

ALFRED KIDDER II IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF AMERICAN ARCHAEOLOGY:
A BIOGRAPHICAL AND CONTEXTUAL VIEW

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Dedicated with love to my parents, Clifford F. L. Mohr and Grace R. Mohr, and to my mother-in-law, Martha Farfán de Chávez, and to the memory of my father-in-law, Manuel Chávez Ballón.

INTRODUCTORY NOTE BY SERGIO J. CHÁVEZ¹

Karen's initial motivation to write this biography stemmed from the fact that she was one of Alfred Kidder II's closest students at the University of Pennsylvania. He served as her main M.A. thesis and Ph.D. dissertation advisor and provided all necessary assistance, support, and guidance. He inspired her initial research in Peru and Bolivia. In Peru, Kidder was instrumental in having my father, Manuel Chávez Ballón become her doctoral research advisor. This connection derived from earlier collaborative research in Pucara and Qaluyu in 1955, and a close friendship established with my family going back to my grandfather in 1939.

In 1988 Karen edited a special issue of *Expedition* dedicated to Kidder's memory which included her short biography of him. Subsequently, at the request of the University Museum, she wrote an expanded biography to be published by that institution. After the original offer was withdrawn, Karen prepared this new, condensed version for *Andean Past*.

My gratitude goes to Stanislaw Stachneiwick who helped me locate the illustrations originally selected by Karen, proofread various drafts, and

corroborate crucial information with Karen's notes and Kidder's archive.

INTRODUCTION

This article is a biography of archaeologist Alfred Kidder II (1911-1984; Figure 1), a prominent scholar, teacher, and museum professional. Alfred Kidder II grew up with archaeology as the son of Alfred Vincent Kidder, a man who greatly advanced our understanding of the American Southwest and Mesoamerica.² Like his father before him, Alfred Kidder received anthropological training at Harvard. However, in 1933 Kidder launched his career in Venezuela, outside his father's areas of specialization. He did, though, experience Mesoamerican field work in Honduras. Kidder's personal and academic life had an enduring impact on his holistic, multi-disciplinary practice of archaeology allowing him to form hypotheses on chronology, origins, development, distributions, and relations within a culture-historical paradigm. He entered the field as United States-Latin American relations expanded under the "Good Neighbor Policy", when security interests during the Second World War led to increased funding, and at a time when Latin

¹ [Editors' note: because of her sudden and untimely death, Karen L. Mohr Chávez was unable to revise this paper after it had undergone *Andean Past* peer review. Therefore, necessary revisions were made editorially with the assistance of Sergio Chávez.]

² [Editors' note: to avoid the confusion of similar names, hereafter the senior Kidder will be referred to as "A.V. Kidder". His son will be called "Alfred Kidder" the first time he is mentioned in a paragraph, or whenever there could be confusion.]

Americans were receptive to American researchers sponsored by the United States government.

While teaching at Harvard, Alfred Kidder excavated at the site of Pucara, Peru in 1939 and carried out reconnaissance in the northern Lake Titicaca Basin in 1941 as part of the Inter-American Affairs Archaeology Program. From 1950 to 1972, Kidder was employed by the University of Pennsylvania. In 1955, while on the Penn faculty, he excavated at major Peruvian and Bolivian sites in the Lake Titicaca Basin. By the 1950s Kidder's syntheses incorporated functional and causative interpretations. He used his numerous contacts unselfishly to assist students and foreign scholars. As part of his museum activities he participated in "What in the World?" a CBS program which was a pioneering television project. This helped Kidder to popularize archaeology and ethnology.

Alfred Kidder's career began in the 1930s, when there were few archaeologists working in South America. Those scholars were, of necessity, focusing on the basic events of prehistory. During the post-World War II period Kidder saw archaeology expand to include broad syntheses and interpretations. This biographical essay emphasizes Kidder's participation in these trends. It also examines his individual achievements as a scholar, teacher, and museum professional. I attempt to understand his contributions in personal, intellectual, professional, institutional, and broad socio-political contexts.

Alfred Kidder was born on August 2, 1911 on Nantucket Island, Massachusetts. He died of leukemia on February 2, 1984 at the Carleton-Willard Homes in Bedford, Massachusetts and was buried at St. David's church in Wayne, Pennsylvania (Anonymous 1984; Chávez 1989a; Rouse 1984). The eldest of five children born to Alfred Vincent Kidder (1885-1963) (Wauchope 1965) and Madeline Appleton (1891-1981) (Haury 1983),³

³ Alfred Kidder's brothers and sisters were, from oldest to youngest: Randolph, Barbara, Faith, and James (Givens 1992:27-28; Woodbury 1973:19-20). See also the section on

Alfred Kidder was named after his father's father, another Alfred Kidder (Givens 1992:1).⁴ By friends, family, and colleagues he was called Alf, Alfie, Ted, or Teddy. Like his father, Alfred Kidder was educated at the Noble and Greenough School in Dedham, Massachusetts between 1922 and 1928 (Woodbury 1973:6), and at the Phillips Academy in Andover, Massachusetts from 1928 to 1929. He graduated *magna cum laude* from Harvard College in 1933 with a Bachelor of Arts degree. At Harvard Alfred Kidder was on the track and football teams and belonged to the A.D. and Hasty Pudding Clubs (Anonymous 1984:61). In 1935 he received an A.M. degree and in 1937 a Ph.D., both from Harvard University.⁵

On June 23, 1934 Alfred Kidder married Mary Bigelow Barbour (1914-1978), daughter of Thomas Barbour (1884-1946) (Romer 1974). Thomas Barbour was for many years the director of Harvard's Museum of Comparative Zoology. The day after their wedding the Kidders departed for Venezuela (Barbour 1942). As was common for wives of the time, Mary Kidder accompanied and faithfully assisted her husband in a multitude of tasks on all his expeditions except that of 1941.⁶ She spoke Spanish

professional contacts, below.

⁴ Alfred Kidder's grandfather was a mining engineer (Wauchope 1965:149) who helped guide pioneering nineteenth-century anthropologist and naturalist Lewis Henry Morgan during his study of beavers in Michigan's Upper Peninsula (Longacre 1994:390).

⁵ Alfred Kidder's nephew, Tristram Randolph Kidder, the youngest son of his brother James, represents the third generation graduating from Harvard in anthropology (1988). Tristram Randolph Kidder specialized in the archaeology of yet a different area, the Southeastern United States. He is now an Associate Professor in the Department of Anthropology, Tulane University.

⁶ Mrs. Strong went to Honduras with her husband, William Duncan Strong, the Kidders, and A. J. Drexel Paul, Jr., for example, and many wives accompanied their husbands on the Inter-American Affairs/Institute of Andean Research projects (Mason 1967:5; Willey 2004). Likewise, Alfred Kidder's mother also contributed greatly to his father's southwestern fieldwork (Aldana 1983).

fluently. Her extensive experience in the Peabody Museum mending and restoring pottery also served Alfred Kidder well in the field. She kept accounts, helped with archaeological recording, and aided the preparation of work for publication (*ibid.* 1942; Bushnell 1945a:55; Kidder 1944:4).

Alfred Kidder began his teaching career in 1934 as an Assistant in the Harvard Department of Anthropology. He became an Instructor in 1937 and an Assistant Professor in 1940, taking a four-year leave of absence (1942-1946) during America's involvement in the Second World War (II.A, vita June 9, 1950; John Rowe, personal communication, March 1984).⁷ By 1938 Kidder was a Research Associate of the Peabody Museum, in charge of South American archaeology (I.A., letter from Donald Scott, Director, June 23, 1938), and by 1948 he was Assistant Curator of Andean Archaeology (II.A, letter to Rydén September 9, 1948). His most productive research years encompassed his time at the Peabody Museum when he carried out numerous archaeological investigations in Latin America including projects in Venezuela (1933, 1934), Honduras (1936), and Peru (1937, 1938-1939, and 1941).

From Harvard, Alfred Kidder moved to the University Museum of the University of Pennsylvania in the fall of 1950 when Froelich Rainey was Director and Loren Eiseley was Chairman of the Department of Anthropology. Kidder was Associate Director of the museum until 1967 and Curator of the American Section from 1967 to 1972. He also taught in the Department of Anthropology, as an Associate Professor from 1950 to 1962, and as a Professor from 1962 to 1972, when he retired. In 1955, while based at the University Museum he led a project to Bolivia and Peru.

Alfred Kidder became a member of the Institute of Andean Research in 1940. His father was one of the nine founders (Mason 1967:3, 14) and served as president in 1955-1956. Alfred Kidder was on the Executive Committee of the Society for American Archaeology from 1952 to 1954 and served as its Treasurer from 1961 to 1965 (II.D). He was also on the Executive Board of the American Anthropological Association between 1958 and 1961 (*ibid.*). In the 1950s Kidder was Secretary of the United States National Committee on the Permanent Council of the International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences and was Chairman of the National Research Council Committee on the International Directory of Anthropologists that resulted in the 1967 *Directory* (Krader 1967). Alfred Kidder's father had been editor of the first *Directory* published in 1938 (Tax 1975:viii). Alfred Kidder was made an Honorary Member of the Sociedad Boliviana de Arqueología in 1958 (Eduardo Pareja, personal communication, August 1993). He was a member of Sigma Xi, and the Philadelphia Anthropological Society (II.D), coordinating speakers for its meetings, at least in the beginning of his tenure at the University Museum (II.A, 1950-1951 letters of Kidder); and was on the Board of Directors of the Pan American Association of Philadelphia from 1951 to 1952 (II.A, letter to Jackson, June 27, 1952).

Alfred Kidder had an avid interest in birds, which he shared with his father (Wauchope 1965:149)⁸, as well as in fishing. He collected bull figurines. While at Penn Kidder resided in a spacious home in Devon, Pennsylvania where students sometimes gathered. After his wife's death in 1978 he lived in a comfortable house in Blue Hill, Maine. Alfred Kidder was a member of the Tavern and

⁷ Alfred Kidder entered military service with the rank of first lieutenant and rose to become a major in the United States Army Air Corps. He was involved in the training of foreign air force personnel and received the Legion of Merit as well as Chinese, French, and Brazilian decorations.

⁸ In 1938 Alfred Kidder was the American Representative to the Lima Congress on Bird Protection and worked for Harold Coolidge's Wild Life Fund (I.A, letters to Scott, December 17, 1938, December 23, 1938). He was elected to the Philadelphia Wilderness Club in 1953 (II.A, letter from Eckert, March 23, 1953).

Somerset Clubs of Boston and of the Blue Hill Country Club.⁹

THE DEVELOPMENT OF ALFRED KIDDER II'S CAREER IN ARCHAEOLOGY

Alfred Kidder's life as a son of A.V. Kidder stimulated his interest in archaeology as a career. In 1915 A.V. Kidder began a long-term project at Pecos Pueblo, New Mexico, where the Kidder family spent many of the following fifteen years (Woodbury 1973:29-48). Alfred Kidder II was there from the beginning (Kidder 1959a:22), and Woodbury (1973:43) notes that "Alfred Kidder II began his archaeological career at Pecos, playing with discarded potsherds." Kidder pursued archaeology only after an early fascination with the idea of being a cowboy (Aldana 1983:245), a phase of his life he humorously recounted to me, to John H. Rowe (personal communication, May, 1988), and likely to others. Kidder (1978) recalled that as late as 1927, at age 15, "all I thought about was horses and cowboying," and during that summer he had helped with "all the dirty work in the kitchen" for the First Pecos Conference which his father had organized (Woodbury 1993:44, 83; Figure 2).

In 1929 Alfred Kidder experienced his first proper archaeological field work when he carried out a reconnaissance in southeastern Utah with Frank H. H. Roberts, Jr. for Harvard's Peabody Museum. In 1931 Kidder continued work for the Peabody by performing additional archaeological reconnaissance, as well as excavation in southeastern Utah with John O. Brew, probably at Alkali Ridge (Brew 1946:viii). On both occasions Kidder was a student assistant (II.A, vita, June 9, 1950). However, Kidder "later chose Peru as an area for research, leaving the Southwest and Mesoamerica to his father" (Woodbury 1973:43). John Rowe (personal communication, March 1984) also pointed out that

Kidder "decided to specialize in South American archaeology in order to avoid being directly in his father's shadow."

In his dissertation Alfred Kidder (1937:6) acknowledged debts to:

. . . my friends and teachers at Harvard, Professors Alfred Tozzer and Earnest A. Hooton, who have helped me in every way, as well as . . . my father-in-law, Dr. Thomas Barbour, and my father, Dr. Alfred V. Kidder, without whose assistance neither of the field trips would have been successful or even possible . . . [and] to the late Professor Roland Burrage Dixon, with whom I spent many hours in the discussion of the material included in this paper, and whose great enthusiasm and erudition were constant spurs to my efforts, sorely missed after his untimely death.¹⁰

Dixon, Tozzer, and Hooton were strongly committed to a four-field, integrated view of anthropology (Thompson 1995:648-649).¹¹ They "ruled Peabody and formed the best-balanced department during the period [1900-1930]" (Eggan 1972:132). Alfred Kidder's anthropological education was rooted in a culture-historical tradition taught by Professors Dixon, an ethnologist, and Tozzer, a Mayanist (Phillips 1955). The four-field approach was also exemplified by A.V. Kidder's work. Significantly, Dixon and Tozzer had also been A. V. Kidder's professors at Harvard (Willey 1988a:283, 1988b:305). Tozzer was a "Boasian historical particularist" (*ibid.* 283), while Dixon's similar approach was essentially geographic and culture-historical with interests in population movements, distributions, and diffusion (Tozzer and Kroeber 1936:292-295).

¹⁰ In 1934.

⁹ Gordon R. Willey (personal communication, June 8, 1992) was another Tavern Club member. He drove Alfred Kidder there during the 1960s and 1970s while Kidder was in Cambridge to visit his mother. Willey also saw Kidder in Blue Hill.

¹¹ [Editors' note: the "four-field" approach, very common in American departments of anthropology and long-advocated by the American Anthropological Association, considers the discipline to consist of socio-cultural anthropology, physical anthropology, archaeology, and linguistics.]

Dixon had visited or conducted field research in the Americas, Asia, and Oceania. He knew several languages and had mastered the ethnographic literature. His publications cover “the fields of descriptive ethnography, historical ethnology, archaeology, linguistics, [and] folk-lore” (*ibid.*:295). He had dealt with problems of geographic, cultural, and historical comparisons, and had also used physical anthropometric data to define “racial” histories. In 1913 he urged American archaeologists to establish chronologies to bring life to archaeological cultures. He also exhorted American ethnologists to build chronology into their studies of historic Indian groups (Givens 1992:47). An examination of notes taken by Alfred Kidder in Dixon’s 1932 class on North America, Anthropology 5a (II.B), bears out these observations.¹² Tozzer stated about Dixon:

This great mass of anthropological knowledge he gave freely to his students. He was especially successful with those graduate students who worked directly under him. He inspired scholarship. In his judgments of the scientific work of his students and of his colleagues and himself, Dixon exhibited an almost inhuman objectivity. His attitude was one of unsympathetic impartiality, of ruthless condemnation, or of detached approval (Tozzer and Kroeber 1936:292; see also Haury 1995:723-725).

Tozzer’s research had also strongly incorporated linguistics and cultural anthropology, and his first field trip was with Dixon in California (Phillips 1955:73). Willey (1988a:282-283) states that Tozzer’s teaching could “awaken, stimulate, and

inspire”, and he “demanded of his students . . . hard work, intellectual honesty, and above all, dedication” and “the learning process was sometimes painful.” In very general terms, Tozzer’s use in his classes of many illustrations (Phillips 1955:74) and 5-by-8 inch cards (Willey 1988a:277-278) was adopted by Alfred Kidder in his own lectures. Kidder, like his mentor, brought a stack of relevant books into his classes. Tozzer let students go their own ways after his initial training, rather than trying to mold them into his own image, but he often maintained close contacts with former students (*ibid.*:283-284). Alfred Kidder had similar relationships with his own students.

Alfred Kidder’s professors inculcated the need for field research and careful, dedicated recording of data. They, like A.V. Kidder, saw the importance of integrating ethnology, ethnohistory, and linguistics with archaeology. They put their holistic vision of anthropology into practice with their fieldwork and their teaching.

A major issue in understanding Alfred Kidder’s professional development is the impact his father had upon him. A. V. Kidder’s achievements in archaeology were many (Givens 1992; Wauchope 1965; Willey 1967, 1988b:292-314; Willey and Sabloff 1993:103-107, 161-162, *passim*; Woodbury 1973, 1993), and Alfred Kidder surely benefitted from his father’s guidance, experience, and connections, both personal and institutional. Any intellectual similarities between Alfred Kidder and his father, however, need not have been direct, but may have derived from their common education and the prevailing intellectual milieu. By the time Alfred Kidder was practicing archaeology, there were already established ways of doing it, although those had been heavily influenced by A. V. Kidder. There are, however, indications of Alfred Kidder’s independence, the most significant being his selection of South America as his research area. Alfred Kidder’s identity with his father was constantly reinforced by their very similar names¹³

¹² These notes show detailed knowledge of native Americans, discussed by geographic areas and by groups. Included are considerations of material culture (such as housing, dress, and technology), subsistence, social and political organization, and religion. Comparisons of certain traits were made in terms of distributions. For each area, linguistic, historical, archaeological, and environmental data were included. Other classes taken by Alfred Kidder included Anthropology 2 (Physical Anthropology 1933, 1934); 5b (Mexico, South America 1932); 10 (Mexico 1933); 12 (Primitive Sociology); 14 (1931); 18 (China, India, Mesopotamia); 20a (South American Archaeology) (II.B, list provided).

¹³ Alfred Kidder frequently contended with people’s confusion between his name and his father’s. Based on various letters, it seems he was irritated by the erroneous inclusion of a

and shared profession. Together these imposed the burden of high expectations established by A. V. Kidder's pioneering accomplishments. Indeed, this burden seems to have weighed heavily at times in evaluations of Alfred Kidder's contributions, both those made by others and those he made of himself.

Specific interactions between father and son are not well documented. A.V. Kidder seldom mentions Alfred Kidder in his papers (Givens 1992; Woodbury 1973), but A.V. Kidder did discuss his son's research plans in letters to colleagues, including J. Alden Mason and Henry S. Wassén (II.A, letter to A.V. Kidder from Mason, March 9, 1934; letter from A.V. Kidder to Wassén, June 22, 1935). There are two instances after his dissertation was filed when Alfred Kidder explicitly acknowledged his father. A lesson in funding archaeological expeditions came from A. V. Kidder who had supported a series of excavations in the Southwest solely with private contributions. "He taught me the fact . . . that such support will not continue without informing people how their money is being spent by means of annual reports or newsletters" (Kidder 1966:37). A further lesson concerning diplomatic treatment of site visitors and a realization that their support is needed, was learned while observing his father during excavations in the mid-1920s at Pecos (Kidder 1959a, 1966:38). The two archaeologists surely interacted during their common participation in institutions and professional organizations such as the Institute of Andean Research.

