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# The Role of Fake and Fraudulent Objects Within the Museum Context: A Case Study of Tiwanaku Ceramics in the Milwaukee Public Museum Collection

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THE ROLE OF FAKE AND FRAUDULENT OBJECTS WITHIN THE MUSEUM CONTEXT: A  
CASE STUDY OF TIWANAKU CERAMICS IN THE MILWAUKEE PUBLIC MUSEUM  
COLLECTION

by

Armando Manresa

A Thesis Submitted in  
Partial Fulfillment of the  
Requirements for the Degree of

Master of Science

in Anthropology

at

The University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee

May 2023

## **ABSTRACT**

THE ROLE OF FAKE AND FRAUDULENT OBJECTS WITHIN THE MUSEUM CONTEXT:  
A CASE STUDY OF TIWANAKU CERAMICS IN THE MILWAUKEE PUBLIC MUSEUM COLLECTION  
by Armando Manresa

The University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, 2023  
Under the Supervision of Professor W. Warner Wood

During the 20th century thousands, if not millions, of fake and fraudulent artifacts made their way into museum collections around the world through purchases, donations, and museum exchanges. The growth in Pre-Columbian collections, in particular, was precipitated by the many archaeological discoveries during that time as well as the continued looting of known and unrecorded sites across Latin America. As authentic items flooded the collectors' market and from there into art and natural history museums, a mass-scale industry in fake and fraudulent artifacts arose to meet the demand. These items were primarily created for tourists, but some artists became so adept that collectors and museums were often unaware that the material they obtained were recent creations, not of archaeological origin. While the issue is heavily documented and studied for Central American countries there is little research and information regarding this enterprise in South America.

While the Milwaukee Public Museum (MPM) has thousands of Latin American archaeological artifacts in its collection little focus has been on the fake, fraudulent, or reproduced artifacts from South America. The purpose of this thesis is to highlight thirty-six objects from Tiwanaku, Bolivia that were identified as inauthentic and to discuss their place within a museum context.

Most of these objects have minimal associated provenience information. It is unclear as

to who donated them and how they were determined to be fake or fraudulent. Questionable origins, demonstrated by this example often cause such objects to occupy a liminal state in a museum's collection. Focused analysis on these types of objects can help museums identify, document, exhibit, and interpret questionable items making them more useful to museums around the world.

This thesis used a non-invasive approach to the study of fake and fraudulent archaeological ceramic material from Tiwanaku, Bolivia in the MPM's collections using the following methods: 1) producing a literature review of relevant publications on South American ethnographic and archaeological ceramics, which included a review of folk art traditions, archaeological studies, and articles by experts who have published on fake and fraudulent objects, 2) consultations with other scholars in the field to determine if they have found similar objects, and 3) an analysis of historical information to understand why these objects were and continue to be made.

Another objective of this thesis is to identify the people involved in creating these objects and how they found their way to museums. Museums vary in how they display and house objects that are labeled as fake and fraudulent, so at the conclusion of this thesis study I outline options for housing and displaying objects that are fake and fraudulent.

**Keywords:** Museum collection, South America, Bolivia, Milwaukee Public Museum, Authenticity, Ceramics, Fake, and Fraudulent

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To my wife, Bailey And  
To my family, Deborah, Armando, and Shentel

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I would like to thank UWM for providing me with the opportunity to get my masters in a field that I love and enjoy. Also, I would like to thank the Milwaukee Public Museum for allowing me to work on this thesis collection and for the many years I had the opportunity to hold an internship there. I would also like to thank my friends and family who were there throughout the whole process encouraging me and providing me with support whenever I needed it. I would not have been able to finish this thesis without the help of so many people and I appreciate every single person who helped me through this process.

## **Chapter I: Introduction Topic and Goals**

The primary undertaking of this study is to understand how museums in the past and present have addressed the issue of fake or fraudulent Latin American artifacts in their collection. A secondary focus explores what makes an object “authentic” versus “inauthentic”. Lastly, this thesis will discuss how museums with fake or fraudulent items can display and interpret artifacts in a more beneficial way as opposed to storing these objects away from the public’s eye as they have done in the past.

### **Research Goals**

There are several questions that I have addressed in this thesis, all related to how museums perceive, collect, care for, and interpret fake and fraudulent artifacts. For example: what makes something fake or fraudulent compared to authentic? What is the difference between modern-day interpretations of previous cultural pieces, fake and fraudulent pieces, or looted pieces from archaeological sites, authentic pieces from archaeological and folk art using older cultural symbols and styles? Secondly, how did museums collect, care for, and interpret these types of collections in the past and what are their procedures and thoughts regarding this material currently? Additionally, what are some of the benefits and downsides to museums keeping known fake and fraudulent artifacts in their collections? Lastly, what are some of the reasons or circumstances surrounding the creation of these pieces and the evolution and continuation of the fake and forgery industries? Who are the key players involved in their creation and sale, how do the objects move from their country of origin to the United States, and what are the motivations and intentions of the individuals involved in this industry?

This thesis aims to determine how the fake and fraudulent industry evolved and why

museums, knowingly or unknowingly, accepted or purchased objects of this type over the decades. To answer some of these questions, it is important to determine how museums originally documented, stored, displayed, and interpreted objects of this nature. This will help to inform how museums today can better understand the history of these liminal collections and how they can effectively care for and interpret objects of this nature.

As a primary case study, 36 ceramic Tiwanaku artifacts from the Milwaukee Public Museum (MPM) collection previously identified as fake or fraudulent artifacts were examined. The collection is part of one single accession (8050), which originally consisted of 49 objects. The following is all the information that is known about the 8050 accession and how the pieces came to the MPM. In 1925, two individuals named Alfredo Arroyo and Ernesto Viduarre traveled from Bolivia to Milwaukee, Wisconsin with a total of 49 objects believed to be authentic Peruvian and Bolivian artifacts from the Tiwanaku culture. The two individuals came to the US with a letter of authentication, signed by the Bolivian government (Appendix A.1), and sold the 49 objects to Dr. Barrett of the MPM for \$750 in 1925. The letter of authentication, which is in Spanish, states that Arroyo and Viduarre personally excavated the objects in remote regions in Peru and Bolivia. Additionally, the MPM's accession file contains a bill of sale paperwork from Dr. Barrett (Appendix A.1) showing that the pieces sold were believed to be authentic. The accession file contains no official paperwork indicating when the objects were categorized as fake, however there is a disposition record (Appendix A.1) from August 20<sup>th</sup>, 1947 for object A29377/8050 that indicates the collection was determined to be fake sometime in 1935. The disposition record does not indicate who made that determination, or how the determination was made. Since 1925, thirteen of the pieces in this accession have

left the MPM either by disposition because of damage to the pieces or being exchanged to other museums.

This thesis highlights and discusses the collection of fake or fraudulent objects in the MPM's collection as well as Tiwanaku ceramics in the Field Museum and Logan Museum of Anthropology. I will use Tiwanaku ceramic artifacts as a representative sample that shows how a collection of this nature can be used, understood, and highlighted in a museum setting.

### **Why this topic?**

This topic was chosen for several reasons. First, I became familiar with Latin American fakes and forgeries collection through working at the MPM and having been intrigued by an exhibit on this topic in the Pre-Columbian exhibit hall. I also worked with the Latin American collection while interning in the MPM Anthropology Department and I grew to love and appreciate the ceramics in that collection but also questioned why the Museum had so many fakes and replicas from this region. The other reason for selecting the Latin American collection was that I did fieldwork in the Andes and I learned about the extensive looting from archeological sites. I also saw vendors at markets selling ceramics and textiles that looked very similar to the material from archeological sites. Seeing these items led me down a path where I began to question what makes this material "authentic" versus "inauthentic"? How and why were these items created for people primarily from other countries? Why would most museums and auction houses place greater value, both monetarily and symbolically, on archaeological material rather than well-crafted contemporary material?

## Significance

The topic of fake and fraudulent museum collections is not a topic commonly found in academic or museum publications until recently. While there have been articles regarding the authenticity of specific pieces, there was little information written about how widespread fake and forgeries were, especially in the Andes, and how to distinguish the “real” from the fake.

There are a few reasons for the dearth of publications but it is certainly not based on a lack of interest in the topic! Museums, generally, do not like to draw attention to the inauthenticity of their collections because when items are determined to be fake or fraudulent, especially in art museums, it often ends up as national and global headlines. For example, in 2018, the Guardian reported that an art museum in southern France discovered that half of its paintings were fakes (Agence France-Presse 2018). More recently, in 2020, National Geographic covered a story where the Museum of the Bible discovered the Dead Sea Scrolls in their collection were found to all be fraudulent (Greshko 2020). These articles highlight that the issue of fake and fraudulent objects is a widespread issue and not just limited to South America.

Museums usually do not like the public to learn that their collections are fake because it calls into question the academic integrity of the institution. Questions arise as to whether the museum curators of the past had or currently have the qualifications, skills, or experience to judge or determine an object’s authenticity. As curators today start looking more deeply into the collections of their institution, they have discovered that there are objects within those collections that had been once covered up or ignored that are now being discussed. This pattern illustrates that museums, just like people, can be duped and make mistakes, but the culture of history is a serious responsibility that no museum takes lightly. Mistakes and



inaccuracies, whether they were made decades ago or recently, can that affect the public's trust and change their perception of a trusted authority or even museums in general. An item later determined to be fake or fraudulent may also have the potential to affect relationships with specific donors and consequentially hurt those relationships.

Additionally, as more research on these types of items and collections are published in an effort to be more transparent questions of ethics, legality, curatorial competency, connoisseurship, and decolonization efforts arise. In addition, more refined methods of identification and improved technology, continues to advance this work, narratives shifts. But while the field has worked to improve and develop skills to determine authenticity, this presents a conundrum. When museum professionals and scholars write about key aspects used to determine to be fakes and fraudulent material, the individuals creating the pieces use this information to improve and better perfect their craft. At the same time, even fewer people and publications are discussing why museums keep and store these types of objects. For all of these reasons, I felt this topic was critical to explore.

## **Overview**

The next chapter discusses the methods guiding my research and how I went about identifying the thesis collection. It will highlight the struggles of attempting to conduct research on a collection during the height of the COVID-19 pandemic and the alterations to my research plan in order to accommodate the lack of access to the collection.

Chapter 3 clarifies and defines the meaning of authenticity as it relates to this thesis project. The chapter will also provide insight into the various definitions of what makes an object fake, fraudulent, a replica, or a cast. The second half of the chapter provides background

information on Andean and Bolivian archaeology relating to the time periods relevant to the items examined in this thesis along with some of the major scholars who have conducted relevant research. The section will provide some historical context on the Andes region during the Middle Horizon period, the period during which Tiwanaku thrived. Additionally, the chapter will wrap up with a discussion of what authentic and “traditional” Tiwanaku archaeological ceramic material should look like. The discussion will contain examples of authentic material and explanations on the typical size and shape seen in ceramic material from the Tiwanaku culture.

Chapter 4 discusses the problem of the looting, selling, and collecting of authentic archaeological material along with the rise of the art industry in Bolivia. Additionally, the chapter will highlight the 1970 UNESCO cultural property law and the subsequent cultural laws that are aimed at limiting looting and removal of cultural objects from countries. The chapter highlights Indigenous looting over the years, the reasons behind it, and the history of when and why collectors and museums started acquiring artifacts prior to and post 1950s. The chapter concludes with a discussion of the major individuals involved in the creation and distribution of modern day material.

Chapter 5 highlights select South American fake and fraudulent collections. The chapter discusses how the MPM, the Field Museum, and the Logan Museum display, interpret, and house fake and fraudulent materials in their museums and the challenges of having objects of that nature in the collection. While the chapter provides insight into two other museums, Field Museum and the Logan Museum, it will focus primarily on the MPM’s exhibit case on fake and fraudulent material along with previous research done on those items. The chapter will

conclude with analysis of the thesis collection and categorize them into a systematic framework which was created for this thesis project. The analyze of the collection was done with the assistance of an expert in the field, Dr. Jonah Augustine. The chapter contains explanations on why the objects were categorized as they were along with accompanying images to assist in the analysis.

Lastly, Chapter 6 summarizes the findings and discusses how they relate to the broader world of acquiring objects for museum collections. The chapter begins with a discussion of the results of my thesis research. The next section extends my discussion of the problems I encountered conducting the results for my thesis. Additionally, this section addresses the results of the thesis and explains how the project will help expand our knowledge on this important subject. The last part of the chapter, the conclusion of the thesis, explores how this thesis may prove to be useful to others.

## **Chapter II: Methods**

This chapter will explain the process and methodology I employed when evaluating objects in the MPM collection. Additionally, I will identify and highlight how conclusions were made about some artifacts' authenticity despite not having the proper documentation. Because little was known about the collection regarding how and why the pieces were ruled fake or fraudulent, analysis of comparative collections and insight from professionals was needed. I had the opportunity to work on my thesis with the assistance of the Robert Ritzenthaler Research Internship through UW-Milwaukee and the MPM. It proved to be invaluable for the initial stages of my thesis project.

### **Identifying the Thesis Collection & Beginning Research**

While most of the MPM's fake and fraudulent collection is separated from the authentic collection piecing together an actual list of all of the objects was a difficult task. The MPM's collection database system, EMu, does not have complete records for most objects in the Anthropology collection. Because the collection was an "orphaned collection", little information was put into the database. The term orphaned collection refers to a museum collection that does not have an expert in that discipline to conduct research on the pieces. In order to determine all potential fake and fraudulent artifacts, several analog records had to be checked. Initially, the plan was to consider at all of the MPM's Latin American fake and fraudulent ceramic collections, including Meso, Central and South American objects. Unfortunately, the scope of the thesis was changed due to the outbreak of COVID-19, which will be addressed later in this chapter.

In order to identify all relevant items under this category, it was decided by Dawn Scher

Thomae, MPM Curator of Anthropology Collections, and myself that a wide net would be cast in the hopes of being able to "catch" as many objects as possible. I began with EMu keyword searches of *fake, fraudulent, forgery, possibly fake, reproduction, or cast*. From the list that EMu generated, I then looked at the inventory drawer sheets for South, Central and Meso American collections kept in the MPM's Anthropology Lab. Again, I looked for any indication in the inventory sheets about fake or fraudulent objects not identified as such in the original Emu search. From there, I moved on to examining the catalog books, catalog cards, and accession files of objects already in the thesis collection to locate any additional objects. There was no central location or place to easily track down all the pieces. Most of the information in EMu for the objects was missing fields, which made finding all potential objects extremely difficult.

Next, I separated the thesis collection into more manageable pieces. I kept track of the thesis collection using Excel spreadsheets and made individual tabs for Meso, Central and South America collections. I had generated a list of 166 potential artifacts and decided that would be the starting point. This list was generated during the Spring semester of 2020, when I had concurrently taken a South American Art History class taught by Dr. David Pacifico, who later became the third member of my thesis committee. During that semester, Dr. Pacifico provided me with several sources and information about South American Art History, helping me to identify why some of the pieces were ruled to be fake and fraudulent.

Throughout that spring semester in 2020, I poured over the accession files, case files, catalog cards, catalog books, and the accession files in the MPM's vault in an attempt to learn as much as I could about the thesis collection. Since little research work had previously been conducted, there were minimal records associated with the objects. Additionally, I spent time in

MPM's onsite library looking through various editions of Sotheby's auction guides from as early as the 1950s in the hopes of finding comparable or hopefully, the same donors to find comparative samples. Unfortunately, none were found. The auction catalogs did help me to understand what was considered to be authentic by learned experts.

Thankfully, that Spring semester, I received assistance from an old friend, William Feltz, who photographed and edited most of the objects for me. The time and effort he put in to help me was invaluable since it allowed me to focus on the documentation history of the collection and measurements for the objects. Without his assistance, my thesis progress would have been slowed considerably, and I am incredibly thankful for all the help he provided. Photos were taken with a DSLR camera in the Conservation lab in the Anthropology department on the 6th floor of the MPM with a white backdrop.

The initial plan was to photograph all the South American collections in storage first because I would be working with those objects initially with Dr. Pacifico and then move on to the Central and Meso American artifacts. I first compiled a list of all of the collection drawers where objects were located in storage, and with the assistance of William, I brought up four to five drawers at a time. William and I set up a good workflow where he would photograph objects while I would measure them and then switch them out. Prior to photographing the pieces, I determined which ones might already have photos in the MPM's online database, EMu. Few had updated photos or any photos at all. Also, there was no measurement information recorded for the pieces and I knew measurements and photography would be essential for the project. The lack of images, descriptions, and measurements also confirmed that these pieces were not part of the priority collection for the department. With the

Ritzenthaler Internship, I was able to come in two days a week to work on my thesis. I spent one day a week taking measurements and photographing the objects, and the second day I read the source material, and gathered background information about the pieces. I also used this time to draft the thesis proposal.

During the Spring semester, Dr. Pacifico visited the MPM to assist me in examining accession 8050 items. This group was marked “fake and fraudulent” by 1935, but unfortunately, there was no information as to how that determination was made and by whom regarding the decision. Dr. Pacifico, whose specialty is in Peruvian Archaeology of the North Coast region, pointed out significant flaws in the overall size of the pieces and the designs and motifs painted onto the ceramic pottery (Figure 2.1 and 2.2).



Figure 2.1: Object A29392/8050 contains symbols and glyphs that are not common to Tiwanaku culture ceramic material. The piece also contains hieroglyphics that do not appear in other known ceramic material from this region or culture. The piece is unusually large as well and was ruled as fraudulent in 1935. Photo taken by William Feltz. Used with permission from MPM.



Figure 2.2: Object A29388/8050 from MPM's South American ceramic collection. The piece has hieroglyphics (indicated by the red circle) on both sides towards the base and up the shaft of the vessel. The pieces are large in comparison to other ceramic material from the Tiwanaku area and the entire accession of 8050 was ruled as fraudulent in 1935. Photo taken by William Feltz. Used with permission from MPM.

Additionally, Dr. Pacifico recommended several other archeologists who work and live in Peru, to contact in the hopes that they would have seen similar fakes and fraudulent pieces. We believed that the individuals, Arroyo and Viduarre, who sold the pieces to the MPM, likely sold similar pieces to other museums or private collectors.

Unfortunately, after reaching out to Dr. Michele Koons, Curator of Archaeology at the Denver Museum of Natural History and Dr. Jonah Augustine, a Peruvian archaeologist, they stated they had not seen comparable vessels before, but both agreed that the pieces did not resemble traditional Tiwanaku ceramic material. Additionally, I reviewed Sotheby's auction catalogs to see if there were any objects in private collectors that resembled pieces in this thesis collection. The outcome was similar. No similar objects were found to be in circulation.



