the question, How the collecting practice turned Ancient Peruvian Textiles into academic products and impacted knowledge production. Features of textile items were observed and contrasted with the inventories' descriptions, archives, and publications, which were addressed in two sections regarding the transformation of value and knowledge production.

I argued that the collecting methods and exchange turned Ancient Peruvian textiles into academic products, establishing them as knowledge generators and positioning assets. Textile objects circulate in the academic context as scholarly commodities, facilitated by legacies of trade, intervention, classification hierarchy, and accumulation. The case studies discussed from the PRM and the MAA in the United Kingdom and the KMV in Germany showed collections used for knowledge production, institutionalisation of disciplines, and as a political instrument for prestige and leadership. Metropole and regional museums served to generate knowledge in the consolidation of disciplines, while university museums no records of textiles for educational purposes were found.

In the transformation of value, commoditisation occurs as a ground factor to shape a subject matter, the relation between detachment and intervention for the creation of singularities enabled textile items mobilisation. Most collections originated from the collection of funerary bundles through the creation of subcategories. Objects, elements, and fragments were relocated within specialised discipline institutions, forming anthropological and ethnographic collections. Leaving human remains in forensic anthropology or anatomy laboratories. They were understood as knowledge generator, noted by sponsoring scholarly explorations, purchasing of previously assembled collections, or trading of looted items. As well as a political instrument, as shown in Chapter 2. This demonstrated that collecting has been a form of knowledge construction.

In the confluence of market and scholarly interest, classification shaped perception and construction of meaning. Intervention, e.g. cutting, and grouping new assemblages, shows taste-based assemblies, both translated into the 20th century acquisitions. Accumulation of items in metropole museums was another factor to situate textile items as academic products, and construction of knowledge because of colonial legacies of appropriation and scholarship networks in and outside Europe. Textile items were accumulated from provenances purchases pre-assembled collections, the market supply or expeditions. Inventory books, early reports, and inventories show recurrent items and locations, wording, typology, succinct descriptions, grouping by physical similarities, and references to early studies, consolidating hierarchy of the selection, e.g. 'border'. Remarks were made regarding 'condition on arrival, rewriting collectors' performance, and the objects' purposes. Thus, the intellectual structures created hierarchies, and new relationships within assemblages. In the new realities' items are bordered within their materiality -physical features and embedded meaning-.

Collecting as knowledge construction manifests a process of discrimination and domination. Through it, the hierarchy of the content, the relationships within content, the substitution and challenge of the selected items in the collections are in correspondence with dominance. The correspondence is seen in possession, mobilisation, exchange, and categorisation of textile items. Thus, in this process textile items suit a role in the metropole museum and university museum, they are subject to depreciation, and moulded expertise.

The collecting process shaped academic products to circulate in the scholarly spheres. Mobilisation in the scholarly sphere can be measured using market exchange features. The collections showed some level of homogeneity regarding origin, provenance, and intervention, whereas supply was affected by availability, durability, and fluctuation. The acquisition of pre-assembled collections was encouraged and supported in metropole museums, while in university museums was gradual. The good conservation state of the objects played a role in mobilisation.

The fragmentation of studies coexisted with the consolidation of methodology in disciplines. Early collections textiles suited the study of textiles as sole topic; however, the specificity of classification and disciplines was detrimental, since early assemblies were limited to technical studies outside the relational approaches, this was seen in the monographs' topics. For instance, the KMV textile collection supported relevant publications. On the other hand, the disciplines periodical sought textiles as collateral supporting data. Over time, ancient Peruvian textile collections were not of primary importance for academic knowledge in universities. This is illustrated by the disparity in research from museums and in discipline journals.

This chapter has shown that the successive segregation from original assemblies and collections, originated fragmented knowledge, based on the *perceived*. Since textiles were defined and valued as academic products. Thus, stylistic patterns led to the definition of cultural features in the 20th century. Publications based on museum collections recognised and characterised these patterns abide by chronological schemes. Periodic schemes help organise collections conceptually. This enhances the hierarchy of the collections and research. Detachment and hierarchy come together in the organization of categories.

I have argued that institutional acquisitions show colonial legacies in the process of knowledge production, already manifested in textiles' identity as a scholarly resource. It positioned metropolises as centres of knowledge generation. The 'coloniality of knowledge' (Quijano 2000) created hierarchy exerted by study topics and terminology, acknowledged platforms of dissemination, and exclusion. The dominance of knowledge produced is seen by the circulation of textiles as scholarly commodities. There was coexistence between production of knowledge from disciplines methodology view and social scholarship in museums. This social scholarship did not engage local communities, other than to identify locations, as shown in this chapter. If that engagement occurred, it was not included in the academic narrative.

Transatlantic circulation in the construction of knowledge is seen in the German example. A power interplay was observed between Arthur Baessler acquisition and the Royal

Museum of Ethnology. It shows Baessler's ability to determine the future management of his collection from a privileged position, with institutional and national approval in exchange for prestige. This is also observed in the Pitt Rivers Museum, although Augustus Pitt Rivers did not target Peruvian objects exclusively. The PRM and MAA used their collections for teaching purposes; however, no specifications of such practices were found in this research. I hope that this absence inspires further research on this topic. Currently, collections are available for archaeological and anthropological studies.

Publications show that in the early 20th century, the influx of US researchers, and networks reorganised the centres of knowledge production. Likewise, Western epistemology already seeded in Peruvian scholarship resulted in isolating ancient textiles from residual social relations. The epistemological dominion is also observed in the accessibility of collections and the exclusion of surviving Andean traditions in publications, reports, and inventories. Scholarly narratives are subject to the location of collections, language, academic platforms, and networks. It left behind social relations regarding the meaning of representations and production, aesthetic acquisition, and new relation to textiles as entities for social cohesion and cosmovision significance. This illustrates the persisting colonial order of detachment and alienation of local communities.

Conclusion: Collections Made of Fragments — Colonial Legacies and the Imaginary Possession

The Argument Restated: Synthesis Across the Cases

Ancient Peruvian textiles in foreign collections have a complicated trajectory that makes the experience of them exclusive. I sought to understand the tangled interpretation of textile heritage in view of borders and identity. The core question of this research *How does the process of collecting and interpreting scholarly collected Ancient Peruvian textiles or pre-Columbian textiles influence their understanding in today's perception of heritage?* was addressed from various perspectives over four chapters. I argue that early scholarly collecting modified the identity of objects, shaping them as autonomous entities in fragmented collections. In the process they manifest traits that influenced their perception and interpretation, through detachment, acknowledgment, and exclusion. Ancient Peruvian textiles became an imaginary possession, ever present through dispossession exerted in their roles in academic and political scenarios, as academic products or instruments of national identity, which manifest colonial legacies in contemporary perceptions and interpretation. The methodology in this research used a historical view through archives, a conservation approach through physical assessment, and narrative analysis and visual perceptual organisation exploration. This comprehensive study contributes to the future research of collections regarding trajectories, assemblages, and generative interpretation. The time frame of this study is 1882-1929.

Read together, the European cases studied here —the Musée d'Ethnographie du Trocadéro, the former Königliches Museum für Völkerkunde in Berlin and the Museum für Völkerkunde Dresden, the former Rijks Ethnographisch Museum and Museum voor Land- en Volkenkunde (today Wereldmuseum collections at Leiden and Rotterdam), the Musées royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, Brussels, and the university museums at Oxford (Pitt Rivers) and Cambridge (MAA)— are not a set of parallel local histories but a single distributed process. Four threads run

across them, and it is in their convergence, rather than in any one site, that the argument of this thesis is made.

First, fragmentation and singularisation operate as a colonial legacy rather than as neutral museum housekeeping. Across every case, funerary bundles and trousseaux were disassembled, components were detached from their assemblage, and the resulting items were re-grouped under Western categories of textile production. The act that the discipline records as classification is, in the terms developed in Chapter 1, an act of singularisation: it shapes an autonomous, relational unity out of what had been a context. That this happened at Berlin under Baessler and at the Pitt Rivers and Cambridge alike shows the operation to be structural to scholarly collecting in this period, not idiosyncratic to one collector or one nation.

Second, the museum and the academy functioned together as a legitimating apparatus. Acquisitions of contested or non-methodological origin were regularised by being made to generate knowledge — inventoried, periodised, published, and exhibited — so that the institutional record absorbed and overwrote the circumstances of removal. The cases show this legitimation working in two registers that the thesis is careful to distinguish: the market register of the metropole museum, and the teaching and discipline-formation register of the university museum. In both, the textile is repossessed as an academic product, and the epistemic violence of that repossession is precisely what the legitimating apparatus renders invisible.

Third, the textile is sustained as a supra-entity and, through it, as an imaginary possession. Once singularised, the item is made to carry representation, symbolism and scholarly meaning beyond itself; assembled into collections and fixed by dissemination platforms, it becomes a body of representation that stands in for an absent heritage. The present-absence paradox set out in Chapter 2 is the mechanism here: dispossession does not erase the object so much as convert it into an ever-present token of what is no longer held. The contemporary public database is the latest, and most efficient, instrument of this conversion.

Fourth, the supra-entity is instrumentalised in the construction of national identity. The same autonomy that lets the singularised textile circulate as a scholarly commodity lets it serve, in the Peruvian political scenario, as a mediator of cultural continuity — deployed in legislation, exhibition rhetoric and national events to validate nationhood through the recognition of ancient civilisations. The paradox the thesis identifies is that this affirmation is staged largely on foreign platforms and from a position of geopolitical dependency, so that belonging is asserted through the very channels that enact dispossession.

The 'Textiles' performance in the Opening Ceremony of the Pan American Games Lima 2019 illustrates a contemporary manifestation of this paradox while the exhibitions discussed (*Inca Dress Code* (2019) at the Musées royaux d'Art et d'Histoire , *NASCA PERU Searching for Traces in the Desert* (2017), at the Museum Rietberg, Zurich, *INKA - Kings of the Andes* (2013) at the Linden Museum, Stuttgart, and *Mantos para la eternidad. Textiles Paracas del Antiguo Perú* (2009) at the Museo de America, Madrid) show a continuous and concurrent modelling of the supra-entity.

Taken together, these four threads describe a single trajectory: scholarly collecting between 1882 and 1929 modified the identity of Ancient Peruvian textiles — producing them as fragmented, autonomous supra-entities — and that modification continues to perform colonial dispossession wherever the objects now circulate, as academic products and as instruments of national identity. This is the claim the remaining sections defend as a contribution.

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Theoretical Contribution

The thesis extends the literature on collecting in three connected ways. It takes up Bal's and Baudrillard's accounts of the collection as a system that re-orders its objects, and shows that for Ancient Peruvian textiles the re-ordering is not only narrative or psychological but material: singularisation is enacted on the fibre itself, through detachment, intervention and re-assembly, before it is enacted in the catalogue.