A.V. Kidder's pan-scientific, multi-disciplinary approach emphasized the importance of the natural sciences to archaeological research, including analyses of floral and faunal remains, technical studies of pottery such as through thin-sections, osteological studies, and environmental and geological work (Givens 1992:96-100, 124-128; Willey 1988b:303, 311). Alfred Kidder had firsthand opportunity to observe this kind of archaeology being practiced. He appears to have been greatly influenced by it. A.V. Kidder's artifact

reports "set standards of description that were followed by his successors in the Southwest" (Woodbury 1973:43), and these standards influenced his son's model descriptions for Venezuela. In addition, Anna Shepard's career as a specialist in archaeological pottery began with her pioneer technical analysis of Pecos pottery for A. V. Kidder (Bishop and Lange 1991; A. V. Kidder and Shepard 1936). Alfred Kidder later took advantage of both this contact and the technique of thin-section analysis. On the other hand, in contrast to his father who was a major contributor to the stratigraphic revolution,¹⁴ using natural and cultural levels and quantifying pottery types from them (Givens 1992:48-50, Wauchope 1965:151-152; Willey and Sabloff 1993:103-107), Alfred Kidder usually excavated by arbitrary levels or recovery units, sometimes not fully described. Nevertheless, Alfred Kidder recognized the importance of cultural and natural layers, carefully recording them and the location of many finds, including burials, in relation to them. In his early work in Venezuela, pottery was not quantified by levels or recovery units.

A. V. Kidder was a great synthesizer (Willey 1988a:282) and Alfred Kidder followed his father's lead by blending South American data into coherent, unified contexts. In the 1950s, both A. V. Kidder and Tozzer were somewhat resistant to new developments in archaeology, Tozzer to settlement pattern studies, and A. V. Kidder to the reconstruction of causal processes (*ibid.* 1988a:284, 1988b:298-299, 300). In this context, A.V. Kidder had received the brunt of the attacks by Clyde Kluckhohn (1940) and his student Walter Taylor (1948) on traditional archaeology (Givens 1992:109; Willey 1988b:298-299; Woodbury 1954, 1973:74-77). Alfred Kidder, by contrast, dealt with both

"V." in his name. Such annoyance shows Alfred Kidder's desire not to be confused with his father.

¹⁴ A. V. Kidder was influenced by other Americanists who were also using stratigraphy, especially by Nels Nelson, but also by Alfred Kroeber, by Leslie Spier (Givens 1992:48-50), and by Egyptologist George Reisner (Wauchope 1965:151-152). A. V. Kidder essentially applied to the Americas Reisner's stratigraphic concepts and digging techniques, with their ability to solve certain problems, for example, chronological relations among cultures, and trade relations (*ibid.* 1965:151).

settlement patterns and causal processes in his syntheses of South American prehistory.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL INVESTIGATIONS IN VENEZUELA

Alfred Kidder's independent fieldwork in Venezuela, followed by his synthesis of the archaeology of that country, was broadly regional in scope and oriented toward resolving culture-historical problems. He regarded his fieldwork and the data he presented as preliminary steps towards better "historical reconstructions" in a region where little archaeological work had been conducted. Rafael Gassón and Erika Wagner (1992:233, 1994:128) point out that Kidder accomplished the first regional reconnaissance of northwestern Venezuela, the first stratigraphic sequence of the Lake Valencia area, and the first chronological table for all of Venezuela (Kidder 1948a). Kidder also published one of Venezuela's first site monographs (Kidder 1937).¹⁵ Gassón and Wagner (1994:131) conclude that, despite the importance of Kidder's work it had less subsequent impact than it might have because "He did not leave disciples or students in the field and he never published in Spanish."

For over two months of 1933 Kidder undertook archaeological research in northwestern Venezuela, supported by that country's government. Kidder (1937:56; 1944:3) credits "Dr. Rafael Requena's enthusiasm for archaeological research" for his ability to go to Venezuela and excavate there.¹⁶ More

precise details are given by Cornelius Osgood (1945:445):

In 1932 Venezuela was under the dominance of the extraordinary president, General Juan Vicente Gómez. That year, his no less extraordinary secretary, Rafael Requena, whose enthusiasm for archaeology possesses something of the power of the tropical hurricane, decided to invite North American anthropologists to Maracay, the military capital in the exquisite Lake Valencia Valley of the maritime Andes, in order to study the prehistoric remains of the country and to reflect on their Atlantidean origin. Seldom has such a generous gesture to social science been accepted by so many. Kidder arrived from Harvard in July 1933, at the same time as an anthropologist from Yale [Osgood]. The American Museum's representative [Wendell C. Bennett] had departed some months previously, while the Pennsylvania delegation was to pause on the outskirts of Caracas before entering the field.

Kidder chose to attack the problem of the rich La Cabrera sites where Requena's diggers were continuing the work of several years (Figure 3). Kidder's task was not easy, for it was essentially an excavation within an excavation. At the same time, Dr. E. W. Berry of Johns Hopkins University was also invited by Requena (Cruxent and Rouse 1958:170) to conduct paleontological work in Maracay (Kidder 1937:55; Figure 3). Berry supervised two test pits as a minor part of Kidder's 1933 excavations (1944:30).

In 1933, after limited traveling in the Valley of Aragua, Kidder devoted six weeks to extensive excavations there at the site of Los Tamarindos on the La Cabrera Peninsula of Lake Valencia (Kidder 1944:3). In 1934 excavations briefly continued at the same site to obtain more materials from the lower levels (Anonymous 1935; Kidder 1944:4). Prior to his work, deposits had been exposed to a depth of 7 meters in parts of a main trench without reaching sterile earth. Kidder dug 4 meters into these deposits and deeper in other areas of the trench. He never went below the 7 meter level and in only one small test pit nearby was sterile earth reached (*ibid* 1944:29). Three other test pits were

¹⁵ Wendell Bennett also published a monograph in 1937 on the Venezuelan site of La Mata, near Maracay (Figure 3). In 1943 Cornelius Osgood of Yale University's Peabody Museum published a report on the site of Tocarón, east of Maracay in Venezuela. Osgood began work with George D. Howard in 1941. In 1943 Osgood and Howard published the results of their large-scale reconnaissance. Alfred Kidder had generously shared his own information, presumably that contained in his dissertation, with Osgood and Howard prior to his dissertation's 1944 publication (Bushnell 1945b:166).

¹⁶ See also Cruxent and Rouse (1958:169-170) and Gassón and Wagner (1992, 1994) for Requena's importance to Venezuelan archaeology.

also dug. Although his excavations were made in large arbitrary recovery units not clearly described, he was careful to record the natural stratification, burials, and their locations in profiles and plans (much pottery came from the burials themselves), and he evidently kept good track of where materials were coming from in relation to the upper and lower deposits.¹⁷ Quantities of artifacts from various levels (arbitrary or natural) are not clear, but general percentages of pottery types (numbers omitted) were given by phase.

From mid-July until the end of October, 1934 (Kidder 1937:58, 61) Alfred Kidder continued the 1933 work. He carried out reconnaissance and excavation in western Venezuela for the Peabody Museum's Division of Anthropology, funded by a Rockefeller Grant. A large collection of artifacts was taken from Venezuela to the Peabody Museum at Harvard from both field seasons (Kidder 1944:4).

The results of both these investigations were presented in Kidder's 1937 doctoral dissertation, an impressive work entitled "Archaeological Investigations in Venezuela", consisting of 585 double-spaced pages with 486 illustrations. This thesis was published in 1944 as *Archaeology of Northwestern Venezuela*, with relatively few alterations, although references were added through 1942. It was reviewed by Bushnell (1945b), Howard (1945), and Osgood (1945). The discussion below, cited from Kidder's 1944 publication, was actually written seven years earlier.

Alfred Kidder presented an insightful depositional analysis, especially in relation to lake level fluctuations, and indicated site function for both for burials and habitation, giving consideration to pile dwellings that had been found by others elsewhere. Perhaps of greatest importance was Kidder's definition of two separate "phases" or components at the site that he was able to date

relatively based on the stratigraphic evidence recorded. The *Valencia phase* was represented by the upper humus layers, and the earlier *La Cabrera phase* materials occurred below them, in lake-deposited levels. The earlier phase had not been isolated before, but material from the newly-defined Valencia phase was known from previous excavations.

These phases were defined on the basis of *all* remains found – burials, mortuary offerings, intentionally shaped skulls, pottery, and stone, bone, and shell artifacts (Kidder 1944:81-85) – and were compared with one another. Ceramics, in particular, were studied in detail (Figure 4). Differences in the artifacts characterizing phases were explained as the productions of different populations. A later group was thought to have taken over an earlier one, or to have come after the earlier inhabitants had been killed or driven away (*ibid* 1944:85). Simple similarities were explained in terms of possible continuities or general widespread existence of traits. Furthermore, phase characteristics allowed Alfred Kidder to trace the distribution of Valencia Phase materials. He corroborated the two-phase sequence elsewhere, and discerned some local differences and uneven changes in presumably contemporaneous Valencia materials. Kidder proposed that this phase could be refined. However, at the Los Tamarindos site he did not document changes, primarily due to "deficiencies in method" (*ibid*. 1944:84).¹⁸ La Cabrera pottery fits into what later was termed the Barrancoid series, dating perhaps to 500 B.C., while the Valencia Phase pottery is the type style for the Valencioid series dating to a time just prior to the Spanish conquest (Cruxent and Rouse 1958:175, 178-179).

Kidder drew on his knowledge of Southwestern archaeology for his conception of phase and pottery type and their roles chronology building (Raymond

¹⁷ Examination of catalogue cards indicates proveniences of materials in broad terms such as 3-5 meters, humus, lower humus, and in relation to burials that had locations carefully indicated.

¹⁸ All of Bennett's (1937) excavated remains from La Mata belonged to the Valencia Phase, but material in the upper half looked like that found by Alfred Kidder in two test pits at Los Tamarindos, but not in the main trench. Kidder perceptively concluded that material from these pits was likely to be later than that found in the main trench (Kidder 1944:84).

Thompson, personal communication, October 14, 1996). Citing Gladwin and Gladwin (1934), Kidder applied the term “phase”

... to various cultural sub-divisions . . . A phase is in no sense a “basic culture”; it is simply a “phase of culture”, defined to include as many traits as can possibly be recovered archaeologically for a given period – a convenient method of designating the varied units of wide-spread “basic cultures”. The advantages of its use lie in the fact that each phase, as defined, is given a local geographical name, thus avoiding the necessity of naming a “culture” and subdividing it into “Early”, “Middle”, “Late”, or numbering the successive periods (Kidder 1944:81).

Alfred Kidder saw labeled or numbered phases applied to a large area as clumsy and inflexible if additional phases were found. Such numbering had been used by his father, however, for Basketmaker and Pueblo periods (Willey and Sabloff 1993:121-122). Alfred Kidder (1944:114) emphasized that “phase” is “a convenient term to designate not a widespread ‘culture,’ but a group of demonstrably closely related elements representing the entire cultural remnant of a people, or as many as can be recorded”.

Kidder’s definitions of “phase” emphasized his holistic approach to archaeological cultures which did not depend solely on pottery (*cf.* Gassón and Wagner 1992:224). Subsequently, Osgood and Howard (1943) adopted a cultural classification based on the McKern Midwest Taxonomic System using sites, aspects, and phases, that lacked a temporal-spatial emphasis (Willey and Sabloff 1993:123-124). Kidder (1948a:415, 434) criticized this organizational framework because of its failure to deal with time (*cf.* Gassón and Wagner 1994:134). Later, Cruxent and Rouse (1958:2-3) used “style” to correspond to a phase of culture as used by Kidder, but based only on pottery, and omitted the use of “types”. Just before leaving for Pennsylvania, Kidder observed in the classes he taught at Harvard that although the Southwestern concepts were successfully applied in Andean archaeology where stratigraphic evidence of great time depth was available, the McKern system, which was developed in the Midwest where chronological controls were

weak, were attractive to those working in lowland South America where time controls were also elusive (Raymond Thompson, personal communication, October 14, 1996).

In his analysis of pottery, Kidder (1937:201-204) used what he identified as taxonomic types. He explicitly stated that attributes are selected arbitrarily for criteria in defining types, and that “Types are hence merely convenient groupings set up by the archaeologist as study aids” (Kidder 1944:53). This view contrasts with the idea that types reflect past norms, especially as discussed in the 1950s (for example, Willey and Sabloff 1993:164-169). In distinguishing a “ware” priority was given to surface finish, primarily pigment color or lack thereof. Form and decoration were also considered. The addition of a geographic name produced a type that could be further divided into sub-types.¹⁹ This binomial nomenclature was devised in 1927 at the First Pecos Conference on Southwestern Archaeology organized by A. V. Kidder (1927; Willey and Sabloff 1993:149; Woodbury 1993:96).

Pottery description was based on Anna O. Shepard’s “Standards of Pottery Description for the Field Worker”, a section of her Pecos pottery report prepared in conjunction with A. V. Kidder (Shepard 1936:437-445). However, Alfred Kidder (1937:202) changed the order of “features” and added one, “structure” or technique of manufacture. His descriptions remain valid in terms of attributes and details used.²⁰ Shepard analyzed thin sections of

¹⁹ Types included, for example, La Cabrera Plain Type, La Cabrera Polished Gray Sub-Type, and La Cabrera Red (La Cabrera Phase), as well as Valencia Red (Valencia Phase).

²⁰ A. *Surface Features*: 1. Color (takes into account changes due to firing or subsequent use) employing Ridgway’s 1912 *Color Standards and Color Nomenclature* of 1912; 2. Hardness; 3. Evenness; 4. Texture; 5. Luster; 6. Slip; 7. Defects. B. *Paint*: 1. Composition; 2. Color; 3. Luster; 4. Relief; 5. Hardness; 6. Evenness; 7. Defects. C. *Paste* (based on observation under a magnifying glass and microscopic examination by thin section): 1. Color; 2. Inclusions (temper) and clay; 3. Texture; 4. Fracture; 5. Hardness. D. *Structure* (technique of manufacture). E. *Shape*, including non-vessel artifacts. F. *Decoration*, including technique, design, plastic

pottery from Kidder's Venezuelan excavations (Kidder 1944:53-54, 57, 59, 62, 94-95, 97, 105; II.A, Shepard report)²¹ that helped determine the nature of clays, temper, and paints in this sequence. Functions of vessels were clearly differentiated (mortuary vs. utilitarian) and Kidder (1944:119) perceptively recognized the problem of dealing with special mortuary pottery in characterizing the representative range of pottery once used. A complex figurine classification for Los Tamarindos and western Venezuela was based on sex, posture, head form, body structure (hollow or solid), style (especially of the heads), and the presence or absence of paint (Kidder 1944:69, 127). Kidder (1944:160) made a brief reference to "cults" as reflected by figurines.

Alfred Kidder presented 85 excavated burials classified as three kinds of primary inhumations and five kinds of secondary burials, carefully quantifying them in relation to their stratigraphic occurrences, contents, and the age and sex of individuals. He observed that the age and sex distribution reflected a normal population (*ibid* 1944:38-53).

Alfred Kidder's 1934 fieldwork included a reconnaissance around Lake Valencia and a small excavation at San Mateo, east of Lake Valencia, (Figure 3) where he found material also of the Valencia Phase. At Carache in northeastern Trujillo State he excavated the Mirinday and Los Chaos sites (Figure 3) which had dwelling refuse and burials. Kidder defined Plain Red, Red-on-Red, and Red-on-White types, and isolated the *Carache Phase* as "the body of material left by inhabitants of the Valley of Carache at the Mirinday and Los Chaos sites and any further remains of sufficiently similar nature which may be discovered in the neighboring areas" (*ibid.* 1944:115), again reinforcing what he meant by the term "phase". Referring to this pottery as the Mirinday style of the Tierroid series, Cruxent and

decoration.

²¹ This fifteen page report, "Pottery from Lake Valencia and Carache, Venezuela", dated November 30, 1936, had been sent to A.V. Kidder first because Shepard did not have Alfred Kidder's address (II.A).

Rouse (1958:148-150) agreed with Kidder's immediately pre-Spanish conquest date for the material. Reconnaissance was also carried out in the Caracas area east of Lake Valencia, and to the west into the Andean Area of the States of Lara, Trujillo, and Mérida (Figure 3). Known sites and materials in museum and private collections were noted, as well as sites and materials from areas not visited such as the Maracaibo area.

Alfred Kidder demonstrated detailed knowledge of materials, exercised caution in interpretation, and was critical of others' conclusions when he made comparisons of traits indicating distributions and possible relations inside and outside of Venezuela. Aside from the lack of archaeological work already accomplished, the greatest problem Kidder noted was insufficient chronological control. He considered pottery more important than burial types in the refinement of chronology (Kidder 1944:146). He criticized as "over-simplified" Herbert Spinden's 1916 Archaic theory as applied to Venezuela (*ibid.* 1944:151-152; cf. Willey and Sabloff 1993:138-140; and see Spinden 1916). Kidder also disputed Max Uhle's claim, published in 1923, for the Central American origins of Venezuelan traits. In rejecting Spinden's assertions that "the higher cultures of Venezuela were the result of a Central American wave of influence", Kidder noted that there were South American origins for some traits, that figurines of supposed Central American Archaic origin were late rather than early at Lake Valencia, and that there was an absence of true manos and metates in Venezuela (Kidder 1944:151).²²

Alfred Kidder noted the importance of Venezuela's position as a kind of cultural crossroads, pointing out ties or origins of some elements in the

²² Alfred Kidder cites Lothrop's (1926:400-404) criticism of Spinden. His father had suggested a revision of Spinden's Archaic Hypothesis and argued "rather than being wholly wrong, [Spinden] had merely mistaken a relatively late Central Mexican manifestation of 'Archaic', 'Preclassic', or 'Formative' culture as the type example of the basic understratum" that consisted of interrelated agricultural societies preceding developments in Mexico, Guatemala, and Peru (Willey 1988b:313).