## **COVID-19 & Alterations to the Thesis Project**

Towards the latter part of the Spring semester of 2020, the COVID-19 pandemic made its way to the United States and changed everything. For me, this meant that I was no longer able to photograph and measure the objects, come into the museum to conduct research or visit other museums to compare similar collections. At that point in the semester, I had yet to review all the accession files for the objects in the thesis collection, only having gotten through about three-fourths of the South American donor accession files. Photographs still needed to be taken of six drawers associated artifacts and several objects on exhibit. With the future uncertain, no changes were initially made to my thesis collection, and plans were made to continue the process in the summer of 2020 when it was thought things would be back to "normal".

For the rest of that Spring semester, Dawn Scher Thomae and I agreed it would be beneficial to finish up my thesis proposal and continue to hone my project outline in order to provide those written samples to my thesis committee. Since I was unable to physically visit museums like the Field Museum in Chicago, the Logan Museum of Anthropology in Beloit, WI, I searched online collections, when available. Both Dawn Scher Thomae and Dr. W. Warner Wood, my academic advisor and thesis committee chair, encouraged me to reach out to museum professionals at the Logan Museum of Anthropology and the Field Museum in Chicago to see if they had comparative collections or received any objects from the same donors. There are various reasons and motivations for people to sell fake and fraudulent items to museums, some of those motives are financial, and others sell/gift items that are fake and fraudulent without knowing the item's genuine authenticity. Unfortunately, there was no comparative

fraudulent material at the two primary museums; the Field Museum and the Logan Museum of Anthropology.

Once the calendar turned to late summer/ early fall, the possibility of being able to return to the MPM to continue working on my thesis appeared to be a dim reality. After talks with Dawn and Dr. Wood, it seemed that the best route would be to eliminate the objects from Central America in my thesis. Because Dr. Pacifico was able to assist with and the South American collection and since most of the research, pictures, and measurements were taken for those objects already, it seemed logical to keep working on that material. The elimination of the Central American objects narrowed the thesis collection from 160 to 66 items. The thesis collection now would primarily contain objects from Peru and Bolivia with a small amount of material from Colombia, Ecuador, and Chile.

Ultimately, the thesis collection was narrowed to 58 objects to create a more concise thesis project. There would be one more reduction of the thesis collection in the winter of 2021-2022, when the objects from Colombia, Ecuador, and Chile were removed. The last and narrowing of the thesis collection came after a meeting I had with Dr. Jonah Augustine in April of 2022. During that meeting Dr. Augustine was able to provide me with a large amount of information that allowed me to understand why the accession 8050, sold to the MPM for \$750 by Mr. Arroyo and Mr. Viduarre in 1925, was ruled as fake and fraudulent. Furthermore, Dr. Augustine provided information and insight into other museum collections from Tiwanaku and how the accession 8050 compared to them. It was after this conversation that we decided my thesis collection should focus on the accession 8050 which contained fakes and fraudulent artifacts solely from the Tiwanaku region in Bolivia and Peru. In a separate meeting that took

place in the fall of 2022, Dr. Augustine assisted me in identifying the reasons why each vessel in the thesis collection was determined to be fake.

I took the time to explain this long process of my thesis project to illustrate the uphill battle museums and museum professionals are facing when it comes to fake and fraudulent collections. The pieces in original scope came to the museum between the early 1900s to the 2000s and they all lack complete documentation. It is important that the public understands the difficult task that museums face at a time when there are not enough experts in museums to properly research and document these objects. Museums owe it to the public to care for and to properly document all of their pieces and be given the ability to do so.

### **Chapter III: Background – Defining and Determining Real and Fake broad, defining Andean (Bolivian) History and Archaeology**

This chapter explores the definition of authenticity, as it relates to this thesis, and covers the many different types of fake and fraudulent objects that individuals create and use. The definitions of these terms have been pulled from various sources and experts in the field. Additionally, this chapter provides background information on Andean, and more specifically, the Bolivian historical record. Attention will be paid to the archaeological history in the Andes region along with the individuals who have been excavating at Tiwanaku, Bolivia throughout the years. The chapter concludes with an overview of the attributes that are associated with authentic and “traditional” Tiwanaku archaeological ceramic material.

#### **Determining Authenticity**

What makes something authentic compared to fake or fraudulent? Is it the intent of the producer or is it the materials that it is constructed of that define authenticity? Perhaps it is where and how it was created? These are questions and ideas that I had to think about and answer before even compiling the list of objects for my thesis project—defining the parameters of my research question and what makes something authentic versus fake or fraudulent.

For this thesis, I wanted to focus on the donated, gifted, purchased, or exchanged South American ceramics from the museums I chose for this thesis that were believed to be authentic and then later discovered to be fake. I also wanted to understand why museums knowingly accepted fake or fraudulent material into their collections. After determining the parameters of the thesis collection, it was then essential to define precisely what makes something authentic.

The key to understanding authenticity is the piece's social and cultural context and the provable history of that piece. In the fields of archaeology, art history, and museum studies, one

of the most critical factors in understanding an artifact is its provenience. Defined, provenience is the origin of a piece, or where it originally came from (Bruhns & Kelker 2010: 32). Without that information, an object has little to no meaning archaeologically because it has lost its greater context in relation to the archaeological site when it was found, the culture to which it belongs, and how the piece could have potentially been used. The historical context helps to define authenticity despite any attempts to restore the piece during modern times (Tremain 2012: 174). Objects can be considered “authentic” if they have a reliable, accepted, and continued history that is provable from the time of their creation to present day (Tremain 2012: 174).

Though, it should be noted that if a piece’s original context is lost due to the piece being looted or stolen, scientific analysis can be conducted to help determine its authenticity (Bruhns and Kelker 2010: 20-22). The difficulty in choosing scientific tests for determining authenticity is that most museums do not have the funds or on-site expertise for these tests. Some tests, too, can be destructive and museums have to think deeply about whether the information they would get is worth the price of destruction, no matter how minimal. Additionally, as forgers, those who create the vessels with the intent to deceive, learn more about these test results, the more knowledgeable they become about how to age the pieces in ways that may affect the analysis and outcomes. As more research is done to determine authenticity and help people to understand what makes a fake or fraudulent piece, the better and more equipped forgers become at enhancing their skills and the products they create.

In this thesis, I argue that one way to look at this thesis collection and to attempt to determine its authenticity is to separate the pieces into three categories based on the level of

confidence in determining whether a piece is authentic or not. The idea for this system came to me from a conversation with the MPM Curator of Anthropology collections, Dawn Scher Thoma, when we were discussing a piece's authenticity and at what point aspects of an artifact suggest it might be a possible fake or forgery. She mentioned that she first uses observational skills honed after many years of working with material culture from that region. If a piece raises questions such as nontraditional iconography or colors, issues with size of the piece or material form, or inconsistent provenance information, one should be cautious when attributing authenticity to the piece and more research should be done, sometimes by an outside expert. This discussion inspired me to suggest three categories denoting different levels of confidence with a color to indicate the level of caution that should be used when working with objects that may have questionable authenticity. The colors assigned to the categories are green, yellow, and red.

Think of the color assignments as stop lights or cautionary flags. Green means good, Yellow means caution, and Red means danger. It should be noted that these determinations should not be permanent and can be re-evaluated regularly as new research and information is published or as experts are consulted, and based on their evaluation, change could be made to an attribution.

The first category, Green, is assigned to a piece determined to be authentic if there is a provable history of where that artifact originated. Additionally, if the piece was known to be excavated from an archaeological site, there is documentation to prove it, and visual inspection supports its provenience, this piece would be given a Green flag. If there are questions about its authenticity, such as where the artifact was excavated, or any issues/concerns about the

stylistic and visual components of the piece, then that piece should be considered to have a Yellow flag. Pieces given the Yellow flag label does not mean that the piece is a fake or fraudulent artifact; instead, the piece should be further researched and analyzed by an expert in that area of study.

The last category would be the objects that fall under the Red flag or are known to be fake and fraudulent. Pieces in this category have glaring stylistic differences from most pieces that come from that part of the world. Additionally, the physical composition of the piece may be entirely different for the typical objects from this region as well. For example, if a piece came into the museum collection from a donor claiming it was an authentic 500 BC ceramic piece, but further analysis showed that the paint on the side was metallic, which would undoubtedly make the piece fake or fraudulent because metallic paint was not invented until the early 1900s – it would get a Red flag (Quirk 2014). One of the main reasons for selecting this collection of Tiwanaku fake and fraudulent pieces was because they were all identified as red flagged objects; additionally, the pieces were already confirmed to be fake or fraudulent pieces after the pieces were accession, but the reasoning behind that determination could not be substantiated through the MPM's documentation records.

### **Fake, Fraudulent, Replica, and Cast**

For the scope of this thesis collection replicas are not included since they were made to be a similar or exact copy of an original piece, often a well-known or famous artifact. In the vast majority of cases when individuals make replica pieces the main purpose behind making them is to not deceive anyone into thinking it is authentic (Tremain 2012: 174). When artists or museums make replica pieces, they tend to clearly indicate that, either when creating or selling

the items. In the museum context, it is often noted in the exhibit label associated with the piece (see Figure 3.1). The context behind those pieces is that they closely resemble the original in all details to allow more people to enjoy, observe, and understand the piece while not deceiving the individual into believing it is the original. The MPM has multiple replicas on display from South America and worldwide. One such example is the replica Rosetta Stone that the MPM has in their "Crossroads of Civilization" exhibit featured on the third floor.



Figure 3.1: Side by side of the replica Rosetta Stone object on exhibit at MPM. The replica Rosetta Stone is on one wall behind a protective case while the exhibit label is on the wall to the left of the object. The full transcript of the exhibit label can be found in Appendix B: Exhibit Labels. Photo courtesy of author.

For the purpose of this thesis, the task of defining what makes something authentic or not was difficult due to the reasons described above. Individuals can create pieces using similar material and styles as older artifacts sometimes with the intention of deceiving people for profit.



Other times, it is those selling the item, who are not always the creators, who are deceiving people as to its authenticity. To attempt to understand what makes something authentic, we need to define what makes something fake, an original forgery, or a pastiche (Tremain 2012: 174-176, Bruhns and Kelker 2010: 20-22).

When talking about fakes in this context, the term generally refers to a variety of categories ranging from copies, molds or casts, or replicas (Bruhns and Kelker 2010: 20). Not all copies, molds, or replicas are considered fakes, unless there is an attempt to sell them as authentic pieces. Many of the works in this category are considered to be low end art market pieces and easily distinguished to be fakes by knowledgeable buyers due to errors in their painted decorations (Bruhns and Kelker 2010: 20, Dr. Jonah Augustine personal communication). In the Andes, it is common to see pieces of this nature because of the high number of authentic casts and molds that have survived from Pre-Columbian times (Bruhns and Kelker 2010: 20, Dr. Jonah Augustine personal communication). Fakers will typically take ancient molds or casts and create new “old” pots and try to sell them to tourists who are made to believe they are ancient at vender shops for low prices (Bruhns and Kelker 2010: 20). Additionally, vendors may make replica pieces and then label them as authentic to increase the price of the piece (Tremain 2012: 175). For this thesis, “fake” will refer to pieces that were not created during the Pre- Columbian time period and where a person attempted to misrepresent as genuine a piece and authentic when it was in reality from a more modern or recent time.

Another category of fake or fraudulent pieces is pastiche, or *pasticcio*. Pastiche pieces are created by piecing together broken authentic pottery pieces from multiple different ceramics to create an entirely new piece (Bruhns and Kelker 2010: 21, Tremain 2012: 175).

Pastiche makers achieve this feat by carefully selecting pieces from similar sized ceramic works and assembling them in a way that would seem to be authentic to most people (Bruhns and Kelker 2010: 21). The pastiche makers then fill in the missing areas with new clay and design those areas with iconography that they believe would fit in with the piece they are making. Bruhns and Kelker state, "Such works are often termed "false restorations" because entirely new vessels are constructed using portions of incomplete but genuine [artifacts]" (Bruhns and Kelker 2010: 21). Identifying pastiche items as fake or fraudulent can be difficult for non-experts because they are created from authentic pieces.

The most challenging category relating to trying to identify fake or fraudulent pieces are the original forgeries or "replivention". These pieces are made by highly skilled artists that can create entirely new pieces using the same materials, techniques, and iconography that were used by ancient potters (Bruhns and Kelker 2010: 21-22). The quality of these pieces are so impressive and seem so authentic that they can even trick and deceive experts (Bruhns and Kelker 2010: 21). These master forgers can be found throughout Central and South America and they have various intentions. Some of the forgers like Mexico's Brígido Lara, who operated during the 1950s to the 1970s, when he began working as a conservator for the state of Veracruz, Mexico, and Peru's Eduardo "Chino" Calderón who was active during the 1950s through 1996 when he passed away, but his family still continues the tradition to this day. They both created pieces that looked authentic and were sold as modern-day replicas to art dealers (Bruhns and Kelker 2010: 21-40, Crossley and Wagner 1987: 98-103). The issue is that once they sold their replicas to art dealers, they had no control over how art dealers may describe them in their attempts to sell the pieces to others. Original forgeries regularly end up in high-end

galleries, museums, and private collections because of their incredible quality and ability to fool even the most knowledgeable experts (Bruhns and Kelker 2010: 22, Crossley and Wagner 1987: 98-103). One of the outcomes of this enterprise was that evolving research was often conducted by experts in their field on these pieces over decades. This sometimes led to misleading scholarship that was written about the civilization, their cultures, and the pieces themselves which was then often repeated by others in successive publications (Bruhns and Kelker 2010: 22).

### **Andean and Bolivian Archaeology**

Andean archaeology was founded and largely based off of the research of two archaeologists, the first being a German archaeologist named Max Uhle who worked between 1892 and 1905 and Julio Tello an indigenous archaeologist from Peru who operated from 1880-1947 (Rowe 1954:1, Burger 2010). Uhle was a museum curator who developed an interest in Peru and Andean studies while working at the Dresden Museum in Germany (Rowe 1954). Prior to Uhle's research and studies on the area there was no chronology of Andean cultures. Uhle worked extensively in the Andes to identify and wrote about various cultures throughout the region. Uhle began in the Tiwanaku area of Bolivia and Peru and is widely believed to be the first individual to write in depth about the Tiwanaku civilization and culture (Rowe 1954). During the 1890s and through the 1920s Uhle excavated the Tiwanaku area, northern Peru, Ecuador, and Chile collecting an extensive amount of Andean material and used the information he collected to create a chronology of cultures in the region (Rowe 1954). Uhle did this by using stratigraphy and seriation of the material that was excavated in situ to create this chronology which has since been refined and built upon by later archaeologists, like Alfred Kroeber (Rowe 1954; Uhle

1902). Through Uhle's research, he identified five cultural periods or as he called them 'horizons' (Augustine 2019: 12-13, Uhle 1902). The work that Uhle did was influential and started to bring light and intrigue to the Andean region that, prior to his work, was largely unknown.

Julio Tello is considered by many as the "father of Peruvian archaeology" and was the first indigenous archaeologist in South America (Burger 2010). Tello was born to a Quechua speaking family in the Huarochirí Province, Peru (Burger 2010). He received his education from Harvard University in 1911 in Anthropology. In 1919, Tello worked on the archaeological site of Chavín de Huantar which is located on the north coast of Peru and the site was dated to around 850 BC (Burger 2010). Tello and his team were the first to discover that Chavín de Huantar was major religious center during their excavations (Burger 2010). Additionally, in 1927 Tello and his team discovered 429 mummy bundles around the *Cerro Colorado* region of Peru which is located in the Paracas Peninsula (Burger 2010). While Tello believed that the Andean Mountain range contained important cultural centers in ancient times, some of his colleagues refuted that belief. Tello's work at the sites of Chavín de Huantar and Ayacucho, which was the center of the Wari culture helped prove his theory (Burger 2010). In 1936, Tello along with the help of several prominent scholars including, Alfred Kroeber, Wendell Bennett, two scholars who will be mentioned later, established the Institute of Andean Research (IAR) (Burger 2010).

Following the work of Uhle and Tello, Alfred Kroeber worked to identify additional periods and refined the chronology (Augustine 2019, Kroeber 1944). Alfred Kroeber was an American anthropologist who worked throughout California, New Mexico, Mexico, and Peru from the 1910s to 1940s (Stanlaw 2022). Kroeber's addition to the chronology of Andean

archaeology consisted of adding an earlier group named the Chavín culture while also redefining the Nazca culture to be an intermediate period because of their limited influential range along the coast (Augustine 2019: 13, Kroeber 1944). The chronology that Kroeber established consisted of the Early Horizon, the Early Intermediate Period, the Middle Horizon, the Late Intermediate Period, and the Late Horizon (Augustine 2019: 13). (The next section of this chapter will illustrate the difference between what constitutes an 'intermediate period' compared to a 'horizon'.)

Following the work of Uhle and Kroeber studies in Andean archaeology were largely at a standstill without further field work (Kidder 1954: 270-271). That would change when Wendell Bennett, an American Anthropologist who was the South American Archaeology Assistant Curator at the American Museum of Natural History during the 1930s, conducted field work in the Tiwanaku Basin (Figure 3.2). Bennett selected the site of Tiwanaku for his research largely because there was almost no information about the people who inhabited the site prior to his fieldwork (Kidder 1954: 270-271). Bennett's work focused on the stratigraphy of the site of Tiwanaku which was not covered during Uhle's research into the area (Kidder 1954).



Figure 3.2: Image shows the location of Tiwanaku, Bolivia which is indicated by the red dot. Photo is courtesy of Google maps.

Tiwanaku, also known as Tiahuanaco, is situated to the southeast of Lake Titicaca in the northwest corner of Bolivia and just south of Peru. Rebecca Stone, who has written extensively on Andean cultures and history states, “Tiwanaku and Lake Titicaca played an important role in the creation and origin myths of the later Incas” she goes onto say, “In Aymara, the language of the eastern area, the city exemplifies a concept known as *taypikhala*, ‘the stone in the center.’” (Stone 2012: 132). Tiwanaku people did not leave a written language behind, so the majority of what we know and understand about the culture comes from archaeological excavations. Archaeologists have discovered that the people of Tiwanaku were incredible stone workers, studied the stars extensively, and developed a way to farm in soil that contains high levels of salt (Stone 2012: 130-136). More information about the Tiwanaku culture will be provided later in this chapter.

Wendell Bennett was an American archaeologist who received his M.A. and Ph.D. from the University of Chicago during the late 1920s and early 1930s (Kidder 1954: 269). His work originally began with research on the Hawaiian Islands for the Bishop Museum. During the 1930s is when

Bennett began to work extensively in the Lake Titicaca basin and divided the Tiwanaku civilization into three subperiods based on ceramic material that was excavated (Bennett 1934, 1950). The Tiwanaku civilization subperiods were divided into Early, Classic, and Decadent periods (Augustine 2019: 13-14, Bennett 1934, 1950). Bennett's work on the Tiwanaku material that created this chronology largely holds up to this day with archaeologists refining it as more material has been discovered (Augustine 2019). Around the same time Bennett was establishing the chronology of the Tiwanaku civilization, Arthur Posnansky was working on identifying the animal iconography that appears on Tiwanaku ceramic and stone material (Augustine 2019, Posnansky 1945). Posnansky, who went by Arturo after becoming a Bolivian citizen, was a German businessman, naval officer, and scholar who was dedicated to writing about Tiwanaku (March 2019: 1-3). While some scholars have dismissed Posnansky's work due to his complicated and troubled views on race and lack of archaeological training, Posnansky spent a large amount of his life writing and documenting Tiwanaku history and cultural material, and that work is often still cited by scholars today (March 2019).