Its most distinctive theoretical move is to carry Appadurai's and Kopytoff's analysis of commoditisation into the scholarly sphere. Where the biography-of-things tradition tracks objects through market and gift exchange, this study identifies a scholarly phase of value — a transformation of value effected by institutions and academic agents, in which classification, publication and exchange between museums function as the operations that confer and circulate worth. Naming and evidencing this scholarly commoditisation, distinct from market commoditisation yet entangled with it, is the thesis's principal conceptual addition.

In a 'scholarly phase,' the mobility of objects is conferred by intervention, where hierarchical relationships embedded in the materials facilitated circulation. Thereby, they comply aforehand with conditions of appearance, taste, and portability. Although items comply with certain market-based features, these are understood differently, homogeneity, durability (conservation state), and prestige/value (historical recognition), circulation is measured by acknowledgement achieved in scholarly platforms as political agents. In addition, a condition of uniqueness is measured by academic knowledge. Thus, the commoditisation occurs through the creation of a subject matter that counts on material stability, origin, and scholarship agreement.

The temporality of this phase is not measured by exchange but by decay. It does not cease to be an academic product as the object do not show the structural features that once validated it, since the transfiguration that occurs through the various stages of modification and classification ceases to make the object a manifestation of such transformation. As an academic product, it shows depreciation while demanding expertise. The production of knowledge facilitates comoditisation in scholarly spheres; such knowledge shows historical recognition.

Finally, the study contributes to Quijano-inflected decolonial heritage scholarship by specifying a mechanism. It is not enough to say that collections carry the coloniality of power; the thesis shows how — through singularisation, the formation of the supra-entity, and the production of imaginary possession — dispossession is reproduced in ordinary curatorial and academic practice, including its newest digital forms. The two coinages the thesis defends here,

traits and supra-entity, are the instruments of that specification: traits names the perceptible attributes (portability, recognition, appearance, delimitation, recurrence) through which items become collectible and interpretable, and supra-entity names what they are made into.

Study of objects and collections subjected to market exchange, scholarly commoditisation, or cultural valuation benefit from the observation of evidence of interaction. By exploring mechanisms how value is shaped, roles and their manifestations, I proposed the concept of autonomous and relational entities, a supra-entity. In this ontology, intervention, perception and materiality relationships are the result of singularisation, evident in the new assemblages, thereby manifesting relational unities. The determination of the features that relate one item with another, the ones that become stamps when they are grouped into assemblages and the ones that engage with the beholder anchors the observation of the new layers of interpretation created in the trajectory of the objects, not only conceptually but tangibly.

The study of textile objects or historical and ethnographic collections has been dictated by the symbolism and representation of specific objects in the exchange circles and political arena. This view does not necessarily explain an entity capable of engagement beyond the political discourse or market supply, as it happens with objects as a social presence or with cultural value. Thus, defining these features help to define the reach and limitations of these engagements.

The new identity of the object is subjected to two realms, physical constitution, and conceptualisation: regarding the intervention on materiality and those built over iterance. These traits become evident in the interaction during the collecting process. Portability, appearance, and delimitation enabled detachment and mobilisation, fragmentation, segregation and re-grouping. Since the constitution of units and influence selection. On the other hand, recognition and recurrence are observed by the object's original meaning and acknowledgment. These are temporal constructions, and are aided by expertise and historical narrative.

Some of these features have been noted in the characterisation of collections over time, however, they have not been part in the interpretation of trajectories and circulation as a whole, nor has it been conceptualised how these characteristics relate to each other in the intervened objects or new assemblies, to observe determining factors in the relationships within and outside the limits of the object.

Supra-entity defines an autonomous and relational entity, shaped by the compliance of other embedded identities and roles. The symbolic role of the ancient Peruvian objects transferred to the manifestation of the historical legacy in 19th identified in literature as an entity of representation (e.g. Majluf 1997, Earle 2005) do not fully embody the transformative factors of textile objects, they carry original hierarchical representations wile being flexible (material, technology, function) to resemble and relate in other interpretation contexts. The feature of constituting an aesthetic unit and unity while part or element has not been embraced in the definition of the ancient Peruvian, Peruvian antiquity, or national heritage (e.g. Ganger 2012, Losson 2022), in general, as differentiator or representation of the other. In this research, supra-entity does not mean dominance rather than representation. To exert representation, it is acknowledged the features conceived and contained within the limits of the objects while sustaining concrete relationships with others in similar condition. However, the capacity to be mediator or symbolic occurs beyond the tangible.

This coinage is evident by social presence while it exerts relations. These capacities are not fully represented in the study of collections or textile collections. The representational feature has not been fully addressed in the knowledge production as much as in the political discourse, although the formation resides greatly in segregation. Thus, the interpretation and application of this term is sustained in the material world but not subjected to it. Its value also resides in the departure from the study of a symbolic object of representation to recognise the conceptulisation of the ancient textile, which favoured acquisition and production of knowledge. The study of textile heritage collections has not yet addressed the possession and mobility of

'virtual objects' pertaining to storage and use. In this research, the term supra-entity presents a pathway to discuss them as relational unities, beyond the information management sphere, to address, for instance, surrogates and metadata wherever the platform is experienced.

Empirical Contribution

The empirical reach of the thesis is its standout contribution and should be foregrounded. It assembles, for the first time, a comparative evidence base for Ancient Peruvian textile collecting across European archives in the United Kingdom, France, Germany, Spain,[308] Belgium and the Netherlands, and reads museum records against physical objects and public databases rather than relying on either alone.

From that base, the study reports findings not available in the existing published literature on Ancient Peruvian textiles collecting. It documents previously unstudied archives, fragments and objects — notably at Dresden (MVD) and Cambridge (MAA); it establishes a provenance route that prior work had not stated directly, namely the institutional mobilisation of components segregated from funerary bundles into a free-standing 'textile' category; and it provides an updated inventory of textile collections in European museums together with the collectors who formed them.

Administrative records exposes the participation of institutions in antiquities market, the establishment of networks of exchange and criteria about museums management not pointed about within the framework of textile collection, particularly the case of the MLV between 1901-1935.[309] And Arthur Speyer's work to supply objects,[310], the participation of bourgeois to

308 Archival research was conducted at the Museo de America archives, however, the information collected fell outside scope of this study (by chronology and geography) and the collections were excluded from the comparative analysis.

309 Stadsarchief Rotterdam, Archief van het musuem voor land en volkenkunde en maritiem museum prins Hendrik, 351:01:72 (1919). And, 563: 72 1901-(1935)

310 Stadsarchief Rotterdam, Archief van het musuem voor land en volkenkunde en maritiem museum prins Hendrik, 563: 5. and 54. (1921)

increase university museums in the cases of Marlborough Robert Pryor,[311] and Louis Colville Gray Clarke, as an scholar agent, shows the participation of university museums in the market exchange and the disadvantages versus metropole museums and influences of market demands.[312] The mobilisation of collections is exposed by the centralisation and segregation of collections among regional museums,[313] this shown in segregation of de Cessac collection.[314] In this regard, the consolidation of categories seen by the transfer of objects and nomination together is shown by the comparative view of 'doubles' exchange and study of collections in museums in the MVD: Stübel.[315]

The collections of ancient Peruvian objects or pre-Columbian objects is not completely unknown. Regarding textile collections in the timeframe, as per 2022 over twenty-four museums are identified, they listed in Appendix A. This list is not exhaustive. Although some museums have made their collection public available, this research outlined textile collections' content and formation (provenances) in the timeframe (1882-1929) from Alphons Stübel (1882) and Arthur Baessler (1902) (MVD), Arthur J. Speyer (1921) (Wereld Museum Rotterdam), Marlborough Robert Pryor (1912) and Louis Colville Grey Clarke (1922,1924,1928, 1933, 1935, 1937) (MAA) and analyses them within the scope of this research.

This research also establishes a distinction that the field has not previously drawn: between the gradual, source-diverse accumulation characteristic of university museums and the targeted acquisition of positioning collections characteristic of metropole museums. To the author's knowledge this is the first study of Ancient Peruvian textiles to treat that institutional

311 Archaeology and Anthropology Museum Archive, Accession Books, 1910—1916

312 Archaeology and Anthropology Museum Archive, Accession Books 11: 1920-1922, 14:1933-1938. MAABOX006780, Correspondence. MAABOX 006750

313313 BCMNHN Archive. Archives of the Ethnology Laboratory of the Museum of Man -America Department: 2 AM 1 G 1 b, Movement of collections

314 BCMNHN Archive. Archives of the Ethnology Laboratory of the Museum of Man -America Department: MH ETHN AMER 2 (4) De 1878.3 à 1878.62: 1878.54 Don de M. Léon de Cessac

315 Altperuanische gewebe aus den gräbern von Ancon. Doubleten der im Kgh. Ethnograpfischen museum zu Berlin MVD 1E 1882/47, 19 December 1882. Museum Katalog). Band Katalog from February 1883, April to May 1883, MVD Archive. MVD Inventory cards.

difference as analytically load-bearing, and it is what allows the value-transformation argument to be told in two registers rather than one.

Methodological Contribution

The methodology is unusual for a heritage-studies thesis and earns explicit defence. It is conservator-led and multi-modal, combining archival history, a conservation-grounded assessment of materiality, the analysis of visual perceptual organisation, and narrative analysis of records, publications and digital platforms. This combination gives the study analytic purchase on the objects themselves — on what intervention did to the fibre, and on how perceptible traits shaped interpretation — that an archives-only or discourse-only approach cannot reach.

Methodologically the thesis shifts attention from the emblematic object to the realistic, grouped item, and from the single artefact to relationships between items in re-formed assemblages. Drawing on Ingold, Miller and DeLanda, it treats materiality as the conjunction of physical features and embedded intention, and uses that frame to make visual and physical evidence speak alongside the textual record.

In the study of collections, the influence of the environment must be considered since the structure of the objects is not passive but rather influences. In this research method, the acknowledgement of structure and appearance create a layer of observation, since the residual actions and consecutive interventions evidence in the objects are not necessarily a result of one force alone. Knowledge about structural features help us to understand transformations. The study of trajectories and interpretation of collected objects beneficiates from the understanding of inner and outer relationships and engagement with its environment, that is, not just the movement of objects but intervention.

The assessment of evidence through formal features (shape, order, etc.) and analysis (of technology of construction and materials constitution) has beneficiated the conservation of objects (and disciplines e.g. archaeology). This research shows that the assessment of objects

through visual perceptual principles of formal features and awareness of technical construction and materials addresses the assessment of evidence. It implies the contraposition of what is seen and what is meant to be seen, found in the ultimate appearance. Thus, the structural features guide the understanding of transformation without leaving out other sources available, to measure patterns of transformation.