Andean area to the west, and possibly also in Central America, in the Caribbean to the east, and in Amazonia to the south. This is echoed in Osgood's 1943 "H theory" which places what is now Venezuela on the bar of the "H" (Cruxent and Rouse 1958:1). Kidder also emphasized Venezuela's importance as "a center of local developments of considerable significance in the prehistory of northern South America, and particularly the Antilles" (Kidder 1944:3). Implicit in his discussions, however, is a sense of Venezuela's marginality. Kidder referred to "great centers of high cultures to the south and west" (*ibid.* 1944:170) and explicitly stated that "Venezuela was probably not a center of major cultural origins" (*ibid.* 1944:3). Traits were seen as diffusing through the region, vaguely or explicitly implying population movements, or trade (*ibid.*:144, 153).

The closest Kidder came to a more explanatory interpretation of culture was his statement that "Comparable climatic zones over most of northwestern South America and lower Central America shared similar economies and were at the same general cultural level, but local material cultures were strongly differentiated" (*ibid.*:168 [not in his dissertation]). As elements came through the area, "factors of time, local adaptation and change combine to make . . . a most complex" situation (*ibid.*:169).

Alfred Kidder (*ibid.*:9, 152, 169) cautioned about assigning linguistic groups to archaeological materials or phases. He insisted that historical and ethnological sources, which he detailed, were important for archaeological understanding, but that archaeological cultures could not yet be linked with recent societies in this region. Such accounts serve as the basis for ethnographic analogies, and generate suggestions about the general cultural level of prehistoric groups and how they lived, and help explain why little is recovered archaeologically (for example, *ibid.*:17).

A review by Alfred Kidder of Venezuelan archaeology appeared in the *Handbook of South American Indians* (Kidder 1948a). John Rowe regarded it as the best archaeological synthesis in the

Handbook (Rowe, personal communication, March, 1984). It describes diverse environments, defines types of settlements and sites, and proposes two subsistence strategies for prehistoric populations (hunting and gathering alone and tropical agriculture with hunting and fishing). Kidder presented the archaeological evidence by region, rather than by the political divisions of Osgood and Howard (1943). For the first time he organized cultural divisions temporally. Kidder clearly showed that evidence for change comes from stratigraphic excavation. He suggested that while changes in burial and pottery occurred, no "fundamental" cultural developments took place (Kidder 1948a:414) and that it is not "yet safe to attribute stylistic changes to shifts in population." He "speculated", for example, that raised causeways and mounds in the *llanos* served to elevate routes and habitation above the periodically flooded plains (*ibid.*a:420).

In spite of his many successes, Alfred Kidder did not continue work in Venezuela. He had contemplated doing so in the fall of 1935 (II.A, letter from A. V. Kidder to Wassén, June 22, 1935). However, in 1936, he went to Honduras instead.

COLLABORATIVE FIELDWORK IN HONDURAS

After Alfred Kidder's 1933 and 1934 work in Venezuela, he and Mary Kidder spent January to June of 1936 in northwestern Honduras. They participated in a joint Smithsonian Institution-Harvard University archaeological expedition led by William Duncan Strong. Strong represented the Bureau of American Ethnology. A third official member of the team was A. J. Drexel Paul, Jr., of the Peabody Museum, who had been interested in the Ulua Valley since G. B. Gordon's work of the 1890s (Gordon 1898). The resulting preliminary report (Strong *et al.* 1938) received good reviews (Mason 1940; Satterthwaite 1940).

This work involved reconnaissance and excavations in the middle Chamelecon and Ulua River Valleys. Strong continued in the latter valley. Kidder went on to excavate at the Santa Rita site in the Comayagua River Valley. Strong and Paul also carried out reconnaissance and excavations in the

Lake Yojoa region (Strong *et al.* 1938: 27, 39, 45, 62, 76). Kidder evidently contributed to the study of the artifacts at Harvard, assisted by Strong. After this work was complete the collection was to be divided between the two sponsoring institutions, except for the whole vessels which would remain with the Smithsonian (II.A, letter from Brew to Wetmore December 21, 1948).

Geographic, ethnic, linguistic, and historical information was given importance. Significant stratigraphic excavations resulted. Profiles that included natural and cultural layers as well as the arbitrary levels used were illustrated. Chronology was proposed, primarily for pottery “styles”, “wares”, and “types” based in part on stratigraphy. The area, at the frontier between Maya and non-Maya cultures, showed the contemporaneous presence of both “Mayoid” and other Polychrome styles. The researchers were able to demonstrate that a historic, apparently Nahuatl, occupation occurred later than the period of use of the Polychrome styles and that occupations producing Bichrome and Monochrome pottery (including Usulután ware) were earlier (Strong *et al.* 1938:118-125). Although there was an attempt to associate the non-Maya pottery styles with ethnic groups (*ibid.*:123), it is not clear whether Alfred Kidder was involved in this interpretation, especially given his caution against such considerations in his Venezuelan work. His research demonstrated that earlier attempts to construct sequential pottery groupings were faulty (Satterthwaite 1940:196). Later, Kidder (1958a:1238) was able to criticize Doris Stone’s monograph on Honduras, based on his firsthand knowledge of Formative (Preclassic) styles that she had omitted or placed with later styles, arguing that she lacked an interest in chronology.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL INVESTIGATIONS IN PERU AND BOLIVIA

Alfred Tozzer recognized the need for a course on Andean archaeology at Harvard and was instrumental in having Alfred Kidder, whom he regarded as capable, teach it (John Rowe, personal communication, March, 1984). Consequently, in order to prepare himself for the course, Kidder went

to Peru and northern Bolivia from late May to mid-September of 1937 (M. Kidder 1942:4-86). He familiarized himself with these countries, their environments, and with archaeological sites and materials there. Kidder was sponsored by the newly formed Institute of Andean Research which appointed him an Honorary Fellow in 1937 (Strong 1943:2-3). He was accompanied by his wife (M. Kidder 1942: author’s note, 1-86) and Isabel Guernsey of the Harvard Peabody Museum. Guernsey had been appointed the Mrs. Truxton Beale Fellow of the Institute of Andean Research to study ancient textiles, including those from Paracas which were housed in Peru’s Museo Nacional and the Museo de Arqueología of San Marcos University (Guernsey [c. 1938]; Mason 1967:3; Figure 5).

During this, his first trip to Peru Alfred Kidder visited numerous sites (Figures 7-8), made individual and institutional professional contacts, and took every opportunity to examine archaeological collections in museums and in private hands.²³ He documented the trip with extensive notes, sketches, and photographs, and brought back a small collection of sherds from the various sites he visited for the Peabody Museum (Kidder c. 1938:9). His report on these activities represents his first writing on Andean archaeology after his dissertation (*ibid.*). Kidder visited sites in and around Lima, including some in the Cañete Valley. He was frequently accompanied by Julio C. Tello, who was the Peruvian Counselor and Representative of the Institute of Andean Research and was an old friend of his wife’s parents (M. Kidder 1942:8). On the north coast Kidder visited sites in the Chicama, Moche, and Virú Valleys. In Arequipa he also studied local archaeology. In Bolivia he visited

²³ In addition to collections in Lima (the Museo de Arqueología de San Marcos where Julio C. Tello was Director, and the Museo Nacional directed by Luis Valcárcel), Alfred Kidder saw the collection of the Larco family housed at their Chiclin Hacienda in the Chicama Valley. He visited the museum of the Universidad de San Agustín in Arequipa, the Pucara Municipal Museum, and the Museo Nacional de Tihuanacu, Bolivia. There Maks Portugal Zamora was Director. In La Paz Kidder viewed the Fritz Buck Collection and that of Federico Diez de Medina.

Tiahuanaco, guided by Arthur Posnansky, known for his extensive volumes on the site and its culture. In Cuzco Kidder focused on Inca sites (Figures 6-8).

It was during this 1937 trip that Alfred Kidder first visited Pucara. He realized its archaeological potential for immediate excavation, recognizing its stratigraphic importance, and observed its relationship to Chiripa and Tiahuanaco (Kidder c. 1938:9). The site had been visited in 1925 by Luis Valcárcel who published articles on Pucara pottery and stone sculpture. Kidder credited him for discovering the archaeological importance of the site (Kidder 1943:vi). The Pucara style had been defined in 1935 when Valcárcel and Tello briefly visited the site and made a pottery collection (Rowe and Brandel 1971:1). Kidder also visited the site of Qaluyu just four kilometers north of Pucara (Figure 6). At that time Qaluyu was known only for its Pucara remains. In 1938 Kidder commissioned the petrographical analysis of Pucara- and Inca-style sherds he had collected the previous year at Pucara. The analysis also included Tiahuanaco style sherds from the type site.

Alfred Kidder made a second trip to Peru in December of 1938 to undertake major excavations at the site of Pucara (Figure 6; M. Kidder 1942:89-224; Figure 9). These he conducted for seven months in 1939, working under the auspices of the Harvard Peabody Museum which provided the bulk of his funding. At the time Kidder was Research Associate in charge of South American Archaeology at the Peabody (I.A., letter from Scott to Minister of Education, Lima, June 23, 1938; Figures 9-12). The Institute of Andean Research again named Kidder an Honorary Fellow for these excavations (Strong 1943:3). Kidder's work in South America, first in Venezuela, and then in Peru, represents the Peabody Museum's first direct involvement in archaeological research on that continent after forty-five years of interest in Mesoamerican archaeology (I.A., Tozzer Application, December 27, 1937).²⁴

²⁴ Mr. Donald Scott, Director of the Peabody, formally requested the excavation permit from the Minister of Education in Lima. He also wrote to Valcárcel, who was the person

José María Franco Inojosa, Curator of the Archaeological Institute of Cuzco, was the government representative designated to work with Kidder at Pucara (I.A., letter to Scott, January 27, 1939). Franco had been involved in the government-sponsored program to clean and repair major monuments in Cuzco in preparation for the 400th anniversary of the Spanish foundation of the city, to be celebrated in 1934. Work began the previous year with Valcárcel as president of the technical directive committee. Among the tasks undertaken were excavations in Sacsahuaman and Ollantaytambo (Rowe 1959:11; Valcárcel 1981:289-290). Government funds were also authorized to establish the Archaeological Institute in Cuzco. Franco, the first Director of the Asociación Peruana de Arqueología founded in 1939 by Tello (II.A., letter from Franco, October 26, 1939), received a grant-in-aid that same year from the Institute of Andean Research for a survey in Puno (Strong 1943:3).

Alfred Kidder's extensive excavations opened approximately 3,360 square meters of the largest site in the northern Titicaca Basin (Figures 9-12). Pucara covers about 150 hectares. Kidder's work represents the first systematic excavation in this end of the basin (Chávez 1989b; see also Chávez 1992b for a summary). He excavated a variety of features, particularly midden and architectural remains. He also recorded known and newly recovered stone sculptures (Figure 13). Kidder completely excavated one of the several stone temples that are built on artificial platforms at the base of a cliff (Figure 10-11), and sampled another. He wanted to expose for the first time an entire highland building of great age, size, and complexity (Chávez and Chávez

responsible for its being granted. Tozzer wrote to his old friend Tello to assist in the matter. The request had included excavation as well as reconnaissance in Puno and Arequipa. The Division of Anthropology asked Scott to deal with Kidder's expedition in Tozzer's absence (I.A., memo from Scott, October 13, 1938). Kidder had to eliminate the original plan for reconnaissance, and regretted not being able to do more social anthropology, linguistic, and physical anthropology in the region, all for lack of time (I.A., letter to Scott, March 19, 1939).

2002a). The temple was U-shaped with walls of dressed stone, and contained a square, slab-lined central sunken court with a burial chamber in each wall. Kidder also uncovered a large rectangular platform on the plain below the spot where a deposit of human mandibles and skull fragments had been discovered. In addition, Kidder excavated along a riverbank into rich middens where there was evidence of what appeared to be a domestic structure. Although he noted the natural and cultural strata, he generally did not excavate by following them, so that stratigraphic contexts of remains were not often maintained. Nevertheless, Kidder found Collao-style pottery stratified above Pucara remains. He recovered Inca and Colonial pottery as well (Carlevato 1989). Kidder was cautious about characterizing the nature of the site, stating only that “there was a village or town of considerable size near the Pucara temple structures” (Kidder 1956c:153), and that “large sites like Tiahuanaco and Pucara indicate a great increase in population after Chiripa times” (Kidder 1964a:465).

Alfred Kidder published preliminary results of these excavations (1940a, 1940c, 1943:ii, v, 3-9, 1948b) and Franco Inojosa provided a summary of them, as well as an inventory of stone sculpture at the Pucara Municipal Archaeological Museum that included specimens recovered by Kidder (Franco Inojosa 1940a, 1940b). Rowe (1958) briefly described and illustrated Kidder’s excavations and stelae, using photos he took during his 1939 visit, after Kidder had finished his work that year. Although Kidder wrote up much of his 1939 research, he never finished, nor published a final report. He wrote about the excavations, architecture, and stone sculptures (Figure 13), and also about the bone and metal artifacts, as well as some of the stone ones. However, he wrote nothing about the pottery. Most of his collections (perhaps 10,000 pieces, almost all pottery) were brought to the Peabody Museum, although some of the best specimens were left in Lima at the Museo Nacional. In his incomplete manuscript, Kidder (1943:6) described and classified 49 pieces of stone sculpture, including eleven from his excavations. He classified them as human figures, animal figures, stelae, and slabs. Kidder placed the pottery into types based on

surface treatment. He used a binomial system as he had done in Venezuela. Examples are Pucara Polychrome (Figure 14), Pucara Polished Red, and Pucara Mica Plain. John Rowe (personal communication, March 30, 1984) believed that the study of the pottery prevented Kidder from completing the publication, probably because he realized that such an over-simplified taxonomic system would be far from adequate for the proper understanding of the pottery series’ rich complexity. Kidder was painfully distressed, I believe, by his lack of publication, and worked towards this goal continued while he was at Penn.²⁵

In 1941 Alfred Kidder became involved with the ambitious Inter-American Affairs Archaeological Program carried out by the Institute of Andean Research. Each of the ten projects undertaken was to have a member of the Institute as senior director. He would work during the northern hemisphere summer and then return to his university or museum when a junior supervisor could continue to direct the project. Kidder was Director of Project 7 in the south highlands of Peru, with the Peabody Museum collaborating. He named John H. Rowe as Supervisor and Marion H. Tschopik as Assistant Supervisor (Kidder 1942a:54; see Note 34 below). Franco Inojosa and Gabriel Escobar M. were also officially affiliated with Project 7 (Strong 1943:7) and many Peruvians, such as Luis Valcárcel collaborated. Arthur Posnansky was indirectly involved in Bolivia (Strong 1942:183).

Alfred Kidder, Rowe, and Marion Tschopik each had a specific area of responsibility. These resulted in separate publications. Kidder made sure all three reports were ready for press. John Rowe

²⁵ Publication of his 1939 work would have enhanced his reputation in the field of Andean archaeology. My husband and colleague, Sergio Chávez, and I have worked with the collection and can attest to the enormity of the task Kidder had set for himself alone. Edward Franquemont (1967, 1986) wrote his Harvard undergraduate honors thesis on some of the Pucara pottery and Sergio Chávez (1992b) studied the entire pottery collection for his Michigan State University doctoral dissertation. An extensive monograph is nearing completion (Chávez and Chávez 2002a).

(personal communication, March 30, 1984) noted that he must have worked very hard to get them all in shape for publication on time.

Alfred Kidder conducted a regional reconnaissance in the Department of Puno from June to September of 1941 (Figure 15). In August he was assisted by Rowe. During the course of the survey Kidder covered most of the northwestern Titicaca Basin from Pampa de Ilave near Juli on the south, to Mallacasi on the north, to Conima east of the lake (Kidder 1943; Figures 6, 15). Because his work at Pucara in 1939 had left the site relatively isolated, his aim was to discover the nature and extent of the Pucara culture and to locate additional related early sites in the northern Basin so as to “fit Pucara into a regional picture” (Kidder 1943:v, 8-9, 39; II.A, letter to Lothrop, February 7, 1941).

“Early” sites (related to Pucara, Tiahuanaco, or Chiripa) were identified on the basis of pottery, but non-Inca style architecture and early stone sculpture were also important (Kidder 1943:22). Some chipped obsidian artifacts were also described. Alfred Kidder noted the difficulty in locating sites in this region where few early sherds occur on the surface, even at Pucara. In fact, virtually all recognizable early sherds from Kidder’s reconnaissance were illustrated on only two pages. Most plain ware could not be used. Kidder did not define new types because of the small samples, but sherds relating to those already discovered at Pucara in 1939 allowed him to use “the method, long practiced in North America, of the surface survey to determine distribution of certain pottery types, and, by inference, of cultural spread” (Kidder 1943:22). Observing that Pucara continues to be a major pottery producing center today, he suggested that Pucara sherds at other sites may have been imported (Kidder 1943:38).

Alfred Kidder classified forty-eight additional pieces of stone sculpture by form (statues, stelae, and slabs), using the same groupings as in 1939 (Kidder 1943:27; see also Kidder 1965a). When possible, Alfred Kidder compared sculptural elements to those of Pucara pottery and to Tiahuanaco materials to attempt to date the sculpture and to discern

relationships among major categories of artifacts. Closer similarities were found with Pucara ceramics than with Tiahuanaco pottery, although some sculpture in Tiahuanaco was very similar to that from Pucara (Kidder 1943:38-39). Kidder suggested that there could have been itinerant sculptors or groups of specialist sculptors, pointing to the possibility that sculpture need not always have been of “local cultural inspiration” (Kidder 1943:38). He noted, too, that “Technical ‘decadence’ is no determinant of age in individual cases” (Kidder 1943:39).

Alfred Kidder now defined Pucara culture on the basis of the distribution of pottery, sculpture, and architecture. This was seen as representing a single period and constituting a “phase” of Tiahuanaco culture in the broadest sense (Kidder 1943:7), or even comprising “Traditional Tiahuanaco” (Kidder 1955b). Alfred Kidder (1943:40) suggested that the observed variability could, however, be due to “difference in geographic position, which would lead to the reception of different ideas through diffusion, or to population changes, or to time differences”, but these issues could only be resolved through excavation. Kidder (1943:38; also see Tschopik 1946:22, 41-43) defined the northernmost extension of “Decadent” Tiahuanaco to be in the northern Titicaca Basin, and emphasized the absence of “pure” [“Classic”] Tiahuanaco there. Prior to the drawing of the distinction between Tiahuanaco and Huari, Kidder argued against the idea of a single [“Classic”] Tiahuanaco empire extending from Bolivia to the coast and north of Peru. Kidder’s survey still remains a useful and valuable contribution to our knowledge of sites, pottery, and sculpture of the area, as do the two other investigations under Kidder’s Project 7 directorship.