Around the outer perimeters of the Tiwanaku territory, archaeologists John Rowe and Dorothy Menzel discovered, during the 1950s and 1960s, differences in iconography found in the Tiwanaku heartland compared to material in and around the Ayacucho basin (Augustine 2019: 14-18, Menzel 1964, Rowe 1956). Rowe and Menzel separately brought attention to this division which eventually led to the Wari Empire being labeled as distinctly different from the Tiwanaku culture (Augustine 2019: 14). In addition to Rowe and Menzel, Anita Cook, an Andean archaeologist who is an expert in comparative ancient civilizations in pre-Columbian South America, worked to identify the similarities and differences between the iconography of Wari

and Tiwanaku art (Augustine 2019: 16-17, Cook 1985). Prior to this point, Wari material was being labeled as 'Coastal Tiwanaku' and was considered a subgroup of the Tiwanaku culture. (I will address other differences between the Tiwanaku and Wari cultures that have since been elaborated upon in the following section.) Another influential archaeologist in Tiwanaku ceramic material is John Janusek and his team who worked throughout the early 2000s to identify the wide variety of ceramic styles that Tiwanaku artists used throughout the Tiwanaku region during the Middle Horizon period (Augustine 2019: 16-22, Janusek 2003). Janusek and his team went through various Tiwanaku sites and identified the differences between vessels that were used for cooking, and storage, as well as ceremonial use (Augustine 2019: 21-22).

One area in Andean archaeology where extensive archaeological excavations have been conducted, and that relate directly to this study, is the Moquegua Valley. This Andean valley is located on the Pacific watershed in southern Peru. During the Middle Horizon Period (A.D. 600-1000) the Moquegua Valley was home to two dominant cultures, the Wari and Tiwanaku (Sharratt 2009: 794). The Tiwanaku sites of Omo and Chen Chen have had long-term research projects being carried out starting in the 1980s (Goldstein 1985, 1989, 2005) while the Wari sites of Cerro Baul and Cerro Mejia have been studied extensively as well, since the late 1990s (Moseley et al. 2005, Nash 2002, Williams 1997, 2001, and Williams & Nash 2004). The area is intriguing to archaeologists because the Moquegua Valley is the area where the Tiwanaku and Wari territory overlapped. Studying this valley specifically can help researchers understand how the two cultures interacted, and influenced each other, and whether their relationship, overall, was friendly or violent. Current theory and archaeological surveys point to their interactions being peaceful and have found that the two groups occupied different elevations of the Andes



region (Williams & Nash 2004, Sharratt 2009: 794).

### **Historical Context of the Andes Region during the Middle Horizon Period**

The following section provides background history on the Tiwanaku cultural group from Bolivia. Compared to the permanent Bolivian collection at the MPM, the thesis collection, accession 8050, has scarce documentation. As presented in the introduction of this thesis, accession 8050 only contains a letter in Spanish, the letter can be found in Appendix A.1 along with a translation of the letter done by my father Armando Manresa, from the donors, Mr. Arroyo and Mr. Viduarre, stating that Arroyo and Viduarre had purchased the pieces from an individual by the name of Enrique V. Jimenez (Appendix A.1, page 116-118). Mr. Jimenez claims in the letter that he excavated the 49 pieces throughout the Tambillo, Tiahuanaco, Taraco, Huarina, Ninantaya, Calapujo, and Sant Rosa and claimed that the pieces were all from the prehistoric or Pre-Columbia period (Appendix A.1, page 116-118). Mr. Arroyo and Viduarre then took those objects and sold them to the MPM for \$750.00 in 1925, which is worth \$12,935.83 today. Additionally, efforts were made to research the individuals who sold the objects to the MPM, Mr. Arroyo and Mr. Viduarre, and unfortunately nothing was found about them. However, while researching Mr. Jimenez it was discovered that in the 1920s, he was known to have around 800 fraudulent pieces, the paperwork to prove they were authentic, from Bolivia (Schavelzon 2009: 198). The pieces that Mr. Jimenez had were discovered to be fake by an Argentine archaeologist by the name of Milcíades Vignati in 1926 (Schavelzon 2009: 198).

The other form that was in the accession file is a deed of sale from Dr. Barrett of the MPM to the two gentlemen. The documentation does not include any indication on who determined the pieces were fake or why, and we only know when the pieces were discovered

to be fake because of a disposition record which gives the date of 1935 (Appendix A.1, page 118-120). While the information that was provided by Mr. Arroyo and Mr. Viduarre for accession 8050 states that the pieces were excavated by Mr. Jimenez in various regions in Peru and Bolivia; it should be noted that the majority of the Tiwanaku culture was located in modern-day Bolivia. The Wari culture, which was located in central Peru and prior to the 1930s, was considered by Andean archaeologists to be an offshoot of Tiwanaku culture (Cook and Glowacki 2003: 173-174). The two cultures shared a lot of cultural, iconographic, religious beliefs, and as previously state lived in close proximity to each other (Figure 3.3) (Williams and Nash 2003, Giersz and Makowski 1992: 285).



Figure 3.3: Political map of the Andes region from 500 CE to 1583 CE. The Wari sphere of influence is indicated in purple and Tiwanaku’s sphere of influence is highlighted in orange. The two spheres overlap in a small section in the middle and those interactions will be discussed later in this thesis. The larger yellow shade color is the sphere of influence of Tawantinsuyu, also called the Inca Empire. (Davidson et al. 2021:2).

Modern-day borders between Bolivia and Peru were made without considering the shared history that existed between the cultures that existed in the two countries. The information provided by Mr. Arroyo and Viduarre of the accession 8050 said that the pieces came from regions in Peru and belonged to the Tiwanaku culture (MPM accession file 8050 Appendix A, pages 116-118). It should be noted that there will be limitations to the extent of information that will be included in this section because a complete history of Bolivia would be lengthy (MPM accession file 8050 Appendix A, pages 116-118). Instead, the focus here is to

provide a background for the Tiwanaku culture and the typical ceramic styles that were produced.

The period before European contact in the Andes region has been broken up into a system of periods, or Horizons, that have wide-ranging influences and similarities in art forms and cultural beliefs (Stone 2012: 6-7). The alternating periods are given the title of ‘Intermediate Periods’ and were periods of regional diversity (Stone 2012: 6-7). Recent scholarship has indicated that these names are oversimplifications and instead the Horizon periods show great diversity within them while Intermediate Periods show common beliefs and ideas (Stone 2012: 6-7). Figure 3.4 provided below illustrates the various periods and the major cultures that were associated with them.

TIME SCALE	PERIODS/HORIZONS	COASTAL PERU			HIGHLAND PERU			TITICACA REGION		
		North Coast	Central Coast	South Coast	North	Central	South	Moquegua	Arica	Titicaca-Altiplano
1500	LATE HORIZON	INCA	INCA	INCA	INCA	INCA	INCA	INCA	INCA	INCA
1250	LATE INTER-MEDIATE PERIOD	CHIMÚ	CHANCAAY							
1000	MIDDLE HORIZON	LAMBAYEQUE		ICA						
750			WARI			WARI	WARI			
500	EARLY INTER-MEDIATE PERIOD	MOCHE	Pachacamac					TIWANAKU		TIWANAKU
250				NASCA	RECUAY					
AD	EARLY HORIZON	GALLINAZO SALINAR				HUARPA				
500 BC		CUPISNIQUE		PARACAS	CHAVÍN					PUKARÁ
1000	INITIAL PERIOD	Caballo Muerto Cerro Sechín	Garagay							
2000	COTTON PRE-CERAMIC	Huaca Prieta	Huaca la Florida El Paraiso		Kotosh				CHINCHORROS	
4000										
6000	LITHIC PERIOD									
8000					Guitarrero					
10,000										

Figure 3.4: Major Andean time periods and cultures that are associated with them. (Stone 2010: 8)

## *Tiwanaku*

During the Middle Horizon period, roughly between c. 200 – 1000 CE, the Tiwanaku state became one of the most influential throughout the Andean region (Janusek 2002: 35). Situated in the Lake Titicaca basin was the capital settlement of Tiwanaku; the city sits at an elevation of 3,850 meters (12,600 feet) above sea level, making it the highest city in the ancient world. Tiwanaku controlled much of the *altiplano*, or high plain, regions of Peru and Bolivia, along with some of the Peruvian southern coast and parts of northern Chile.

Around the same time, to the north, was the Wari culture who shared many similarities with the Tiwanaku people like religious iconography, artistic styles, extensive architectural stonework, and imagery from earlier Andean traditions (Stone 2012: 127-130, Williams and Nash 2003, Giersz and Makowski 1992: 285-286, Druc et al. 2020: 1-2). As previously stated, Wari material was labeled as "Coastal Tiwanaku" throughout the 1930s and 1940s (Giersz and Makowski 1992: 285). It was not until John H. Rowe, Donald Collier, Gordon R. Wiley, and Wendell C. Bennett during the late 1940s and into the 1950s, argued for a separate Wari culture centered in the Ayacucho River basin. Finally, the Wari was determined to be an original culture and not a sub-cultural group of Tiwanaku (Cook and Glowacki 2003: 173-174, Giersz and Makowski 1992: 285). Likewise, both cultures are considered by some researchers as the first actual "empires" to emerge in Peru and Bolivia (Stone 2012: 127, Giersz and Makowski 1992: 285-287, Druc et al. 2020: 1). While there is some debate about whether the two cultures emerged from the same parent culture, there is evidence that the advancements made by the two cultures were built upon and improved by the later Inca Empire (Stone 2012).

Even though the Lake Titicaca basin region enjoys enough rain for agriculture, the soil is

naturally salty making it difficult to grow anything besides one strain of quinoa (Stone 2012: 131). To solve this problem, the people of Tiwanaku changed their approach to farming in two major ways; first, they built long canals from Lake Titicaca to their farms and second, they raised their farm fields (Williams and Nash 2003). Rows of raised earthen mounds were constructed next to each other with trenches between the mounds, so that water brought in from the canal could fill up the trenches. The new method caused the salt to leach out of the soil, protected the soil from frost at night, and acted as a fertilizer for the crops (Stone 2012: 131). Their new approach to farming allowed them to grow a variety of high elevation crops such as potatoes, tubers, and quinoa (Williams and Nash 2003 & Stone 2012). The Altiplano region is not conducive for growing more temperate crops, like corn and cacao both of which were central to Tiwanaku ritual and everyday life (Williams and Nash 2003). This led to the expansion into the lower elevation areas on the southern coast of Peru into Wari territory, where the climate is more suitable for corn and cacao (Williams and Nash 2003).

Tiwanaku cities were planned out and designed using a hierarchical approach (Stone 2012: 132). Settlements contained a city center where the sacred buildings and impressive structures would all be located (Stone 2012: 132). Further out from the city center the buildings and structures got less impressive until reaching the residential areas. Sacred buildings and structures were created using different materials than for residential homes as well.

Residential and buildings of lesser importance were made using adobe bricks whereas sacred and important buildings all used massive stone blocks that were cut and fit together exactly, a pattern that characterizes Inca design in later periods (Stone 2012: 132). Tiwanaku stone workers were some of the most skilled throughout the Andes, and the Incas later

conscripted large numbers of stoneworkers from Tiwanaku to help build their sacred and important sites (Stone 2012: 134).

Tiwanaku pottery mostly consisted of orange paste (red feldspar) along with other tempering agents like sand or clays. Tempering agents were added into the ceramics to allow the pieces to stay structurally sound and less susceptible to cracking or shrinkage during the firing process (Owen 1993). Ceramics from the Tiwanaku culture fell into several different categories which have been identified based on their specific purposes (Figure 3.5). The work that Janusek and his team did to identify and classify ceramics from Tiwanaku were the result of excavations at the capital city. Pieces were decorated either before or after the firing process depending on the color that was being used on the vessel (Owen 1993). More often the vessels were slipped on the top and bottom of the piece prior to the firing process and then intricately painted and decorated after the firing process (Young-Sanchez 2004). These pieces are full of vivid iconography and found to a lesser extent than red ware ceramics (Figure 3.6, Figure 3.7).

Most researchers agree that in order to produce the number of ceramics that have been found, the artisans must have been using molds to form the pottery pieces (Owen 1993). The pieces were then decorated using repetitive iconography that helped solidify and project Tiwanaku power and influence over the regions they traded with (Stone 2012: 143). The iconography that was used by Tiwanaku was shared by various cultures throughout Peru, like the Moche and Chavín (Giersz & Makowski 1992: 285). Iconography on Tiwanaku ceramics replicated images and figures that were seen at the capital while also containing regional differences depending on the area (Stone 2012: 143).

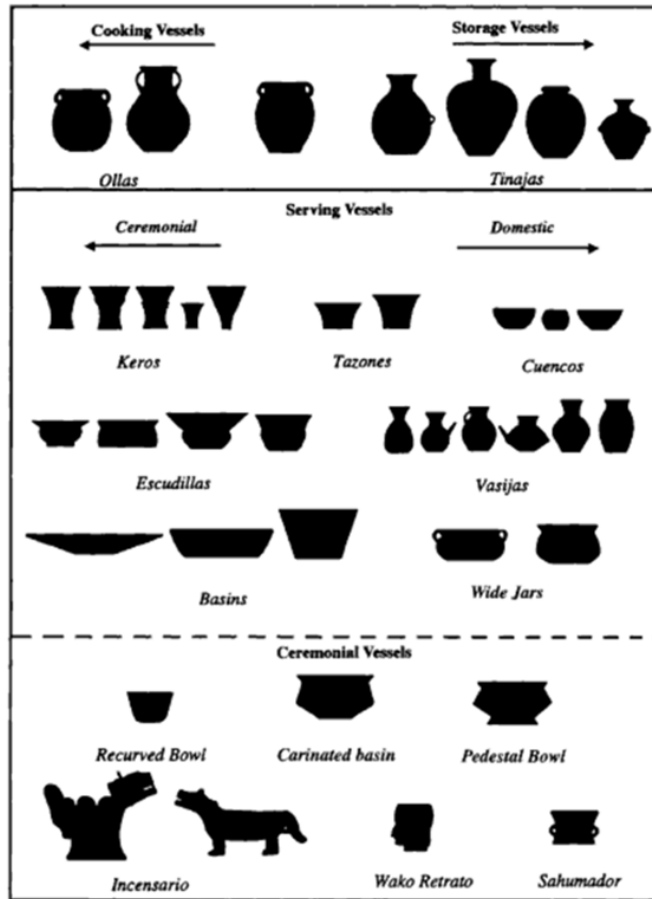


Figure 5. Chart showing major classes, types, and variants of Tiwanaku-style ceramic vessels.

Figure 3.5: Chart showing the classification range of Tiwanaku ceramics that Janusek and his team developed. More on the classifications later in the paper. (Janusek 2002: 44, figure 5)



Figure 3.6: Feline Incense Vessel from the 6<sup>th</sup>-9<sup>th</sup> century Tiwanaku. Vessel is currently housed at The Metropolitan Museum of Art (The MET), New York, New York. Photo courtesy of The MET.





Figure 3.7: Incense burner/*Incensario* in the form of a puma from the Tiwanaku culture. Incensario is currently housed at the National Museum of the American Indian, Washington, DC. Photo courtesy of the Smithsonian Institution.

The Tiwanaku Empire declined between the years 1000 AD and about 1100 AD, when the capital city of Tiwanaku was abandoned (Stone 2012; Williams and Nash 2003). Researchers believe that their decline was due to a few factors, the first being an increased number of attacks by the neighboring Aymara Kingdoms (Stone 2012). These aggressions led Tiwanaku outposts and colonies to be abandoned or fall to Aymara rule.

During the same time, Tiwanaku faced political encroachments by the Wari around the mesa formation called Cerro Baúl. The Wari came down from the north and their presence contributed to the decline in loyalty from Tiwanaku subjects to their elites (Williams and Nash 2003). Skeletal analysis of Tiwanaku settlers indicate that this encroachment and shift in loyalty was not a violent one and instead was a political shake up in the region (Williams and Nash 2003). Around the same time, the Altiplano region was undergoing regional climate change causing droughts that crippled the Tiwanaku farmer's ability to grow enough crops to maintain the population (Williams and Nash 2003). Excavations at Tiwanaku support these claims, with

important structures being sealed and abandoned permanently around 1000 AD (Stone 2012).

### *Wari/Huari*

Archaeological evidence suggests that the Wari (also called Huari) state initially formed as one of several small regional confederacies during the Early Intermediate Period, around 200 BC to 600 BC (Lumbreras 1974, Menzel 1964, Giersz and Makowski 1992: 286). Initially located in the Huamanga valley basin, their capital city of Huari was created near the current-day city of Ayacucho (Giersz and Makowski 1992: 286, Williams et al. 2019: 125-127). The Wari empire spread out from the Ayacucho Basin located in the central Andes and conquered large swaths of people and land throughout modern day Peru (Figure 3.4) (Kemp 2009: 81-82, Tung 2014: 231). Wari architecture and roads can be found in the heartland of Wari territory and along the fringes of their territory attesting to their widespread influence (Kemp et al. 2009: 81). The Wari culture was able to achieve this territorial expansion through military campaigns while holding onto that power with strict religious indoctrination and fear of military action if groups rebelled (Kemp et al. 2009: 81, Arkush and Tung 2013: 27). Additionally, the Wari state constructed a vast network of roads throughout their territory to connect their city centers, which would later be repurposed and used by the Inca Empire (Wade 2016).

Wari construction consisted of multiple multi-story stone building compounds, high walls, corridors, and an overall large urban center, encompassing one of the most significant architectural complexes in the entire Andes region prior to the Inca Empire (Arkush and Tung 2013: 27, Cook and Glowacki 2003, Giersz and Makowski 1992: 286). When examining the urban development of the Wari culture archaeological records show that construction of multi-story defensive complexes started as early as 200 BC, during the beginning of the Early

Intermediate Period and were focused in the highlands of Peru (Giersz and Makowski 1992: 286). Urban development of the various Wari sites is still a dynamic and continually changing topic because as more Wari sites are identified and excavated, other styles of urban planning have been identified at their sites (Giersz and Makowski 1992: 287). A more in-depth conversation about the characteristics of Wari city development can be found in Giersz and Makowski 1992 article titled "The Wari Phenomenon: In the Tracks of a Pre-Hispanic Empire."