Objects and collections interpretation have addressed through written records, noting the transformation of value but not from physical accounts. The acknowledgment of physical limits as much as conceptual through the assessment of formal features, not just from origin but from interventions, addresses the rationale behind the intervention. For instance, the rationale in a new layer of interpretation can be observed in an intervention that sough symmetry, simplicity, closure; grouping by similarity, or nomination by observed technique or material known.

Since the visual culture influences the valuation of objects over time and manifest the political and social circumstances where the objects occur or are experienced, the inclusion of formal visual features addresses the new state of the objects and challenges the intentionality against the written and virtual records, and historical accounts. This also permits to trace the points of engagement between objects or elements in an assemblage or between objects and humans, thereby showing that the interpretation of objects is a cultural and an historical acquisition through images. This is proven more relevant today by the iterance of representation in exhibitions and virtual platforms.

Extending the analysis to museum public databases — to search terms, categories, metadata and the limits of the term 'public' by geography and language — is a further methodological contribution, treating the digital surrogate as a site where singularisation and imaginary possession are now reproduced. The thesis offers this as a preliminary framework for the trajectory studies it calls for.

Implications for Heritage Policy and Museum Practice

This research contributes to discussion about heritage, identity construction, museum practice, and interpretation of textile objects. This study appears to be the first to combine archival records, virtual public platforms, and a review of materiality to research Ancient Peruvian Textile collection in European museums in the timeframe, thereby stating that the constitutions of assemblages into items in inventories, catalogues, databases cannot totalize the quantity of textile objects or fragment in museum collections given that the criteria vary by system and by individual in the system. Although this seems obvious, it opens paths to discuss accessibility and museums' methods.

By proposing the study of the collecting of ancient objects under the umbrella of knowledge construction (organisation, discrimination, hierarchy, subsequently challenged and added to), the mechanisms of transformation are extended to the role of the museums enacted in virtual resources. By expanding the scope of research to virtual platforms, the interface and metadata are recognised as influencing factors in objects' identity and accessibility. By illustrating the content, the limitation of the term 'public' by geography, language and organisation, re-appropriation of objects and limited scope in global accessibility are exposed. Thus, the inclusion of the variables in search terms, categories and information provided to the public must be revisited, alongside the role of the museum and its area of influence.

The limited or absent information about the origin and journey of textiles reinforces the idea of museums as political statements, because of their limited accessibility. It is always encouraging the research of trajectories of collections. However, who beneficiates such investments and for what purpose? are relevant issues to address by the recognition of textile heritage as a supra-entity. I am unable to suggest a definite path to integrate foreign and local interests, I rather offer questions that may challenge the capitalist standpoint that museums hold regarding their collections, which prevent them to face their responsibilities in the provenances of their collections.

While restitution or looting of heritage are outside the scope of this research, I have been compelled to address them, either by my background, by the evidence or by this platform. Is not this evidence of past legacies in both sides of the discussion? Is in this platform my voice a validation of the enactment of possession? The participation of scholarly circles and national institutions in the acquisition of ancient Peruvian textiles surpassing the protective laws has made the protection of national heritage a forced task which has influenced our experiences of and behaviour towards heritage. There is a conflict between the world's perception of property and belonging from a capitalist standpoint. The discussions about political weaponization of restitutions claims, suitability and legality[316] that question the limits of prohibitions of extraction or whether protective laws reach institutions and nations that participated in the appropriation of heritage embody an underlying conflict between property and ownership. A violent episteme is still exerted shown by a gateway which weights against the reasoning of descendant nations as original sources of objects, while the objects were negotiated by holders. However, the historical account of the recognition of the Andean civilisation and its progression into the independent nation alongside historical legislation argues in favour of Peruvian ownership. The movements to 'decolonize' museums spread across continents[317] in this era of virtual presence, manifest the conflict I mentioned before, about the control that museums do not have, either over collections or area of influence. This leaves the museums' collections subject to political manoeuvre.

Efforts to make collections accessible via virtual platforms to far away nations, on the contrary, has made it clear that what is accessible is a representation of the interpretation of what

316 See Aguilar Díaz, Miguel. 2011. "Entre Diálogos y Repatriaciones. Reparación Colonial por la Memoria y Preservación de Machu Picchu." Antípoda (12):211–34. Pierre Losson, 2022. The Return of Cultural Heritage to Latin America: Nationalism, Politics, and Policy in Colombia, Mexico, and Peru. London: Routledge. Alva Guerrero, Blanca. 2009. "Repatriation of Cultural Properties: The Peruvian Experience." Museum International 61 (1-2):145–49

317 See Paula Huenchumil J., "A dos años de la destrucción de monumentos coloniales ¿Qué pasó con estos símbolos?," Interferencia, October 18, 2021, https://interferencia.cl/articulos/dos-anos-de-la-destruccion-de-monumentos-coloniales-que-paso-con-estos-simbolos. Andrew Dickson, "The Ghosts of Colonialism at the Pitt Rivers Museum," Prospect, October 6, 2022, https://www.prospectmagazine.co.uk/society/60146/the-ghosts-of-colonialism-at-the-pitt-rivers-museum.

was meant to be seen. This shows repossession and continuous colonial legacies. These have been demonstrated in this research. The ethical concerns regarding management of human remains or heritage ownership that arose in the last decade from a social standpoint have received only gestures in specific situations. Restitution pertaining historical collections face the challenge of being seen in some cases as a layered heritage. As mentioned in this research, the construction of national identities plays a role in the appropriation of objects, not just in the descendant nations; as such, the historical ownership of foreign objects becomes a barrier.

The institutionalisation of heritage through legislation, as discussed here, has not been a late awakening by the Peruvian government, but circumstances of dependency, colonial legacies in the structure of the state and nation have caused it to be neglected. In Peru, heritage and its legislation are used as an economic facilitator,[318] as shown here, which has moved the attention to investment projects. Although it engages in the legislation and cooperation against illicit traffic,[319] the subordination to conventions limits the legal reach for reparation, which in my view depart from the recognition of a historical debt from a political standpoint. By the account of collecting that this research offers, I observe only political willingness can face the daunting task of protecting heritage. It can only be addressed by both parties but needs to be initiated. A statement 'Peruvian heritage' alongside each image published by museums could be a modest start.

The characterisation of objects and outline of collections offered a view of the influence of interventions and of interventive conservation of objects. This encourages research in conservation historiography. Although this is not research focused on the conservation practice,

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318 See Ministerio de Cultura (Peru), "Ministerio de Cultura participa en MONDIACULT 2025 y refuerza su liderazgo cultural," press release, September 29, 2025, https://www.gob.pe/institucion/cultura/noticias/1254994-ministerio-de-cultura-participa-en-mondiacult-2025-y-refuerza-su-liderazgo-cultural.

319 See Gobierno del Peru, "Foro Cusco," Ministry of Culture / Ministry of Foreign Affairs, accessed June 21, 2026, https://www.gob.pe/forocusco.

theory, or education. It has supported a comprehensive view to examine objects, thereby encouraging to extend the reach of conservation to a humanistic interpretation of the practice.

Limitations and Directions for Future Research

This research shows limitations that can only inspire to further research in the view of its absences. These lie in the accessibility of information and collections (archives and objects) that affected the complete assessment of textile items, although it did not impact the research outcome. For some case studies, information from the museums database was used.

It was not possible to fully record a concrete body of digital surrogates or data collection from museums public platforms searches. These absences show general accessibility flaws. The platforms are constantly updated which means that the outcomes are not definitive**.**

There were difficulties of retrieving information through public database searches. Virtual public platforms show limitations, from visual to layout and language. This can only inspire future research on website interfaces, method of access, retrieval parameters, and their impact on archaeological and historical collection research, as well as the relationship between perception foundations and ancient textile research. I hope to address this in the future**.**

I observed limited space in some museums, relocation, misplacement, loss, or displacement of objects; poor conservation; lack or loss of information; mistaken identification; limited or incomplete inventory records; de-accession of items; and limited storage facilities. These have limited the supportive body of this research Limitation included, partial, inaccessible or non-existing archive records. The difficulty of visiting some collections meant that information had to be sent by museum staff.

Language barriers were challenging, since reviewing sources in six languages were time-consuming. Translations were made in two stages, by the author and Google Translate (French, German, Italian), and by the author (Dutch, English and Spanish) unless otherwise indicated. Some archives from German and Dutch required professional translation assistance. In many

cases antique illegible records were time consuming. These barriers reveal the limitation of digital platforms and for trajectories research. I hope that this do not discourage future researchers to approach collections from a comprehensive view.

There was limited information in public databases, dissimilar online catalogues, and limited records provided by museum staff. Whereas there has been limited information, this study discusses and recognise the resulting interpretation of such a corpus of items including its limitations. These limitations show the necessity of research provenance of collections, and investment to create mechanism to make provenances information available. Similarly, to the conservation of items and records as influencing factors in the perception of objects.

There was a restricted time to review the collections. The constraints regarding museum staff and the availability of resources were a general shortage of museum staff, and Covid-19 pandemic restrictions. It meant that there were limited museum visits. In most cases, the visits were supervised, meaning they were limited by the readiness of museum staff. Museums databases searches were in some cases filtered by museum staff. Likewise, some textiles were too fragile for examination, and sometimes the conditions were not the best.

I encourage research about senses and perception relevance in the recognition of relationships in assemblages. Research on the use of collections for educational purposes in the history of humanities faculties is encouraged. This was briefly shown in this study when assessing collections against the formation of faculties in university museums. This also applies to university collections in other fields and countries.

Research is encouraged regarding knowledge production as a colonial legacy in the United States. The conflict between property and ownership and the understanding of heritage: archives have revealed that acquisitions were institutional; therefore, an institutional response could be expected. I encourage future research on acquisitions challenging the episteme of property.

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Institutions	*Collector, Archives reviewed*	
France: Musée d'Ethnographie du Trocadéro -Paris (Musée du quai Branly - Jacques Chirac)	Leon de Cessac 1877 - Mission avec Cessac à Lima. Voyage en Océanie - San Francisco Archives privées : fonds Henry Reichlen - Musée de l'Homme (Paris) - [MH. Laboratoire d'ethnologie. Département Amérique] Cote: DA001897/65571. Pages 22 and 24 Rapport sur une mission au Pérou et en Californie par M. Léon de Cessac (collection 1884.91) (original conservé dans le fonds des archives des missions scientifiques et littéraires) Archives privées : fonds Henry Reichlen - Musée de l'Homme (Paris) - [MH. Laboratoire d'ethnologie. Département Amérique] Cote: D005879/61785	Textile collection hold at the Musée du quai Branly - Jacques Chirac (Information given by the Museum)
Archives des laboratoires du Muséum national d'histoire naturelle: Archives of the Ethnology Laboratory	MH ETHN AMER Archives of the Ethnology Laboratory of the Museum of Man -America Department: Collections: Inventaire des dons, échanges et achats (1878-1884) [Collection registration and inventory]: MH ETHN AMER 2 (4) De 1878.3 à 1878.62: 1878.54 Don de M. Léon de Cessac. MH ETHN AMER 2 (11 et 12) 1 Dossier : 1884.91.1 Don Léon de Cessac. MH ETHN AMER 2 (6) From 1881.1 to 1881.113: 1881.94 Don de M. Léon de Cessac. MH ETHN AMER 2 (8) From 1882.12 to 1882.64: 1882.30 Don de M. Léon de Cessac.	