Alfred Kidder struggled to determine the chronological relationships among Chiripa, Pucara, and Tiahuanaco. His efforts were complicated for a time by Bennett’s misplacement of Chiripa and the absence of radiocarbon dating. Bennett (1936) had put Chiripa between his Classic and Decadent Tiahuanaco, while Kidder (1948b) regarded Chiripa as pre-Early Tiahuanaco. Kidder (1943:39) concluded that Pucara was contemporary with

Classic Tiahuanaco, but later (Kidder 1948b:89), drawing heavily from his 1943 observations and Bennett's reassessment, he saw it as pre-Classic Tiahuanaco, possibly overlapping with Chiripa and extending into Early Tiahuanaco times, even though that gave it a very long time span. Kroeber (1948:118) remarked that "Kidder's [1948b] paper was marked by his usual soundness." Stylistic comparisons, especially of pottery, were used in dating, particularly for Chiripa, Pucara, Tiahuanaco, Chanapata, and Coastal Chavín. Kidder (1943:7, 1948b:88) also noted the potential of cross-dating based on possible trade sherds from Tiahuanaco at Pucara or vice versa. He also suggested using trade sherds to relate early Cuzco sites to Titicaca ones (1943:vi). Furthermore, Kidder (1943:89) argued that the painted pottery without incision found in the lowest levels of one part of Pucara was possibly pre-Pucara. This is Franquemont's "Cusipata style" (Franquemont 1967, 1986).²⁶

Alfred Kidder helped John Rowe record Inca sites in Puno (Rowe 1943b), because Rowe (personal communication, March, 1984) was interested in late remains. Rowe wanted to carry out research in Cuzco, and Alfred Kidder encouraged him to do so. He assisted Rowe in starting his project there, then returned to Cambridge, leaving Rowe to complete his study in Cuzco and nearby locations in 1942. Rowe's report on his excavations and reconnaissance became his 1947 doctoral dissertation which had

already been published as a monograph (1944). It provided the first clear evidence of pre-Inca remains in Cuzco and clarified Inca developments which are particularly relevant for understanding Inca expansion into the Lake Titicaca Basin.

In 1940 and 1942, with a grant-in-aid from the Institute of Andean Research, Marion Tschopik carried out an archaeological survey of late sites and remains (Late Intermediate Period and Late Horizon) in the Puno region. She conducted her study while her husband, Harry, was doing ethnological research in the area of Chucuito with an Honorary Fellowship awarded by the Institute (Strong 1943:3). The late surface material collected by Kidder and Rowe in Puno was incorporated into her report (Tschopik 1946), and similar late pottery was discovered by Kidder at Pucara. The Tschopiks assisted Kidder with their Ford panel truck that project members called the "Pampa Jumper" (John Rowe, personal communication, March 30, 1984).

At the end of Alfred Kidder's survey, the Project 7 investigators held a conference at the Tschopiks' residence in Chucuito, and devised a pottery classification (John Rowe, personal communication, March 30, 1984; Tschopik 1946:vii). They agreed to adopt the Southwestern taxonomic method, following the suggestion of Rowe who had learned the method during a course recently taken from J. O. Brew. This was a decision Rowe later regretted (John Rowe, personal communication, March 30, 1984). Types having binomial designations were then used by Rowe (1944) for the pre-Inca and Inca pottery of Cuzco and Tschopik (1946) employed the system in describing the late pottery of the Titicaca Basin. The system differed little from Kidder's own earlier classification for his Venezuelan pottery and the ceramics he recovered at Pucara in 1939.

From June to November of 1955, Alfred Kidder (1956b) carried out a project in the Lake Titicaca Basin for the University Museum, interrupting a near-30-year hiatus in the Museum's Andean research program (Figures 16-22). This project was supported in part by the American Philosophical Society. Kidder excavated at four early sites that he regarded as clearly significant for understanding Lake

²⁶ Alfred Kidder (1943:39) credited Max Uhle for recognizing in 1912 the existence in this region of non-Tiahuanaco, non-Inca materials that were related to Tiahuanaco, but earlier than Inca. Kroeber (1944:102) had also suggested that Pucara was pre-Classic Tiahuanaco, but did not pertain to the Chavín horizon as suggested by Tello. In an article solicited by Carrión (II.A, letter from Carrión, October 12, 1948), Alfred Kidder (1955b), in opposition to Tello, argued that if Pucara were Chavín-derived, it would have to be related to the Chavín-influenced Paracas culture of the south coast, or possibly to the Chanapata style of Cuzco, but he stated that it was not. The Pucara feline may represent the jaguar, but there are no Pucara sites in the low elevation eastern valleys. Feline representations may reflect a generalized belief rather than a specific Chavín derivation. Furthermore, if the white-on-red painted pottery from Chiripa, from Chanapata, Cuzco and from Pucara could be related to a white-on-red horizon, the problem remained that this horizon is post-Chavín elsewhere.

Titicaca Basin developments.²⁷ The project intended to correct “the disparity between our knowledge of coast and highland”, and to establish a regional chronology (Kidder 1956b:21). Kidder was specifically interested in working out the relationship between Chiripa and Bennett’s Early Tiahuanaco (today called the Qeya style, or pottery belonging to Epoch III at Tiahuanaco), as well as the relationship of Pucara to Chiripa and Tiahuanaco. Kidder took advantage of the advent of radiocarbon dating to help resolve chronological problems, and was the first to obtain radiocarbon assays for the Andean highlands. This pioneer effort resulted in a total of 31 dates (Ralph 1959).

Alfred Kidder’s permit in Bolivia included numerous sites (I.C. Ministry of Education permit April 5, 1955), with the Ministry of Education unexpectedly suggesting that he excavate at Tiahuanaco.²⁸ Kidder placed two units at Tiahuanaco in close proximity to two of Bennett’s 1932 pits because they had produced Early Tiahuanaco artifacts in their lower levels (Bennett 1934). One pit was 3 x 2 m, the other 3 x 4 m and excavation was carried out in 25 cm arbitrary levels. Nine radiocarbon dates were obtained. Five for Early Tiahuanaco centered between A.D. 150 and A.D. 370. Two for Classic Tiahuanaco ranged from

A.D. 360 to 830. Another was inconsistently early. One date came from a mixed upper level. William R. Coe, then a graduate student assistant in the American Section of the University Museum, helped Kidder.

Work at Chiripa by Alfred Kidder and Coe was aided by Alan R. Sawyer, then Assistant Curator of Decorative Arts at the Art Institute of Chicago, and Gregorio Cordero Miranda, then Assistant Director of the National Museum in La Paz (Figure 18). Kidder almost completely excavated one Chiripa “house”, while Coe partially revealed another “house” which overlaid earlier structures. In addition to Tiahuanaco material and other late remains, they uncovered three Chiripa components and dated them by radiocarbon assays (Figure 21). The late Chiripa structures dated to 600-100 B.C. (“Upper House Level” [Mohr 1966]). The newly-reported structures under them dated to 900-600 B.C. (“Lower House Level”), and the lowermost strata dated to 1400-900 B.C. (“Sub-Lower House Level”). Margaret A. Towle (1961:86, 136) analyzed the botanical specimens and I wrote my master’s thesis on the pottery (Layman and Mohr 1965; Mohr 1966; see Chávez [1989b] for a new interpretation of Chiripa).

In Peru Alfred Kidder had the assistance of Manuel Chávez Ballón (Figure 22), then a professor at the University of Cuzco and a disciple of Tello. Chávez Ballón represented the Ministry of Education and the University of Cuzco, which provided him with partial funding (I.C. letter from Kidder to the President of the University of Cuzco, November 9, 1955). Kidder and Chávez Ballón returned to Pucara to excavate test pits, obtaining charcoal for six radiocarbon dates. These centered the Pucara culture in the first century B.C. Finally, Kidder and Chávez Ballón placed a 4 x 1 m pit, dug in 25 cm arbitrary levels, in the nearby site of Qaluyu. The pre-Pucara Qaluyu occupation that Chávez Ballón had discovered there was dated by two radiocarbon dates spanning 1100-450 B.C.²⁹

²⁷ Alfred Kidder’s original plan was to test excavate at numerous sites in the Titicaca Basin in Peru and in Bolivia, doing a kind of “excavation reconnaissance” in which he would look for sites where stratigraphic analysis of pottery could be carried out (I.C. letter to Minister of Education, La Paz, December 23, 1954 and letter to Minister of Education, Lima, April 21, 1955). Although Kidder (1973:529) took responsibility for publishing the results of these excavations, this was never accomplished, although completion is now in progress (Chávez and Chávez 2002b).

²⁸ Alfred Kidder’s work in Bolivia occurred just prior to a period when foreign involvement in archaeology greatly declined. Albarracín-Jordan (1992:57) suggests “that the national revolution of 1952 conditioned the manner in which the national cultural patrimony was handled, and, thus, influenced permit approval to foreign archaeologists.” It was especially after the 1958 formation of the CIAT (Centro de Investigaciones Arqueológicas en Tiwanaku) that archaeological research was led by Bolivians, especially at Tiahuanaco (*ibid.*:55).

²⁹ In 1970 the University Museum seriously considered funding an Andean project, surely under Alfred Kidder’s

In Peru and Bolivia Alfred Kidder earned the respect of those with whom he worked or interacted, and people regarded him as a gentleman. He supported local archaeologists and involved them in his work. In one instance he published an article with Luis G. Lumbreras, an archaeologist who later achieved considerable prominence (Kidder *et al.* 1963). Kidder's willingness to share authorship demonstrates his "general lack of egotism" (Betty Meggers, personal communication, December 17, 1992). Betty Meggers observes that Luis Lumbreras "was a young and unknown Peruvian at that time, whereas Kidder was an established professional. Lucho was very impressed with Ted's willingness to listen to his ideas, without the kind of condescension usually accorded this age difference." Kidder also assisted Jorge Muelle in obtaining a Guggenheim Foundation fellowship for study in the United States (II.A, letter from Muelle, July 14, 1940).

Alfred Kidder's closest collaborative interaction in Peru was with Manuel Chávez Ballón who had motivated Kidder to study the pre-Pucara Qaluyu material during his 1955 project (II.C, letter to Willey, January 11, 1955). Kidder requested the participation of Chávez Ballón from Muelle and the Ministry of Education, offered to publish a joint paper on the results of their work together (II.C, letter to Chávez Ballón, May 5, 1955), attempted to secure a Fulbright for Chávez Ballón (II.C, letter from Stumer, January 10, 1956), and obtained funds from the Institute of Andean Research to enable him to continue his research (II.E, letter to Chávez Ballón, February 20, 1958; II.C, letter to Ekholm, March 27, 1958).³⁰ Kidder also encouraged

stimulus, and it sent Thomas Greaves to Peru to determine feasibility. John Thatcher was considered for work in the Huamachuco area of the northern highlands, and I was a candidate for work in the southern highlands. I presented a proposal to the museum in October, 1970 for a comprehensive study of the Lucre Basin near Cuzco. This included the Huari site of Pikillaqta where there is a long cultural sequence. To Kidder's dismay, an Andean project was not funded. During the 1970s Kidder retained his desire to return to the southern highlands once he finished his publications (III).

³⁰ Alfred Kidder had known Chávez Ballón's father in Pucara in 1939 (M. Kidder 1942:189), and he had seen Chávez

international archaeological collaboration between Chávez Ballón and Cordero Miranda so that they could exchange ideas, work together, and be in constant contact (II.C, letter from Liendo, December 31, 1955; letter to Chávez Ballón, May 19, 1955). In this regard Kidder believed that work in the Titicaca Basin should be "without regard to the political boundary between Peru and Bolivia. This boundary has nothing to do with the ancient Indian cultural boundaries and has considerably hampered archaeological work in the past" (II.C, letter to Biggs, February 16, 1954). Kidder also reviewed works by others in Bolivia, including those of Stig Rydén, Hermann Trimborn, and Carlos Ponce Sanginés (1949, 1958b, 1959b, 1960, 1965b, 1970, 1973).

ARCHAEOLOGY IN THE CONTEXT OF UNITED STATES-LATIN AMERICAN RELATIONS

Alfred Kidder was part of what Gassón and Wagner (1992, 1994) describe as the process of modernization of Venezuelan archaeology that occurred between 1932 and 1948. Beginning with Bennett in 1932, it was a period when the first professional archaeologists from the United States came to Venezuela. This was due in part to Requena's influence, but was also a result of the expansion of United States-Latin American relations under President Franklin D. Roosevelt. The intellectual impact these foreign archaeologists had on their Venezuelan colleagues lasted until the late 1970s. Gassón and Wagner (1994:124-125) identify some of the contributions made by the North Americans: the culture-historical perspective with an emphasis on chronology, classification, and regional syntheses; aspects of field techniques; and stress on Venezuela's important relations to other areas of the

Ballón there briefly (II.C, letter to Rowe, April 1, 1954), but regular contact began around 1949. Chávez Ballón (II.A, letter from Chávez Ballón, December 17, 1949) had informed Kidder of the early materials underlying Pucara remains that he had found in the highway cut at the site of Qaluyu, and included drawings of pottery and a description of the stratigraphy, and an account of his excavations at Pucara in 1948 for the Museo Nacional de Antropología y Arqueología, and information on his discovery of Chanapata and "Tiahuanaco" [Huari] sites in Cuzco.

continent and beyond. Intellectual, professional, and institutional contacts brought Venezuelan professionals into the United States scientific world, but Gassón and Wagner (1994:124-125) argue that problems of scientific and intellectual dependency arose.

The United States initiated the Pan American movement (1889-1932) to seek the cooperation of Latin American nations, particularly in trade matters. Six Pan American Conferences were held during this period, but Latin American nations viewed Pan Americanism as a means of furthering United States intervention and imperialism, especially in favor of its commercial interests including the procurement of raw materials and markets for manufactured goods (Lieuwen 1967:52-60). A new era in Latin American relations came between 1933 and 1945 with the presidency of Franklin D. Roosevelt and this had impact in the academic world including anthropology and archaeology. The "Good Neighbor Policy" renounced Latin American intervention, increased United States interest in its southern neighbors, and promoted intra-hemisphere solidarity. The new policy bolstered the earlier Pan American movement and brought new reciprocal trade and agricultural agreements as well as programs of cultural exchange (Lieuwen 1967:61-71; Patterson 1986:14). Interest in raw materials from Latin America intensified during World War II. These included tin from Bolivia after the United States lost its sources in Malaysia and Indonesia following the Japanese invasion of those places (Hermosa Virreira 1974:248, 249, 252, 323).

Regarding programs of cultural exchange Lieuwen (1967:71) states,

In 1938 there was created, under the auspices of the State Department, an Interdepartmental Committee on Cooperation with the American Republics, which became in 1940 the Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs. Headed by Nelson Rockefeller, the Office stepped up the

exchange of professors and . . . sent cultural study and investigation committees into Latin America.³¹

In 1937 the Institute of Andean Research was formally incorporated with A. V. Kidder as the prime mover (Givens 1992:116-117; Mason 1967:3; Strong 1943:2).³² Stimulus also came from Dr. Julio C. Tello, father of Peruvian archaeology, who had expressed the need for coordinated Andean research during a visit to the United States in 1936 (Lothrop 1948:52; Strong 1943:2). Tello subsequently received funding from the Institute between 1937 and 1943 (Mason 1967:3-6) and was appointed its Peruvian Counselor and Representative (Lothrop ca. 1938).

In 1940 the Institute of Andean Research planned ten archaeological projects to be carried out in Latin America and persuaded the Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs to fund the program (Bennet *et al.* 1943; Strong 1942, 1943).³³

³¹ The Department of State was also, for example, connected with the Eighth American Scientific Congress held May 10-18, 1940 in Washington, D.C. (IIA, letter from Spinden, April 1, 1940).

³² Alfred Kroeber was Chairman and Wendell Bennett, Fay-Cooper Cole, A. V. Kidder, Samuel Lothrop, Philip Means, Leslie Spier, Alfred Tozzer, and George Vaillant were other founders (Mason 1967:3; Strong 1943:2). In 1948 the Institute expanded to include all of South America, Central America, and Mexico (Mason 1967:9).

³³ *Project 1* was in Eastern Mexico with George Vaillant as Director and Gordon Eckholm as Supervisor. *Project 2* was in Western Mexico with Alfred Kroeber as Director and Isabel Kelly as Supervisor. *Project 3* was on the Central Coast of Peru with William Duncan Strong as Director and Gordon Willey as Supervisor. Alfred Kidder reviewed a resulting monograph (Kidder 1955a). *Project 4* was on the Northern Coast of Chile with William Duncan Strong as Director and Junius Bird as Supervisor. *Project 5* was in Cuba and Venezuela with Cornelius Osgood as Director and Irving Rouse as Assistant Director and George Howard as Supervisor. *Project 6* was in Colombia with Wendell Bennett as Director and James Ford as Supervisor. *Project 7* was in the South Highlands of Peru with Alfred Kidder as Director and John Rowe as Supervisor. *Project 8* was on Paracas and the physical anthropology of the central coast of Peru with Samuel Lothrop and Julio C. Tello as Co-Directors and Marshall Newman as Supervisor. *Project 9A* was

The sum of \$114,000 was appropriated to carry out fieldwork in 1941 with publication preparation to occur in 1942 (Mason 1967:4-5). The impetus for the program stemmed from the United States government's concern for improving cultural relations with Latin America and countering the perceptibly great German influence in that region during the Second World War (Rowe, personal communications, March, 1984 and May, 1988; see also Bennett *et al.* 1943:220, 235). Several universities and museums were involved, and many Latin American institutions and archaeologists collaborated closely. The archaeological aim of these projects was to increase knowledge of Latin American prehistory, developing a "sound and uniform chronology for the major cultures of the New World" and understanding interrelationships of Middle and South America, as well as their influence on North America (Strong 1942:180). Other goals included expanding intellectual exchange and collaboration with Latin American scholars, especially young archaeologists; introducing Latin Americans to North American archaeological techniques; and stimulating both North and Latin Americans to have "pride in their Indian past" (Bennett *et al.* 1943:221; Strong 1942:180). These Pan American archaeological goals were to reinforce modern policies of general inter-American relations and, by involving young scholars, to assure continuity of cooperation.

in the Northern Highlands of Peru with Alfred Kroeber as Director and Theodore McCown as Supervisor. Alfred Kidder reviewed McCown's monograph, disagreeing that Viracochapampa was Inca (Kidder 1946). *Project 9B* was in the Southern Highlands of Ecuador with Fay-Cooper Cole as Director and Donald Collier as Assistant Director and John Murra as Supervisor. *Project 10* was in El Salvador with A. V. Kidder as Director and John Longyear III as Supervisor (Mason 1967:5).