Additionally, Wari artwork, ceramic styles, and innovations influenced later Andean material culture but created a distinctive art style with recognizable iconography (Giersz and Makowski 1992: 285-286). Before the Wari culture, the "Staff Deity," was heavily used by the Chavín culture of the Early Horizon Period between 900 BC to around 200 BC in central Peru and became a central ritual icon that appeared on both Wari and Tiwanaku ceramics, textiles, and stone works (Cook 1985, Giersz and Makowski 1992: 286, Stone 2012) (Figure 3.8). Wari artwork and iconography varied and consisted of several different themes; textiles and tunics regularly displayed and embraced irregular patterning of shapes and a variety of colors, stories, and messages (Stone 2012: 152-154). As the Wari culture expanded militarily, it is very common to find ceramic pieces and wall murals that depict warriors and military conquest scenes (Arkush and Tung 2013: 28, Tung 2014: 231, Stone 2012: 150-155). Though it should be noted that Wari art also focused on nature and depicted llamas, pumas, and various other animals that were meaningful within the culture (Stone 2012: 150-155). The Wari culture was also known for creating textile hats, called Wari pile hats, that were square and had upright peaks on the corners (Stone 2012: 155). They were worn by high status men along with an elaborate tunic (Stone 2012: 155).



Figure 3.8: These images show a depiction of the “Staff Deity” seen throughout Andean religions. Viracocha appears on the left and is depicted throughout Wari culture. While the image on the right is of the Sun Gate found in Tiwanaku. While both renderings of the deity are different from the original example seen in the Chavín culture, there are also clear similarities between them. (Image on the left was taken by Jyothi Karthik Raja of a piece at the Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago, Illinois; the image on the right is from Ian Carvell from smarthistory.org)

Within the last few decades, the number of studies relating to Wari ceramic production has greatly increased due an understanding of the Wari as a separate culture from Tiwanaku. These ceramics consisted of a variety of different shapes and styles including sculpted and painted polychrome cups, bowls, canteen shape flasks, jars, along with blackware cups, bottles, jars, and even double-spouted vessels that have all been found at Wari city sites and burials (Druc et al. 2020: 3) (Figure 3.9). Researchers can now test ancient ceramics and trace where the clay that was used for production was collected based on present day comparative samples (Williams et al. 2019, Druc et al. 2020, Sharratt et al. 2009). There are limitations to identifying ancient ceramics through this method because some of the sites that ancient potters used to

collect clay may no longer exist. Broadly speaking however, this type of analysis does help to identify potential source locations for clay (Sharratt et al. 2009: 796-797). Results from this research have illustrated that Wari ceramic production was practiced at local and regional specialized centers where Imperial style pieces were created for local consumption (Williams et al. 2019: 131). There is little evidence of importing or exporting of ceramic material as chemical analysis from various sites, both Tiwanaku and Wari, have shown that ceramics were made from local clay and materials (Druc et al. 2020: 3-5, Sharratt et al. 2009: 815-817, Williams et al. 2019: 131). Research into this field is still ongoing and as more analysis and testing is conducted, a better understanding and more comprehensive picture will be formed. (For further information on this topic please see Druc et al. 2020, Sharratt et al. 2009, and Williams et al. 2019 works.)



Figure 3.9: Bottle in the shape of a feline dated around 600-900 CE from the Wari culture. Currently housed at The Metropolitan Museum of Art (MET). Photo courtesy of The MET in New York City, New York.

There is currently a debate among archaeologists and related professionals as to the reason behind how and why the Wari empire collapsed around 1000 A.D. (Arkush and Tung 2013, Cadwallader et al. 2018, Kemp et al. 2009, Tung 2004, and Wade 2016). Like many other Pre-Columbian cultures, current research points to a period of intense drought that likely led to food shortages which subsequently led to political infighting and warfare over the limited resources (Arkush and Tung 2013: 334-335, Wade 2016). Bioarcheologists Tiffiny Tung and her team have analyzed cranial trauma of Wari people throughout their territory and discovered that during the Wari collapse the number of head injuries increased dramatically for everyone indicating increased violence, which was likely part of the breakdown of society (Arkush and Tung 2013: 334-335, Tung 2004: 110-114, Tung 2014: 233-238, Wade 2016).

### **Traditional Tiwanaku Archaeological Ceramic Material**

The following section will highlight the various archaeological ceramic materials that have been found at Tiwanaku sites. John Janusek's work was instrumental especially for the typology he and his team constructed for all the Tiwanaku ceramics they found during their excavations (see again, Figure 3.5) (Janusek 2002). Additional work by other archaeologists has been valuable for illustrating the various forms and functions of Tiwanaku ceramics and providing details on their highly specialized construction (Augustine 2019: 21-23, Bennett 1934, Posnansky 1945, Cook 1985, Janusek 2002, 2003).

Dr. Jonah Augustine's recent dissertation on Tiwanaku ceramic iconography provided more detailed descriptions of each of the styles and forms that Dr. Janusek highlighted in Figure 3.5 (Augustine 2019: 22-29). Dr. Augustine described cooking vessels called '*Ollas*', or "jug" jar in English, as having "*ellipsoid* bodies, somewhat restricted necks and everted rims, unfinished

surfaces, and dark, porous pastes, which included a high density of large inclusions” (Augustine 2019: 22). *Ollas* were used for everyday cooking and would not have been decorated because they were not ceremonial pieces, and would have been kept mainly in the house. *Tinajas* are described as “large jars used for storing and transporting liquids. They were characterized by *elliposide* bodies, defined necks, everted rims, orange or red surfaces, and orangish, dense pastes” (Augustine 2019: 22). Similar to *ollas*, *tinajas* are not ceremonial pieces so they were not highly decorated as they were used for everyday purposes. It is worth noting that the MPM fake and fraudulent thesis collection contains no pieces in the *olla* or *tinaja* category but instead are in the categories of serving and ceremonial vessels.

*Kero* (Figure 3.10) was a type of vessel that was used throughout the Andes region and was created either from ceramic or, in later years, even wood pieces used during the Inca period. Dr. Augustine described them as, “hyperboloid drinking goblets, with highly everted rims and dense, finely sorted pastes. Their outer surfaces were often slipped, painted, and burnished or polished. The *kero* was the quintessential Tiwanaku vessel form; they first appeared at the onset of the polity and were ubiquitous throughout the Tiwanaku heartland and beyond” (Augustine 2019: 23). The MPM thesis collection of fake and fraudulent material contains seven *keros*. Dr. Augustine along with Dr. David Pacifico, UW-Milwaukee Assistant Professor in the Art History Department who has a specialty in Latin American Art, examined a variety of the MPM fake and fraudulent material from Tiwanaku through photographs and they both noted that while they resemble *keros* their overall size and shape do not match “traditional” Tiwanaku *keros* (Augustine personal communication 2022, Pacifico personal communication 2020). While this will be elaborated on later in this thesis, it should be noted

that this identification by experts helps to support those attributions of these ceramics decades earlier as fake and/or forgeries, highlight the difference between the designations in modern-times. Those who know what makes a piece authentic would not mistake these pieces for “real” items from a far earlier time period.



Figure 3.10: A29411/8050 *kero* from MPM Fraudulent Tiwanaku collection. Photo taken by William Feltz. Used with permission from MPM.

Similar to the *kero* but shorter in overall height are *tazones* (Figure 3.11). *Tazones* are described as, “hyperboloid bowls, and their pastes and surfaces were often similar to those of *keros*” (Augustine 2019: 24). There was one *tazone* piece identified in the fake and fraudulent MPM thesis collection. Based on the Andean ceramic key used by experts, we can confirm that the overall shape and pastes resemble that of a “traditional” Tiwanaku ceramic piece, but the parabolic shape of the walls is not similar to authentic Tiwanaku *tazone* pieces; the walls, in general, are also too tall.





Figure 3.11: A29424/8050 *tazones* from the MPM's Fraudulent Tiwanaku collection. Photo taken by William Feltz. Used with permission from MPM.

*Escudillas* were “partially ellipsoid bowls with extremely everted, ‘flare-rims’ that jut out at an angle. Like *keros*, they typically had fine pastes and slipped and decorated surfaces; however, in the case of *escudillas*, the interior rim was often the location of the most elaborate iconography” (Augustine 2019: 25). While there are no *escudillas* examples in the MPM fake and fraudulent thesis collection, it is important to mention them because they were closely tied to the elites in Tiwanaku and are generally found in mortuary contexts (Augustine 2019: 25).

Similar to the *tazone* are pieces called *cuenco* which were “bowls that were not hyperboloid ... and lacked the flare-rims of *escudillas*. They were uncommon in the Tiwanaku Valley, where the *tazon* was king” (Augustine 2019: 27). There are no examples of *cuencos* in the MPM fake and fraudulent thesis collection.

*Vasijas* (Figure 3.12) were another style of ceramics that Tiwanaku produced and “were among the most ubiquitous vessel types in the Tiwanaku Valley” (Augustine 2019: 27). They can be described as, “small serving pitchers, with ellipsoid and spheroid bodies. The necks and rims

of *vasijas* were quite variable, as were their pastes, surface finishes, and decorations. In general, *vasijas* represent an intermediate functional category between *tinajas* and *keros*” (Augustine 2019: 27). There potentially is only one object in my thesis collection that can be categorized as a *vasija*, but the vessel is smaller and has a narrower neck than other more “traditional” examples.



Figure 3.12: A29393/8050 *vasija* piece from MPM’s Fraudulent Tiwanaku Collection. Photo taken by William Feltz. Used with permission from MPM.

The next category of Tiwanaku ceramics were *incensarios*, or incense burners.

*Incensarios* are not only common in South America, but are widely found throughout Central and Mesoamerica as well. They can be described as, “special ceremonial vessels ...they were used to burn materials” and “they included modeled zoomorphic heads, typically feline, camelid, or avian, and their bodies were painted or modeled to resembled zoomorphic bodies” (Augustine 2019: 28). Dr. Augustine mentions that *incensarios* are fairly rare to find (Augustine 2019: 28). There were no pieces in the MPM fake and fraudulent thesis collection that fit this category or classification.

The last category that will be highlighted are *wako retratos*, or “your portrait” in English

and are described as “vessels that were molded to resemble human heads, including detailed facial features (Figure 3.13). These portrait vessels were highly variable as well as rare” (Augustine 2019: 29). While there were several pieces in the MPM fake and fraudulent thesis collection that contained faces of individuals the overall size and shape of the pieces did not match either Dr. Augustine’s or Janusek’s images or definitions of what they should look like. The opening at the top of Figure 3.13 is too narrow and the facial features do not match similar pieces.



Figure 3.13: A29425/8050 *wako retratos* piece from the MPM’s Fraudulent Tiwanaku Collection. Photo taken by William Feltz. Used with permission from MPM.

This chapter highlighted important details of Tiwanaku and Wari culture, ceramics, iconography, and background history. The Tiwanaku culture was an important culture in Pre-Columbian South American. It was the precursor for the later Inca Empire and influenced the Wari Empire. While these two cultures shared a lot of similarities the two also shared differences in political beliefs, city development, and ceramic material. The chapter also started by highlighting the differences between authentic Tiwanaku ceramic material and the MPM fake and fraudulent thesis collection. Additionally, it explained how to differentiate the

authentic pieces from hundreds of years ago and pieces created recent years. It was critical to include how experts in the field today know how to identify ceramic items based on the overall shape of the piece and its iconography. The next chapter will highlight the looting, selling, and collecting of authentic pieces and the rise of the industry. The chapter will begin with discussing the UNESCO Convention of 1970 which aimed to try and prevent the export of cultural material. Additionally, the chapter will address the individuals who participate in this trade and what their roles are within the fraudulent art market.

## **Chapter IV: Looting, Selling, and Collecting the Authentic and the Rise of the Contemporary Art Industry**

This chapter will highlight the looting history and fraudulent art market in the Andean region. The chapter begins by discussing the landmark UNESCO Convention of 1970, which was implemented with the hope of curbing the illegal trade of cultural materials from around the world. The convention had varying degrees of success but, did not address the trade of fake and fraudulent material. Additionally, the chapter will discuss the individuals associated with the fraudulent art market and their roles within the network. It should be noted that the art market network is very convoluted, and by its very nature somewhat secretive, because of the various goals or agendas of the people involved.

### **UNESCO Convention of 1970**

Before the UNESCO Convention of 1970, there were few protections against the international movement of cultural material from one country to another. As more countries gained their independence from colonial powers by the 1950s, there was great concern within these countries about the ever-expanding black-market trade of their cultural material (en.unesco.org). These newly recognized countries, located throughout South America, Africa, and Asia, had difficulties securing and protecting their ancient sites from being damaged and looted by people from their countries as well as other nations. In particular, millions of items were transported overseas to the United States and Europe (en.unesco.org). In response to this issue, 144 nations gathered in Paris in 1970 from October to November to figure out a solution and suggest ideas to combat the trade of cultural material (Bellingham 2008: 178-181, en.unesco.org, Tremain 2019: 174, Yates 2016: 3). The countries agreed upon and enacted the 1970 Convention on the Means of Prohibiting and Preventing the Illicit Import, Export, and

Transfer of Ownership of Cultural Property. According to UNESCO, the Convention “urges State Parties to take measures to prohibit and prevent the illicit trafficking of cultural property” (en.unesco.org, Tremain 2019:174). Additionally, “it provides a common framework for the State Parties on the measures to be taken to prohibit and prevent the import, export, and transfer of cultural property” (en.unesco.org). The articles of the Convention gave countries a clear framework on how to manage and handle this issue and, by their actions, started to shed international light on this crisis.

It is important to note that the UNESCO Convention of 1970 was not a law. Instead, it formulated guidelines that countries should follow to enact laws. The initial law attached to the Convention was named the Cultural Property Implementation Act (CPIA)(Barker 2018: 458). The main issue around the CPIA and the UNESCO Convention is that they were not retroactive, meaning that objects that had been imported or exported prior to their passing were not affected by the regulations (Bellingham 2008: 180). Unfortunately, countries like the United States, the United Kingdom, and other major European countries did not immediately ratify the CPIA into law (Barker 2018: 458, Bellingham 2008: 179-180). For the United States, it did not happen until 1983, while the U.K. followed quite recently in 2002, Germany in 2007, the Netherlands in 2009, Belgium in 2009, and Austria in 2015, to name a few countries (Barker 2018: 458). Additionally, it is essential to note that these countries did not entirely adopt CPIA. Instead, they passed provisions of the law to varying degrees (Barker 2018: 458, Bellingham 2008: 179-180). More specifically, the U.S. created and passed bilateral agreements with 17 countries, one of which is Bolivia, for additional protections against antiquities trade. For a more in-depth look at national cultural heritage laws, UNESCO created a database

(<http://www.unesco.org/culture/natlaws/index.php?&lng=en>) where individuals can search the various heritage laws that were passed in several different categories (Barker 2018: 458).

In addition to the cultural heritage laws enacted by UNESCO, Peru and Bolivia passed subsequent national laws in an attempt to curb the removal of their cultural heritage and the looting of their archaeological sites. The first step that Peru took was in 1933 when they included Article 82 into newly created constitution. Article 82 stated, “Archeological, artistic and historical treasures are under the protection of the state” (Global Art and Heritage Law Series, Peru 2020: 3). While this Article was passed due to the sale of archaeological material to private collectors in other countries, it was limited to certain goods. The Peruvian Constitution of 1979 included further protections of cultural property with Article 36 which stated, “The deposits and archeological sites, buildings, monuments, artistic objects and testimonies with historical value, which have been declared Cultural Heritage of the Nation, are under the protection of the state. The law regulates their conservation, restoration, maintenance and restitution” (Global Art and Heritage Law Series, Peru 2020: 3). This more recent article was to include more objects under cultural property and in addition it recognized “intangible cultural property, such as folklore, native languages, and other expressions of popular art” (Global Art and Heritage Law Series, Peru 2020: 3).

The Constitution of 1993 shifted slightly in its language and had a more liberal approach to cultural property (Global Art and Heritage Law Series, Peru 2020: 3). In this latest version it allowed for more private sector ownership in the hope of encouraging increased participation from the private sector to excavate and conserve cultural property (Global Art and Heritage Law Series, Peru 2020: 3). While all of these laws have been passed, it is important to note that

looting in Peru is still an issue because like many countries, it does not have the resources to enforce the laws.

When examining Bolivian cultural property law, it has been illegal since 1906 to conduct excavations and export the material from the country without government approval and a license (Yates 2015: 339). Donna Yates, an archaeologist and Associate Professor in the Department of Criminal Law and Criminology at Maastricht University, has written extensively about cultural property laws in South American states, “All of these objects [Colonial and Republican era art], be they undiscovered in the ground or hanging in a Colonial church, are considered cultural property by the Bolivian state. Thus, almost every ancient or Colonial Bolivian cultural object on the international art market left Bolivia in violation of the law” (Yates 2015: 339). Bolivia could not stop because the removal of items even with their earlier law; a large number of pieces from their country ended up on international markets and in museums after the law was passed. For example, the pieces that are part of this thesis collection are from the Tiwanaku region, by individuals who are of Bolivian nationality, but the pieces were moved through Peru to the United States with signed government papers legitimizing their authenticity.

Additionally, in 1961 Bolivia required that all pieces that are considered as cultural property had to be registered with the national government (Yates 2015: 340). As well intentioned as this policy was, there was a lack of personnel available to keep up with the incredibly high number of pieces that needed to be kept track of. The system that was created took the form of paper documents, which only made it more difficult for the individuals who were charged with keeping track of all the records. Paperwork can be lost or modified. The attempt by the government was noble but unfortunately, they did not have the funds or the



personnel to effectively implement the program.

Bolivia not only has a shortage of individuals who can document and also identify authentic heritage items cultural property material but they also have a shortage in their police and justice systems. As Donna Yates commented, “In 2012, nearly half of Bolivia’s municipalities did not have a judge, 77 percent did not have a prosecutor, and 97 percent did not have a public defender” (Yates 2015: 340). The general lack of manpower that is available to the Bolivian justice system and police force makes it difficult to police and legally fight the illegal movement of cultural material. The lack of individuals available to guard against the stealing and looting of cultural property material has added to the Bolivian public’s lack of trust in being able to enforce the law.

In the years since the passing of the various laws and regulations, researchers have tried to gauge their effectiveness and found that they have resulted in limited success (Barker 2018: 458-459, Cuno 2008, Merryman 2005, O’Keefe 1997). The issue is not a “one size fits all” approach, mainly due to varying attitudes towards looting and the economic impact involved with the trade (Barker 2018: 458). In some of the origin countries, the local population views the pieces as part of their history and believe they should be allowed to acquire the material and sell it for money. Countries in South America are often monetarily poor, and for some people, selling looted works can be a way to help provide food for their families and can also be a lucrative business. Solving the issue of looted work being sold to domestic or foreign markets and collections will take a variety of preventative measures, educating the local population about the importance of provenience relating to pieces at their cultural sites, so contextual information is not lost. Additionally, ecotourism is a proven model that can help the families in

these local areas where the pieces are being removed which may help to decrease looting practices. Ecotourism can be described as a form of tourism where the focus is on conserving the environment, traveling to natural areas, and helping to improve the lives of the locals in the area. For example, Dr. Wood for his research travels to Oaxaca, Mexico where locals are making the same textiles that they have for decades. Those textiles are then sold at local archaeological sites and shops around town to help the family gain an income from the tourism brought in by the archaeological sites.