	2 AM 1 G 1 b [Movement of collections]:
	1 Bis
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	8 Comission ethnographique
	Surface occupies actuellement par les diverses collections ethnographiques
	9er Notes sur les missions 1875 1879
	9bis Brouillord d ET Hamy pour les origens du Musees d ethnographies
	14 Rapport au MIP sur colections ethnographiques por Armand Landrin
	2 AM 1 G 1 a
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	2AM 1 I 13 d Dossier (II)
Germany: Königliches Museum für Völkerkunde KMV (Ethnologisches Museum Berlin EMB)	Arthur Baessler
	Zentralarchiv. Staatliche Museen zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Ethnologisches Museum: Acta concerning the acquisitions of ethnological objects from America
	I/MV 086,
	I/MV 605
	MV 871
	I/MV 502
	857
	582
	0196
	I/MV 0548 Baessler Collection
	EB EMB 1880-1906 -Inventory Book
	Inventory V Amerika 1906-1960 -Inventory Book
Museum für Völkerkunde Dresden, MVD	Arthur Baessler
	Alphons Stubel
	Museum Volkerkunde Catalogue Altperuanische gewebe aus den gräbern von Ancon 1882
	(Former Etnographischen Museums zu Dresden)- MVD Band katalog February 1883

The Netherlands: Rijks Ethnographisch Museum Leiden REM (Nationaal Museum van Wereldculturen: Wereldmuseum Leiden)	Enrico Hillyer Giglioli Museum Volkenkunde Archives NL LdnRMV-A1-196-411/415 NL-LdnRMV-A1-196-477b/481 NL LdnRMV-A1-12-271/272 NLLdnRMV-A1-15-227/228 NL LdnRMV-A1-15-231/232 NL Ldn Exchange collection Peru Serie 592 nro 16 and Serie 787	
Museum voor Land- en Volkenkunde MLV (Nationaal Museum van Wereldculturen: Worldmuseum Rotterdam)	Arthur Johannes Speyer Stadsarchief Rotterdam (Rotterdam city Archive) Toegangsnummer 563: inventaris nummer 5. And inventarias nummer 54 Beschrijven 563: archief van het musuem voor land en volkenkunde en maritiem museum prins hendrik te rotterdam beschrivjing van de series en archiefbestandelen inventaris stukken van algemene aard ingekomen en minuten of doorslagen van uitgaande stukken 1883-1935 5. 5, 1887. 351-01 Overzicht van de tot het dossier behoorende stukken en aaanteekeningen omtrent de behandeling door den gemeenterand. Enz 1919 Toegangsnummer 563: Inventaris nummer 72 Stukken van algemene aard kopieboeken van de directeur 1901-1935 72: 13 november 1920- 7 februari 1922	Textile collection (Information given by the Museum)
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	MAA Annual Reports 1885-1930
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Accession books	Library. University of Oxford.
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	University of Cambridge
	Catalogue of the Pitt Rivers collection of antiquities and ethnographical material
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	1 'Catalogue of Colonel Lane Fox's Anthropological Collection', South Kensington Museum, 1879. Published catalogue of Pitt-Rivers' collection as arranged at the Bethnal Green Museum in 1874. dd. W. L. Nash, 1911
	https://www.prm.ox.ac.uk/pitt-rivers-museum-papers
	Description of the contents of four Peruvian mummies Presented to the Oxford University Museum by I. Commander Acland transferred from the department of comparative Anatomy to the Pitt Rivers Museum ca. 1886
	Book of Donations: VI 1916-1921, VII 1921-1925
	Pitt Rivers Catalogue Collections IV and V (1921)
	Book of Loans I 1889-1925
Journals	Oxford Gazette 1882, 1883, 1912, 1913, 1914
	Anthropological Society of Berlin
	The Archaeological Journal 1882 -1930
	Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland RAI 1880-1930
	And MAN 1900-1930

Summary

Scholarly Collecting of Ancient Peruvian Textiles:

The Influence on Contemporary Perceptions of Peruvian Identity and Heritage

The methods of acquisition and the content of collections determined the boundaries within ancient Peruvian textiles would be treated and used. This research sought to understand how that process influenced today's scenario, regarding engaging heritage, identity construction, and contemporary perceptions. The case studies included collections from the Museum für Völkerkunde Dresden, Wereld Museum Leiden, Wereld Museum Rotterdam, Musées royaux d'Art et d'Histoire Brussels, Musée d'Ethnographie du Trocadéro (Musée du quai Branly - Jacques Chirac), Pitt Rivers Museum Oxford, Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology Cambridge, and the Ethnologisches Museum Berlin. They are assessed through archives, virtual public museums databases, publications, and objects assessment. The comprehensive approach has been beneficiated by Mieke Bal, Tim Ingold, Manuel de Landa, Arjun Appadurai and Anibal Quijano theories.

Chapter 2 focuses on the formation of heritage as an *imaginary possession* and its instrumentalisation for national identity. It discusses the study cases through trajectory research, narrative, and visual culture analysis. I argue that an atemporal entity created through detachment became a mediator and tool for national identity. The legitimisation of collecting, and museums in conjunction with disciplines shaped ancient Peruvian textiles as a *supra-entity* translated into the construction and affirmation of national identity by the symbolism ascribed to them as a representation of colonial legacy and historical identifier through dissemination platforms. It is shown that the paradox of textile heritage being *present absence* is achieved through atemporality and autonomy. The re-identified textiles amount to dispossessed heritage, becoming an enduring absent presence which is claimed back from the realm of universality when they are experienced as credentials of national identity.

The chapter illustrates that the ancient Peruvian textiles were acknowledged identifiers since the invasion, due to their symbolic relevance in the Inca Empire and through the Viceroyalty. Alongside detachment and desacralisation of funerary remains, collecting continued into the Republic. The collection of ancient Peruvian textiles was sustained in European metropoles. The early collecting methods organised assemblages as autonmous unities or singularities which were replicated in the understanding of heritage, to focus on the symbolism of the entity rather than on relationships of materiality. The argument is discussed through the performance in the Opening of the Pan American Games 2019, the narrative in contemporary exhibitions of ancient Peruvian textiles and textile examples of the Musées royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, Brussels. The discussion addresses the representation of contemporary traditional textile artisans, exerting a sense of belonging to the Andean cosmovision supported through the idea of heritage as an imaginary possession as colonial legacy consolidated by scholarly collecting.

Chapter 3 focuses on the collecting process to show how collecting methods shaped Ancient Peruvian textile collections and the items' identity. Scholarly collecting was built upon the tradition of grave looting during the Colonial and Viceroyalty periods. The historical and comparative review of methods, nationally sponsored missions, individuals' explorations, market purchases, donations and interchange, and the review of collections and public platforms today, reveal a colonial geopolitical interplay. The dominance of metropoles has drawn the understanding and view of these objects. Acquisition as a political and national enterprise has situated museums as active geopolitical agents. I argue that the activity of collecting permanently influences the identity of Ancient Peruvian textiles through singularisation attained by limiting the items through space and roles, thereby shaping the interpretation and perception of objects. The chapter discusses historical case studies from the aforementioned museums.

The collections originated from funerary bundles and archaeological contexts segregated into assemblages and re-grouped objects and fragments by criteria of similarity. This indicates categorisation as segregation. Early and non-methodologically excavated items and those of

unknown origin were legitimised by scholarship. Consequently, the singularities were consolidated, inserted into abstract temporality and were subjected to subsequently interpretations through various academic fields. I argue that the methods of collecting have created patterns. These attributes, which I name traits, emerged to create relationships in new assemblages; thus showing that the collected textile items became new autonomous and relations items in the collecting process. The relationships within specific environments and materials features is generative, by engaging in mutual leverage agent and object. Recognition, appearance, and portability, recurrence and delimitation in collections created new connections in the museum space and narrative.

Chapter 4 discusses the transformation of detached textiles into academic products. The influence of the collecting methods showed their transformation through intervention, classification, and mobilisation. The chapter illustrates that the influence of the object's significance is asserted by the possessor and exchange network. To establish the argument of textiles as scholarly commodities, the chapter benefits from the theories from Arjun Appadurai and Wim Van Bingsbergen approach. It discusses case studies from the Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology Cambridge, the Pitt Rivers Museums and the Ethnologisches Museum Berlin (former Königliches Museum für Völkerkunde).

The chapter shows that the University Museums and National Museums have continued with the 19th-century style of collecting through the 20th century (donations, purchases from individuals and auction houses, interchange, expeditions), despite Peruvian regulations being established, while pointing out the divergences. The chapter shows that formation of collections occurred through the mobilisation of disassembled textiles from funerary bundles shaped a Textiles category of detached materiality and opened pathways for technological and aesthetic studies.

Since the consolidation of discipline methodologies, early collected textiles as a data source were limited to their physical features, materials, and manufacture. This was shown by

their uses and knowledge produced regarding techniques, supplies, and aesthetic patterns, thereby creating hierarchies and subcategories of fragments. Chronological schemes were also used to identify non-methodologically collected items through affiliation with the concept of temporality. Publications from discipline platforms and museums' monographs were restricted by language, target public, and aims. The assessment of textiles as academic products modelled the circulation of textiles. The chapter explains that features of use, depreciation and construction of expertise are seen through the circulation of ancient Peruvian textiles as academic products. It also distinguishes the features of value of objects as scholarly commodities.

Collecting and knowledge production shows the limitations of Western epistemology by the lack of traditional knowledge and textile production in the generation of academic knowledge. The reproduction of Western views in local spheres, academic and political, shows the influence of colonial legacies. This enforced their symbolism while obscuring the significance of traditional textiles. All the chapters noted the limited information, accessibility, and knowledge about the trajectory of collections in museums.

The last section concludes the research. Scholarly collection modified the identity of ancient Peruvian textile objects, it led to the creation of autonomous entities by establishing priorities and space in new arrangements. Fragmented collections limit knowledge production founded on the patterns and relations within the limits of the items. The hierarchical relations within the collections produced by detaching and reassembling have shaped textiles' status as autonomous singular entities sustained by academic and governmental over time. The effect of colonial legacies and historical reidentification (Quijano 2000) is observed in physical and virtual spaces, enacted by the museum's mission and organisation itself, while the ancient textile entity became an imaginary possession ever present, a representation of/and linked to the origin and restricted.