Summaries of this research program were written by Bennett *et al.* (1943) and by Strong (1942, 1943). Twenty-five publications resulted. The Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs also contributed to their costs (Mason 1967:6, 22-25). The Virú Valley Program was the second major cooperative project of the Institute beginning in 1945-1946 (Mason 1967:6-8; Willey 2004). Kidder reviewed four resulting publications of the project (1954a; 1956a).

Hemisphere-wide security was also addressed, especially because of the Nazi-fascist threat in Latin America, emphasized by the United States at the Eighth Pan American Conference held in Lima during 1938. Beginning in 1939, the war in Europe became a concern which heightened in 1941 with United States involvement. Danger of invasion from Germany or Japan seemed real and present (Lieuwen 1967:72-81). The State Department's support for the Institute of Andean Research's Latin American projects may be understood in this context. In addition, Patterson (1986:16) points out that "Scientists, including anthropologists, enlisted in the war effort and participated in committees and organizations created to meet needs produced by the war". Kidder (1954b:271) notes about Wendell Bennett during this time:

From 1939 to 1942 [Bennett] . . . was the representative of the American Anthropological Association in the Division of Anthropology and Psychology of the National Research Council and chairman of the Committee on Latin American Anthropology of the same division from 1941-1944. In 1942, when the National Research Council, the Social Science Research Council, and the American Council of Learned Societies consolidated their several committees on Latin America, Bennett was appointed executive secretary of their Joint Committee on Latin American Studies. During the war years he was much occupied by this position, and as a member of the Ethnogeographic Board from 1942 to 1945.³⁴ Both of these joint wartime groups gave valuable service at a most difficult and often chaotic time.

Alfred Kidder and others were asked by the Committee on Latin American Anthropology to provide information about their anthropological activities "related to the broader problem of cultural relations with Latin America" (II.A, letter from Guthe, March 18, 1941). Kidder complied (II.A, letter to Guthe, March 22, 1941).

³⁴ A history of this Board indicating wartime activities that included provision of information to United States war agencies is given by Bennett (1947) and, although the Board was dissolved in 1945, such activities continued.

The *Handbook of South American Indians* was brought to fruition with “A developing sense of internationalism in the Western Hemisphere” (Steward 1946:1). The Bureau of American Ethnology, Smithsonian Institution, prepared the *Handbook* beginning:

in 1940, when the project became part of the program of the Interdepartmental Committee on Cultural and Scientific Cooperation [of the National Research Council], a program carried out by special appropriation of the Congress of the United States through the Department of State. The task became cooperatively inter-American in the broadest sense (*ibid.*:2).³⁵

The new policies and archaeology in Peru

Alfred Kidder was involved in Peruvian archaeology during this time of new foreign policies. In this sense, his involvement with professional activities in that country paralleled aspects of his work in Venezuela which were also performed at a time when government attitudes toward archaeology were shifting. Kidder was part of what Luis E. Valcárcel (1981:298-301) characterized in the late 1930s as a new era in Peruvian archaeology. In contrast to Venezuela, Peru (and Bolivia) had already seen many foreigners carry out work. These included E. George Squier, Ernst W. Middendorf, Adolph Bandelier, George Dorsey, Erland Nordenskiöld, William Curtis Farabee, Alfred Kroeber, Samuel Lothrop, and, especially, Max Uhle (Chávez 1992a; Rowe 1959). Valcárcel identified fundamental changes including the replacement of nationalistic and provincial prehistories by wider perspectives derived from the influence of people like Adolf Bastian, Oswald Spengler, Max Schmidt, and Fritz Graebner. These influences provided a basis for studying Peruvian prehistory as a universal cultural phenomenon rather than as an isolated process (Valcárcel 1981:298-301). The same

broadening is also discussed for Venezuela by Gassón and Wagner (1994:129).

Realization grew that the national patrimony had global importance. This attitude encouraged participation in Peruvian archaeology by specialists of all nationalities. The Peruvian government embraced the new attitude and wished to impress foreigners with the nation's heritage. It funded archaeological projects, museums, and other institutions. Luis Eduardo Valcárcel and Julio C. Tello were especially influential. Each had external vision and contacts. Important international conferences took place in Lima. The Eighth Pan American Conference occurred in 1938 and the International Congress of Americanists had met there in 1932. Alfred Kidder contributed to the Lima ICA, but did not attend (II.A, letter from Giesecke, October 25, 1939). Valcárcel noted an increase in Peruvianist studies and publications and translations of the works of Max Uhle, Wendell Bennett, Alfred Kroeber, and others. Valcárcel considered the works of Bennett, Kroeber, Duncan Strong, Alfred Kidder, and Gordon Willey to be transcendental contributions, and that many had benefitted from Kroeber's lectures at the University of San Marcos, including those on methods applicable to Peruvian archaeology (Kroeber 1963 [1942]; Valcárcel 1981:301). The University of Cuzco founded an Archaeological Section in 1941 with a Viking Fund grant. John Rowe (1943a), who had been conducting research in Cuzco as a supervisor in the Inter-American Affairs Archaeological Program subsequently became its director. Bennett *et al.* (1943:235) noted that “supervisors . . . were to form a new generation in Latin American archaeology”. As in Venezuela, Peruvian internal interests corresponded to the external efforts engendered by the Good Neighbor Policy, including the Inter-American Affairs Archaeological Program.

In Peru, two major figures, Julio César Tello (Lothrop 1948) and Luis Eduardo Valcárcel, were involved in the development of anthropological studies and were responsible for creating institutions, establishing foreign contacts, and influencing the granting of permits to foreign archaeologists. Both

³⁵ Steward had hoped Congressional funding would have been approved by early 1939 “in connection with a general ‘good will program’ in Latin America” (II.A, letter from Steward, November 7, 1939).

were agents of the state, having worked in the government, and both were *indigenistas*, Tello opposing *hispanismo*, while Valcárcel viewed Peruvian society as unified in historical, archaeological, and geographical terms (Patterson 1995:70-77).

Tello, father of a nationalistic Peruvian archaeology, had obtained a Master's degree in anthropology at Harvard in 1911 (Daggett 1992:191). Tello's indigenist roots reinforced his autochthonous, rather than foreign diffusionist, interpretations and led him to incorporate archaeology into Peru's class struggle (Lumbreras 1974a:156-158). In 1923 Tello was given a professorship at the University of San Marcos and became director of its archaeological museum (Lothrop 1948:51). Between 1924 and 1930, Tello was also Director of the Museo Arqueológico Nacional or Museo de Arqueología Peruana on the Avenida Alfonso Ugarte in Lima (Arguedas and Bonillas 1961:295-296; Valcárcel 1981:263). Tello had been politically active during his friend President Augusto B. Leguía's regime, and was a congressional deputy.

After Leguía's fall in 1930 Tello was replaced at the museum by Valcárcel. Valcárcel helped form the Museo Nacional at the Avenida Alfonso Ugarte locale, was its director between 1931 and 1945, and in 1932 established its major publication the *Revista del Museo Nacional* where his articles on Pucara sculpture appeared (Valcárcel 1981:262-264, 281, 285-286). Valcárcel had created the Institutos de Investigaciones Antropológicas e Históricas as part of the Museo Nacional. The former institute was under the direction of Tello (*ibid.*:264-265).

In 1938 Tello gained independence for the Instituto de Investigaciones Antropológicas and founded the Museo de Antropología in the Magdalena Vieja section of Lima (Rowe 1959:12; Valcárcel 1981:358-359; II.A, letters from Tello, August 26, 1938, and November 21, 1939). Tello took advantage of the heightened governmental interest in Peruvian museums on the occasion of the Pan American Conference held in Lima that year. Among other goals, Tello felt he could establish a

better link with the Andean Archaeology Section of the Harvard Peabody Museum of which he was an honorary Curator (II.A, letter from Tello, August 26, 1938).

Nelson Rockefeller had donated money to the Instituto de Investigaciones Antropológicas aimed at saving Tello's deteriorating Paracas mummies. Rockefeller's funding stimulated Peruvian President Oscar Benavides to support the Museo de Antropología (Lothrop 1948:52). In 1937, when Valcárcel was in Europe, several mummies were given to New York's American Museum of Natural History in exchange. Valcárcel had been dismayed earlier when President Leguía had given important archaeological gifts to foreign heads of state, including President Herbert Hoover (Valcárcel 1981:264-266). Rockefeller also brought one mummy bundle back to Harvard's Peabody Museum which Alfred Kidder studied (II.A, letter from Tello, November 21, 1939; I.A. letter to Scott, May 29, 1932). This bundle included material for botanical analysis (Towle 1952).

When the Museo Nacional was officially dissolved in 1945, two new museums were formed, the Museo de Antropología y Arqueología in Magdalena Vieja under Tello's direction and the Museo de Historia under Valcárcel's direction (Valcárcel 1981:359). In 1946 Valcárcel also established the Museo de la Cultura Peruana at the Alfonso Ugarte location that included an Instituto de Estudios Etnológicos (*ibid.*:362). Having seen the value of ethnological studies carried out by foreigners (including, for example, Harry Tschopik), Valcárcel wished to stimulate Peruvians to do the same by initiating professional preparation in ethnology through the University of San Marcos. He welcomed the assistance of people like Julian Steward of the Smithsonian who had also carried out research in Peru, Ecuador, and Chile in 1938-1939 with Institute of Andean Research funds (Mason 1967:4; Valcárcel 1981:362). Valcárcel, but not Tello, was one of the Latin American scholars who contributed to the *Handbook* Steward edited.

Valcárcel and Tello had conflicts (Valcárcel 1981:282), and Alfred Kidder's remarks concerning

Tello, including the Tello-Valcárcel disagreements, show disappointment (II.A, letter to Lothrop, February 7, 1941; II.B, Peru diary and travel notes 1937:8-9).³⁶ After Tello died in 1947, Rebeca Carrión Cachot became Director of the Museo de Antropología y Arqueología. Alfred Kidder, who hoped to return to Peru around 1952, was among those who saw Carrión as an impediment to North American work in Peru (II.A, letter to Martin, June 6, 1951). Under her direction foreign projects were reduced (Schaedel and Shimada 1982:361-362). When Jorge Muelle became director of all archaeological activity by 1953, there was apparently no longer organized opposition to foreigners in Lima (II.A, letter to Rydén, January 16, 1953; II.C, letter from Stumer, February 4, 1956). In fact, Kidder received his 1955 permit with the assistance of Muelle, Director of Archaeology and History in the Ministry of Public Education (II.C, letter from Muelle, June 10, 1955). Kidder had interacted with all of the individuals mentioned above, and all of them were his friends. Valcárcel and Muelle, Valcárcel's assistant at the Museo Nacional in 1939 (I.A, letter to Scott, August 6, 1939), had come to the United States as part of the exchange of Latin American scholars. Muelle had a Guggenheim Foundation fellowship from 1941 to 1942 (II.A, letters from Muelle, 1941-1942). Valcárcel was a guest of the Department of State's Division of Cultural Relations in 1941 (II.A, letter from Means, January 10, 1941). Kidder communicated with both of them while they were in the United States. After Valcárcel was a guest in Kidder's home in Cambridge Kidder wrote, "It was a great pleasure to be able to do something for him after his many kindnesses to me in Peru" (II.A, letter to Thomson, February 19, 1941).

ARCHAEOLOGICAL SYNTHESSES

In an insightful early article based on a paper presented at the Eighth Pan American Scientific

Congress, Kidder (1942b:162) noted that there had been "a preoccupation with subject matter rather than with those problems which bear on the history of cultural growth in the New World". Drawing on an article by Lesser (1939) on ethnological theory that appeared before the publication of Kluckhohn's classic critique of archaeology published in 1940, Kidder (1942b:164) stated:

Formulation of our . . . loose speculations as hypotheses, to be tested, creates the very [research] problems which Lesser urges us to substitute for subject matter as directives of research. We are . . . often too hesitant to speculate, preferring to stick to what we know . . . , rather than lay ourselves open to the charge of theorizing without sufficient evidence. But, does not this hesitation indicate a failure to exploit fully the data already in hand? . . . it is only by setting up hypotheses . . . and by testing them rigorously, that we can be of any real assistance in the major field of American origins in general.

He stated that hypotheses applied to Middle America had not been verified, and could not be applied to South America. He continued,

So doing involves the rejection for the present of all theories of diffusion from distant and especially extra-American sources . . . if we must fall back on such theories . . . , we should do so only after we have fully exhausted our hypotheses of autochthonous developments. Furthermore, if we are to give our hypotheses a fair test we cannot remain content with explanations of origins based on comparative studies of such things as the subject matter of art styles from relatively late periods. Such studies may indicate diffusion but . . . any comparative work of this sort has [not] as yet even remotely approached solution of basic problems of origins.

Alfred Kidder noted that his hypotheses must be general because of a lack of distributional and chronological work. He hypothesized that early remains such as those found by Junius Bird in Chile should be found farther north, citing the find spot of the mastodon discovered by Uhle in Ecuador as a possible place to test. Kidder suggested that people came from Central America as hunter-gatherers

³⁶ In addition to reconnaissance, Alfred Kidder had hoped to test excavate in 1941 (II.A, letter to Lothrop, February 7, 1941), but did not receive a permit to excavate (II.C, letter to Willey, January 11, 1955).

prior to early cultures like Chavín. Some, and perhaps all, the developments associated with agriculture took place in South America, and that *multiple* agricultural origins occurred within various environmental zones in South America. Kidder approached the coast-highland-*montaña* botanical evidence by looking at the native habitats of the plants for clues to their origins which seemed to include both the highlands and Amazonia. Kidder proposed possibilities for plant dispersal, for example, *montaña* people going down to the coast without adapting first to the intervening highlands. Societies well adapted to the altiplano would have been descended from earlier populations. Kidder noted that hunter-gatherers would have been attracted by the richness of the Lake Titicaca Basin, and agricultural people would have known how to adapt their crops and practices to the Basin's high altitude (Kidder 1955b). He observed that the coast, despite "its dearth of important native staples" was important for fishing and that the "shell heaps and fishing village sites have been incredibly neglected" (Kidder 1942b: 165, 166). Eastern valleys needed examination to test theories of origin such as proposed by Tello. Physical types derived from these zones, he suggested, could also be useful to reveal early population movements and cultural dispersals.

Willey's (1953; Willey and Sabloff 1993:172) pioneer settlement pattern study of the Virú Valley, suggested to him by Julian Steward, led investigators to think and eventually work along the lines proposed by Alfred Kidder. Willey (1956) chaired an American Anthropological Association symposium in 1954, in which Kidder and other investigators of different New World areas participated. At that time, Willey (*ibid.*:1) stated:

Settlements are a more direct reflection of social and economic activities than are most other aspects of material culture available to the archaeologist. Because of this, settlement investigations offer a strategic meeting ground for archaeology and ethnology . . . there is no 'settlement-pattern' approach to archaeology . . . Like most archaeological facts, those of settlement are robbed of much of their importance when

considered in isolation. Any number of different approaches to various problems may begin with the factual data of prehistoric settlement.

Alfred Kidder (1956c) reviewed the extant evidence for Peru in settlement terms, drawing heavily from Willey's work in the Virú Valley and pointing out the disparity between work done on the coast and that in the highlands. This unevenness in knowledge between coast and highlands was a theme reiterated on various occasions (for example, Kidder 1956b:20, 1964a:481; Kidder *et al.* 1963:90). He noted that highland settlements were likely to have been dispersed because herding was important and arable land in the highlands is not as restricted as in coastal valleys. Kidder (1956c:151-153) mentioned Bennett's pilgrimage pattern for Chavín and suggested that the abundant refuse at Tiahuanaco could also have resulted in part from pilgrimage. Settlement studies using systematic surface survey were not undertaken by Kidder or others in the highlands until later, and Kidder rightly labeled what he did as regional reconnaissance to reconstruct distributions, relations, chronology, and local differences.

Beginning in 1940, Alfred Kidder wrote frequently about diffusion and referred to it often in his syntheses. He contributed to the 1940 Maya-centered volume in honor of Alfred Tozzer (Hay *et al.* 1940) by pointing out influences from South America to Middle America, not simply flowing in the reverse direction (Kidder 1940b). Archaeologists continued their interest in intercontinental diffusion well into the 1960s, as reflected by several large cooperative projects and symposia focusing on American developments and relationships. In 1960-1962, for example, the large Interrelationships of New World Cultures Program was funded by the National Science Foundation under the auspices of the Institute of Andean Research (Mason 1967:10-12).³⁷

³⁷ The Institute of Andean Research provided funds for the publication of additional copies of the volume in which Kidder (Kidder *et al.* 1963) participated, edited by Betty Meggers and Clifford Evans who participated in this Program. The extra copies were intended for distribution to Latin

In 1962 Alfred Kidder participated in two symposia that emphasized interpretive rather than descriptive syntheses, with temporal and developmental sequences presented for all areas of the Americas discussed. Symposium papers on Latin America presented at the 35th International Congress of Americanists, including one with as Kidder lead author (Kidder *et al.* 1963), were edited by Betty Meggers and Clifford Evans (1963). Jesse Jennings and Edward Norbeck (1964) edited a volume based on a symposium held for the fiftieth anniversary of Rice University that included a synthesis by Kidder (Bullen 1965; Kidder 1964a). In many respects this is similar to Kidder's 1963 synthesis. The Jennings and Norbeck volume came to be regarded as a major contribution. It included all of the Americas and incorporated two chapters on diffusion/convergence, including consideration of transpacific contacts, a topic that persisted in Jennings' later volumes (1978, 1983a, 1983b).

Alfred Kidder, Luis Lumbreras (known for his theoretical Marxist contributions), and David Smith (then a University of Pennsylvania graduate student) argued that

a developmental sequence is a hypothesis in which the terminology used reflects the nature of progressively more complex and radically different conditions of culture and society – an outline of macro-evolution of supra-individual culture (Kidder *et al.* 1963:90).

This statement appears to reflect Lumbreras' views more than Kidder's, but such organizational terminology indicative of evolutionary stages was popular at the time. In 1948 several such frameworks were summarized by Kroeber (1948:114), including those of Bennett, Strong, Willey, and Steward. In his 1963 and 1964 syntheses, Kidder proposed yet an additional sequence using evolutionary terms, acknowledged as based on Bennett's schema (Bennett 1948), and

called stages in the article, although dates were assigned.³⁸ Kidder's scheme also incorporated the concept of cultural climaxes from Kroeber's 1939 usage. These climaxes were the Chavín culture, the Florescent stage with the Moche and Nasca cultures, and the Inca polity (Kidder 1964a:457). With the plethora of conflicting evolutionary organizational schemes proposed by almost every investigator, Rowe (1962) established the period system which was widely adopted for the Central Andes. However, some researchers, including Lumbreras (1974b), continued to use a stage framework.