### **Andes Art Market and the Individuals Involved Within the Industry**

The art market is rife with forgers, and the Andean region is no exception (Bruhns and Kelker 2010: 92-96). Fakes and forgeries from this area are created in all mediums: textiles, ceramics, metallurgy, stone, shell-work, wood, but ceramics are a clear favorite (Bruhns and Kelker 2010: 22-26, 92-96). The pottery makers usually develop an understanding of the ancient cultures that they are representing by visiting the sites as kids or young adults and viewing the material from archaeological excavations. The reason behind favoring ceramics is that many Andean cultures made their ceramics with molds that have survived from ancient times (Bruhns and Kelker 2010: 22). These ceramic makers are traditionally individuals who have grown up in the area where they are making the pieces. For example, in chapter 2, I discussed Eduardo “Chino” Calderón from Peru, who was from the same area where he made his authentic modern-day replicas.

Using molds provides a less time consuming way to create several similar pieces, and they tend to resemble authentic pieces more than other types of forgeries. The artists, if they have good connections with the *huaquor* industry (the Spanish term for looter or grave robber)

can obtain authentic molds in which to make their modern fake, fraudulent pieces, or authentic modern-day replicas (Bruhns and Kelker 2010: 22). By using these molds and mass producing them using local materials, it makes identifying them as fakes nearly impossible unless the forgers make a mistake with iconography, decorations or the type of paint or clay they use (Bruhns and Kelker 2010: 92-96). Additionally, it should be noted that the individuals making the ceramics have varying goals or intentions. Some of the ceramic makers, like Peru's Eduardo "Chino" Calderón, claimed he never tried to mislead anyone and only sold his pieces as authentic modern-day replicas. In contrast, other artists or sellers knowingly deceive buyers so they can profit more significantly from their work (Bruhns and Kelker 2010).

While literature about early forgeries is rare for the Andes region, Bruhns and Kelker mention that looting in the region has been happening since the arrival of the Spanish with the looting the Moche site of Huaca del Sol in 1602 (Bruhns and Kelker 2010: 12). William Henry Holmes, who was a writer, anthropologist, archaeologist, and museum director and curator, wrote in 1886 that large shipments of questionable antiquities were entering the United States during that period (Kelker and Bruhns 2010: 12, 85, Holmes 1886a, 1886b). Holmes wrote that forgery factories were producing forgeries in large quantities and shipping them out for sale in auction houses and to museums around the world (Kelker and Bruhns 2010: 12, 85, Holmes 1886a, 1886b). While Holmes references these forgery factories, few examples from this area and time period have been confirmed (Kelker and Bruhns 2010: 85).

The first large-scale examples of fake and forgery ceramic material found in private and museum collections from the Andes region appeared during the 1920s and 1930s was in the Paracas and the Wari styles (Kelker and Bruhns 2010: 85-96, Wassén 1983, Sawyer 1982: 23-

30). The Paracas-style material was a series of ceramic items that resembled trophy heads that Sérvulo Gutiérrez created, a Peruvian national who was an ex-boxer and painter (Kelker and Bruhns 2010: 85). Gutiérrez claimed that he only created four of these heads during the 1930s, but around eight of them have been identified in private and museum collections around the world (Figure 4.1) (Kelker and Bruhns 2010: 85-86). Gutiérrez created these vessels with the help of his brother, Alberto, who worked in the museum field as a professional ceramics conservator and worked for various art dealers and collectors (Kelker and Bruhns 2010: 86).

While these trophy heads are famous and have been determined to be fake by S. Henry Wassén, who was the Director of the Göteborg Ethnografiska Museum in Sweden, papers and books still reference these trophy heads as authentic and genuine (Kelker and Bruhns 2010: 87). These pieces highlight one of the many issues around fakes and forgeries in academic writing, perpetuating what others have written over time, whether fact or fiction, with certainty until it becomes accepted truth (Kelker and Bruhns 2010: 19). This can severely affect our proper understanding of cultures and understanding of ceramic timelines. Kelker and Bruhns described the situation as, “more problematic is that this percentage carries over into scholarship, and we can well assume that 40 percent (at least) of the art history that has been constructed for the ancient civilizations of the Americas based on these fraudulent exemplars is simply wrong – imagined histories written by seriously misled scholars” (Kelker and Bruhns 2010:19).

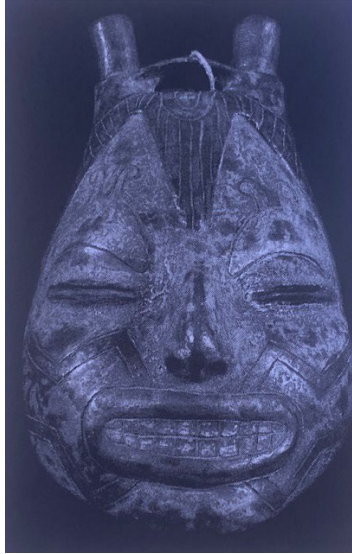


Figure 4.1: Sérvulo Gutiérrez trophy heads that were made to resemble Paracas-style items. The piece is considered fake. (Kelker and Bruhns 2010: 85, Figure 4-1).

While there is a great deal of information about Gutiérrez, that is not the case when discussing the “Wari forger”. They started making their fakes sometime during the 1920s and 1930s, but no one has come forward and taken credit for making these pieces. An unknown number of these items are in museums and private collections (Kelker and Bruhns 2010). While they were skillfully made the iconography drawn on the *keros* is pure fiction (Figure 4.2). While the pieces resemble Wari iconography, they have elements from other cultures that make the pieces stand out as fakes. On one of the *keros* that has since been identified as fake, the headdress on one of the figures resembles a Moche-style adornment than Wari (Kelker and Bruhns 2010: 95). Kelker and Bruhns discuss the Huari pieces as appearing, "more Disney than Wari", designed to be more eye-catching than accurate to traditional Huari images (Kelker and Bruhns 2010: 94).

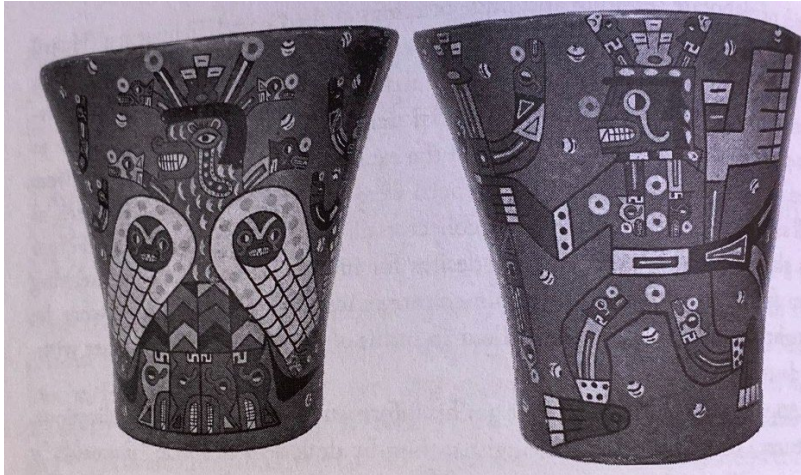


Figure 4.2: A ceramic *kero* created by the Huari Forger. The kero shows misinterpretations and inconsistent Wari style elements. (Kelker and Bruhns 2010: 94, Figure 4-4).

Before the 1950s, private collectors and museums in the United States and Europe largely viewed pieces from Central and South American pre-Columbian cultures as "primitive" or less desirable than ancient pieces from Europe. At the same time, it should be noted that this was not the case for all collectors and museums worldwide. Bruhns and Kelker discuss a situation during the 1930s where locals jumped on an opportunity to make money from collectors after a string of archaeological sites were found around Arroyo de Leyes in Argentina (Bruhns and Kelker 2010: 84) (Figure 4.3). Collectors during that period were so desperate to get their hands on material from these sites that locals started to create ceramic material that did not resemble anything that was found in the area or at the archaeological digs (Bruhns and Kelker 2010: 84). One of the ways that the locals convinced the collectors to buy their creations was to take the collectors out in the field where the locals placed the pieces in the ground before bringing the collectors to the site where they had the collectors dig the pieces out of the ground (Bruhns and Kelker 2010). Leaving the pieces in the ground, or calling them *in situ*, created an illusion or fantasy of "discovery". At the same time, there was no question

regarding authenticity because of the way they were uncovered. Additionally, it is very likely that these collectors had no comparative pieces to determine authenticity since these were newly discovered sites.



Figure 4.3: Map of southern South America. Arroyo Leyes, Argentina is highlighted with the red marker. Image is courtesy of Google Earth.

The perception of Central, Mesoamerican, and South American art changed around the 1950s when trade and travel to those regions became more accessible and safer to those within the countries and abroad. While the market for Andean material existed before the 1950s for large galleries and museums in the United States and Europe, it was not until the 1950s that private collectors facilitated a high demand for colorful and decorative items, particularly ceramic vessels. During the 1940s-1960s, American and European businesses started looking toward Latin America in earnest for natural resources and other economic opportunities as well as missionary work. One of the results of these businesses and religious endeavors was that individuals brought back artwork and a wide variety of cultural material and then store them in

acidic soil to age the pieces more quickly. Many found their way to auction houses, to museums and, were often acquired for hundreds if not thousands of dollars.

The dramatic increase for Latin American archaeological material was, as mentioned, also a direct result of increased archaeological field work. These digs increased looting of pre-Columbian sites to meet the demand. As noted previously, before the 1970s, no existing laws protected pre-Columbian sites from being looted, and that material was frequently removed from those countries. To help fill the demand for this material, the art market saw an increased number of fake and fraudulent items entering the country with authentic looted material and both later went up for auction (Bruhns and Kelker 2010: 83). Some potters that made the pieces were purposefully making objects to sell as authentic pre-Columbian pieces while other artists made genuine replicas that were later sold by a third-party as authentic (Bruhns and Kelker 2010: 39, Tremain 2019: 175). While passing these pieces as authentic may not have been the intention of the creator, there is little control over what third party may say or do.

Additionally, since there were few people with deep expertise in these areas in museums and universities at that time, many people had no way of determining replicas from authentic pieces. As was discussed at the beginning of this chapter, the international community made efforts to mitigate the looting and removal of authentic pieces as part of the UNESCO Convention. The efforts were never fully realized because of the inconsistent oversight which made it more difficult with the rise of the fake and fraudulent industry. What is also difficult for the museum and academic community, are the purportedly reputable art dealers and other individuals who continue to take replicas and age them to make them appear like authentic pieces from antiquity.



To be able to identify pieces as authentic antiquities compared to genuine replicas, fakes, or forgeries takes considerable expertise and often time and funding for archaeologists and museum staff to accomplish. The majority of these institutions, too, do either kept the items for themselves, gifted them to friends and families, and/or donated or sold them to museums (Sease 2007: 146-151, Tremain 2019: 173-175, Trescott 2005). What followed was a dramatic increase in archaeological work by universities and museums which also fostered the demand for pieces from Central, Mesoamerica, and South America that soon began to appear in larger quantities in museums, auction houses, and private collectors' homes.

Around the same period, the Andean region saw a dramatic increase in the number of ceramic potters producing fakes and replicas. During these decades, a high number of Nazca pieces were produced by an individual known as “Mr. Callé”. The only information known about this individual is that he lived in or near Nazca, Peru (Kelker and Bruhns 2010: 97). While the pieces are not skillfully done and are easy to recognize as fakes due to their inaccurate iconography, incorrect coloring, and poor finishing, they led to a boom industry in forgeries in the Nazca style (Kelker and Bruhns 2010). The individuals who created these pieces passed away prior to revealing themselves, so their true intentions for creating the pieces as forgeries, artwork, or replica pieces are unknown.

Another Nazca potter, Zenón Gallegos Ramírez, was a local artist and art restorer in Nazca, Peru who worked during the 1970s. He created true replicas of Nazca ceramics and also repaired broken vessels for individuals in his workshop (Sawyer 1982). Ramírez always claimed that his creations were replicas and never sold any as actual antiquities, yet his pieces ended up on the international market labeled as authentic pieces (Kelker and Bruhns 2010: 98). Art

dealers in the area saw an opportunity and would buy these pieces and artificially age them, then turn around and sell them as authentic archaeological pieces. A common way of making the pieces look older was to use sandpaper to remove makers marks on the bottom of the vessels, and then store them in acidic soil to age the pieces more quickly.

## **Chapter V: South American Fake and Fraudulent Collections in Midwest Museums**

The following chapter will look at South American fake and fraudulent collections in a few select Midwestern museums. The intent is to analyze how they store, handle, and display objects of this nature. The museums are the MPM, the Field Museum of Natural History (The Field) in Chicago, Illinois, and Beloit College's Logan Museum of Anthropology in Beloit, Wisconsin (the Logan). This chapter also includes a discussion of an exhibit at the MPM which intentionally highlights and displays materials that are fake and fraudulent. Also in this chapter, is a review of previous research conducted on the MPMs fake and fraudulent Tiwanaku collection. The last section examines factors that led to the identification of these items as fake.

### **Displaying, Interpreting, and Housing Fake and Fraudulent Material**

The following section will discuss how fake and fraudulent pieces are housed and displayed at the MPM, the Field, and the Logan. It should be noted that COVID limited this study to a smaller museum sample size than initially intended. Three museums is not nearly a large enough pool to make conclusions, so the intent is only to provide examples of how three museums in the same geographic area that address Latin American fake and fraudulent material through display, storage, and interpretation.

The topic of fake and forgeries has always fascinated museum visitors. In all museums, staff is regularly asked if items are "real" meaning authentic or not. From personal experience while working as a visitor assistant at the MPM, we were often asked "how many pieces are real in the collection?", or "how do you know that something is real or not?", or "what percentage of the objects in the collection is real versus fake?" In more recent years, it is not only the public that has asked these questions, but also the media. Recent art fraud, fakes, and

forgeries at museums or in private collections have captured the attention of headlines including “Orlando Museum of Art not alone in alleged Basquiat art fraud. South Florida gallerist indicted”; “Slovenia museum cancels exhibition over alleged fakes”; and “French Museum Discovers More Than Half Its Collection Is Fake” (Rose 2022, AFP 2022, Peltier and Codres-Rado 2018). Museums are being asked, and even challenged, by the public for answers as to the number of authentic items their collection. Museums are pulling back their curtains in an effort to be more transparent and they are devoting more time to examine their collections in order to provide answers to these questions.

#### *The Milwaukee Public Museum*

At the MPM, pre-Columbian objects that are considered fake and fraudulent are housed on the Anthropology storage area and are kept separate but nearby what are believed to be authentic Latin American archaeological material from the same country. The intention of separating the collection is to ensure that researchers, interns, or other staff members can clearly see that objects that are in those drawers are not authentic, all while keeping objects from the same region together. While this thesis focus is on artifacts from Bolivia and Peru it should be noted that fakes and fraudulent objects from other parts of the world are housed in a different way. The North American archaeological collection is stored in a similar way to the Latin American archaeological material but the European collections are integrated into the collections with the other pieces believed to be authentic. The pieces that are fake and fraudulent are clearly marked on the drawer inventory and other documentation for the pieces, however. In most museums, there may be a consistent order throughout the collection storage for these types of pieces, but at the MPM past curators who oversaw certain areas of the

world, made those decisions.

In the MPM's exhibition galleries objects that are fake or fraudulent are displayed alongside objects that are authentic. The MPM achieves this by indicating that the pieces are proven or possibly fake (see Figure 5.1). In Figure 5.1, object A52751/18411 is labeled as possibly fraudulent and is believed to be from Mexico. It was given the label of "possibly fraudulent" due to conflicting assessments made by multiple museum professionals. The MPM Director at the time, Dr. Stephen Borhegyi, reached out to multiple museums in the 1960s only to get mixed responses which can often happen when artifact identification is based only on photography and not in-person assessment (see Appendix B: Museum Documentation). The authenticity of the piece is still in question and further, and current research is needed (MPM documentation and letter correspondence). Additionally, the MPM has a permanent exhibit devoted to fake and fraudulent pieces from South America which is designed to educate the public about the ever present issue of fake and fraudulent pieces. (This will be discussed later in this section.)



Figure 5.1: Artifact A52751/18411 on exhibit at MPM. Object #7 (A52751/18411) is on the left side in the photograph and it is still unknown if the piece is authentic or not. The accompanying label states to the visitors that the piece is possibly fraudulent so. Full transcripts of exhibit labels can be found in Appendix B. Photo courtesy of the Milwaukee Public Museum.

Displaying fake and fraudulent objects among authentic objects allows visitors to see the diversity of the collections along with highlighting an ever present issue in museums. Almost all museums that house pre-Columbian artifacts have fake and fraudulent objects in their collections, whether known or not. The MPM uses these objects to show their visitors that even in museums, staff do not have all of the answers.

### *The Field Museum of Natural History*

At the Field, objects considered fake and fraudulent are not kept separately from the authentic collections, but they are marked in their documentation. Dr. Ryan Williams, Curator of Anthropology, and Associate Director of Research at the Field Museum, shared that they acknowledge and know that they have fakes in their collection and probably within their South American collection (P. Williams, personal communication, 2021). Williams explained that their team has conducted extensive research on parts of their collection using thermoluminescence dating (TL) along with elemental analysis for ceramic collections from excavation contexts (P.

Williams, personal communication, 2021). TL dating is used to date archaeological ceramic material by measuring the amount of radiation a specific piece gives off as the piece is heated. The curatorial team has used TL dating on portions of their Mesoamerican and South American Archaeological collections. Additionally, there are still a couple of objects in their ceramic collections that staff members have doubts about, and they are planning to conduct further research on them when time allows.

While the Field Museum does not keep fake and fraudulent objects separate from their authentic collection in storage for exhibition and research purposes, the staff focuses mainly on authentic objects (P. Williams, personal communication, 2021). During exhibition development processes their team performs extensive research on all the objects selected to ensure that they are authentic. All documents and findings regarding the object's authenticity are kept in the accession records. In talking with their staff, they stressed that the most valuable archeological collections are excavated during scientific excavations. The objects that are excavated during those excavations are the objects that the Field Museum generally relies on when selecting objects for display or publications (P. Williams, personal communication, 2021). Unless the exhibit is focused on fake and fraudulent material, the Field staff will typically only select known authentic objects.

#### *The Logan Museum of Anthropology*

Like the Field Museum, the Logan Museum of Anthropology does not keep its fraudulent collections separate from their authentic collections. Manuel Ferreira, the Curator at the Logan Museum of Anthropology (the Logan), explained that within their permanent and educational collections, objects that are fake or fraudulent are stored together with authentic

collections with the indication of their authenticity stated in the museum's database and the object's files (M. Ferreira, personal communication, 2021). There are benefits for most museums storing their collections in this manner. For one, all the collections from a specific culture/region are stored together, which limits the amount of storage space required if they were separated. Another benefit of having fake or fraudulent pieces alongside authentic pieces is that researchers and museum staff have the ability to spot the differences between the two more regularly. Though, one problem that could arise is that if the collections are not properly labeled and documented, researchers and museum staff could misidentify a fake or fraudulent piece for an authentic piece. Regardless, attention to detail must be paid by museum staff when housing objects to ensure no information or object is lost or misplaced since the documentation is often a critical factor in determining authenticity.

