in archaeology in the interim. But that is far from true. For example, pulling volumes from my bookshelf, I find that Stig Ryden (1908–1965) credits her with showing him the majority of sites that he investigated in 1951–1952, particularly the important Formative site of Chullpa Pampa. Similarly, Hermann Trimborn (1901–1986) credits her with showing him the many of sites he excavated in his field seasons of 1955–1956, and 1959–1960. Thus while Byrne de Caballero did not have any formal position in archaeology during that period, she was very involved in documenting the archaeological record.

Hence, she had a good background in regional archaeology, when she took over the directorship of the Museo Arqueológico de la Universidad Mayor de San Simón in 1972 from Luís Céspedes Barbery. It was during her fourteen year tenure as museum director that she conducted a number of excavations at the Inca sites of Cotapachi, where she identified more than 2400 storage colca, and at Incarrqay and Inkallajta, work that convinced her that the Inca presence in Cochabamba was much stronger than previously had been recognized archaeologically. As a female and not native born, she has been often forgotten, and this problem is of course exacerbated by the fact that her publications are in rather obscure sources.

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## History of Bolivian Archaeology: Max Portugal Ortiz

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One of the continuing problems for students of the history of our discipline is the tendency for retrospectives to identify and discuss the same 'big names' in the field, as if these individuals were the only 'players' or 'actors' involved. Thus in Bolivia, for example, a list of prominent archaeologists working in the mid-20th century often gets limited to Europeans such as Stig Ryden and Heinz Walter, Americans such as Wendell C. Bennett and Alfred Kidder, and Bolivians such as Arturo Posnansky and Carlos Ponce Sanginés. With respect to the in-country, Bolivian contributors, then, one comes away with the impression that the baton passed rather seamlessly from Posnansky to Ponce.

There is a vibrant community of young archaeologists in La Paz, Bolivia, who have started new web-sites, new journals, new advanced degree programs, and even pushed through some 'cultural resource management' legislation. Two of these scholars, Carlos Lémuz Aguirre and Claudia Rivera Casanovas, are the new editors of the recently revived journal *Nuevos Aportes*. The first (and for many years only) issue of *Nuevos Aportes* came out in 1992. There thus has been nearly a fifteen year gap between that premier issue and the current issue No. 2. Utilizing new web-technology, this journal now is wholly a web-based publication, accessible through <a href="https://www.engueue.com">arqueobolivia.com</a>.

The first issue of *Nuevos Aportes* is found in only three libraries in the United States (with similar rare occurrences in Europe and other locales outside of Bolivia). I had been trying to get a copy of an obituary on Maks Portugal Zamora, by his son Max Portugal Ortiz, from that issue for some time, but none of the three U.S. libraries would loan the journal, and without the exact page numbers, my 'interlibrary loan' requests were rejected. Thus I was delighted to see that Lémuz and Rivera decided

to edit and reprint the 1992 obituary, the high points of which I share here. Among the points of particular interest was that some of the minor but critical players in the development of Bolivian archaeology get mentioned in this article, as I note below.

Maks Portugal Zamora (1907–1983) became interested in archaeology as a very young boy, accompanying his father, who was an architect and contractor, on construction projects in La Paz. Many times he found prehistoric ceramics in the foundation cuts, and a turning point came when he was ten years old, and recovered an entire Tiwanaku incensario (Portugal 2005/1992: 4).

In my research, I was particularly interested in his role in establishing, as well as in his membership of, the 'Centro Cultural Tiwanaku' and the 'Brigada Cultural', for nearly three decades. Mention was made of some of the critical but poorly known members such as Carlos Medinacelli, Alfonsina Paredes, Moreno Palacios, Alberto Laguna Meave, Erasmo Tarifa and others.

Because 'archaeology' in Bolivia, as it is in many Latin American countries, is intimately tied in with perceptions of 'national patrimony', and manipulation of such patrimony is regularly done for political purposes, the history of archaeology is much more political in Bolivia than it is in places such as the U.S.A. or Australia, where the dominate populations lack deep historical linkages with earlier prehistoric groups. Thus in Bolivia, for much of his career, Portugal Zamora was outside of the existing political power base, and thus his work has been slighted. Portugal, in fact, is said to have referred to himself as a primarily as a journalist, a 'periodista, comentador de arte y arqueología', rather than as an academic.