Samenvatting

Het wetenschappelijk verzamelen van oude Peruaanse textiel: De invloed hiervan op de hedendaagse perceptie van de Peruaanse identiteit en het cultureel erfgoed

De acquisitiemethoden en de inhoud van de collecties bepaalden de kaders waarbinnen het oude Peruaanse textiel behandeld en gebruikt zou worden. Dit onderzoek probeerde te begrijpen hoe dat proces het huidige scenario heeft beïnvloed met betrekking tot de omgang met erfgoed, identiteitsvorming en hedendaagse percepties. De case studies omvatten collecties van het Museum für Völkerkunde Dresden, Wereldmuseum Leiden, Wereldmuseum Rotterdam, de Musées royaux d'Art et d'Histoire Brussels, Musée d'Ethnographie du Trocadéro (Musée du quai Branly – Jacques Chirac, Parijs), Pitt Rivers Museum Oxford, Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology Cambridge en het Ethnologisches Museum Berlijn. Ze zijn geëvalueerd aan de hand van archieven, digitale databases van musea, publicaties en objectanalyses. Dit uitgebreide onderzoek heeft geprofiteerd van theorieën van Mieke Bal, Tim Ingold, Manuel de Landa en perceptuele principes, Arjun Appadurai en Anibal Quijano.

Hoofdstuk 2 richt zich op de vorming van erfgoed als een denkbeeldig bezit en de instrumentalisering daarvan voor de nationale identiteit. De case studies worden besproken aan de hand van trajectonderzoek, narratieve analyse en een analyse van de visuele cultuur. Ik betoog dat een atemporele entiteit, gecreëerd door onthechting, een mediator en instrument voor nationale identiteit werd. De legitimering van het verzamelen en musea vormden, in samenhang met wetenschappelijke disciplines, de oude Peruaanse textielsoorten om tot een supra-entiteit. Dit vertaalde zich in de constructie en bevestiging van de nationale identiteit door de symboliek die eraan werd toegekend als representatie van een koloniale erfenis en als historisch identificatiemiddel via verspreidingsplatformen. Er wordt aangetoond dat de paradox van textielerfgoed als een 'aanwezige afwezigheid' wordt gerealiseerd door middel van atemporaliteit en autonomie. Het hergeïdentificeerde textiel komt neer op onteigend erfgoed en wordt zo een

blijvende 'afwezige aanwezigheid';. Deze wordt uit de sfeer van universaliteit teruggeëist op het moment dat de stukken worden ervaren als bewijsstukken van de nationale identiteit.

Het hoofdstuk illustreert dat de oude Peruaanse textielsoorten sinds de invasie erkende identiteitsdragers waren, vanwege de symbolische relevantie in het Incarijk en gedurende het Onderkoninkrijk. Naast de onthechting en desacralisatie van grafresten, zette het verzamelen zich voort in de Republiek. De collectievorming van oud Peruaans textiel hield stand in Europese metropolen. De vroege acquisitiemethoden organiseerden verzamelingen als autonome eenheden of singulariteiten, die werden gerepliceerd in de opvatting van erfgoed; hierbij verschoof de focus op de symboliek van de entiteit in plaats van naar materiële relaties. Dit argument wordt besproken aan de hand van de opvoering tijdens de opening van de Pan-Amerikaanse Spelen 2019, het narratief in hedendaagse tentoonstellingen van oud Peruaans textiel en textielvoorbeelden van de Musées royaux d'Art et d'Histoire Brussels. De discussie behandelt de representatie van hedendaagse traditionele textielambachtslieden, die een gevoel van verbondenheid met de Andes-cosmovisie uitdragen, ondersteund door het idee van erfgoed als een imaginair bezit als koloniale erfenis geconsolideerd door wetenschappelijke collectievorming.

Hoofdstuk 3 richt zich op het verzamelproces om aan te tonen hoe de acquisitiemethoden de collecties van oud Peruaans textiel en de identiteit van de objecten hebben gevormd. Wetenschappelijke collectievorming werd gebouwd op de traditie van grafroof tijdens de koloniale periode en de periode van het Onderkoninkrijk. Het historisch en vergelijkend overzicht van methoden — door de staat gesponsorde missies, individuele ontdekkingsreizen, aankopen op de markt, schenkingen en uitwisselingen — en de analyse van de huidige collecties en publieke platformen, onthullen een koloniaal geopolitiek samenspel. De dominantie van metropolen heeft het begrip van en de visie op deze objecten bepaald. Acquisitie als een politieke en nationale onderneming heeft musea gepositioneerd als actieve geopolitieke actoren. Ik betoog dat de verzamelactiviteit de identiteit van oud Peruaans textiel blijvend beïnvloedt door middel

van singularisering; dit wordt bereikt door de objecten te beperken in ruimte en rol, om zo de interpretatie en perceptie ervan vorm te geven.

Het hoofdstuk bespreekt historische case studies uit de bovengenoemde musea. De collecties vonden hun oorsprong in grafbundels en archeologische contexten die werden opgesplitst in assemblages en hergegroepeerde objecten en fragmenten op basis van criteria van gelijkenis. Dit wijst op categorisering als segregatie. Vroegtijdig en niet-methodologisch opgegraven objecten, evenals objecten van onbekende herkomst, werden gelegitimeerd door de wetenschap. Vervolgens werden de singulariteiten geconsolideerd en ingepast in een abstracte tijdelijkheid, waardoor ze konden worden ondergebracht bij andere academische vakgebieden en interpretaties. Ik betoog dat de verzamelmethoden patronen hebben gecreëerd. Deze kenmerken, die ik 'traits' (eigenschappen) noem, ontstonden om relaties te vormen binnen nieuwe assemblages; hiermee wordt aangetoond dat de verzamelde textielobjecten in het verzamelproces transformeren tot nieuwe, autonome en relationele items. De relaties binnen specifieke omgevingen en materiële eigenschappen zijn generatief, door een wederzijdse wisselwerking tussen actor en object aan te gaan. Erkenning, verschijning en draagbaarheid, herhaling en afbakening binnen collecties creëerden nieuwe verbindingen in de museale ruimte en het narratief.

Hoofdstuk 4 bespreekt de transformatie van onthecht textiel tot academische producten. De invloed van de verzamelmethoden toonde hun transformatie aan via interventie, classificatie en mobilisatie. Het hoofdstuk illustreert dat de invloed van de betekenis van het object wordt uitgeoefend door de bezitter en het uitwisselingsnetwerk. Om het argument van textiel als wetenschappelijk handelswaar te onderbouwen, maakt het hoofdstuk gebruik van de theorieën van Arjun Appadurai en de benadering van Wim van Binsbergen. Het bespreekt case studies van het Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology Cambridge, de Pitt Rivers Museums, Oxford en het (voormalige) Königliches Museum für Völkerkunde, Berlijn (Ethnologisches Museum Berlijn). Het hoofdstuk toont aan dat universiteitsmusea en nationale musea de 19e-eeuwse

verzamelstijl hebben voortgezet gedurende de 20e eeuw (schenkingen, aankopen van particulieren en veilinghuizen, uitwisseling, expedities), ondanks de totstandkoming van Peruaanse regelgeving, waarbij op de verschillen wordt gewezen. Het hoofdstuk toont aan dat de vorming van collecties die tot stand kwam door de mobilisatie van uit elkaar gehaalde textielmaterialen uit grafbundels, een textielcategorie van onthechte materialiteit vormde en wegen opende voor technologische en esthetische studies.

Sinds de consolidatie van disciplinaire methodologieën werd het gebruik van vroeg verzamelde textielsoorten als databron beperkt tot hun fysieke kenmerken, materialen en vervaardiging. Dit werd aangetoond door het gebruik ervan en door de kennis die werd geproduceerd over technieken, benodigdheden en esthetische patronen, waardoor hiërarchieën en subcategorieën van fragmenten ontstonden. Chronologische schema's werden eveneens gebruikt om niet-methodologisch verzamelde objecten te identificeren door middel van hun verbinding met het concept tijdelijkheid. Publicaties van disciplinaire platformen en monografieën van musea werden beperkt door taal, doelpubliek en doelstellingen. De beoordeling van textiel als academische producten vormde de circulatie van textiel. Het hoofdstuk legt uit dat kenmerken van gebruik, waardevermindering en de opbouw van expertise zichtbaar zijn door de circulatie van oud Peruaans textiel als academische producten. Het onderscheidt ook de waardekenmerken van objecten als wetenschappelijke handelswaren**.**

Verzameling en kennisproductie tonen de beperkingen van de westerse epistemologie aan door het gebrek aan traditionele kennis en textielproductie bij het genereren van academische kennis. De reproductie van westerse visies in lokale sferen, zowel academisch als politiek, toont de invloed van koloniale erfenissen aan. Dit versterkte hun symboliek, terwijl het de betekenis van traditioneel textiel overschaduwde. Alle hoofdstukken wezen op de beperkte informatie, toegankelijkheid en kennis over het traject van collecties in musea.

De laatste sectie concludeert het onderzoek. Wetenschappelijke collectievorming heeft de identiteit van oude Peruaanse textielobjecten gewijzigd; het leidde tot het creëren van autonome

entiteiten door prioriteiten en ruimte vast te stellen in nieuwe rangschikkingen. Gefragmenteerde collecties beperken de kennisproductie die gebaseerd is op de patronen en relaties binnen de grenzen van de objecten. De hiërarchische relaties binnen de collecties, voortgekomen uit onthechting en herassemblage, hebben de status van textiel als autonome, singuliere entiteiten vormgegeven, die door de tijd heen door academische en overheidsinstanties in stand zijn gehouden. Het effect van koloniale erfenissen en historische heridentificatie (Quijano 2000) wordt waargenomen in fysieke en virtuele ruimtes, teweeggebracht door de missie en organisatie van het museum zelf, terwijl de oude textiele entiteit een imaginair bezit werd dat altijd aanwezig is, een representatie van en verbonden met de oorsprong en beperkt.

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This project wouldn't be possible without the support of my family, in Peru and in the Netherlands, I will always be grateful to my parents Dionisio and Marina. Thanks to Sonia, Lucy, Mery, Hoover, Rosalyn, Juan, and Jacco, your company and blunt talk put me on track ever, laughs, distractions and conversations have always been silent support, ¡Gracias, totales! I am glad this has reach completion. "We must go on, because we can't turn back." R.L.S.

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Appendices

Appendix A List of identified textile collectors and collections (1882-1929)

Musées royaux d'Art et d'Histoire (public databases or on-line catalogues): Collections containing archaeological textiles during 1880-1929 provene from Ch. De Farres (1859), De la Comb (1894), Libert Voltaire (1928), D. Van Meerbeek (1926), unknown collectors (1882, 1883, 1884), Friends of the Museum (1926), and unknown date and collectors, The museum acquired textiles from Friends of the Museum (1930, 1932, 1933), Rotten, and S. Pizarro (1932-1933).