Currently, the Logan does not have any known Peruvian or Bolivian ceramics that are fake and fraudulent, but they do have an internal policy for documenting when a piece is determined to be fake or fraudulent (M. Ferreira, personal communication, 2021). The determination is kept within their database and in the objects' physical files and the staff records and acknowledges the person making the determination, why they are making the claim that they are, and lastly, what grounds they are basing those claims on (M. Ferreira, personal communication, 2021). The Logan does use objects that are fake and fraudulent for exhibitions and public programming and when doing so, the staff will clearly indicate the objects lack of authenticity for the public to see.



## **Fake and Fraudulent Exhibit Case at the Milwaukee Public Museum**

At MPM, there is an exhibit case dedicated to the topic of fake and fraudulent objects from Latin America. The exhibit case, created in the early 1970s, is on the third floor Mezzanine, in the Pre-Columbian Archaeology gallery. Titled "Fraudulent Artifacts," the case contains 22 artifacts, and one of them is part of this thesis collection. All the pieces on display are from Central, Meso, and South America and the authentic pieces are all pre-Columbian. The fake and fraudulent pieces are more contemporary but have been aged and purposely decorated by their creators to give the impression that they are older.

The exhibit aims to engage the visitors to be active participants in their museum experience. The label encourages visitors to try and identify which of the artifacts on display are fake or fraudulent and which ones are authentic (Figure 5.2). Notably, not all objects displayed in this case are fake or fraudulent. For most visitors, the task is challenging because the fake and fraudulent artifacts are well done and, to the untrained eye, look similar in style to the authentic pieces. Only those with a deep understanding of this material type would likely be able to recognize the differences between the examples but even then, without closer examination, this can be a challenging task.



Figure 5.2: Fraudulent Artifacts case at the Milwaukee Public Museum. Located on the third floor in the Pre- Columbian Mezzanine; the case displays both authentic and fake/ fraudulent objects and asks visitors to try to figure out which ones are real or fake. Photo courtesy of the Milwaukee Public Museum.

The exhibit contains one secondary label that provides the visitor with context to understand what they are viewing and the reason why the exhibit is important in this space. The label reads as follows:

*Any large museum collection, and many private collections, include a small percentage of forgeries. It requires trained curatorial expertise to distinguish the most skillful fakes, but only a general knowledge of authentic art styles to recognize the obvious counterfeits. Ever since scholars, museums, and collectors first became interested in Precolumbian archeology more than 100 years ago, contemporary native artisans started to turn out copies of desired objects to sell to uninformed, but enthusiastic, tourists and museums alike. As archeological knowledge increased, the quality of fraudulent artifacts improved.*

*It is not the intention of this exhibit to demonstrate why one object is genuine and another fraudulent, but to create an awareness of the problem. It should be pointed out that in recent times most Latin American countries have prohibited the removal of their antiquities, except for special arrangements with recognized institutions.*

The exhibit case contains nine tertiary exhibit labels that describe the objects on an individual level and gives the visitor an idea as to which are authentic, and which are fake or fraudulent. (Full transcripts of exhibit labels can be found in Appendix B: MPM Exhibit Labels.) Additionally, the exhibit case references the 1970 UNESCO Cultural Property Convention which was discussed in Chapter IV. To date 141 countries have ratified the convention which urges governments to take measures to prohibit and prevent the illegal movement of cultural material and property (en.unesco.org, Tremain 2019: 174, Yates 2016: 3). The agreement contains a framework for how state parties can stop and reduce the amount of cultural material and property that is imported or exported from their country, by passing laws at the national level (en.unesco.org, Tremain 2019:174).

The difference between the MPM, the Field, and the Logan in storage and display practices of their collection is because of the different types of museums each are. The Field Museum is considered a scientific and academic institution with the financial capabilities of employing a large staff to conduct research on their artifacts and work on excavations. The Logan is considered a teaching museum, so their focus is to educate students and the public about their collections, but do not have the same capabilities as the Field to conduct research. While the MPM is considered both a scientific institution and teaching museum, but they do not have the same financial capacity of the Field Museum. The lack of financial capacity at the MPM hampers MPM to conduct extensive research into their collections and can not send curators on archaeological excavations. These differences between the three are the factors that lead to the differences in how store, document, and display artifacts.

## Previous Research on the MPM Tiwanaku Fake or Fraudulent Collection

Since this thesis collection is part of an orphaned collection, it has had no substantial research conducted on it in the past several decades. The term “orphan collection” refers to a collection within a museum that has lost curatorial supervision or was abandoned by the institution (Cato et al., 2003: 255). Experts, over time however, have examined individual pieces in order to authenticate them. In this case, the MPM no longer has a curator with expertise in Pre-Columbian ceramics, and, has never had one focused on Bolivian archaeology. Often the MPM Anthropology artifacts are used for intern and museum studies projects. In 2010, a research project was conducted on A29382/8050 by MPM intern, Marlis Muschal (MPM Accession File 8050 Appendix A) (Figure 5.3). The project aimed to investigate and identify the piece's history, how it arrived at MPM, what the piece was made of, the cultural importance of the piece, and how it should be displayed and housed in the museum.



Figure 5.3: Ceramic pottery piece A29382/8050 that was researched by MPM intern, Marlis Muschal, in 2010. Piece was found to be fraudulent prior to the research project. Photo taken by William Feltz. Used with permission from MPM.

## **Analysis of the Collection**

As mentioned in previous sections of this thesis, when researching the origins of the fake Tiwanaku collection at MPM, there was little information regarding the pieces and how they were determined to be fraudulent. To understand what made them inauthentic compared to authentic Tiwanaku material, I consulted with an expert in the field. Dr. Pacifico of the UW-Milwaukee Art History department suggested I reach out to Dr. Jonah Augustine, who has spent extensive time excavating and researching pieces from the Lake Titicaca basin to help better understand what makes these pieces fake or fraudulent. After consulting with Dr. Augustine, the pieces from this thesis collection fell into three categories which will be further explained in the following subsections.

The analysis of these pieces and the determinations as to why they are considered fake has been made possible thanks to the assistance of Dr. Augustine of the course of multiple zoom discussions. The first category contained items that were, without a doubt, fake (the “red flag” pieces). These pieces had iconography that was not Tiwanaku, or the shape was completely different from what is known as traditional Tiwanaku material. Using the colored framework that was discussed earlier in this thesis project all of the pieces in this first category are categorized as red flagged objects. The second category (the “yellow flag” items) had vessels where either the iconography or the shape of the piece was inconsistent with known authentic vessels, but were still somewhat plausibly authentic. Yellow flag pieces also included items considered plausible due to iconography or shape of the vessel, but due to the relationship of being connected to this accession and lack of documentation as to where the pieces came from, they were ruled fake and given the “yellow flag” determination. When

looking at the shape of the vessels, the various sections of the vessels have specific names (Figure 5.4). The top of the vessel is considered the “rim”. If the vessel has a curved portion under the rim that area is called the “neck”. Bowls traditionally do not have necks on them (Figure 5.4). The bottom of the vessels is considered the “base”, while the entire piece is considered the body (Figure 5.4).

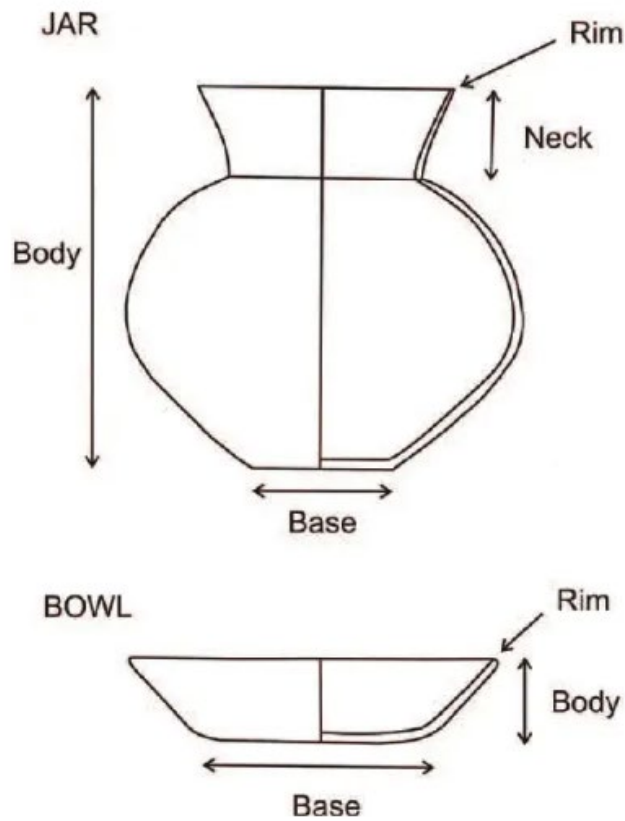


Figure 1. Basic vessel parts (partly based on Shepard 1995: 244, Figure 31).

Figure 5.4: Jar and bowl vessel parts (Wodińska 2010: 3).

### *Definitely Fake – the “red flag” category*

First to be examined from this thesis collection are the objects in the “red flag” category where their iconography is inconsistent with what is seen in traditional Tiwanaku items or the overall shape of the vessel lacked authenticity. Piece A29383/8050 (Figure 5.5) was deemed a

fake because the face's style is uncharacteristic compared to other known Tiwanaku pieces. In traditional Tiwanaku ceramics (Figure 5.6 and 5.7), the eyebrows would not be as pronounced, and the figure itself would not look so alien. Additionally, this piece contains hieroglyphic characters on the sides of the piece that do not appear on any other Andean cultural material, which only further proves that the piece is a fake. Similarly, pieces A29384/8050 (Figure 5.8), A29385/8050 (Figure 5.9), A29395/8050 (Figure 5.11), A29397/8050 (Figure 5.12), A29400/8050 (Figure 5.14), A29412/8050 (Figure 5.15), A29414/8050 (Figure 5.17), A29416/8050 (Figure 5.18), and A29423/8050 (Figure 5.19) all have faces, eyebrows, or noses that are not consistent with traditional Tiwanaku vessels. For example, when comparing the vessels listed above to Figures 5.6 and 5.7 there are some features that stand out. In Figures 5.6 and 5.7 the eyebrows are not painted on, rather the artists made that area stick out from the vessel using the clay itself. Additionally, the nose in Figures 5.6 and 5.7 are 3-dimensional and protrude from the vessels unlike the vessels related to this thesis.



Figure 5.5: A29383/8050 front and one of the sides of the piece Photo taken by William Feltz. Used with permission from MPM.



Figure 5.6: Authentic *Wako Retrato*. Vessel MKA4883.003 from Mollo Kontu. Photo courtesy of Dr. Jonah Augustine (Augustine 2019: 192 Figure 6.25).

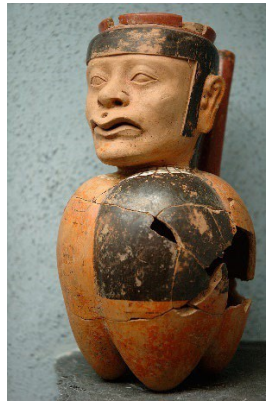


Figure 5.7: Authentic Tiwanaku vessel that is on display at the Tiwanaku Museum in La Paz, Bolivia. Image from en.wikipedia.org.



Figure 5.8: A29384/8050 front and back side of the piece. Photo taken by William Feltz. Used with permission from MPM.



While piece A29385/8050 (Figure 5.9) can be considered fake it should be noted that some elements of the piece have fewer attributes likely to be fake than others in this thesis collection. The kero-like style of the vessel is somewhat similar, but because of the face and the information on the piece's background, it was ruled a fake. At the same time, the motifs and lines on the piece look more like vessels associated with Wari cultural material but cruder (Figure 5.10) (J. Augustine, personal communication, September 5, 2022).



Figure 5.9: A29385/8050 front and back of the piece. Photo taken by William Feltz. Used with permission from MPM.



Figure 5.10: Bowl, Mythic Figures from the Wari Culture. Image courtesy of The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

Similarly, A29395/8050 (Figure 5.11) and A29397/8050 (Figure 5.12) were identified as fakes due to the shape of the face being utterly inconsistent with what is typically seen in traditional Tiwanaku material. In both pieces, the facial features have very pronounced eyebrows, and the areas around their eyes are darkened, which is not traditionally seen in material from this region (J. Augustine, personal communication, September 5, 2022). Additionally, piece A29395/8050 has what appears to be a “smiley face” on one side, which again does not regularly appear on Tiwanaku items (J. Augustine, personal communication, September 5, 2022).

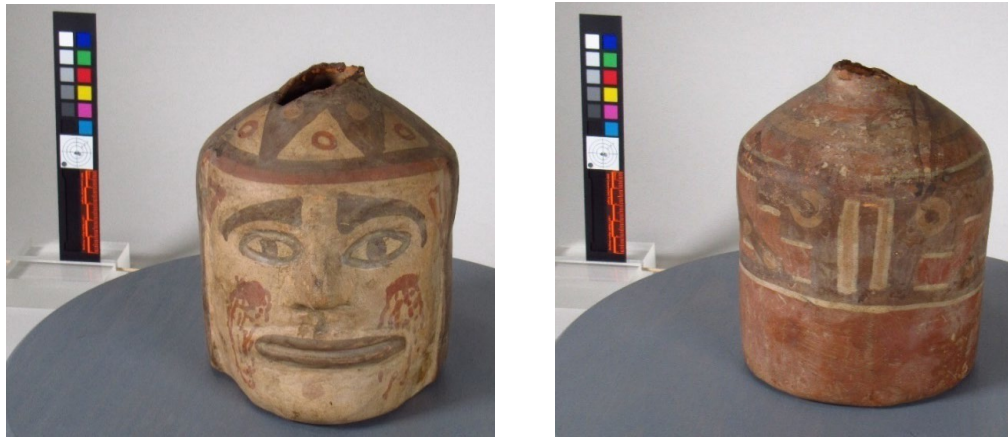


Figure 5.11: A29395/8050 front and back of the piece. Photo taken by William Feltz. Used with permission from MPM.



Figure 5.12: A29397/8050 front and back of the piece. Photo taken by William Feltz. Used with permission from MPM.

As seen in Figures 5.6 and 5.7 the eyebrows in authentic vessels are not traditionally applied with thick paint, and the black around their eyes, if any at all, is thinly applied and not very thick. There is a ceramic example from the Omo colony in Moquegua, Peru that does resemble some of the pieces that are in this thesis collection (Figure 5.13). This example is from the collection of Father Francisco Fahlman and is currently housed at the Museo Contisuyo in Moquegua, but is thought to have originated at the Chen Chen site on the south coast of Peru (Somerville et al. 2015: 411). Due to the limited number of ceramic materials that are available online from this Omo colony it is difficult to draw connections between this thesis collection and this known site. One note about the piece is that the face resembles more of what is seen on the north coast Peru region objects than in the Tiwanaku basin.

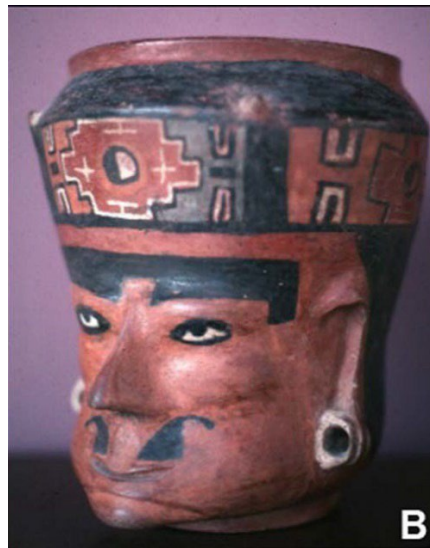


Figure 5.13: Portrait head *kero* in Tiwanaku – Omo colony tradition. (Somerville et al. 2015: 411, Figure 2.B)

MPM vessel A29400/8050 (Figure 5.14) have eyes and eyebrows do not fit with what is usually seen on material from the Tiwanaku area. Instead, the face on this ceramic vessel resembles pieces that are normally found on the north coast of Peru (Figure 5.15). The way that

the nose extends from the vessel, the mouth extending out, and the design of the eyes slightly resemble Figure 5.15, which is from the Moche culture of the North Coast of Peru.

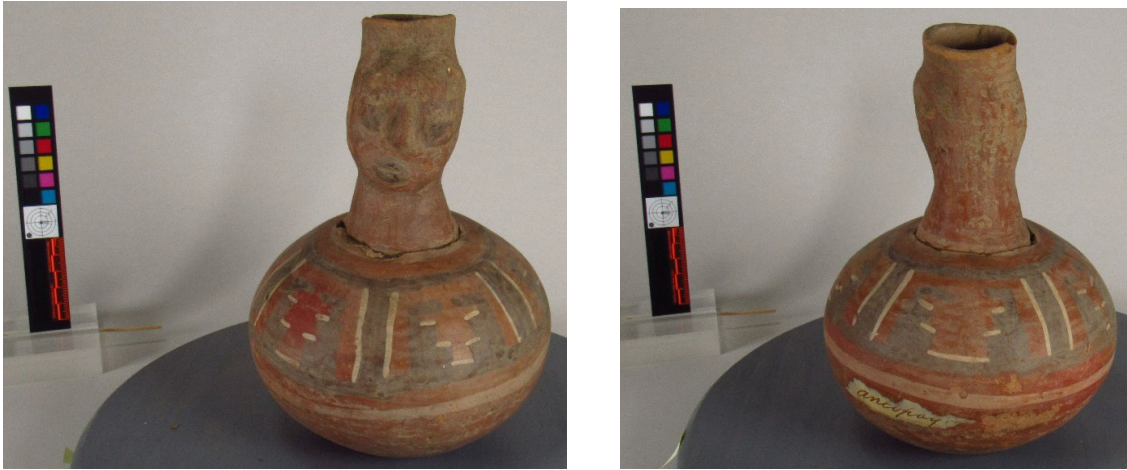


Figure 5.14: A29400/8050 front and back of the piece. Photo taken by William Feltz. Used with permission from MPM.



Figure 5.15: Stirrup vessel from the Moche culture. (Arizonamuseumofnaturalhistory.org)

Object A29412/8050 (Figure 5.16) depicts another example of a crude and distorted facial feature. The size and shape of the nose should not be protruding so far, and the placement of the hands beneath the face is also incorrect (J. Augustine, personal communication, September 5, 2022). In terms of the ceramic material, the eyebrows of the

piece should not be as thick, dark, and bushy looking. Additionally, the piece is large compared to other *kero* vessels from the Tiwanaku region. Most *kero* vessels from this region are the size of a small glass because *keros* were used to drink out of, whereas the piece, A29412/8050, is twice as large, would need to be handled with two hands, and is relatively heavy.