Alfred Kidder's 1963 and 1964 syntheses emphasized functional relationships (although Kidder did not use those terms) among environment, settlement, subsistence, technology, population, and socio-political developments. These areas were becoming of greater concern. Consideration of them met the interpretive goals editors were seeking from authors. In these articles Kidder referred to the need for constructing site ethnographies, going beyond pottery sequences, to include "over-all views of the lives" of the pre-Hispanic occupants. This idea reflects the orientations of the time, but Kidder had always thought of ethnology and archaeology as integrated in this way.

In addition to synchronic descriptions, Alfred Kidder also invoked causal interpretations. Apparently influenced by Willey (1953) and others, he incorporated the same kinds of interrelated variables into his 1963 and 1964 syntheses. For one period in the Virú Valley, for example, Kidder (1956c:151) noted that irrigation agriculture led to population increases, the spread of settlements, and eventually warfare and social changes ("politico-

American archaeologists (Mason 1967:12). The Institute also jointly published, with a Viking Fund grant, the volume edited by Bennett synthesizing Peruvian archaeology in which Kidder (1948b) participated.

³⁸ These stages are: Preagricultural (c. 9000-4000 B.C.) (Kidder *et al.* 1963, omitted in Kidder 1964a); Horticultural Villages (c. 4500-800 B.C.) (Kidder *et al.* 1963; Kidder 1964a); Cultist Temple Centers (800-300 B.C.); Regional States, Formative, or Regional Diversification (300 B.C. - A.D. 200); Regional States, Florescent, or Regional Integration (A.D. 200 - 600); City Builders (A.D. 600-1000); New Kingdoms and Empire (A.D. 1000-1532).

religious control"). Another interesting example goes beyond and concerns Moche:

The famous scenes of Mochica life painted on pottery indicate, as might be inferred from architectural structures and the highly developed irrigation system, a strongly theocratic social control, with very considerable emphasis on warfare. This is in marked contrast to the Early Classic of Mesoamerica, but might be expected in an area where arable land cannot be expanded by cutting and burning more forest, but is limited by the amount of water available in individual rivers. . . It would seem that for the remaining 1,100 years or so . . . , continuing struggle for control of the arable land was the basis of politics, both along the coast and in the highland basins (Kidder *et al.* 1963:97).

Kidder (1964a:466) also stated:

In coastal Peru growing populations had to live in concentrations near limited sources of water, which could be brought, through limitations of volume and terrain, only so far. These limits, once reached, became barriers to further power and influence of the ruling class that only conquest could overcome.

Such statements for the coast have elements of Robert Carneiro's later (1970) circumscription theory that used coastal valleys of Peru as a case.

In both of these syntheses, Kidder applied Joseph Caldwell's (1958) concept of "efficiency" to beach-oriented Horticultural Villages that indicated a "river-mouth efficiency", reaching an "*equilibrium* [emphasis mine] that did not permit any major population increase without utilizing up-valley lands" (Kidder 1964a:456) so that for change to occur people had to move up-river where greater reliance on agriculture through irrigation could be achieved, stimulated by new cultigens or forms of maize. A "highland efficiency" was postulated as antecedent to Chavín and other highland developments. Introduction of new plants was related to the rise of Chavín specialization, including religious specialization (Kidder *et al.* 1963:95). Kidder (1964a:462) stated that, "Sufficient economic growth has been achieved to allow at least some

specialization in crafts and to support a priestly class [emphasis mine] to recruit and direct labor and conduct ceremonies on a considerable scale." Kidder never adopted the evolutionary political terms used by Willey, such as chiefdom or state, however. His views on Tiahuanaco-Huari relations and Huari expansion were largely derived from Lumbreras, whom he cited in 1964, and seem to parallel the work of Dorothy Menzel begun in 1958 and who had had contact with Lumbreras in Peru (Menzel 1958).

Alfred Kidder held the implicit assumption that there are environmental limits, given a level of population and technology, beyond which further technological or social changes would have to occur for new limits to be reached. In addition, Kidder also assigned considerable importance to the environment in the development of civilization. He argued that only in Peru, northern Bolivia, and coastal Ecuador did a Classic/Florescent stage occur, precisely where the best combination of resources is found.

Throughout the 1963 and 1964 articles there are references to Mesoamerican origins of items, such as maize, pre-Chavín figurines, pottery forms and decoration, and, especially, to an Olmec influence on Chavín. Perceptions of this influence are based on similarities between Olmec and pre-Chavín materials. This view represented the influence of Smith, although Alfred Kidder was cautious, especially in 1964, when he pointed out that felines, raptorial birds, and serpents were already present at Huaca Prieta before Olmec times, and that the earliest stirrup spout pots had been found in Ecuador. In Alfred Kidder's 1964 article that included Ecuador and other areas, he was greatly influenced by the diffusionist arguments of Betty Meggers, Clifford Evans, and Emilio Estrada (published later, in 1965). Meggers, Evans, and Estrada considered the ceramics of the Jomon culture of Japan to have been the model for Ecuador's Valdivia Pottery.

There are differences between the Valdivia and Jomon ceramics, and early Valdivia is also characterized by distinctive, small stone figurines,

which do not relate to Jomon. Nevertheless, the similarities between the two . . . are so striking and the datings are so fitly in agreement that a transpacific introduction of pottery at about 2500 B.C. seems to be the only logical explanation of the facts" (Kidder 1964a:474).

He disagreed with Meggers, Evans, and Estrada, however, that Valdivia pottery resembled the earliest pottery from the north coast of Peru.

Although not primarily a theoretician, Alfred Kidder did make important explicit and implicit contributions to archaeological theory. He encouraged the development of loose hypotheses into clearly stated research problems, to move beyond mere cultural historical constructions. Nevertheless, he insisted that all speculations rest on firm factual frameworks. Kidder resisted the wholesale importation into Andean archaeology of hypotheses based upon Mesoamerican concepts and material, and was cautious about diffusion. Nevertheless, he was able to formulate reconstructions of the peopling of the Americas, the mechanisms of plant dispersals, and cultural-ecological adaptations to various environmental zones. His influence on Gordon Willey is apparent in Willey's settlement pattern studies of the Virú Valley and elsewhere. Kidder anticipated Robert Carneiro's Circumscription Theory. Through his concept of "site ethnography" Kidder encouraged the use of all possible sources of information in the analysis of an archaeological site. Many of these theoretical insights we take for granted today.

PROFESSIONAL CONTACTS

Alfred Kidder had excellent working relations with others, including colleagues, students, government officials, and the public. His professional and institutional contacts developed through his father, A.V. Kidder, as well as through his own positions at leading United States institutions with great museums, and through his field experience and his participation in meetings. Alfred Kidder was embedded in the Eastern establishment professional and institutional networks. In some cases Alfred Kidder's own

contacts overlapped with those of his father. Both participated in the Institute of Andean Research and the Society for American Archaeology which his father had helped to create. Kidder was active in the American Anthropological Association, the Division of Anthropology and Psychology of the National Research Council, and the American Philosophical Society, as was his father (Woodbury 1973:48-49). Alfred Kidder knew virtually every significant figure in archaeology, including non-Andeanists.

Family and upbringing surely contributed to Alfred Kidder's diplomatic nature that proved crucial to his working in foreign countries and with non-Americans. His brother Randolph became a diplomat, retiring in 1968 from the United States Foreign Service with the rank of Ambassador. His younger brother James was in the Army Air Corps during the Second World War, then also entered the U.S. Foreign Service, serving as a diplomatic courier. Later he worked as a businessman (Givens 1992:27-28; Woodbury 1973:20; Thompson, personal communication, October 14, 1996). Sister Barbara Kidder Aldana (d. 1983) married a Guatemalan physician and spent much of her life with him in Guatemala City. Sister Faith Kidder Fuller:

was for many years in charge of the girls at the Verde Valley School in Arizona, well known for its pioneering introduction of anthropology into its curriculum as well as firsthand field experience for its students among many ethnic groups of the Southwest and Mexico (Woodbury 1973:20).

The Barbours, Alfred Kidder's wife's family, had contacts with the United Fruit Company and held complimentary transportation privileges that Kidder could use for travel to Peru (II.A, letter to Barbour from Pollan, October 3, 1938). Kidder solicited help for a Harvard archaeologist from a United Fruit Company representative in Panama whom he had known since his Honduras project (II.A, letter to Campbell, January 7, 1941). Kidder also communicated through people in the United States Embassy in Lima (II.A, letters from Giesecke 1938-1941), and through the British Consulate in Lima

(II.A, letter from King, October 27, 1937), and used the Grace Line for shipping and transportation (II.A, letter from Grace Line, May 1, 1941). Kidder's diplomatic skills appear to have also served him well in the military, and right after the end of World War II Kidder "and a Colonel — were involved in liaison matters with Latin governments, tasks for which both were well fitted owing to their linguistic skills and general backgrounds" (Gordon Willey, personal communication, June 8, 1992).

Alfred Kidder judiciously contacted people who could properly advise him as to how to proceed in obtaining permits for his work in Peru and Bolivia (II.C, letters from Biggs 1954). At the beginning of his career it was Albert A. Giesecke, former President of the University of Cuzco, whom Kidder met in 1937. Giesecke was one of Luis Valcárcel's professors, and later advised the United States Embassy in Lima (Valcárcel 1981:139-140, 358). Giesecke specified to Kidder what should be done by Kidder himself and by his museum to obtain necessary permits. He also told Kidder who could assist the formal process in 1938 (II.A, letter from Giesecke, June 11, 1938). Kidder established contacts with other individuals for the sake of friendship and collegiality, not just out of professional necessity. He used his numerous connections to assist his students in many ways, but especially to help them conduct fieldwork.

ALFRED KIDDER II'S CONTRIBUTIONS TO TEACHING

Alfred Kidder taught at Harvard from 1934 to 1950, and then taught at the University of Pennsylvania from 1950 to 1972.³⁹ He left no

³⁹ At Harvard Alfred Kidder taught courses including Andean Archaeology, Races and Cultures of Native North America, Races and Cultures of Native South America, Races and Cultures of Native Central America and Mexico, Ethnology of North America, and an informal seminar on the ethnology of northern Mexico (II.A, Kidder vita, June 9, 1950). At Penn he also taught such courses as Andean Archaeology and Introduction to the Archaeology of the Americas on a regular basis, and a year-long course on Museum Organization and Techniques (II.A, letter to Discher, February 7, 1952, letter to Nichols, February 3, 1953).

"school" of archaeology or Andean studies, but he had a significant impact on many of his students. Kidder's first student of Andean archaeology was John H. Rowe, who completed class work at Harvard from 1939 to 1941 and obtained his Ph.D. in 1947. Rowe (personal communication, March 30, 1984) stated about Kidder:

Alf taught an excellent course on Andean archaeology. It was a very well organized synthesis of what was known then, with careful presentation of the evidence. He also shared a course on South America in general with Carleton Coon. Coon taught the ethnographic part of that course, and Alf gave the archaeological part. He had a broad command of the archaeology of all of South America. I think Alf was giving the best training in South American archaeology that was available in the United States. Kroeber and Strong only covered the Andes and were not as good synthesizers. Bennett was not teaching at that time ...

Furthermore, Alfred Kidder provided encouragement as one of the few faculty members who participated with graduate students, including Rowe, on weekend excavations at a site in the Blue Hills south of Boston run by the Excavators' Club (John Rowe, personal communication, March 30, 1984). While at Harvard Kidder, apparently at Tozzer's suggestion, actively served as advisor to graduate students who were preparing their dissertations (II.A, letter from Boggs, September 15, 1941). Interaction with students appeared to be an important part of his satisfaction with teaching, and he was a confidant of many people carrying out field work in archaeology and ethnology in places such as Alaska, Canada, Connecticut, Oceania, Mexico, El Salvador, and South America. Many of these individuals became well-known in their fields. Kidder maintained contact with Harvard students after going to the University of Pennsylvania Museum, and continued to assist them in obtaining funding and in matters of field work.⁴⁰ He selflessly

⁴⁰ For example, in 1952 a former student confided to him an instance of what today would be called gender discrimination. Although extremely qualified in the anthropology of Alaska, she was denied participation in

used his contacts to advance his students in their professional development.

At Penn Alfred Kidder had two Ph.D. students in Andean archaeology. John P. Thatcher conducted his dissertation research in the Huamachuco area of Peru's northern highlands, obtaining his Ph.D. in 1972 (Thatcher 1972). I excavated in Peru's southern highlands for the doctorate I received in 1977 (Chávez 1977). Kidder assisted me in every way, by permitting me to use his Chiripa (Bolivia) pottery for my master's thesis, by obtaining funding for my course work and dissertation research, and by arranging for Manuel Chávez Ballón to be my advisor in Peru.⁴¹

Alfred Kidder never imposed rigid demands or orientations. Rather, he permitted freedom and creativity in one's areas of investigation, and provided encouragement and moral support to pursue individual goals. Although shy in conversation, his classroom lectures and discussions revealed an impressive breadth of knowledge, and Kidder did not impart a know-it-all attitude. He listened to all sides and was reluctant to adhere to an unchanging dogmatic point of view. Kidder was willing to learn from his students. Such reciprocal interaction provided confidence and motivation for his students while he benefitted from their own studies and understandings. I recall an incident from his Andean archaeology class in which he encouraged Mary M. Voigt (now a Near Eastern archaeologist) to write to Edward P. Lanning about ideas on the preceramic of Peru that she had developed in a paper. Finally, teaching in departments directly associated with major museums, Kidder regarded museum artifact

fieldwork with a well-known male archaeologist because she was a woman. Kidder provided advice and encouragement to her.

⁴¹ Alfred Kidder advised me in Peru at the start of my research in 1966, after which I was on my own. He was supportive of my excavations at Qaluyu where he had worked earlier. Sergio Chávez, eldest son of Chávez Ballón, and I have found that Kidder's interests led to stimulating research problems.

collections to be vital to student understanding, and arranged for exchanges of teaching collections.⁴² His generous advice, encouragement, and practical support when seeking funds and jobs are appreciated by all of us who benefitted from his deep concern for students.⁴³

Alfred Kidder left Harvard because he was informed in 1948 that a promotion to Associate Professor was not forthcoming after his term expired in June, 1950 (II.A., letter from Provost, November 26, 1948), and he was not awarded the Bowditch Professorship that Gordon R. Willey received in 1950 (Willey 1988b:293 and personal communication, June 8, 1992).⁴⁴ There was dissatisfaction among students about his leaving, indicating that members of the department did not realize how much he had done for the students, or how much of the load he carried (II.A, letter from student, October 21, 1949), nor "appreciated how good he was, both as a scholar and a teacher" (John Rowe, personal communication, March 30, 1984). A group of Harvard students, unhappy about his departure, gave him a box of fancy fishing tackle in an emotional going-away ceremony (Thompson, personal communication, October 14, 1996).

Alfred Kidder knew about possible positions and received numerous offers, but accepted the one from Pennsylvania. An offer also came from Leslie White at the University of Michigan (II.A, January 18, 1951). George Foster of the Institute of Social Anthropology of the Smithsonian Institution

⁴² For example, he arranged exchanges with Colombia (II.A, letter to Gómez, May 10, 1949) and with the University Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Cambridge, England (II.A, letter from Bushnell, January 8, 1951, letter to Bushnell, January 27, 1951).

⁴³ William A. Haviland (personal communication, January, 1993) recalls Kidder's help with his master's thesis on the archaeology of Maine, his professional support, warm concern, and advice freely given.

⁴⁴ Tozzer retired in 1949 (Phillips 1955:72). Kidder's father retired in 1950 (Wauchope 1965:163), and Carlton S. Coon had left for Penn.

followed Rowe's suggestion and expressed hope that Kidder could replace Allan Holmberg in Lima, teaching and conducting ethnological field work (where persons like Kidder with "unusual tact and diplomacy are necessary") (IIA, May 19, 1948). Edwin Walker, Dean at the Florida State University, Tallahassee offered employment (IIA, December 7, 1948). Robert Lowie suggested a position at Berkeley (IIA, March 22, 1950). However, Matthew Stirling, Director of the Bureau of American Ethnology, informed Kidder that there was no opening there in archaeology (IIA, October 13, 1949). Perhaps the most telling comment was Kidder's response to Robert Lowie. He had the greatest desire to work at Berkeley, but felt his devotion to teaching had interfered with his professional career development, and felt an urgency to complete his research (IIA, letter to Lowie, March 28, 1950). He was referring, of course, to the Pucara report, having planned to finish it by 1950 (IIA, letter to Eiseley, June 9, 1950). The offer from the University Museum was attractive because it allowed Kidder time to write in the beginning, although he wanted to teach a course on Andean archaeology by the spring of 1951 (IIA, letter to Eiseley, June 9, 1950).

Alfred Kidder's general conception of teaching archaeology in both undergraduate and graduate curricula is contained in his article that appeared in an American Anthropological Association memoir (Kidder 1963a).⁴⁵ This article reveals much about him, his view of archaeology in relation to anthropology, his multi-disciplinary approach to understanding humans and society, his adoption of a comparative global perspective involving multiple variables, and about his concern for the anthropological goal of examining cultural regularities. He believed archaeology, closely linked with ethnology, should be an essential component in the teaching of anthropology, and placed great

importance on having undergraduates see the broad "archaeological-ethnological continuity", such as should be utilized in area courses. Hence, the ideal teacher of any of several courses he described should be an archaeologist with first-hand experience in both hemispheres, preferably with ethnological experience, and should be a culturally-oriented anthropologist rather than a historically-oriented Old World classical or oriental scholar.⁴⁶

Alfred Kidder especially addressed the importance of archaeology as part of a general education curriculum, that encompassed components from the origins of life to the Industrial Revolution. He urged the inclusion of ethnographic sketches, films, and the use of ethnographic analogy. One component that he called "Speculation" entailed historical theory (from Gibbon to Toynbee), and was innovative in incorporating "problems of the twentieth century, including control of nuclear energy, control of weather, problems of food, population growth, war, cultural and political conflict, ethics, and related topics" (Kidder 1963a:235). Issues relevant to modern life, so critical in the 1960s, rather than more detailed content, were basic to Kidder's conception of a general education course.