Musée d'Ethnographie du Trocadéro (According to archival records): Today in the Musée du quai Branly - Jacques Chirac, among others, by Joseph Dombey, Leonce Angrand, Francois Castelneau, Edmond Cotteau, Emile Carrey, Teodore Ber, Charles Wiener, and Leon de Cessac, Frederic Quesnel, MR Chereau.

Ethnologisches Museum Berlin (former Königliches Museum für Völkerkunde) (public databases or on-line catalogues): From 1829 to 1929 identified collectors are Otto Garlepp, Hans Gaffron, Max Uhle, Louis Sokoloski, Adolf Bastian, Alfred Hettner, Jacob Samuel Renner, Johannes Lührsen, Wilhelm Reiss and Alphons Stübel, Carl Plock, Arthur Baessler, Edouard Gaffron, Eduard Georg Seler, as well as known dealers Antonio Otto Heredia, I. M Bolivar, Fritz Kalender, Carl Künne, Rüdiger May, Carl Plock, Guillermo Schmidt y Pizarro, Wilhelm Gretzer. Likewise, a great number of textiles have unknown provenance. There are Pre-Columbian objects collections that could contain textiles associated to other objects, although more research is needed, such as Hans Heinrich Brüning, F. J. F. Meyen, E. W. Middendorf, Carl Eulet, August Weberbauer, P. Petersen. Many of these collectors allocated objects to other museums and from other American countries as well.

Museum für Völkerkunde Dresden (former Königliches Zoologisches und Anthropologisch-Ethnographisches Museum) (Dr. Frank Usbeck. American Collections, Anthropological Museums at Leipzig and Dresden, Collection at the Anthropological Museum Herrnhut. Personal communication 4th May 2021): Collections containing textiles between 1880 and 1929: Arthur Speyer, Alphons Stübel,

Alphons Stübel und Wilhelm Reiss, Richard N. Wegner, and Arthur Baessler acquisition from William D. Webster.

Wereld Museum Leiden (former Museum Volkenkunde Leiden, former Rijk Ethnographisch museum RVM) and Wereld Museum Rotterdam (former Museum voor Land- en Volkenkunde) (consortium public databases or on-line catalogues): are Enrico H. Giglioli, F. Ikle, and A. J. Speyer. Alongside items from unknown provenance, collections grew in the 20th century, e.g. E. Jacobson (1931), C. Vermer (1930s), M. L. J. Lemaire (1953), G. Schmidt Pizarro (1956.

Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology Cambridge (public database or on-line catalogue): Louis Gray Clarke, Marlborough Robert Pryor, Neville H. A D., Henry Oog Forbes, and Richard Ward.

Pitt Rivers Museum – Founding collection (public database or on-line catalogue) : Among the collectors acknowledged in the FC are Thomas Joseph Hutchinson, Charles E. Bryant, Ernesto Mazzei and Enrico Giglioli.

Pitt Rivers Museum: Swinton Colthurst Holland (?) George Rolleston (1886), William Alison Dyke Acland (1886) (*from the University Museum),* Henry Oog Forbes (1921), L.C.G. Clarke (1919, 1920, 1921), Colville (1920), Enrico H. Giglioli / Ernesto Mazzei (1895), Henry Balfour (1935), Ronald Hawksby Thomas (1923). Wellcome Historical Medical Museum donation (1952 and 1985).

Collections containing Pre-Columbian objects ccoding to Schmeltz (1896): Musée d'Ethnographie du Trocadéro, Paris; Völkerkundemuseum, Zurich; Anthropologisch-Ethnographische Abteilung am K.u.K. Naturhistorischen Hofmuseum, Vienna; Verein für östliche Volkskunde, Weeren; Königliches Museum für Völkerkunde, Berlin; Museum für Völkerkunde, Hamburg; Städtische Museum für Natur-, Völker- und Handelskunde, Bremen; Rijks Ethnographisch Museum.

List of museums containing Ancient Peruvian Textiles (it includes later accession dates) (accession 1882-1929): Museums in Europe contain collections of Ancient Peruvian textiles, regardless size, these include: in the Netherlands: Textiel Museum, Wereldculturen consortium, Museon, The Textile Research Centre, Tilburg; in the United Kingdom: Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, Cambridge; the Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford; Hunterian Museum, Glasgow; the Victoria and Albert Museum,

British Museum, and Horniman Museum and Gardens, London; the Whitworth Art Gallery, Manchester; in Germany: Ethnologisches Museum, Berlin; Niedersächsisches Landesmuseum, Hannover; Museum am Rothenbaum – Künste und Kulturen der Welt MARKK Hamburg; Museum Fünf Kontinente, Munich; Deutsches Textilmuseum Krefeld; Linden-Museum, Stuttgart; Staatliches Museum für Völkerkunde, Dresden; Grassi Museum für Völkerkunde zu Leipzig; Rautenstrauch-Joest-Museum, Cologne; in Switzerland: Bernisches Historisches Museum; Abegg-Stiftung und Museum Rietberg, Zürich; in Belgium: Musées royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, Museum aan de Stroom MAS –the former Ethnographisch Museum, Antwerp; in Sweden: Ethnografiska museet, Stockholm; in Spain: Museo de America, Madrid; Museo Etnológico de Barcelona; in Italy: Museo Nazionale Preistorico Etnografico "Luigi Pigorini", Rome; Museo di Antropologia e Etnologia di Firenze; in Austria: Weltmuseum, Vienna; in France: Musée des Confluences, Lyon; Quai Branly-Jacques Chirac, Paris. Worldwide, there are also private collections that are regularly exhibited in museums: for instance, the Paul & Dora Janssen-Arts collection in the MAS, Antwerp. While permanent collections continue to be on display, such as the Humboldt Forum America section with collections from EMB in Berlin

Appendix B Ancient Peruvian Textiles Features

The cotton plant species used were Gossypium Religiosum, Gossypium Vitifolium, and Gossypium Peruvianum [(Gossypium barbadense L.)]; the latter was most used and cultivated predominantly on the coast. Bast fibres from the genus Asclepias were usually mixed with cotton when spun and leaf fibres from the Maguey (Furcraea andina Trel) and Junco (Schoenoplectus sp) were also used. The latter were both employed to make cord and coarse thread for sandals, nets, as well as fabrics to wrap mummies. Carrizo (Phragmites australis) was used as rigid support either for symbolic or functional objects (Engel 1963; Vallejos Arce 1977, Roque, Cano and Cook 2003). According to Yacoleff and Herrera, Gutierrez Usca and Puelles Linares, Ugent and Ochoa, Devia Castillo and Wouters and Chirinos, some Dyes used were: Molle (Schinus molle) for yellow. Nogal

(Juglans neotropica): brown. Aliso (Alnus acuminate) colour: brown, green, yellow. Antaco (alium Relbunium hypocarpium or hypocarpium): red; the Galium sp. (Rubiaceae) genus was also used to produce red. Indigo (Indigofera suffruticosa) mainly in wool die combined with Galium, Eupatorium (Asteraceae) and Yangua (Bignoniaceae) to produce blue, violet and green. Chilca (Baccharis latifolia): green, yellow, moss. Mullaca (Muehlenbeckia volcanic): blue. Sauce or huayao (Salix Humboldtiana Will) mixed with other species containing flavonoids. Bixa Orellana L. (Bixaceae) or Achiote: yellow, red, orange Other colours were produced from the Cochineal louse (Dactylopius coccus Costa) to produce carmine. Shellfish or chanque in Peru and the Concholepas concholepas (Bruguiere 1789): blue and purple. It was also used charcoal, lamp back or plaster: blackish, ochres. Cinnabar / vermillion from copper oxides (Malachitas) to produce red. Aluminum sulfate was used as natural mordant Many authors have researched organic and mineral dyes used in cotton, camelid fibres, and feathers. The original colour of the fibres was also employed (Yacovleff and Herrera 1935; Gutierrez Usca and Puelles Linares 2012; Ugent and Ochoa 2006; Devia Castillo 2019; Wouters and Rosario-Chirinos 1992).; these were used in dyeing techniques which included: dyeing with reserves (a plaster or resin cover the textile so it repels the dye); plangi or tie dye (the cloth is knotted before been being dyed); Watado or ikat (the threads are dyed before being weaved) (Dufour and Goepfert 2019, 13-17; D' Harcourt 2002 (1934); Yacovleff and Herrera 1935).

Christine Giuntini notes that the use of feathers, either attached to plain weave of cotton or adhered to metal objects, reveals the occurrence of trading, communication, networks, and agreement on the significance of particular materials (Giuntini 2019). According to Heidi King (2012, 12, 13), feathers from coastal and highland birds were used differently than those from the rainforest. Seabirds, hummingbirds, condors, owls, and eagles were seldom used, although birds—like parrots, macaws, and raptors —are frequent motifs in ceramics, in metalwork, and textiles art.

The earliest evidence domesticated camelid was the *llama* dated ca 5000-3000 BC (Roelofs 1988, 68). The camelid fibres include the llama family types, guanaco and vicugna; the

domesticated llama and alpaca were identified in the 18th century. During the Spanish invasion the use of camelid fibres was restricted to alpaca and vicugna.

The development of textile production according to Bird, Hyslop and Skinner 1985; Stone-Miller 1992; Fung 1988; Pollard-Rowe 1984, is shown using the Duccio Bonavia Periodicity of Peruvian Andean civilization based on the Rowe/Lanning scheme (1991), as follows:

- Pre-Ceramic Period (10000 BC – 3000 BC): Plant fibre basketry, netting, and cordage; they are processed and twisted (Central Highland site in Guitarrero Cave)
- Pre-Ceramic VI or Initial Period: (3 000 BC – 1 800BC): Twinned cotton, non-loom textiles, plain weave – warp and weft – are used, creating geometric designs, and zoomorphic representations.
- Early Horizon (900 BC – 0): Development of all techniques, including double cloth, tapestry, and embroidery (especially on the South Coast: Ica area, Paracas); the heddle weave is used, supplementary weft, dyed camelid fibre with cotton; on the coast, cotton is mostly used, dyeing tie-dye-like and painting techniques.
- Early Intermediate (0 – AD 500): All techniques used, especially embroidery and discontinuous warp and weft (South Coast: Paracas and Nazca). Geometric motifs are found in Moche, mostly cotton, typical s-ply in cotton warp.
- Middle Horizon (AD 500-900): All techniques, especially interlocked tapestry (South-Central Highlands to all coasts: Wari related). Wari influenced the north after the fall of Moche; Wari had less figurative work with abstract representations; recurrent iconography includes warriors, lords, and gods; it is recurrent wool weft in cotton warps.
- Late Intermediate (AD 900-1440): All techniques, including slit tapestry, open work, warp patterning, and painting (North Coast: Lambayeque, Chimú and related: Central Coast: Chancay, Rímac; South Coast: Ica). Chimú also included double cloth, supplementary weft; wool

embroidery, and cotton cloths; it was common cotton warps and wool wefts were common. Motifs include ritual scenes, anthropomorphic figures, and symbolic headdresses. Lambayeque and Chimú were mutually influenced. Feathers were used for elite burials as symbolic and decorative patterns.