Figure 5.16: A29412/8050 front and back of the piece. Photo taken by William Feltz. Used with permission from MPM.



Figure 5.17: A29414/8050 inside of the bowl. Photo taken by William Feltz. Used with permission from MPM.

The following piece was determined to be fake due to the face on the piece. *Kero* A29416/8050 (Figure 5.18) has a black smiling face. The characteristics of the black face and

“smiley face” not traditional to Tiwanaku ceramic material. All of the other faces depicted on the ceramic material have been the more consistent cream color.



Figure 5.18: A29416/8050 front and back of the piece. Photo taken by William Feltz. Used with permission from MPM.

Piece A29423/8050 (Figure 5.19) is iconographically incorrect when looking at the nose of the face on the front of the piece, along with the prominent eyebrows. The nose on the vessel is too narrow and small in size compared to authentic Tiwanaku material (Figure 5.6 & Figure 5.7) The eyebrows in authentic Andean pieces are also not nearly as pronounced or defined as is seen in these pieces.



Figure 5.19: A29423/8050 front and back of the piece. Photo taken by William Feltz. Used with permission of the MPM.

Another way ceramic material can be identified as a fake is the inconsistent placement of iconography throughout an object. When analyzing the ceramics, certain iconography should not be placed together on the same piece, or the depiction of an element on the piece is not seen in any other traditional Tiwanaku material. For example, piece A29387/8050 (Figure 5.20) has a snake that wraps around the piece horizontally. However, the snake's head consists of a “smiley face”, which is not seen in traditional Tiwanaku material (J. Augustine, personal communication, September 5, 2022).



Figure 5.20: Piece A29387/8050 front and back which consists of a snake that wraps around the piece and has a smiley face on the piece which is not consistent with Tiwanaku material. Photo taken by William Feltz. Used with permission from MPM.

Another example of a piece that is not consistent with traditional Tiwanaku ceramics is A29394/8050 (Figure 5.21). The piece appears to resemble the Gate of the Sun piece found at Tiwanaku but has some inconsistent elements. The piece is shaped like a flask, a style not seen in other Andean traditions. The hands are pictured over the staff when the staff should be going through the hands, not the wrist. While the Sun Gate is a well-known structure connected to Tiwanaku culture, there is little evidence of this design in known authentic ceramic material. While searching for comparative pieces two were located and while one piece is connected to

Tiwanaku (Figure 5.22) the other piece was found at a Wari culture site (Figure 5.23). They both are *kero* style vessels and bare little resembles to vessel A29394/8050.



Figure 5.21: Piece A29394/8050 front side, the back side is exactly the same image and iconography. Photo taken by William Feltz. Used with permission from MPM.



Figure 5.22: Tiwanaku *kero* cup found at a Tiwanaku site. (Stone 2012: 143, Figure 120)





Figure 5.23: Wari style *kero* cup. Photo courtesy of the Cleveland Art Museum.

Three more pieces in this thesis collection were determined to be fake on the basis of inconsistent iconography. These are A29401/8050 (Figure 5.24), A29410/8050 (Figure 5.25), A29419/8050 (Figure 5.26). In the case of A29401/8050, the glyphs seen at the top of the piece were a strong determining factor because they are not seen on other known Tiwanaku ceramics (J. Augustine, personal communication, September 5, 2022). The glyphs seem to have been created to give the piece an appearance of age. Vessel A29401/8050 is another example, similar to the pieces described earlier, where the facial features are the predominant reasons that the pieces are fake. The eyebrows and dark rings around the mostly circular eyes are not depicted on authentic Tiwanaku material.



Figure 5.24: A29401/8050 front and back side of the piece. Photo taken by William Feltz. Used with permission from MPM.

In the case of A29410/8050 (Figure 5.25), the glyphs around the piece in the middle of the vessel are the most obvious identifiable factors contributing to its identification. Traditional Tiwanaku material does not have any iconography that resembles what appears on this piece, making it easily identifiable as fake.



Figure 5.25: A29410/8050 front and back sides. Photo taken by William Feltz. Used with permission from MPM.

In the case of A29419/8050 (Figure 5.26) on the other hand, the iconography on the bottom of the piece does not resemble what you would see in Tiwanaku material. The artist who made this piece created lines and shapes that resemble Tiwanaku material, however, upon closer examination, it does not resemble what is traditionally

found on known Tiwanaku items.

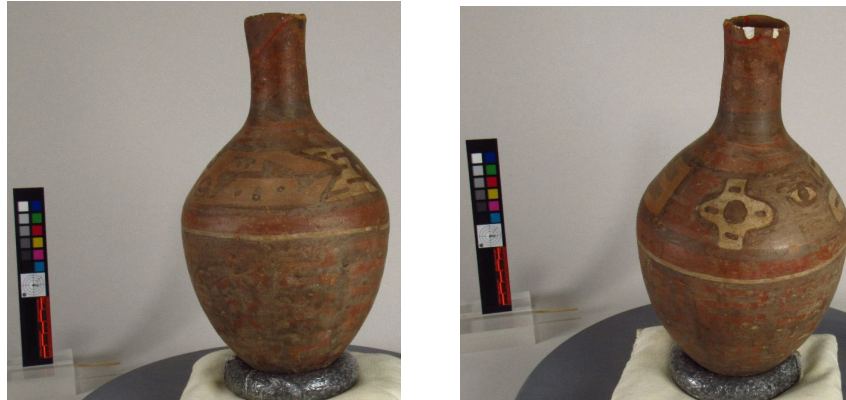


Figure 5.26: A29419/8050 front and back of the piece. Photo taken by William Feltz. Used with permission from MPM.

Vessels can also be deemed to be fake by having incorrect shapes, or an overall style that is wrong. The shape of the piece can be “off” in that the exterior walls of the vessel were not created with the correct curvature, and consequently, they have a different look than authentic known Tiwanaku pieces. As discussed in Chapter III, items of the classification of Tiwanaku ceramics, pieces like the *kero*, *tazones*, and recurved bowls have a more hyperbolic shape (Augustine 2019: 23-28). A hyperbola shape has two pieces or sides to it that mirror each other and resemble two bows which in this case are the walls of the ceramics, whereas a lot of the *kero* pieces in this collection instead have a more “globular” shape to them (J. Augustine, personal communication, September 5, 2022). A globular shape is rounded, and the two sides or walls are not as pronounced as the hyperbolic shape. Most of the *keros* in this thesis collection have a more globular shape than a hyperbolic shape. In contrast, vessel forms like *tinajas*, *vasas*, or *vasijas*, and *cuencos* have a more globular shape and rounded walls (Augustine 2019: 23-28).

A29386/8050 (Figure 5.27) is an excellent example of a globular-shaped ceramic, it is

also the incorrect style and shape compared to what is seen in known Tiwanaku ceramics. The piece does not look Tiwanaku with its iconography and with the vessel's shape. As was the case with the previous piece and related to Chapter III's discussion of the classification of Tiwanaku material this piece does not fit into any of those categories.



Figure 5.27: A29386/8050 front and back of the piece. Photo taken by William Feltz. Used with permission from MPM.

When looking at the *keros* in this thesis collection, some have iconography that indicates their fraudulent nature, while others have the incorrect shape. Pieces A29388/8050 (Figure 5.28) and A29411/8050 (Figure 5.30) are examples of the inaccurate shape of some *keros* in this collection. While the sides of A29388/8050 are hyperbolic like they should be, their overall angle is off, and toward the bottom of the piece, it flares back out but not to a great enough point. Figure 5.29 is an authentic *kero* found at a Tiwanaku site for comparison. This item is consistent in both type and size for Tiwanaku vessels particularly regarding the slope of them.



Figure 5.28: A29388/8050 front and back of the piece. Photo taken by William Feltz. Used with permission from MPM.



Figure 5.29: MKA5088.001 *kero* Tiwanaku vessel. Photo courtesy of Dr. Jonah Augustine (Augustine 2019: 23 Figure 2.4b)

The shape of *kero* A29411/8050 is inconsistent for an authentic vessel. While the *kero*'s exterior walls do flare, out as seen with traditional *kero* pieces, the bottom of this piece is too narrow. The result is a mix between two different types of *keros* and, therefore, it has been identified as a fake piece.



Figure 5.30: A29411/8050 front and back of the piece. Photo taken by William Feltz. Used with permission from MPM.

Two additional vessels in the thesis collection that have an uncommon forms and features are pieces A29391/8050 (Figure 5.31) and A29392/8050 (Figure 5.32). Jar A29391/8050 has an anthropomorphic figure emerging from the vessel and a zoomorphic creature, possibly canine, on the side of the artifact. This is an extreme departure from authentic Tiwanaku vessel styles. In the case of piece A29392/8050, everything from the vessel's shape to the facial features of the anthropomorphic figure and the animal emerging from the side to the hieroglyphics that appear throughout the piece, all contribute to its attribution as a fraudulent piece.



Figure 5.31: A29391/8050 front and side of the vessel. Photo taken by William Feltz. Used with permission from MPM.



Figure 5.32: A29392/8050 front and back of the piece. Photo taken by William Feltz. Used with permission from MPM.

Lastly, pieces are identified as fake when the vessel's iconography, shape, and style are all inconsistent with documented styles. Piece A29393/8050 (Figure 5.33) was initially ruled to be a fake because the design on the vessel does not resemble anything found in Tiwanaku material. The rectangles around the face are meant to resemble zoomorphic figures and would be emerging from the head in traditional Tiwanaku material, but on this piece, they are around the head. Additionally, the vessel resembles a *vasijas* form but the body shape of A29393/8050 is not globular enough compared to traditional Tiwanaku *vasijas* forms (J. Augustine, personal communication, September 5, 2022).



Figure 5.33: A29393/8050 front and back of the piece. Photo taken by William Feltz. Used with permission from MPM.

Pieces A29396/8050 (Figure 5.34), A29398/8050 (Figure 5.35), and A29407/8050 (Figure 5.36) were all deemed to be fake because of the poor quality of the iconography, which does not resemble traditional Tiwanaku material. As seen in Figures 5.6, 5.7, 5.22, and 5.29, vessels seen in Figures 5.34, 5.35, and 5.36 do not have a style and shape consistent with traditional Tiwanaku ceramic classifications.



Figure 5.34: A29396/8050 two sides of the piece. Photo taken by William Feltz. Used with permission from MPM.





Figure 5.35: A29398/8050 two sides of the piece. Photo taken by William Feltz. Used with permission from MPM.



Figure 5.36: A29407/8050 front and back of piece. Photo taken by William Feltz. Used with permission from MPM.

The last three pieces in this subsection also have concerns consistent with what has already been described. Vessels A29415/8050 (Figure 5.37), A29417/8050 (Figure 5.38), and A29425/8050 (Figure 5.39) all have inaccurate shapes in comparison to authentic pieces, and their iconography is not consistent to traditionally known Tiwanaku pieces. Piece A29415/8050 has glyphs not seen on other Tiwanaku material. While A29417/8050 looks more like Wari imagery, it is a poor attempt because of the poorly designed arms, eyebrows, and overall facial features (eyes and raised lips) which do not resemble more traditional Wari items. Lastly,

A29425/8050 has eyes, mouth, and eyebrows depicted in ways not found on traditionally known Tiwanaku material.



Figure 5.37: A29415/8050 two sides of the piece. Photo taken by William Feltz. Used with permission from MPM.



Figure 5.38: A29417/8050 front and back of the piece. Photo taken by William Feltz. Used with permission from MPM.



Figure 5.39: A29425/8050 front and back side of the piece. Photo taken by William Feltz. Used with permission from MPM.

### *More Plausible – “yellow flag” category*

This subsection will feature “yellow flag” vessels that are plausibly authentic. They were still determined to be fake, however, because of shape or style, incorrect iconography, or a combination of the two. While the problems with the objects in this category were not as apparent as those in the previous subsection, they were still determined by an expert to be fake. For example, piece A29399/8050 (Figure 5.40) was initially believed to be authentic but on closer examination was ultimately determined to be fraudulent because the iconography was inconsistent with known pieces. In addition, the top of the neck should be more flared and not as straight.



Figure 5.40: A29399/8050 front and back of the piece. Photo taken by William Feltz. Used with permission from MPM.

A29403/8050 (Figure 5.41) was identified to be fake because the body of the vessel is more globular than what is traditionally seen in known Tiwanaku object. Instead, the piece appears to be similar to pieces from the Cochabamba region than Tiwanaku (Dr. Jonah Augustine, personal communication, September 5, 2022). However, it was still ruled to be fake as it does not appear to be precisely like pieces from the Cochabamba region. This area is east of Tiwanaku and has similar ceramic styles but displays slight differences in iconography and vessel shape (Figure 5.42). Cochabamba style varies to the traditional Tiwanaku style by favoring certain motifs and using slightly different color hues in their ceramics, unfortunately there is little research out there about the Cochabamba style (Koons 2015: 9). This identification was based on Cochabamba-style ceramics at the Denver Museum of Nature & Science, which has a substantial collection from that region (Koons 2015: 8-9).



Figure 5.41: A29403/8050 front and back of the piece. Photo taken by William Feltz. Used with permission from MPM.



Figure 5.42: Two Cochabamba vessels. (Koons 2015: 9)

Another ceramic vessel that could plausibly be Pre-Columbian not Tiwanaku is A29422/8050 (Figure 5.43). Ultimately, the piece was determined to be fake because the vessel's shape is larger in size and does not have a parabolic shape like what is seen in vessels in South, Central, and Mesoamerica.



Figure 5.43: A29422/8050 side one and two of the piece Photo taken by William Feltz. Used with permission from MPM.

The last vessel discussed in this subcategory is the most plausible Tiwanaku vessel in the thesis collection. Object A29424/8050 (Figure 5.44) is classified as a *tazones* ceramic style piece; it is a good attempt at recreating a Tiwanaku piece. The artist who created the vessel, though, did not make the exterior walls of the piece hyperbolic enough. The piece was ruled to be fake because of poor craftsmanship, a shared characteristic with many other items in the thesis collection. However, the iconography and the style of the piece are close to what should be expected of Tiwanaku ceramic material.



Figure 5.44: A29424/8050 side one and two. Photo taken by William Feltz. Used with permission from MPM.

*Plausible – “yellow flag” category*

The last subsection of the chapter are the pieces considered plausibly authentic by Dr. Augustine. When stating the pieces could plausibly be Tiwanaku, this means they are less likely to be fake than the others in this thesis collection. While these last two pieces are considered to be fake, the reasons for this determination are less evident than the other pieces discussed. Additionally, the provenance and history of these pieces made it easier to rule them as fake because they are connected with a large group of clearly fake pieces.

The first more plausible piece is A29382/8050 (Figure 5.45) because it greatly resembles Cochabamba-style pottery. Vessel A29382/8050 resembles the Cochabamba style even more than A29424/8050, discussed above, but the profile of the exterior walls should be more hyperbole, while the shape of this piece is more globular. Additionally, the iconography on this vessel is more plausible than in the other pieces.



Figure 5.44: A29382/8050 side one and two. Photo taken by William Feltz. Used with permission from MPM.

The last piece is A29408/8050 (Figure 5.46). The vessel has more subtle issues that rule to be fake compared to the others in this thesis collection. For example, while the overall size and shape of the piece are not unusual for Tiwanaku material, the representation of the condor

on the top part of the ceramic piece is a strange affectation. The elements around the condor make its placement unusual, and those elements, along with the condor, are not seen together on authentic vessels. Due to these inconsistencies, the object is considered to be fake, but was a better attempt to make Tiwanaku material than most of the other vessels.



Figure 5.46: A29408/8050 top view and right side of piece. Photo taken by William Feltz. Used with permission from MPM.

To conclude, this chapter examined how three Midwest museums housed, displayed, and interpreted their fake and fraudulent Latin American material. While this is only a small selection of data to look at, it appears as though there are a few different variations. Museums have been displaying these pieces, knowingly and unknowingly, and relaying more broadly to their visitors that these types of collections exist in most museums. The MPM approached this topic through a permanent exhibition in their Pre-Columbian exhibition, which was a very advanced perspective 50 years ago, while other museums, such as the British Museum, had a critically acclaimed exhibition titled “FAKE?” in 1990 curated by art historian Mark Jones discussing why fakes should matter (Herlitz and Fried 2022). More recently, this topic was a master student’s exhibition at the Mathis Gallery at UW-Milwaukee. Produced by David Symanzik-Stock “Negotiating Authenticity: Reproducing the Past for the Present” explores the



relationship between authentic pieces and reproductions and how they attempt to connect the past and present. The public will continue to ask these important questions about the authenticity of collections and it will be up to museums and their staff to continue to research and study objects to ensure that the true nature of their objects are known. If and when objects are discovered to be fake or fraudulent it is critical that museums handle those situations with care and use them as teaching moments for educational programs or exhibitions and hopefully not continue to relegate these pieces to the darkest corners of the storage room.

## **Chapter VI: Discussion & Conclusion**

The first section of this chapter, examines the objects relating to this thesis collection and points out details as to why they are considered fake and fraudulent pieces. The section will also highlight the importance of fake and fraudulent collections in museums. The following section, will expand on the information and knowledge that had been provided in earlier chapters. The discussion section will look to answer some of the key questions that were posed in the beginning of this thesis. The last section in this chapter will aim to conclude the thesis and discuss why it is useful, and to whom it is useful.

### **Discussion**

All most all museums have fake or fraudulent pieces in their collection. Outside of art museums, few, however, have dedicated resources to understand why these pieces are objects considered to be fake or fraudulent. When looking at this particular collection from the Tiwanaku area, the pieces were determined to be fake in the 1930s, but no other documentation supported this determination (Appendix A.1). Only trained experts could make this assessment through examination of the pieces, but nothing clarified what elements made them fake or who came to this conclusion. This is a common situation in many museums that house Latin American archaeological items. Museums, as well as other places that hold these types of collections, need to know and understand the “whys” in order to provide accurate information to their audiences as well as advance this field of research. If this information was more widely available the museum staff would be better equipped to compare a potential donation with the existing collection to see if the pieces are authentic. Having available standards for comparison would save the museum the cost of trying to find an authority to

review the potential donation, since most many museums do not have qualified staff who can provide provenance with absolute certainty for Latin American ceramics.

With this available knowledge, museums would be more equipped to assist other institutions avoid making the same mistakes by unknowingly accepting or purchasing fraudulent material based on the donors and sellers' words or supposed "certificates of authentication". As discussed earlier, individuals who make fake or fraudulent pieces tend to make several of them. With museums digitizing and sharing their collections online, such items could be used as a tool by other museums to help them decide if a potential donation or purchase look similar in style to known items.

Museums are digitizing more of their collection online, which could be used as a tool to help museums keep mislabeling fake or fraudulent collections as authentic. Moving forward, if museum staff are uncertain about a piece, they could view other museum collections online to help them identify the authenticity of the piece before bringing in an expert, which could be costly. The negative side is that with more museum collections online, individuals who create fake and fraudulent material will have more information about how to create plausible items for collectors and museums.