Central to Kidder's (*ibid.*:238) proposal for curricula was that

The relationship of the environment, technology, population size, and cultural complexity should run as a theme throughout, forming the basis for *comparative views* of the past leading to the discernment of *regularities in culture growth*. I think

⁴⁵ This paper and others were the product of the Educational Resources in Anthropology project of the Department of Anthropology, University of California, Berkeley, that involved ten symposia conducted between April 1960 and March 1961 devoted to the teaching of anthropology.

⁴⁶ Based on his philosophy and experience in teaching, Alfred Kidder presented three introductory courses with which he had been involved: a one-semester course to be part of a general education curriculum with greater emphasis on basic theory and present-day relevance than on detailed content; a one-semester course with more emphasis on field and laboratory methods that also illustrated worldwide developments; and a two-semester course essentially covering world archaeology as well as incorporating the "scope, history, theory, and method of archaeology" that also could be taken by graduate students who, with additional lab work, could meet minimum doctoral requirement.

it is highly desirable then to attempt to carry the *culture-historical conclusions* [emphasis mine] drawn from the past into the present and even the future.

In this regard Kidder (*ibid.*:235) stated that such a course:

does not insist that “archaeology is nothing if it is not anthropology”, but nevertheless succeeds in implanting a considerable number of anthropologically derived ideas, the most significant of which is probably that of the emergence of *overall regularities of cultural growth* [emphasis mine].

Perhaps these statements are the closest Alfred Kidder ever came to referring to generalizations or “laws” in anthropology.

INVOLVEMENT WITH THE PUBLIC AND MUSEUMS

Kidder’s association with two Ivy League universities with major anthropological museums, first the Peabody Museum at Harvard, and later the University Museum at Pennsylvania, was an important factor in the development of his career. As Associate Director of the University Museum his efforts were channeled into public education. His regular participation on the CBS television show, “What in the World?” engaged him in popularizing and publicizing anthropology and archaeology. This unique program was developed by Froelich Rainey (1992:272-278), then Director of the University Museum, and was first shown in 1951 on Philadelphia’s WCAU-TV (Dessart 1961:37). In 1952 the program received a Peabody Award for excellence: “for a superb blending of the academic and the entertaining” (*ibid.*:37). It became the first nationwide series devoted to archaeology, bringing together an effective use of the relatively new mass medium with a lively view of archaeology and museum collections.

Airing every Sunday, the program ran for 15 years during the 1950s and 1960s, and Kidder was a regular panel member and sometimes also served as moderator. Carleton S. Coon was also a regular panelist. Rainey was often moderator, and there was

usually a guest each week as well, including such people as archaeologists Clifford Evans, Gordon F. Ekholm, Matthew Stirling, and Gordon R. Willey, architect Fiske Kimball, African art expert Margaret Plass, actor Vincent Price, and sculptor Jacques Lipschitz. Upon Rainey’s insistence, the panel was paid a fee, albeit a modest one (Rainey 1992:275-276). The panel attempted to identify objects from around the world selected from the Museum’s collections. The viewing audience was told what the objects were and they observed the process of identification, learning the way scientists proceed, and obtaining a wealth of other information as well (Hamburger 1952; Anonymous 1951). The program was far-reaching in stimulating interest in archaeology, because it was viewed by millions of people. Rainey even noted that some of his university students had first become interested in archaeology through watching the program as children. It became international, being “adopted by the BBC in England under the title ‘Animal, Vegetable and Mineral’” at the suggestion of Sir Mortimer Wheeler and Glyn Daniel, and there were Danish, Canadian, and Mexican versions of the show.

Alfred Kidder was also involved in semi-popular publications, as author or editorial board member. An attractive article with color plates emphasized results of new research in Latin America (Kidder 1964b). Here Kidder also discussed diffusion in positive terms. He noted the disparity in work between that accomplished in the Maya area and that which had been done in Peru and Bolivia, with the exception of projects at Tiahuanaco sponsored by the Bolivian government. Kidder, with Carlos Samayoa Chinchilla (1959), also published a monograph in conjunction with a traveling exhibit of Maya art, reviewed by Rands (1960). The exhibit came to the University Museum and included specimens from the Museum. Rands stated that Kidder’s general picture of the Maya reflected current interpretations, including “the peaceful nature of Classic Maya society”, and a “collapse brought about by revolt”.

Alfred Kidder published several articles in the University Museum’s journal, *Expedition* (Kidder

1959a, 1959c, 1959d, 1963c, 1965a, 1967a, 1968a, 1968b), and was chairman of its editorial board from 1958 to 1972. He recognized that such publications were valuable not only because of their educational function, but also because they helped keep benefactors informed of the results of the research supported by their donations (Kidder 1966a:37). Kidder's experience was at museums having large private endowments that supported anthropological research in all fields world-wide, and which also received significant private donations. The University Museum:

benefitted by the foresight and generosity of rich people around the turn of the century . . . [that could] pay about fifty percent of the costs of a large program, with as many as fifteen or so expeditions in the field in a given year, from endowment funds. The rest comes mainly from foundations, but a very appreciable amount comes from private donors (*ibid.*:36).

Foundation support, he pointed out, was more easily obtained at the Museum through cost-sharing.

Alfred Kidder's involvement in Mesoamerica came about precisely through his position at the University Museum which conducted a long-term project at Tikal in Guatemala from 1956 to 1969 (Shook and Kidder 1961, 1962; Anonymous 1961; Coe and Haviland 1982:8). For two months in 1961 Kidder participated in excavation and administration there (Figure 23). He also wrote a general article on Tikal (Kidder 1963b). As Associate Director of the Museum Kidder played a critical role in raising funds for the Tikal Project (Coe and Haviland 1982:11). When money ran out and the Project was to end after ten years, Kidder was instrumental in acquiring one million dollars from the Guatemalan government for four additional years. Kidder's good command of Spanish, his connections in Guatemala through his sister Barbara and her Guatemalan physician husband, and his diplomatic skills all contributed to his success with General and President Enrique Peralta Azurdia who had the funds appropriated by the Guatemalan congress in 1964 (*ibid.*:3; Rainey 1992:195).

Beginning in late 1964 the Guatemalan government funded the Tikal Project's site conservation program that had begun modestly in 1959. It requested the Project to continue stabilization and repair of important architectural monuments with government funds. The government recognized the benefits to Guatemala of promoting financially rewarding tourism (Kidder 1966a:36). Alfred Kidder (1968a:8) noted that:

Such an arrangement [as well as the request itself (1966:36)] between a Latin American government and a North American university for the conduct of a program of archaeological conservation is unprecedented.

From the beginning of the Project, the Guatemalan government had also provided air transport of supplies and personnel.

Addressing issues related to museum-sponsored anthropological expeditions, Alfred Kidder (*ibid.*), based on his presentation at the annual meeting of the American Association of Museums focusing on this theme, making explicit the numerous steps that needed to be undertaken and problems to be resolved in conducting field research. International in scope, the paper dealt with finance, permissions, the logistics of housing, equipment, and labor, insurance, public relations, exportation of finds, and publication. He emphasized the importance of preliminary reconnaissance not only for archaeological ends, but also in establishing ties with appropriate persons and institutions who would be involved directly or indirectly with the project. His knowledge of formal and informal diplomatic channels and etiquette resounds. It is an excellent summary of steps we take for granted today, and was written at a time when relatively plentiful funding was available.

ALFRED KIDDER'S ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONTRIBUTIONS: GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

Alfred Kidder began his career at a time when United States interests in Latin America were expanding under Roosevelt's Good Neighbor Policy,

as archaeological projects were included in response to rising security concerns during World War II, and when influential people involved in archaeology in Latin America were receptive to North American archaeologists working in their countries. Kidder contributed to the modernization of Venezuelan archaeology and to the development of Peruvian archaeology. His early research represents the Harvard Peabody Museum's first direct archaeological investigations in South America as well as the reawakening of Pennsylvania's University Museum Andean program after about thirty years. Kidder excavated in frontier areas such as Honduras, in regions at the cross-roads of interaction (Venezuela), and in the Lake Titicaca Basin of Peru and Bolivia. In the latter place he focused on the earliest antecedents to "Andean high cultures". The kind of overall research goals and methods that Kidder precociously formulated for himself in Venezuela in 1933 and 1934 served him well, persisting into his research in Peru and Bolivia, and permeating most of his major publications and including his syntheses. His work is characterized by careful description and classification, a regional focus, a comparative approach, a multi-disciplinary perspective, and culture-historical interpretation.

1. Detailed, *careful description and classification* of remains were always Alfred Kidder's first priority. These culture-historical goals, even in ethnology, had been part of his anthropology education at Harvard. His high quality artifact descriptions, based on detailed attributes are exemplified by his Venezuelan work. They owe much to the general standards established by his father, A. V. Kidder and to the pottery analyses of Anna Shepard. Alfred Kidder wrote of wares, classified pottery into types, while aware of their arbitrariness and used the Southwestern taxonomic method. He did not, however, generally embrace the term "style". He also astutely classified other remains, including burials, figurines, and stone sculpture.

Alfred Kidder classified cultures into named (not numbered or developmental) temporal "phases" (*sensu* Gladwin; Gladwin and Gladwin 1934), and emphasized a holistic approach that included *all* remains of a society, not just pottery. In his later

writings this emphasis can be identified in his support for producing "site ethnographies" in lively functional terms, and as completely as remains permitted. He did not use A.V. Kidder's evolutionary-chronological Pecos classificatory scheme, and eschewed the McKern Midwest Taxonomic System for restricting temporal-spatial historical comparisons.

2. Alfred Kidder placed great emphasis on both reconnaissance and excavation in the context of a *regional focus*. His research was designed to determine temporal-areal distributions and the variability of cultures. He considered stratigraphic excavation essential to the resolution of chronological relationships, but his general use of arbitrary recovery units made the process difficult despite A. V. Kidder's pioneer use of natural/cultural levels. Nevertheless, care was taken to record natural strata. Excavation was also used to discern patterns of burial and architecture and to interpret site function in general terms. Reconnaissance did not mean systematic survey, but rather visiting sites found by examining museum and private collections and gathering information from local people. It was an efficient way to proceed in areas where little work had been done. Above all, Alfred Kidder reiterated the disparity in the Central Andes between work on the coast and in the highlands where less had been done. Kidder (1956d:2) commented that "This imbalance remains the most obvious barrier to [a] truly comprehensive appraisal of Central Andean civilization".

3. Alfred Kidder considered a keen, detailed *comparative approach* to all cultural remains to be crucial for understanding and interpreting or explaining the nature of similarities and differences found.

4. Alfred Kidder's *multi-disciplinary perspective* included ethnology, linguistics, history, and ethnohistory. It was rooted in his strong holistic anthropological training, as well as in geology, botany, zoology, physical anthropology, and chemistry. Even in his 1937 dissertation there were whole sections devoted to some of these areas, and a bibliography on Peruvian archaeology

(Richardson and Kidder 1940, references compiled from 1935-1940) included sections on history, ethnology, folklore, linguistics, physical anthropology, ethnobotany, and geography. Kidder strongly felt that the history and ethnology of a region had a great bearing on archaeological continuities and understandings (including in his “site ethnography” concept). Kidder’s Harvard student, John H. Rowe, had been previously trained in history, and Rowe’s involvement with Inca history reinforced Kidder’s belief in the importance of historical accounts for archaeology and vice versa. Kidder regarded “Inca archaeology and its correlation with the chronicler’s accounts as one of the most important problems in American archaeology” (II.A, letter to American Council of Learned Societies, March 19, 1941).

From the very beginning of his career in the 1930s, Kidder considered the natural sciences to be significant in assisting the identification and description of archaeological remains. This approach, developed in part under the influence of his father, A.V. Kidder, and of his father-in-law, zoologist Thomas Barbour. Alfred Kidder’s early exposure to the major museums at Harvard provided him with easy, everyday access to specialists. He pioneered the use of petrographic analysis of pottery in South America, and of radiocarbon dating in the Central Andean highlands. Kidder had worked with paleontologist Edward Berry in Venezuela, had had metal analyzed by William Root, and botanical remains studied by Margaret Towle. Kidder analyzed the human skeletal remains himself. He was good at using geological evidence and arguments for dating, and also presented his sites in solid environmental contexts.

5. Alfred Kidder’s *cultural-historical interpretations* were primarily focused on resolving matters of chronology and spatial distributions, as well as cultural origins, developments, and relations. He worked with culture-historical hypotheses that could be tested (such as through stratigraphic verification of temporal origins or relations). Early on he used the concept of hypothesis as derived from Lesser (1939). He recognized the importance of

chronology in providing answers to questions of origins, relations, and developments, and used solid arguments for dating prior to the time when radiocarbon assays became available. These matters also involved careful and detailed descriptions and comparisons, and constituted a fact-finding stage of cultural-historical studies (Kidder 1956d:7). Besides his education, there were at least two reasons for Kidder’s culture-historical emphasis: (a) Kidder was conducting pioneer work in little-known areas, Venezuela and the Lake Titicaca Basin, where gathering of empirical evidence was truly needed before many conclusions could be drawn and (b) Kidder believed that solid descriptive work would outlive theoretical considerations, and that evidence would endure as a basis for future work. He thought that as archaeological investigations proceeded new interpretations would supersede old ones.

While one could simply argue that this descriptive, culture-historical emphasis was typical of what archaeologists did at the time – during Willey and Sabloff’s (1993) “Classificatory-Historical Period: The Concern with Chronology (1914-1940)” – nonetheless, generalizations and explanations *were* being made, using a culture-historical paradigm, and limited by the scant data available in the 1930s and 1940s. Statements by Julian Steward reflect the prevailing notion at the time, that description was more strongly emphasized than theory. As general editor of the *Handbook of South American Indians*, Steward (II.A, letter to Kidder, November 7, 1939) wrote that the *Handbook* will be “predominantly descriptive of cultures, with a maximum of fact, a minimum of theory”, that the section on theories of cultural origins will be the smallest because the theories will be the “least enduring”. Among the “causative” processes Kidder continued to reconsider was diffusion, vaguely defined in terms of such events as population movements and trade. Kidder realized that chronological control was essential to determining the direction of diffusion. His attention to diffusion began at Harvard when he was in contact with people like Dixon. Like others, Kidder remained interested in the topic of diffusion as late as the 1960s. Kidder remained skeptical about long distance diffusion, however, whether inter- or intra-continental.

Among the explicit culture-historical aims Alfred Kidder considered important in conducting research in the Lake Titicaca Basin may be included resolving chronological problems, determining geographical distributions, and describing the origins, nature, development of, and relations between the archaeological cultures of the Qaluyu, Chiripa, Pucara, and Tiahuanaco (Kidder 1943:v-vi, 37-40; 1948b; 1956b). Despite the number of years that have passed since Kidder's research was undertaken, the results of his pioneer, long-term, and wide-ranging work still stand as important contributions to our understanding of Andean prehistory. He helped reveal the complexities of developments in the Lake Titicaca Basin, still not fully understood, that led to the emergence of Tiahuanaco. Kidder also showed the influence those developments had on Huari in Peru, and on the later Inca empire.

In the 1950s, editors of *New World* syntheses were emphasizing interpretations over description. This change took place during the "Classification-Historical Period: The Concern with Context and Function (1940-1960)" (Willey and Sabloff 1993:152-213). Kidder participated in these syntheses, including those dealing with settlement patterns. He began to write in more functional terms, referring to multiple interrelated variables that included differences in land (coastal valleys versus highland), technology, population, warfare, and social organization invoking implicitly causal hypotheses to account for change. He used terms such as "regularities of culture growth" to refer to generalizations. The early use of such variables and causality had already begun to be applied to South American archaeology by Steward (1948) in the 1940s.

Regarding Alfred Kidder's later work, I agree with William Haviland (personal communication, January 4, 1993) another student of Kidder's at the University of Pennsylvania, that Kidder is not remembered for "any particular theoretical stance". Rather, he:

did not like to stray too far from raw data. Indeed, a respect for data and the need to keep any archaeological construction firmly grounded in data

characterized the Americanists at Penn in general during this era, and is something I regard as one of Penn's strengths. Thus, I think of Ted as . . . interested in . . . what happened in the past, . . . rather than indulging in any fancy theory building or 'explaining' archaeological data . . . in terms of one particular theoretical 'road to truth' as opposed to all others.

One could add that it is the solid descriptive data that are disappointingly absent in many publications of the past few decades. Kidder remained ever cautious, looking at both sides of the evidence, and frequently concluded that more work was needed.

Alfred Kidder established institutional and personal contacts through his father, Ivy League universities with major museums, and on his own. These were used unselfishly to assist students and foreign colleagues (Figure 24). He will long be remembered for his scholarly honesty and openness, his unassuming personality, his diplomatic skills, and his concern for others.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I wish to thank a number of people and institutions who so generously provided materials on which this article is based. William R. Coe, then Curator of the American Section of the University Museum provided access to Alfred Kidder's unpublished notes and papers. Alessandro Pezzati, Reference Archivist, located relevant materials in the University Museum archives. I thank Karen Valucci, also of the University Museum, for her interest and support in the publication of this biography. Thanks are also due to the staff of the Peabody Museum archives, Harvard University, and to Rafael Gassón and Erika Wagner for access to their articles. I am especially grateful to those who so kindly and candidly shared with me their own personal knowledge of, and experiences with, Alfred Kidder II. These include the late John H. Rowe⁴⁷ who provided detailed information, William A. Haviland, the late Gordon R. Willey,⁴⁸ Betty J. Meggers, and my father-in-law, the late Manuel Chávez Ballón.⁴⁹ Special appreciation goes to Raymond H. Thompson who so generously provided detailed editorial suggestions, additional references, his own recollections, and comments, as well as encouragement in bringing this work

⁴⁷ [Editors' note: died 1 May 2004.]

⁴⁸ [Editors' note: died 28 April 2002.]

⁴⁹ [Editors' note: died 13 June 2000.]

to publication. Gratitude also goes to Faith K. Fuller for her interest and generosity in providing illustrations. A National Science Foundation grant (BSN 81-12162) made it possible for Sergio J. Chávez and me to study Kidder's Lake Titicaca Basin materials and notes, with the assistance of Central Michigan University Faculty Research and Creative Endeavors grants. Appreciation also goes to Douglas R. Givens for his encouragement to write this biography. Finally, I am most indebted to my husband and colleague, Sergio J. Chávez, for his unfailing support, assistance, and comments.

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Figure 1: Portrait of Alfred Kidder II (1911-1984) while at The University Museum of the University of Pennsylvania (The University Museum photo archives), c. 1960.