- Late Horizon (AD 1440-1534): All techniques, especially interlocked tapestry (South Highlands to all areas: Inca and related). In the consolidation of the Inca style, geometric motifs and patterns dominated, camelid was mostly used.

Textile production tools and symbolic objects

The inclusion of textile production tools and symbolic objects together in burials broadens the interpretation of textiles in social, political, and cultural relations, economy, hierarchical organization, and symbolism, helping to understand the relevance of textiles in Andean Society

The containers usually called 'toolbox/ case,' 'work basket' or 'weaver box/ case'. The tool boxes might contain fragments, garments, symbolic objects, as well as supplies like yarns, fibre, balls of thread, and raw fibres, dyes, tools for weaving and spinning.

L.C.G. Clarke in 1919 (1919.13.25.1), donated a workbasket made of reed, measurements 8 x 13.5 x 30 cm approximately. It was briefly annotated in the Entry book[320] "Woman workbasket (rectangular, rush-work), containing a torn coarsely woven garment, a piece of painting cloth (pattern derived from a textile design), 11 spindles with whorls, 2 small hanks of wool ? cotton, piece of form cloth decorated with feathers, a sling (weapon) & small pottery human-figurine; ANCIENT PERUVIAN." The content is not kept inside due to conservation concerns.

320 Book: Donations VII 1916-1921 (1919). Louis C. G. Clarke [List] Collection of ancient Peruvian objects excavated from graves in the Necropolis at Ancon, Peru. Page 120. Pitt Rivers Museum. University of Oxford. 3rd March 2022.

The *Sewing box* (VA 5816 a-t) from the KMV Berlin, from the Reiss and Stübel collection, is another example of segregation. It is a rigid four-legged container. The content included samples, a mini loom, and dyeing stuff. The small remains of fabrics suggest it was probably fully lined (?), showing its value. In their publication the assemblages de-grouped and inserted in a varied classification of cultural activities and similitudes.

The *Workbasket* 1895.38.1.1 in PRM and given in exchange by Enrico Giglioli and described in Mazzei's collection (?) Catalogue (1891)[321]. It is made of reed with supporting *caña* sticks. Among its usual content of tools and supplies and textile fragments, the 92 items included hair tied up, a gourd container, bracelate-like and necklace-like ornaments, and grains[322]. Some of its content was displayed[323]. It measures 35 x 16 x 10 cm, the top lead had originally 15 cm wide but due to deformation over time is is around 16cm width, colour fading, seems to be cleaned may be rubbed, there are conservation stitched to support the structure and the weaved reed. *Workbasket for women* with content 4601,[324] from the collection donated by Stübel to the MVD Among its content, a shoe listed was missing at the time of the research visit the. The 4638 Workbasket also donated in 1883 by Stübel is manufactured similarly to the one in Berlin (VA 5816 a-t), similarly the content was separated.

Appendix C Study cases

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321 It was also studied by D. Hick 2012 noting the relation with Mazzei Catalogue. Pitt Rivers museum. Collections http://objects.prm.ox.ac.uk/pages/PRMUID5659.html Accessed 20th October 2020. The Mazzei' Catalogue 1891 Florence-Pisco *Catalogo della collezione archeologica Americana* describes over a thousand textile items, 18 basket and at least 23 feathered items alongside headdresses and others.
Ernesto Mazzei (1842-1905) was an Italian manager of the Hacienda Ocucaje, known for selling archaeology and anthropology object to Italy, to his native Florence, Museo nazionale di antropologia e etnologia Florencia, including human remains, and Muzeo nazionale preistorico etnografico Luigi Pigorini in Rome.

322 Pitt Rivers Museum Collections, accessed 20 October 2020,
http://databases.prm.ox.ac.uk/fmi/webd/objects_online
It refers to annotations in the Accessions Book I regarding items that were taken out from the workbasket: 3 combs. 1 spoon. 13 spindles. 1 needle case and 4 wooden needles [Refers to] List of objects removed from the Peruvian workbasket (2005). A "Fringe" 1895.38.1.92 was on Display in 2021.

323 1895.38.1.43 "Cord". A "Fringe" 1895.38.1.92 was on Display in 2021.

324 Frank Usbeck, conversation, January 19, 2023, email to author, January 30, 2023.

Museums	1. Collectors	Period of travel	2. Acquisition	3. Case studies reviewed
Rijks Ethnographisch Museum Leiden REM (Museum of Ethnology Leiden RV: Nationaal Museum van Wereldculturen: Wereldmuseum Leiden)	Enrico Hillyer Gilgioli /Zoologist	1868	1886 and 1890	592-17, 592-29, 592-25, 787-1a
Pitt Rivers museum PRM			1895	1895.38.1.1
Museum of Land and Ethnology Rotterdam MLV (Nationaal Museum van Wereldculturen: Worldmuseum Rotterdam WM)	Arthur J. Speyer / Entomologist/ dealer	-	1921	25250, 25254 (*)
Königliches Museum für Völkerkunde KMV (Ethnologisches Museum Berlin EMB)	Arthur Baessler / Promotor/ traveller/ ethnographer	1898	1899 (Bought from Gretzer)	VA 21530, (VA 30962), VA 21540, VA 21231, VA 21367, VA 19954
Museum für Völkerkunde Dresden MVD		-	1902 (Bought from William D. Webster)	16012, 16032, 16027, 16041
Königliches Museum für Völkerkunde KMV (Ethnologisches Museum Berlin EMB)	Wilhelm Reiss and Alphons Stübel / Geologists	1874 - 1875	1879	7468(16), VA 7468 (85), VA

Museum für Völkerkunde Dresden MVD	Alphons Stübel		1882	3045, 3005, 3002, 3035, 3036, 4601
Museum of Anthropology and Archaeology Cambridge MAA	Louis Colville Gray Clarke / Archaeologist		1922, 1924, 1929	1929.60, 1929.63
Pitt Rivers Museum Oxford PRM			1919,1920	1919.13.25.17, 1920.59.3.1, 1919.59.116+
Museum of Anthropology and Archaeology Cambridge MAA	Pryor. Marlborough / Businessmen to scholar	?	1912	1912.441, 1912.448
Pitt Rivers Museum Oxford PRM	William Alison Dyke Acland /Marine. Son of Henry Acland	1870?	1886	1886.2.49, 1886.2.102
Musée d'Ethnographie du Trocadéro Paris (Musée du quai Branly - Jacques Chirac)	Leon de Cessac /Geologist	1877	1878	71.1878.54.65 (*), 71.1878.54.70 (*)
Musée royal d'Armures, d'Antiquités et d'Artillerie / Musées royaux d'Art et d'Histoire Brussels MRAH	De la Comb		1894	MAA 5838.1-3
	Ch. W. Farres	1858	1859	MAA 5815
Museo de America Madrid	The Pacific mission	1863		Not included

The items marked (*) were not reviewed directly, but through information on the public database or given by the museum's curator.

Appendix D Periodicity of Peruvian Andean civilization

Duccio Bonavia Periodicity of Peruvian Andean civilization based on the Rowe/Lanning scheme (1991) includes six Pre-Ceramic Periods from circa 11,000 up to around 900 BC showing evidence from collecting and hunting to agriculture and domestication of animals and plants. The first remains of twined fibre corresponds to the Pre-Ceramic Period VI/ Initial period which shows villages up to monumental process centres around 2400-1800 BC. The Initial Period 2400-900 BC corresponds to the appearance of ceramics; while the first organized societies are identified in Early Horizon around 900-200 BC. Local and Regional Cultures shaped the Early Intermediate around 200BC-500 AD; while the first Andean Empires are established in the Middle Horizon around 500-900 AD. Regional states in the Late Intermediate around 900-1440 AD and the Inca Empire in Later Horizon between 1440-1539 AD; then the Colony period starts about 1600 AD.

Appendix E Excerpt of Arthur Baessler Letter 22 July 1899

Arthur Baessler, *Letter 22 July 1899*, SMB PK.EM.I/MV0548 Baessler IB 21 E 751/99. Staatliche museen zu Berlin Preußischer Kulturbesitz. Ethnologisches Museum. Berlin 30th August 2022

"… An diese
zweite Sammlung knüpfe ich jedoch die Erwachtung
der Gewährung folgender Bitten:

Die Bearbeitung der Sammlung bleibt bis auf
Weiteres mir allein vorbehalten;

Bei allen Umstellungen die die Sammlung
im Museum in künftigen Jahren etwa er-
fahren sollte, wird die Sammlung stets als
geschlossenes von mir geschenktes Ganze behandelt

und demnach aufgestellt;

Bei ertser hoffentlich recht bald eintretender
Gelegenheit wird der Sammlung für eine [keselet]
Aufstellung ein grösserer Platz angewiesen,
als die augenblicklich einnimmt. Bei dieser Auf-
Stellung kommen

sämmtliche Huacos in Schräncke die an
Grösse den Kleinen der Macedo-Sammlung
ähnlich sind; werden

alle Trapos, soweit es irgend möglich ist
Zwischen doppelte Glasplatten gebracht, wie sie
es jetzt wegen Raummangels nur mit einigen
Wenigen thun konnte; werden

alle Federarbeiten, so weit es nur irgend geht,
in die Form gebracht, die sie ursprünglich halten;
werden

Alle übrigen Gegenstände übersichtlicher
aufgestellt als jetzt.

Um diese Aufstellung zu erleichtern
erkläre ich mich bereit zu den Kosten derselben
"Zehn Tausend" Mark beizutragen, die ich dem
Kgl Museum für Völkerkunde an dem Tag
übergeben werde, an dem mir mitgetheilt wird,
dass ein für eine derachtige Aufstellung passender
Raum im Museum zu Verfügung steht.
Diese 10.000 Mark dürfen nur für diese Aufstellung
verwendet werden.
..."

("To this second collection I do attach, however,
the expectation that the following request
will be fulfilled.
1. The processing of the collection will be
exclusively mine, until further notice
2. With all changes that may happen to the
collection in the years to come, the collection will always
be treated as one and complete, given by me,
and will be exhibited as such.
3. At the first occasion, which I hope is really soon,
the collection will be given larger space for a [keselet]
exhibition than as it has now. At this exhibition:
a. all Huacos will come in cabinets that will have an equal size to
the small ones in the Macedo-collection
b. all Trapos, as far as possible, will be put between
double glass plates, as you have done only
with a few so far, due to lack of space.
c. All feather works, as far as possible, will
be brought in the shapes of their
original states
d. All other things will be on exhibit
more orderly than they are now

In order to facilitate this exhibition,
I hereby declare that I am willing to contribute
ten thousand Marks in the costs of it. And I will
hand it over to the Royal Museum of
Ethnography on the day, that they will declare to me
that for this exhibition a proper space in the Museum

has been designated.