Fake or fraudulent pieces do have a place in museums, however, they can also be used as educational tools for the public. As mentioned earlier in this thesis, museums are one of the most trusted American institutions (Wilkening 2021: 8-10). If museums pull objects from an exhibit or their collections that have been determined to be fake or fraudulent and never show them again, it removes a potential learning opportunity for everyone. Additionally, some of these fake and fraudulent pieces are over 100 years old themselves, making the objects

antiques. The pieces represent the artistic production of a potentially identifiable individual, like we saw with Mr. Largo in Mexico. These objects potentially have the ability to illustrate a historical view into how people in young nation states viewed their own past. Most of these forgers in South America, like in Mexico, use the same paste, clay sources, and techniques as the authentic pieces which makes them works of art in their own right, but additionally makes them difficult to identify as a fraudulent piece.

Museum staff could use those pieces as evidence to show research changes and evolves over time. This should not be seen as a negative but as a positive endeavor since new technology and fieldwork discoveries can add to the large knowledge base that can ultimately help others to understand, what is the difference between authentic and more modern creations. Pieces ruled to be fake or fraudulent could be used for exhibitions as well, as long as they are appropriately labeled, to illustrate how research has changed and to show people a side of museums that many people do not know exists. One that exposes honesty rather than perhaps, perceived weakness, in that not every museum can know everything about every culture or every item in their collection.

Fake or fraudulent collections can be beneficial for museums to help educate the public on the black market that surrounds antiquity pieces. There are few publications that address how fake and fraudulent pieces end up in museums or about the individuals who created them. Having fake or fraudulent pieces displayed in a museum will help educate people about what to look for when viewing objects. As mentioned in earlier sections of this thesis, most individuals who make fake or fraudulent pieces do it for monetary gain. People who have traveled to Latin America and purchased what they believed (or were told) were authentic pieces, can learn

from the experience of other and this, in turn, can help them understand what they may be purchasing.

Countless museums have either deaccessioned fake or fraudulent collections or moved them deeper into storage, literally and figurately, never displaying them, almost treating them like an embarrassment because they don't want to let people know their museum, or the staff, has been duped. Museums today have the opportunity to re-envision these types of liminal pieces for exhibit and education to show how the field has changed and grown. People have a genuine interest in learning about fakes and which collections are considered to be authentic, fake or fraudulent. Museums should embrace this opportunity to educate their audience and display those pieces knowing that scrutiny may follow.

## **Conclusion**

The topic of fake and fraudulent pieces in museums is essential to discuss because more museum professionals are finding or questioning the fact that some of their collections, initially thought to be authentic, are fake. It is important for museums be able to openly discuss what to do with these objects and how to use them to educate the public and other museum professionals. At some point, these fake and fraudulent pieces looked authentic enough to deceive experts, and even to this day, museums are still accepting questionable items into their collections. As another generation ages and looks to sell or donate items collected before 1970, museum professionals should discuss and develop procedures that help to mitigate the flow of fake objects into their collections through informed choices. It is my hope that with the flag classification that was discussed in this thesis museums professionals have a methodology or framework to work and build on to help them identify potentially fake and fraudulent pieces in

their collection. The idea behind the flag classification is to aid museum professionals, using these three categories, to make it easier to research and tag potential fake and fraudulent pieces in their collections.

Looking for sources to support this thesis project was challenging, even more so in relation to Bolivian ceramics. While little is written about fake or fraudulent material, in museums overall, there is even less known about South American fraudulent material. Hopefully, this thesis can provide additional resources and sources for future studies of fraudulent collections in museums, particularly Bolivian ceramic material. Additionally, it is my hope that museums moving forward can, in some capacity, apply the red, yellow, and green framework with their collections to help them be more systematic in their approach when making determinations on authenticity. Moving forward, future directions could involve comparing MPM's Tiwanaku fraudulent ceramic collection against other museums' fraudulent collections from Tiwanaku to determine if they share similar artistic characteristics and whether other museums have more provenience information. As discussed earlier, the people who make these objects usually did not make a small number of them; they made hundreds and the majority likely ended up in museums, directly or indirectly. Hopefully, as more research is conducted on fake and fraudulent material through comparative analysis and scientific means, museums, more artists and art dealers will be identified. Museums will then be better equipped to know how best to understand, evaluate, and interpret, these types of collections.

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# Appendix A: The Milwaukee Public Museum Documentation

## A.1: Accession Documentation: Documentation 8050:

No. *8050*

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PUBLIC MUSEUM OF THE  
CITY OF MILWAUKEE

ACCESSION FILE

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Accession cards / ; Letters / ;  
Invoices ; Other memoranda  
concerning specimens /

---

From  
*Alfredo Orozco + Ernest Williams*

Date of Accession, *Mar. 24 - 1925*

---

MAIN OFFICE

This packet may be taken for temporary use by curators or acting curators, and by them only. They must give a receipt for it which must be filed in its place.

---

FILE SERIALLY

*Complete accession info from vault.  
2/23/00  
-HB*



PUBLIC MUSEUM OF THE CITY OF MILWAUKEE

ACCESSION CARD

Acc. 8050

Number of Specimens 49

Locality Bolivia-Peru boundary.

From whom Alfredo Orroyo and Ernesto Vidaurre

Address La Paz, Bolivia

Date of Receipt March 24 1925

By Purchase

Department Archeology <sup>\$750.00</sup>

Date of Cataloging March 25 1925

Catalogue No. 29377-29425

- 1. Large pottery figurine,  
Tiahuanaco technique.
- 48 Pottery vessels,  
Tiahuanaco technique.

Form 5001

*Am 8050*

BILL OF SALE

Received of Dr. S. A. Barrett  
Seven Hundred and Fifty (\$750.00)      March 24th, 1925.,  
Dollars, for the Milwaukee Public      Milwaukee, Wis.  
Museum.

This indenture made March 24th, 1925, conveys to the Milwaukee Public Museum, full possession and ownership in a certain collection of Peruvian and Bolivian pottery objects, this day sold by us to the aforesaid Museum, and comprising

- . 1 large pottery figure or idol about 5 ft. in height
- 48 pottery vessels of different kinds

In making this conveyance, we, the undersigned, Senores Alfredo Arroyo y Ernesto' Vidaurre declare and certify that we are the sole owners of each and every object in this collection, and we herewith convey all right, title and interest and certify that no other person or persons have any claims to or interests in this collection or any part thereof.

We further certify that each and every object in this collection is a genuine Precolumbian aboriginal specimen from either Bolivia or Peru secured by us from the original excavators and brought to this country and sold as above stated, to the Milwaukee Public Museum without any lein or other obligation attaching to any or all of these objects, and that the Museum's right and title to all these specimens shall be hereafter valid and unchallenged.

*Alfredo Arroyo*  
*Ernesto Vidaurre*



1001

Conste por el presente documento que otorgo al Sr. Enrique V. Jimenez, por una venta de 39 huacos que son Pomos grandes con rostros, pomos chicos, quilas, baso ó aceros con rostros, todos con colores vivos. Además / ídolo que mide 1.40 mt, todos estos de cerámica con colores. Encontrados en los Lugares de Minantaya grande, y Minantaya chico, que se encuentran Minantaya grande, en los llanos del Perú, y Minantaya chica, en Bolivia.

Estos objetos han sido hallados en la excavacion que hice en mis fincas mencionadas arriba, y en mi otra finca por Santa Rosa. Días de la piezas pequeñas ha sido encontradas por Calapujo, finca de mi propiedad que se encuentra a las cuatro leguas de Siouani hacia el este.

Todos estos objetos prehistóricos ó sean precolombianos anteriores a los Incas, declaro haber vendido para colección por el valor de TRES MIL SOLES ó sean trescientas libras peruanas de oro, para que conste la cosa el presente documento a dicho Sr. V Jimenez.

Minantaya 25 de Agosto de 1927.

*Gerardo Gutierrez*

Conste por el presente documento que yo Enrique V. Jimenez, otorgo en calidad de venta a los Señores Alfredo Arroyo y Ernesto Vidaurre, los objetos mencionados en este documento.-  
Ademas declaro venderles otros once objetos, que los encuentre personalmente en diferentes excavaciones que hice por las regiones de Tambillo, Tiahuanaco, Taraco, Huarina, Ninanbaya, Calapujo, Santa Rosa.- Todos estos objetos los vendo a los mencionados Srs. por la suma de CINCO MIL BOLIVIANOS, declarando bajo juramento y ante Notario que dichos objetos son prehistoricos o precolombianos y que fueron encontrados en las excavaciones mencionadas.--

Para que conste firmo en la Ciudad de La Paz (Bolivia) a los veinticinco dias del mes de Octubre del ano mil novecientos veinticuatro.--



*Enrique V. Jimenez*

*Ante mi*

*M. Maranon*

Translated version of the letter above:

Page one:

*This present document is being registered that I, Enrique V. Jimenez, grant the sale to the two gentlemen Alfredo Arroyo and Ernesto Vidaurre, the objects mentioned in this document. I also declare selling them an additional eleven objects, that I personally found in different excavations, in the regions of Tambillo, Tiahuanacu, Taraco, Huarina, Ninantaya, Calapujo, Sant Rosa. All of these objects are being sold to the gentlemen mentioned above, for the sum of FIVE MILLION BOLIVIANOS, I declare under oath and before a Notary, that all said objects are prehistoric or pre-columbian and were found during excavations mentioned before.*

*For the record, signed in the City of La Paz (Bolivia) on the fifteenth of October of the year 1925.*

Page two:

*This document is being registered that Mr. Enrique V. Jimenez, was sold 39 (huacos) vessels/pottery. These include large jars with faces, small jars, vases, pots, cups or "cceros" (not a known word in Spanish) with faces and all items have vibrant colors. Also, these ceramic idols, that measure 1.40 mt, are colorful. They were found in Big Ninantaya and Small Ninantaya, located within Peru and Small Ninantaya in Bolivia.*

*These objects were found during the excavation conducted in my farms located as mentioned above, and in my other ranch located in Santa Rosa. Ten of the smaller pieces were found by Calapujo, a farm on my property, located about four leagues (approximately 12 miles) to the east of Sicuani.*

*I am declaring having sold all of these prehistoric or pre-Columbian before the Incas, for a value of three thousand soles or for three hundred pounds of Peruvian gold, for the record, I acknowledge this document to said Mr. V. Jimenez.*

*Ninantaya 25<sup>th</sup> of August 1923*

MILWAUKEE PUBLIC MUSEUM  
DISPOSITION RECORD

✓ Check here when removed from record books.

Department of Archeology

Specimens bearing the following catalog numbers  
have been Exchanged with Byron  
Wittl.

Date February 26, 1941

Curator Ira Edwards

Cat. No. 29380

Bolivian Pot

DISPOSED PAGE 15

Acc# 8050

Disp. bk. p. 15

\$2.50

Exchanged with  
Wittl for Vicuna  
Swig

O. K.  
Edwards

O. K.  
Wittl

This card must be deposited with the Director previous  
to the removal of specimens from the building.

MILWAUKEE PUBLIC MUSEUM  
DISPOSITION RECORD

Check here when removed from record books.

Department of Archaeology

Specimens bearing the following catalog numbers  
have been disposed of due to  
breakage.

Date April 15, 1941

Curator O. K. Edwards

Cat. No. 29402

\$10.00

DISPOSED PAGE 15

Acc# 8050

Disp. bk. p. 15

O. K. Edwards

This card must be deposited with the Director previous  
to the removal of specimens from the building.

MILWAUKEE PUBLIC MUSEUM

DISPOSITION RECORD

✓ Check here when removed from record books.

Department of Anthropology-Arch.

Specimens bearing the following catalog numbers  
have been broken and discarded

Date Aug. 20, 1947

Curator Robert Ritzenthaler

Cat. No. \_\_\_\_\_

29377-Pottery figurine, Tiahuanaco  
type. This specimen identified  
as fake in 1935.

Acc# 8050

OK  
Ritzenthaler

Disp. bk. p. 15

DISPOSED PAGE 15

1 SPEC. - VAL. \$200.00

OK  
Met.

This card must be deposited with the Director previous  
to the removal of specimens from the building.

File by Department and Dates.



A.2 Accession 18411 letter correspondence:

FUNDACION ARQUEOLOGICA R. S. PEABODY  
PROYECTO ARQUEOLOGICO-BOTANICO "TEHUACAN"

April 17, 1962

Reforma 204  
Tel. 7-25  
Tehuacán, Puebla

Dr. Richard S. MacNeish  
Director

Dr. Stephan F. "Orhegyi,  
Director,  
Milwaukee Pubic Museum,  
818 W. Wisconsin Ave.,  
Milwaukee 3, Wisconsin.

Fredrick A. Peterson  
Assistant Director

Dear Steve:

Sorry that you couldn't make it to our dig. We have much exciting news--including several burials from about 5,000 B.C., wrapped in gaudy blankets, maize from about 6,000 to 7,000 B.C., the discovery of an Early Formative site, which antedates Chiapa I---plus tons of vegetable material, potsherds, preceramic stone bowls, and much cloth, sandals, etc.

Your donated Teotihuacan cylindrical tripod vessel is a fake, and not a very clever fake. The champ-llevé technique is completely false and no self-respecting Teotihuacano would have carved the vessel in the fashion shown. The figures are very clumsy--one is shown with a face in profile the chest in frontal fashion, while the legs and arms have a sort of 3/4 view---this could never have occurred in Teotihuacan times! The attachment of the supports is wrong, as is the decoration and finish of the supports. The basal band is clumsily made and represents a combination of elements which is meaningless. I do not like the coloration, the polishing or the texture of the vessel. In short, there is really NOTHING about the vessel to make me take a second glance at it. Throw it away, after breaking it into a thousand tiny fragments--or send it back to the donor with a nice note stating that it is too valuable a piece to accept. I'm sending back your beautiful Kodachrome of the piece, while I will keep the photos for my files.

Both yourself and Bob Ritzenthaler are dirty dogs. You wrote us two letters warning us of your arrival and we had the beer all cooled awaiting your arrival--so we were forced to drink it ourselves. After several bottles apiece our resentment wore off gradually and we reinstated you to membership in the human race. When do you think you can come down again?

Cordially,

*Fred*  
DR Fredrick A. Peterson

May 1, 1962

Dr. Frederick A. Peterson, Asst. Director  
Fundacion Arqueologica R. S. Peabody  
Reforma 20a  
Tehuacan, Puebla, Mexico

Dear Fred:

Many thanks for yours of April 17. In spite of your excellent arguments, we do not give up so easily on our Teotihuacan tripod. Granted, it is an unusual design, but we hope that you will give a closer look at the specimen the next time you are in Milwaukee. On the other hand, we solemnly promise that we will stop in Tehuacan on our next trip to Guatemala.

Meanwhile, we wish you the best of luck on your 5000 B.C. blanket burials, and 7000 B.C. tortillas with pulgare.

Will be seeing you in Mexico City during the International Conference in August.

With best regards,

As ever,

Stephan F. Borhegyi, Director

SFB:IR

*Irene  
Please mail to Dr.  
Peterson*

*Penetration*

## Appendix B: The Milwaukee Public Museum Exhibition Labels

### Fraudulent Artifacts Exhibit Case Labels from the Milwaukee Public Museum:

#### Primary Label:

“Any large museum collections, and many private collections, include a small percentage of forgeries. It requires trained curatorial expertise to distinguish the most skillful fakes, but only a general knowledge of authentic art styles to recognize the obvious counterfeits. Ever since scholars, museums, and collectors first became interested in Precolumbian archeology more than 100 years ago, contemporary native artisans started to turn out copies of desired objects to sell to uninformed, but enthusiastic, tourists and museums alike. As archeological knowledge increased the quality of fraudulent artifacts improved.

It is not the intention of this exhibit to demonstrate why one objects is genuine and another fraudulent, but to create an awareness of the problem. It should be pointed out that in recent times most Latin American countries have prohibited the removal of their antiquities, except for special arrangements with recognized institutions.”

#### Caption labels:

“19<sup>th</sup> Century Ceramic Forgeries:

Left: Toltec or Aztec styled “Toby jugs.” Mexico. Right: Figurine. Colombia, South America”

“Fraudulent Stone Sculpture:

Mexico Olmec style mask.

Teotihuacan or Mezcala style

obsidian head. Obsidian figure (no known style).

Crude figure; volcanic stone”

“Obvious Figurine Forgeries: Mexico Left: Teotihuacan style clay figurines Right: Hollow ceramic figure. Michoacan.”

“Skillful Forgeries: Colima Style, Western

Mexico Parrot effigy

Human effigy

Fat dog (this example is authentic)”

“Tourist Ware

Modern copy of Early Mochica frog-effigy vase. Peru.”

“Skillful Forgeries: Nazca Style, Peru

Left: Two ceramic bottles made by one modern artisan

Right: Authentic ancient bottle, for comparison.”

“Obvious Ceramic Forgeries: Central Andes Left: Highland Tiahuanaco “kero” or goblet. Right: Chimu style. North Coast, Peru.”

“Superior and Inferior Quality: Chimu Culture, Peru

Both of these examples are authentic, but represent two extremes of Precolumbian artisanship.”

### **Central Mexico Exhibit Case from the Milwaukee Public Museum:**

#### **Caption Label:**

“Pottery types:

“Thin orange” bowl and human-effigy Vase. “Rim-head” incense burning basin

Flaring-sided dishes. The black ware examples have nubbin tripod feet Pair of incised tripod bowls. One has original cover.

Flaring-necked jars.

Effigy vase of the rain god, Tlaloc.

Slab-tripod cylindrical vase with carved ball-player figures. Three have “speech scrolls.” (Possibly fraudulent)

Classical tripod cylindrical vase with cover.

Small tripod cylindrical vase. Vase has modeled monkey inside.”

### **The Rosetta Stone Exhibit Case Label from the Milwaukee Public**

#### **Museum: Caption Label:**

“The Rosetta Stone

Three Scripts – One Message

The inscription records a decree made by a council of priests dated to 196 BCE, affirming the royal cult of the king, the young Ptolemy V, shortly after his coronation. The bottom section is in ancient Greek, the official court language of Ptolemaic Egypt for over a century at this point. The other two sections represent distinct dialects of ancient Egyptian. The uppermost text is “classical” Egyptian written in the traditional hieroglyphic script. The middle section is Demotic, a cursive script used to transcribe the colloquial spoken language of “the Egyptian people” in the later epochs of their history. Though this is the most famous text of this decree, instrumental in the original decipherment of hieroglyphs, fragments of other copies have since been found, one with more complete versions of the heavily damaged hieroglyphic portion.

The case of the right holds a full size replica of the Rosetta Stone – as it looked for roughly 200 years. Since its discovery in 1799 by Napoleon’s troops at Rosetta, Egypt, it has been inked, waxed and handled by masses of people. In preparation for an exhibition in 1999, the stone was painstakingly cleaned of the accumulated layers of grime and today appears as seen in the photograph.”