Figure 2: Alfred Kidder II at the Pecos Conference, University of Arizona, 1967. Photograph shows participants in the First Pecos Conference of 1927, from left to right: upper row, Harold S. Colton, Alfred Kidder II, Frank Midvale, Paul S. Martin, Faith Kidder Fuller, Emil W. Haury; bottom row, Hulda Penner Haury, Madeleine A. Kidder, Neil M. Judd, Harriet S. Cosgrove, and Clara Lee Fraps Tanner (Arizona State Museum neg. no 15257).



Figure 3: Map of northern Venezuela showing the locations of Alfred Kidder II's 1933 and 1934 fieldwork.

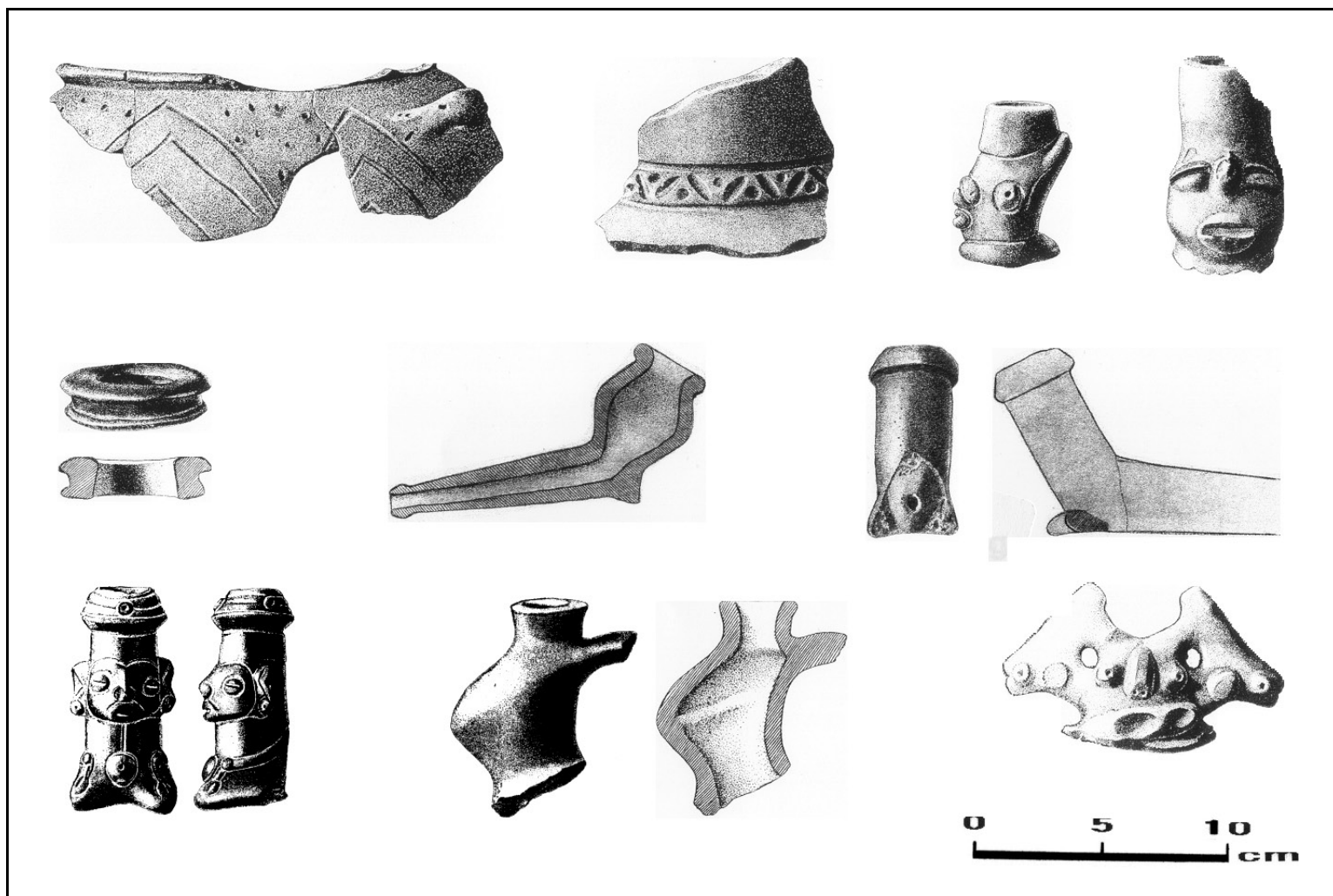


Figure 4: Pottery from the lower strata at the site of Los Tamarindos, Lake Valencia, belonging to the La Cabrera Phase. Top row, La Cabrera Plain ware (after Kidder 1944: Pl. 2); second row, La Cabrera Polished grey ware (after Kidder 1944: Pl. 3); third row, left, La Cabrera Polished grey ware and center-right, La Cabrera Red (after Kidder 1944: Pl. 4)



Figure 5: Isabel Guernsey and Alfred Kidder II on top of a wall at Pachacamac, Peru, June 6, 1937.

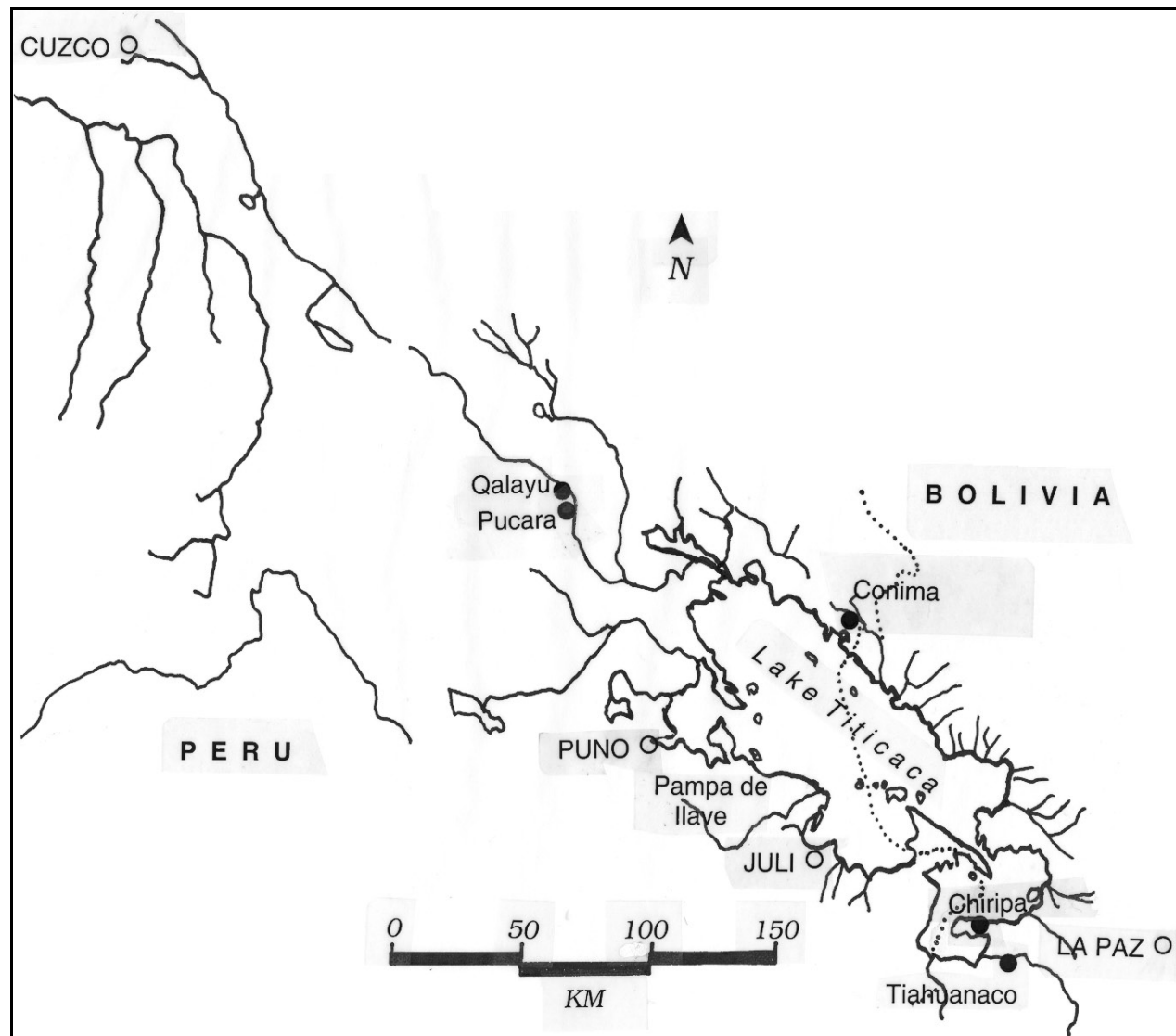


Figure 6: Map of the territory between Cuzco, Peru and La Paz, Bolivia, showing the areas visited by Alfred Kidder II in 1937, as well as the location of the Lake Titicaca Basin where he conducted archaeological investigations in 1939, 1941, and 1955. Solid circles represent archaeological sites. Open circles are presently occupied cities and towns. Based on S. Chávez 1989.

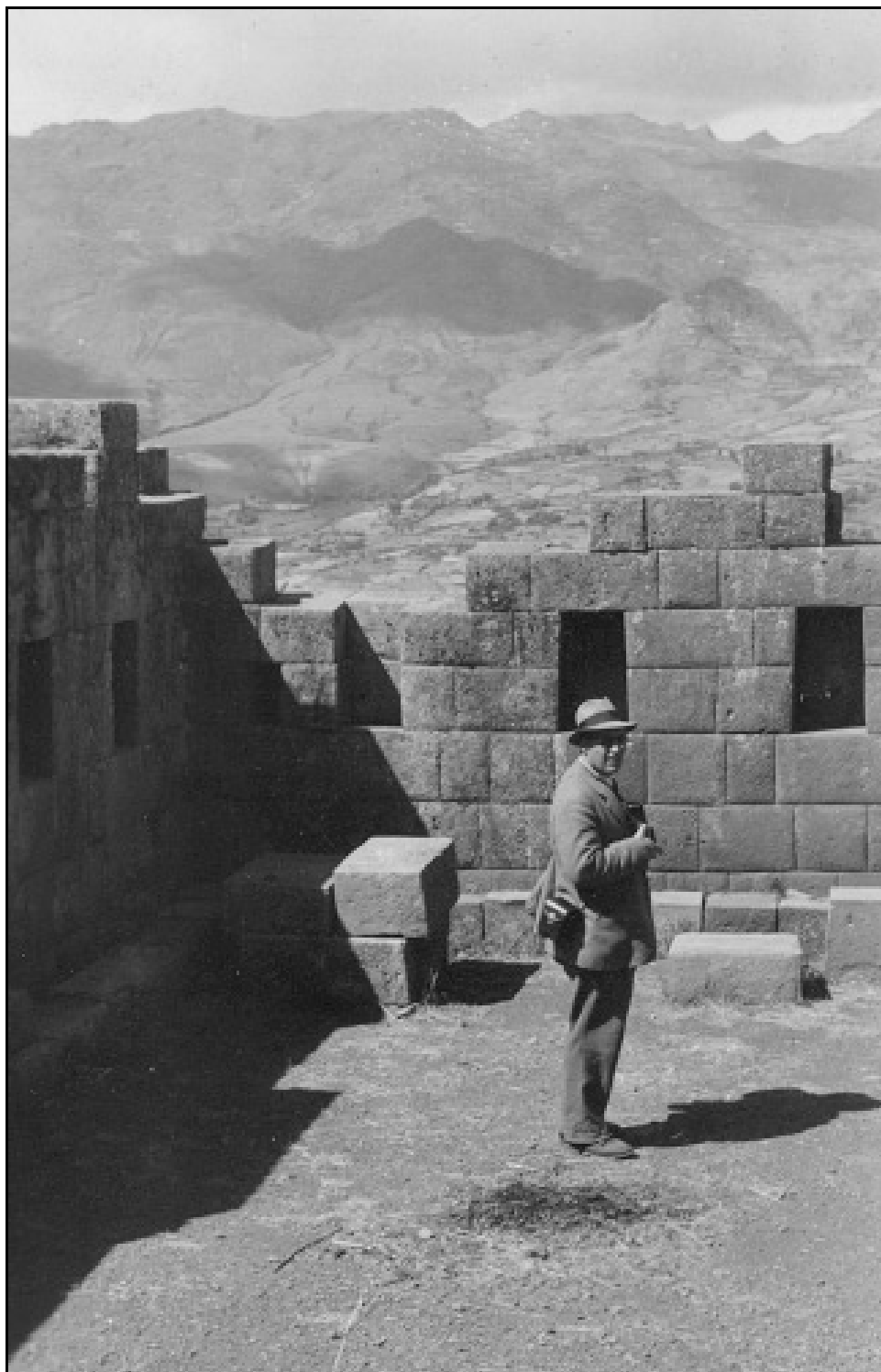


Figure 7: Alfred Kidder II in the Inca ruins at Pisac, near Cuzco, August 8, 1937.



Figure 8: José María Franco Inojosa and Mary Barbour Kidder at Rumicolca, Cuzco Valley, August 21, 1937. Mary Kidder noted for this photograph that “when passing Indians still fling the quids of coca for luck on the road.” The graffiti reads “Haya de la Torre hermano del pueblo - APRA”. On a wall face not shown here it reads “Haya de la Torre Presidente”. The APRA Political party (American Popular Revolutionary Alliance) was founded by Peruvian politician Haya de la Torre in 1924. In the graffiti he is proposed as a presidential candidate and is called “brother of the working man”.



Figure 9: Excavation I at Pucara completed, viewed from the north.



Figure 10: View of the Peñón at Pucara (cliff) overlooking the modern town of Pucara and the ancient ceremonial structures, 1939.



Figure 11: Pucara: view from the Peñón showing Alfred Kidder II's Excavation VI in progress. That revealed what he called Enclosure 2, one of at least six temples on the Kalasaya terraces, 1939.



Figure 12: Pucara: excavation VI in progress showing the sunken court being excavated, 1939.



Figure 13: One face of the Pucara Plaza Stela with Mary Barbour Kidder next to it, 1939.

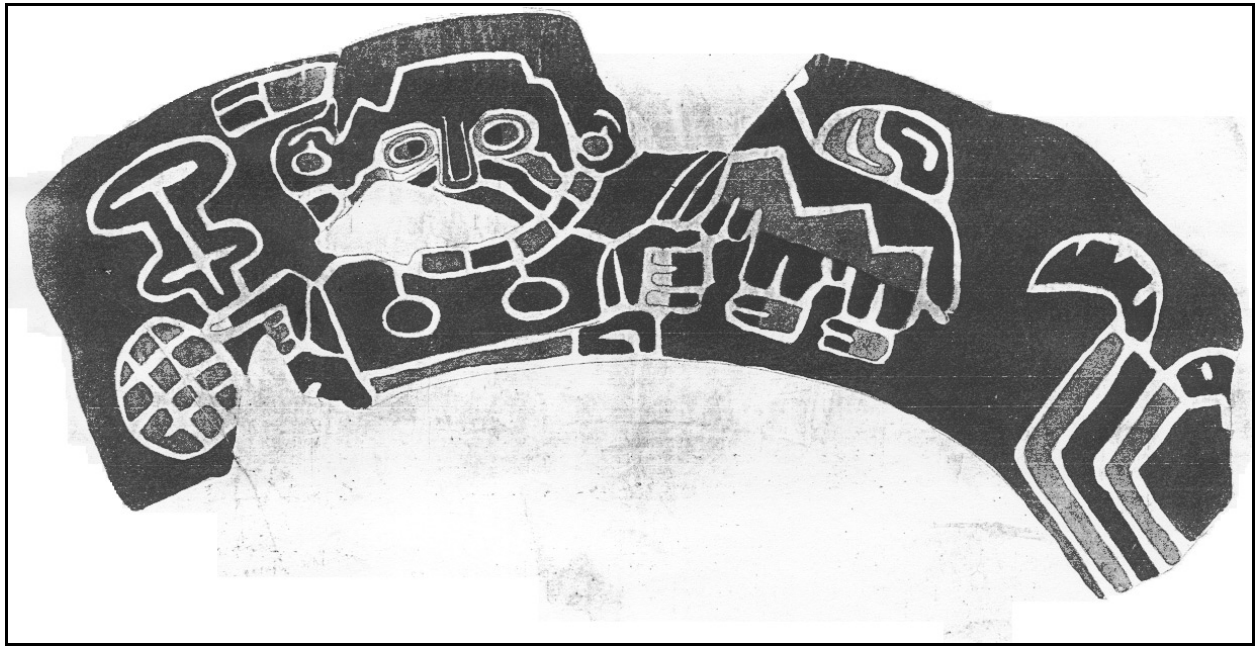


Figure 14: Water color illustration of Pucara polychrome incised pottery from Alfred Kidder II's 1939 excavations at Pucara, made in Lima. For subsequent analysis of the Pucara pottery see S. Chávez 1992b.



Figure 15: Incatimuhiri, a site with Pucara style sculpture that Alfred Kidder II documented during his 1941 reconnaissance.



Figure 16: The Kidders, Cordero, and del Carpio on the occasion of Sawyer's departure from Chiripa, 1955.



Figure 17: Alfred and Mary Kidder and Elena del Carpio on a picnic south of the city of La Paz, 1955.



Figure 18: Members of the 1955 University Museum expedition to Bolivia.
 From left to right: Alan R. Sawyer, then of the Art Institute of Chicago; Alfred Kidder II; Mary Barbour Kidder; Elena del Carpio, assistant; Gregorio Cordero Miranda, representative of the National Museum of Bolivia; and Nellie Silver, cook;
 Photo by William R. Coe.



Figure 19: Laboratory work at the National Museum in La Paz, 1955 Alfred Kidder II.



Figure 20: Laboratory work at the National Museum, La Paz, 1955 Mary Barbour Kidder.



Figure 21: Alfred Kidder II's excavations at the Chiripa Mound, Bolivia, in 1955 (see also Chávez 1989b:17)



Figure 22: Alfred and Mary Kidder flanking Manuel Chávez Ballón at the Velasco Astete Airport in Cuzco, 1955.



Figure 23: Alfred Kidder II at Tikal, Guatemala, winter 1961. Back row, left to right: John Rick, Anne Rick, Hattula Moholy-Nagy, Peter Probst, Anita Haviland. Front row, left to right: William Haviland, Aubrey Trik, Edwin Shook, Alfred Kidder II, William Coe. (The University Museum photo archives; photo by William R. Coe.)



Figure 24: The last picture taken of Alfred Kidder II at his home in Blue Hill, Maine, August 1981. Kidder is flanked by Sergio J. Chávez and Karen Mohr Chávez.