These 10,000 Marks may only be applied to this exhibition."

… Transcribed and translated Prof. Frans Blom)

Appendix F Excerpt of letter from General director to the Minister der Geistlichen, Unterrichts- und Medizinal-Angelegenheiten 27 June 1899

General director of the Konigliche Museen zu Berlin to (Ministerium der geistlichen, Unterrichts- und Medizinal-Angelegenheiten) Minister of Spiritual, Educational and Medical matters. June 27, 1899, SMB PK.EM.I/MV0548 Baessler IB 21 627/ 99. Staatliche museen zu Berlin Preußischer Kulturbesitz. Ethnologisches Museum. Berlin 30th August 2022

"…

A. Bässler

eine sehr umfang-

reiche und aüsserst werthvolle

ethnographische Sammlung an-

gelegt und diese vorlaüfig im

I. Hauptgeschutz des Museums

für Völkerkunde ausgestellt

hat.

…

Indem die General-

Verwaltung sich erlaubt, Eurer

Excellenz ganz gehorsamst

zu bitten,

die Sammlung des Dr.

Bässler besichtigen, zu dem

fügt sie [es]verbietigst hinzu,

dass dies auch im Interesse der

Kgl. Museen sehr erwünschlich

Sein würde, da der Genann-
te, dem die ethnologische Ab-
theilung schon ganz hervorre-
gende Beziehnungen aus seinen
früheren Reissen verdankt, die Absicht zu
erkennen gegeben hat, ist auch
den grössten Theil dieser Samm-
lung, deren Geldwerth auf meh-
rere Hunderttausend Mark,
zu schätzen sein würde geschätzt werde, als Ge-
Schenk anzubieten." E627/1899

(…

A. Bässler … compiled a very large
and extremely valuable
ethnographic collection,
and that he placed it
for the time being under the
main protection of the
Ethnological Museum.

…

"Therefore, the General Board
allows herself to ask Your
Excellency most obediently
to visit Dr. Baessler's
collection. To which she
most humbly adds, that
that would also be highly

appreciated in the interest
of the Royal Museums, since the
aforementioned, to whom the
Department of Ethnology already
owes very breathtaking acquisitions
from his former journeys, has shown
clear intentions to also present
the largest part of this collection,
with an estimated value of
several hundreds of thousands
of Marks, as a gift." (Transcribed and Translated by Prof. Frans Bloom)

Appendix G List of reviewed items

Musées royaux d'Art et d'Histoire (MRAH)

Ch. W. Farres: MAA 5816 1/3, MAA 5816 3/3, 5815. De la Comb: 5825 2, MAA 5838 1/3. Friends of the Museum: MAA 5823.

Ethnologisches Museum Berlin (EMB)

Arthur Baessler : VA 21530, VA 21540, VA 19954, VA 19959, VA 19974, VA 21367, VA 21231, VA 24859. Wilhelm Gretzer : 30962. Wilhelm Reiss and Alphons Stübel : VA 5816 a-t, VA 7468 (85), VA 5808a, 30962.

Museum für Völkerkunde Dresden (MVD)

Arthur Baessler: 16027, 16016, 16032, 16039, 16040, 16041, 16043. Stübel: 4656, 4658, 3002, 3005, 3016, 3035, 3036, 3043, 3044, 3045

Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, Cambridge

Marlborough Robert Pryor: 1912.457, 1912.441, 1912.442, 1912.443, 1912.444, 1912.446, 1912.447, 1912.448, 1912.449, 1912.454, 1912.453. Louis Colville Gray Clarke: 1925.443, 1929.60, 1929.61, 1929.62, 1929.63.

Sold by Simpson and Puttick (Schmidt Pizarro vendor?): 1933.668, 1933.669, 1933.670, 1933.671, 1935.328, 1935.329.

Sold by Simpson and Puttick (auction): 1933.672, 1933.680A, 1933.680B, 1933.681, 1933.68.,

British Museum –Department Archaeology: 1933.685, 1933.687, 1935.323, 1935.324 D, 1935.324 C, 1935.325, 1935.327, 1937.333, 1933.686

Pitt Rivers Museum

Unknown collectors: 1884.69.23.2 and 1884.69.23.1

Enrico Giglioli: a toolbox and its content 1895.38.1.1, 1895.38.1.87, 1895.38.1, 1895.38.24-1895.38.1.43, 1895.38.1.46-1895.38.1.52, 1895.38.1.54, 1895.38.1.57-1895.38.1.68, 1895.38.1.73, 1895.38.1.76-1895.38.1.80, 1895.38.1.82-1895.38.1.83, 1895.38.1.85, 1895.38.1.86, 1895.38.1.89, 1895.38.1.90, 1895.38.1.92, 1895.38.1.551-552.

William Alison Acland 1886.2.49.3, 1886.2.49, 1886.2.79.1, 1886.2.79.2, 1886.2.91, 1886.2.97, 1886.2.102, 1886.2.103.1, 1886.2.103.2, 1886.2.104.1, 1886.2.104.2, 1886.2.104.3, 1886.2.105, 1886.2.106, 1886.2.110, 1886.2.108.1, 1886.2.108.2, 2013.54.1, 2013.55.1.

Lous Colville Grey Clark: The items review are 1919.59.37-1919.59.48, 1919.59.77.15-1919.59.77.17, 1919.59.107-108, 1919.59.116-1919.59.150, 1919.59.151-1919.59.156, 1919.59.157, 1919.59.159, 1919.59.158-1919.59.168, 1919.59.169-170, 1919.59.172-1919.59.176, 1919.59.177-1919.59.181, 1919.59.182, 1919.59.183-1919.59.193, 1919.59.194-1919.59.200, 1919.59.201-1919.59.221, 1919.59.222, 1919.59.223, 1919.59.224, 1919.59.225, 1919.13.25.18, 1919.13.25.2, 1919.13.25.3, 1919.13.25.1, 1919.13.24.4-1919.13.24.12, 1919.13.25.13-14, 1919.13.25.15-16, 1919.13.25.17, 1919.13.25.20, 1920.59.1, 1920.59.3.1, 1920.59.2

Henry Oog Forbes : 1921.92.93, 1921.92.95, 1921.92.103.1, 1921.103.2, 1921.92.148.

Wereld Museum Leiden: Enrico Giglioli: RV-592-14, RV-592-17, RV-592-25, RV-529-27,a, RV-529-28, RV-529-30, RV-787-1,a, RV-592-21.

Victoria and Albert Museum's *Brief Guide to Peruvian Textiles* (1926) refered to the Reiss and Stübel Plate 49 of the 1880 publication to assert periodicity (Victoria and Albert museum 1926, 10). the Metropolitan Museum of Art – US – published Peruvian textiles. Philip Ainsworth Means introduced examples of the Pre-Incaic Period (1930). He proposes a chronological scheme to frame a succinct description of objects, distinguishing them as sources of Ancient Peruvian cultural history (P. A. Means 1930, 9, 10). It contains 25 plates, and the images are mainly zoomed into the details of the textiles' designs. P. A. Means had previously published the monograph *Survey of Ancient Peruvian art* (1917), it discussed a classification for Peruvian art in accordance with a chronological scheme, focusing mainly on textiles and ceramics. Henry Balfour reviewed the book in MAN Vol. 18 (1918) pointed out the inconsistencies in Means's chronological scheme, while stating its scholarly value and encouraging further research (Balfour 1918). P. A. Means replied to Balfour in MAN 18 (1918) *91. Pre-Columbian Peruvian Chronology and Cultures.* Basically, Max Uhle's scheme was the one generally accepted, the dominion based on his methodological and systematic research invalidated any further research whereas the temporal linear scheme was not certain. P. A. Means's later work *A Study of Peruvian textiles* illustrated by representative examples in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (1932), discussed the collection, pointing out its significance regarding its representativeness for each period in the chronological scheme (P. A. Means 1932).

Similar paths were followed in other languages, French publications were varied : for instance, Adolphe Basler and Ernest Brummer *L'art precolombien* (1928); E. T. Hamy and Eugéne Pihan *Fragment de quippu* in the Americanist Conference VIII; Raoul d'Harcourt *Technique du tessage des sandales chez les tribus indiennes de la cote du Perou*, Americanist Conference 28; the Exhibition Catalogue from *Pabellon Marsan Les arts anciens de l'Amerique* (1928) included textiles on display; Walter Lehmann's *The art of old Peru* (1924) included architecture, ceramics, metal and textiles framed through the chronological period scheme. Walter Lehmann and Heinrich Doering's *Kunstgeschichte des alten Peru* (1924) also illustrated textile production.

Charler Williams Meads later publication *Peruvian art as shown on textiles and pottery* (1919) targeted students in the textile design (Mead 1919) and design fields in *Peruvian art*, *some help for students of design (*1922), which studies recurrent representations in textiles, in a schematic way to create a pattern or sequence. Previously, in *Technique of some South American feather work* (1907), he focused on construction and materials of feathered ornaments.

Publications in periodicals mainly described textiles, making them accessible to a broader audience outside scientific publications. For instance, Albert Frank Kendrick *A Peruvian tapestry*, in The Burlington Magazine Vol. 47; Cyril G. E. Bunt, *Studies in Peruvian textiles*, in The Burlington Magazine, Vol. 32, and vol. 26. Cyril G. E. Bunt also published *The tunic from old Peru* (1917) in The Connoisseur, Vol 45. Thomas Joyce wrote about the Pacchas ceremonial vases displayed in the Burlington exhibition (1920) (Joyce, The Paccha 1922).

In the early 20th century, a conflict between two sources of knowledge. Kroeber review of P.A. Means' *Peruvian textiles: Examples of the Pre-Incaic Period. With chrology of Early Peruvian Cultures* (1931) noted the representativeness of each item regarding its cultural affiliation, observing that Means's discussion relied on aesthetic analysis and overlooked the origin of the items. He goes further, stating that Means's period scheme proposal might mislead the academic knowledge of Ancient Peruvian chronology (A. L. Kroeber sd). P.A. Means' publications showed a similar pattern of identifying fragmented collections through academic research schemes and proposing similar development schemes.

Studies focused on aesthetics were produced, for instance, the influential 1920 exhibition *Objects of Indigenous American Art* at the Burlington Fine Arts Club included Ancient Peruvian textiles. The Catalogue's introduction called the styles 'local schools', not yet well defined by archaeology but manifested in the artwork. The exhibition committee included L. C. G. Clarke and Henry Balfour. It exhibited fragments from the North Coast from L. C. G. Clarke, such as a tapestry strip from Truxillo and a tapestry tunic border affiliated with the Chimú period (Burlington Fine Arts Club 1920, 19, 20).