On the other hand, we find that in the 1930s he worked with Coello Jurado, Eduardo Casnova and Enrique Paravicino of the Mision Argentina explorations around Lake Titicaca, that he worked with Wendell C. Bennett, and he worked with Arturo Posnansky. With this background, he became director of the Museo Nacional Tiwanaku in 1938, and made the first catalog of the museum, organizing its holdings. As an 'inspector' for the museum, he was sent out to visit several reported sites around the country, to evaluate their significance and write field reports.

Portugal subsequently conducted his own work at Chiripa in the 1940s, and worked on the Copacabana peninsula in the same decade. He became particularly interested in stone sculpture styles, and in 'formative' period cultures. The list of publications in this article contains references to much of this work.

After leaving the Museo Nacional, Portugal Ortiz organized and founded the Museo Casa de Murillo in La Paz in 1950. In the mid-1950s, he worked with Carlos Ponce Sanginés, Dick Edgar Ibarro Grasso, Gregorio Cordero Miranda, Leo Pucher, and Leonardo Branisa in organizing the first Mesa Redonda de Arqueologia in Bolivia. In 1957, he was involved with Ponce, Cordero, and Julia Elena Fortun in founding the Centro de Investigaciones Arqueológicas de Tiwanaku – the group which sponsored the bulk of Bolivian operations at the site of Tiwanaku in the last half of the twentieth century. And we also learn that it was Portugal Zamora who located, excavated, and identified the wellknown 'Tiwanaku Epoch I' burial assemblages that Ponce Sanginés published from the Kalasasaya. In addition, Portugal Zamora was active in the founding of the Institutos de Investigaciones Históricas y Culturales de La Paz, and the Instituto de la Cultura Aymara. He was thus very important in the formation of archaeological research institutions in Bolivia.

Maks Portugal Zamora's obituary was written by his son Max Portugal Ortiz, back in 1992. But since that time Max Portugal Ortiz (1941–1999) has also died. He is as important as his father in the development of Bolivian archaeology, but his work has not yet been covered in our pages. A brief obituary was published by Edwin Pinto Cuellar in 2000 in *Textos Antropológicos*, a journal which Portugal Ortiz helped found, and which he was the advisor of from 1989 to 1995.

Portugal Ortiz, being the son of an archaeologist, obviously had early exposure to the field. He later was sent by his father to take some work in applied anthropology at the Ministry of Education in

1959, and then began course work at the Universidad Major de San Andres in 1960–1961. He then shifted to the Escuela de Estudios Turísticos for 1962–1963. From 1963 through 1974, he was hired as an 'archaeological assistant' at the Centro de Investigaciones Arqueológicas de Tiwanaku (Pinto 2000: 12).

When political events intervened in 1974, Portugal Ortiz founded and became the director of the Archivo Histórico de La Paz, Casa de la Cultura, a position he kept until 1979. However, this position provided him extra research time. He returned to school, and finished his 'licenciatura' in 1976 through the History Department at the Universidad Mayor de San Andrés, with a thesis entitled 'La Arqueología del Rió Beni', which he subsequently published in 1978. From 1979 to 1985, Portugal Ortiz held the position as Director of the Museo Nacional de Arqueología, and from 1985 to 1988, he was director of the Centro de Investigaciones Arqueológicas de Tiwanaku.

Portugal Ortiz shared his father's an interest in the formative period, and in prehistoric Bolivian stone sculpture. He championed the Pa-Ajanu (Pajano) stone style as antecedent to not only the later Tiwanaku stela styles, but also as ancestral to the more recently defined Peruvian 'Yaya-Mama' Early Horizon religious cult. As well, he researched and wrote about Tiwanaku-Amazonia linkages, and the Tiwanaku III–IV, or Formative to Classic Tiwanaku, transition.

But returning to our original theme, that is, the contributions to the history of archaeology published in *Nuevos Aportes* No. 2, 2005. In addition to the reprinted obituary of Maks Portugal Zamora, one of the editors, Carlos Lémuz Aguirre, also included a short obituary of Carlos Ponce Sanginés. Ponce Sanginés has been the subject of a recent article in this journal (Browman 2005), but Lémuz provides a few supplemental items. Lémuz includes more information on Ponce Sanginés's academic training, and his early work in the 1950s for the Movimento Nacional de Revoluccion. While there are good bibliographies of both Portugal Ortiz and Portugal Zamoora in the articles cited, Lémuz's short notice on Ponce lacks any associated list.

In general, the trend is very encouraging. Whereas before, little attention had been paid to the identification of the wide range of contributors to the growth of Bolivian archaeology in Bolivia, now there is a new and freshening interest.

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